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# USSR Report

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25 October 1982

USSR REPORT  
TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 11, July, 1982

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

CONTENTS

To New Stages of Maturity.....	1
L. I. Brezhnev's Answers to Questions Asked by the Newspaper 'PRAVDA'.....	15
Unified National Economic Complex of the Multinational Soviet State (N. Tikhonov).....	17
On the Firm Ground of Socioeconomic Policy: On Certain Aspects of the Shaping of the New Man Under the Conditions of Developed Socialism (V. Pechenev).....	34
Urge To Work and Its Evolution (N. Blinov).....	50
Role of Technology in Accelerating Technical Progress (A. Pliner).....	63
Economizing on Materials: Problems and Solutions (Yu. Nikitin).....	77
Our Soviet Public Health System (O. Shchepin).....	91
Two Destinies (K. Shatsillo).....	103
Great Banner of Unity (V. Dolgin).....	117

Ideological Function of Modern Idealistic Philosophy (T. Oyzerman).....	128
Threat to International Peace and Security (B. Korolev).....	139
Journal's Mail: January-June 1982.....	144

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## TO NEW STAGES OF MATURITY

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[Text] The regular May 1982 CPSU Central Committee plenum, the result of whose proceeding met with a warm and interested response among all party members and working people in the Soviet Union and triggered a major public response throughout the world, was an important event in the life of the party and the people. The broad scope, high-level activeness and strict exigency which distinguished the discussions of the plenum materials throughout the country were dictated by the content and scale of the questions raised, the scope and level of solution of topical political, social and economic problems, and the level of influence which the adopted measures should have on the sum total of social relations in developed socialism.

The titles of the documents issued by the plenum have a practical and ordinary-sounding ring to them. However, they speak emphatically and convincingly of the invariable peacefulness and real humanism of the first socialist country in the world. Directly addressed to the working person, his needs and concerns and the interests of every Soviet family, they also represent an important step on the way followed by our society toward new heights of socioeconomic maturity.

The objective of the resolutions of the May plenum--reliably to ensure the country's population with food products within the shortest possible time--is considered by the party not only the prime economic but a topical socio-political task, for the satisfaction of the vital needs of the Soviet people was and remains the most important of its programmatic requirements. That is precisely why the CPSU Central Committee plenum has a special meaning and significance.

The reports which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev submitted to the plenum, which provide a key to understanding the programmatic nature of the resolutions it passed, played the main role in the work of the May plenum itself and in the discussion of its results at the plenums of republic, kray and oblast party committees and party-economic aktivs and at meetings held by primary party organizations and labor collectives. Fructified by the experience acquired in building a new society in our country and in the other fraternal socialist countries, as was pointed out in the course of the truly nationwide

discussion of the report, its conclusions and stipulations are a significant contribution to the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory.

These conclusions and stipulations substantially enrich and deepen the concept of developed socialism, conceived as a necessary, legitimate and historically long period in the establishment of the communist system. On the basis of this concept, the party refined and concretized the means and deadlines for the implementation of the programmatic objectives and formulated a long-term strategy and tactics for building communism at its 24th, 25th and 26th congresses.

The party's contemporary agrarian policy, which meets the conditions and requirements of developed socialism, is the most important structural component of this strategy. Both chronologically and in terms of its essence, it is based on the resolutions of the March 1965 CPSU Central Committee plenum, at which the party firmly charted a course toward increasing capital investments in agriculture, strengthening the material and technical base and improving planning and economic incentives in agricultural production, its intensification, the strengthening of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the enhancement of their autonomy and improvements in the life of the rural population.

The correct scientific agrarian policy which has been invariably practiced by the party throughout this entire time, the efforts of millions of people and the substantial investments in agriculture ensured the qualitative renovation of its material and technical base, triggered profound changes in the working and living conditions of the Soviet peasantry and enables us successfully to resolve many social problems in the countryside and substantially to increase the production of foodstuffs. The facts and figures which were mentioned at the CPSU Central Committee plenum and the subsequent party committee plenums confirm the unquestionable progress achieved in agricultural production.

These facts and figures provide a convincing answer to our anticommunist and revisionist critics who, as they did decades ago, persist in claiming the existence of "insoluble hardships" and "failures" of agriculture in the Soviet Union.

It is obvious that the food program is far from being taken off the agenda. The specific reasons for population supplies with food products considered unsatisfactory in a number of respects were thoroughly analyzed at the plenum and during the discussions of its results.

The party and the entire Soviet people welcomed with tremendous enthusiasm the efficient large-scale measures adopted at the May plenum aimed at resolving the new major, complex and responsible problems which the contemporary stage in the development of the country has raised in the field of agriculture and the entire agroindustrial sector of our economy.

The characteristics of this stage can be clearly traced within the context of the concept of developed socialism, which represents a level of maturity

reached by the new society during which the reorganization of the sum total of social relations is completed on the basis of its inherent and internal collectivistic principles. The steadily continuing process of socialization of labor is the basis of this reorganization and the transformation of the new system into an organically integral system. Production socialization actually brought about the full and final victory of socialism in our country and subsequently enabled it to enter its stage of maturity.

This stage is distinguished by entirely new and inordinately expanded scale of the national economy and tremendous economic power based on multisectorial industry and large-scale socialist agriculture, high level of scientific development, and availability of skilled cadres of workers, specialists and economic managers. The close interdependence among all economic units and the comprehensive nature of the economy are necessary prerequisites for further economic growth.

The more the level of maturity of the socialist economic system rises and the more its humanistic nature becomes apparent, the more consistently does production progress become oriented toward improving the well-being of the people and creating conditions for the harmonious development of the individual, and the more the pace and quality of this progress become dependent on the successful solution of social problems.

The preparations for and implementation of the Food Program, which was drafted in accordance with the resolutions of the 26th party congress and was adopted at the May plenum, is an essentially new step in our planning system and socialist economic management. The task now is to ensure in the course of the implementation of this program its comprehensive target approach to the solution of the food problem, by connecting and combining the work of agriculture itself with the sectors which service it, such as industry, transportation and trade, and to subordinate all their activities to the common final objective--the production of high-quality foodstuffs and their delivery to the consumer. Furthermore, the task is to make the sharp turn stipulated in the Food Program toward intensive factors of economic growth to the fullest extent and within the shortest possible time.

"The intensification of the economy and the enhancement of its efficiency," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "mean, we translate this formula into the language of practical matters, above all that production results grow faster than production outlays and that we must achieve more while involving relatively lesser amounts of resources in the production process."

Capital investments in agricultural development, covering the entire project, exceeded 300 billion rubles between 1971 and 1980. They exceeded investments in the preceding decade by a factor of 2.3. During the 9th and 10th Five-Year Plans alone productive capital increased by a factor of 2.4 in public farming, 1.9 in energy-generating capacities, 2.9 in increased utilization of electric power and 1.8 in the use of chemical fertilizers. Meanwhile, compared with the 8th Five-Year Plan, the average annual volume of gross output in the 10th Five-Year Plan was 32.3 percent higher. During the 12th Five-Year Plan the country's agroindustrial complex will account for



approximately one-third of the overall volume of capital investments in the entire national economy. The distinguishing feature of the party's agrarian policy in the 1980s is precisely the fact that the center of gravity is shifted to increasing returns on funds invested in agriculture and the sectors servicing it, increased agricultural productivity and intensified and improved relations between agriculture and all other units within the agro-industrial complex.

All of this means further improvements in the level of the actual socialization of labor and production, for increased effectiveness not only "at home" but also "at the neighbor's" is a prerequisite and result of intensification. Disproportions in the development of agriculture and the agroindustrial complex as a whole and the numerous gaps in the widespread network of existing technical, organizational and production-economic relations or, in other words, the inadequate level of production socialization actually lead to unproductive manpower and material outlays and to tremendous losses in output in all of its production, storage and processing stages.

Most serious attention was paid above all to problems of the efficient utilization of the land--the main natural resource--in the course of the discussions of the problems related to the systematic implementation of the party's course of production intensification, which took place in the party organizations. It is a question of mastering rational farming systems consistent with local conditions by all farms without exception, using the most productive crop strains and hybrids and industrial cultivation technologies, and putting at the service of the crops the entire arsenal of contemporary agrotechnical means and methods.

Today kolkhozes and sovkhoses fall short of a great deal of output because of lack of chemical fertilizers and herbicides and their sometimes unskillful application. Another culprit is the inadequate level of comprehensive production mechanization. In 1965 industry produced only 380 different types of machines and tools for agriculture. Today their number has quadrupled. Nevertheless, only slightly more than one-half of the overall quantity of different machines and tools which are part of the machine system for the comprehensive mechanization of agricultural production are produced in series by industry. This lowers the efficiency of the utilization of the machine fleet and violates the integrity and rhythmical nature of the technological process as a result of which the time needed for farming operations is extended, the growth of labor productivity is restrained, yields are lowered and production losses increase.

A considerable share of the newly produced equipment is used to replace the physically broken-down machinery caused by the poor exploitation of tractors, combines and other machines and the low quality of repairs. No more than 13 percent of the new machines went into expanding the fleet of machinery during the 10th Five-Year Plan.

The creation of livestock-breeding complexes is a direct and highly promising result of the processes of production specialization and concentration which are intensifying in the countryside. During the past decade more than 3,000

such complexes have been commissioned. However, elements of what could be described as formal socialization have not been eliminated in their work. Frequently, such complexes, which have the latest modern equipment, find themselves short of the necessary amount of cattle and feeds and of specially trained cadres. It is for such reasons mainly that out of all the complexes in the country as a whole the planned capacity was reached by 61 percent for milk production, 65 percent for cattle raising and 67 percent for hog breeding.

At their plenums the party committees discussed specific measures for the fastest possible elimination of the grave disproportions between the size of the herds and the volume of feed production and between their size and balanced nutrition in terms of proteins and other components. The lack of adequate amounts of feed extends the time for the raising and fattening of the animals and leads to overexpenditures in feed resources. Thus, in intensive cattle feeding, in a 16-18-month period the animal increases its weight by approximately 400 kilograms, whereas with extensive feeding the required amount of time and fodder rises by a factor of 1.5-2. Lack of balanced feeds in terms of protein outlays per unit of animal husbandry output alone increases feed outlays by 40-50 percent for milk and 25-30 percent for meat.

The problem of improving returns on the tremendous funds channeled by the state into land reclamation, which is one of the main factors in agricultural production intensification, is extremely relevant. Reclaimed land, which accounts for 10 percent of the overall arable land and land in crops accounted for one-third of the entire gross farm output during the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan. As a whole, however, reclaimed land is used with insufficient efficiency and the yields of farm crops grown on such land are increasing too slowly. One of the reasons for this situation is the fact that frequently reclaimed systems requiring a lot of finishing operations are put to use.

The most important channel for agricultural losses is the underdeveloped nature of the production infrastructure within the agroindustrial complex. The sole reason for which in some parts of the country 30-40 percent of the grown vegetables must be fed to the cattle, while state purchasing plans remain underfulfilled, is due to the fact alone that the farms are unable to deliver their crops to the procurement organizations. Yet ensuring the proper protection of the grain and vegetables in the course of the harvesting, transportation and processing is the equivalent, as scientists have estimated, to an almost 20 percent addition to the crop.

The country's resources are limited at all times. The food program was adopted in the middle of the current five-year plan. Naturally, all of this hinders the handling of resources and changes in intersectorial ratios immediately with the desired volume and speed as is necessary and desirable. The USSR Council of Ministers and the Gosplan must continue to work on the Food Program by intensifying and concretizing and, in some aspects, improving it, so that, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, we must have the firm and specific knowledge of the extent to which every passing year and additionally invested billion will take us closer to the objective.

This work is most closely related to upgrading the standard of national economic planning. Unfortunately, a large number of unresolved problems remain in this area. We have still not eliminated the practice of planning "on the basis of achievements;" the "gross" approach to drafting sectorial development plans irreconcilably clashes with the program-target planning methods and exceptionally complicates and slows down the implementation of the major and basic changes in the social production structure. Yet the Food Program directs us precisely to these kinds of changes. This raises the question of improving the scientific methods for defining and substantiating national economic priorities. Today the problem of balancing the plan in terms of physical volumes and value and on the sectorial and territorial levels assumes an extremely urgent nature. Its solution will require the fastest possible completion of the development of a norming base for planning, without which it would be difficult in general to achieve a balance and a further increase in production efficiency.

The industrialization of agricultural labor, paralleled by its growing socialization, can not fail to affect and is already quite profoundly affecting the area of rural life, although the extent of this industrialization is still considerably behind urban standards. In terms of many other parameters as well rural life is behind urban standards. It is still considerably behind in terms of cultural, medical and trade services. Road construction must be developed considerably in the future.

Although the availability of housing for the rural population is on an average better than in the cities, no more than 20 percent of the most comfortable state-owned housing in the countryside has all amenities such as running water and plumbing, and heat and gas facilities. Kolkhoz housing has a relatively low level of comfort and amenities in the individual houses are either totally lacking or primitive.

Frequently the architecture and layout of kolkhoz villages, settlements and rayon centers are inexpressive or simply depressing and the quality of rural construction remains low. Such construction, housing above all, must not ignore the specific nature of the way of life of the peasant family, which took ages to develop, and the customs and national characteristics and traditions of the population of one region or another. This is not a question of absolutizing or conserving the past but of the admissibility of blindly duplicating in rural areas the type of urban settlements which are by far not impeccable in many respects. Meanwhile, whereas the individual houses currently built in kolkhozes have mainly one or two stories, high-rise buildings account for a considerable share of state construction. This is largely explained by the use of the production facilities of construction ministries which are concentrated on the production of parts and structures for high-rise urban housing rather than for rural houses with gardens. Obviously, such facilities must be restructured as soon as possible.

The insufficient development of the social infrastructure in the countryside and its somewhat "second-rate" quality compared with the city trigger in the rural working people a natural feeling of social deprivation, intensifying cadre turnover and the migration of the population toward the cities,

precisely from areas in which manpower shortages are particularly acute, there is a scarcity of skilled cadres and the development of stable collectives in the farms is hindered.

Our party's Central Committee and the Soviet government are considering measures related to the social restructuring of the village as a structural component of the food program, as a state-wide and nationwide task. "It is self-evident," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the plenum, "that the more energetically and thoroughly we undertake to deal with housing, cultural and road construction in the countryside the more productive will peasant toil become. For this reason, approximately 160 billion rubles will be channeled into such projects in the 1980s. Even according to our own scale this is a substantial amount. However, it is more than that. It is big politics aimed at eliminating the social disparities between town and country and, therefore, the implementation of our programmatic requirements scientifically substantiated by Marxism-Leninism."

The system of measures aimed at improving the management of the agroindustrial complex and the economic mechanism operating within it, which was adopted at the plenum together with the Food Program, will have far-reaching consequences in terms of the progress of production forces in the socialist society and upgrading the level of maturity of its production and, subsequently, all other social relations. The creation of agroindustrial associations in rayons, oblasts, krays and autonomous republics and of agroindustrial commissions in union republics and the center is a step of essential importance in the further socialization of socialist production in the countryside. This measure is imperatively dictated by life.

The continuity between the decisions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee plenum and the May 1976 CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Further Development of Specialization and Concentration of Agricultural Production on the Basis of Interfarm Cooperation and Agroindustrial Integration" and the resolutions of the July 1978 plenum is unquestionable.

At the beginning of 1981 the number of different interfarm and agroindustrial enterprises and associations in the country totaled 13,600, or an increase by a factor of 1.6 compared with the preceding five-year period. By that time 84 percent of all kolkhozes and more than one-third of the sovkhoses were involved in one form of cooperation or another. The practical experience of interfarm enterprises indicates that, as a rule, their labor productivity and growth rates are higher than in kolkhozes and sovkhoses, while production costs are lower.

It is noteworthy that in a number of parts of the country interfarm cooperation has developed through the concentration of equipment, thus surmounting the consequences of the decentralization of the country's machine-tractor fleet as a result of which the equipment, which was scattered among the individual's farms, was kept idle for months on end or else was worn out from too much work. For the past 7 years, for example, interfarm enterprises for the mechanization and electrification of agricultural production have been successfully operating in Moldavia. Good results in the utilization of the

equipment have been achieved by interfarm mechanization enterprises in Stavropol Kray and other parts of the country. The experience of concentrating the entire machine-tractor fleet of kolkhozes and sovkhoses within the rayon sel'khoztekhnika association, developed in Georgia, proved its usefulness. The processes of agroindustrial enterprises in the course of which the production and processing of agricultural commodities, and their storage and marketing are conducted on a joint basis, have been developed in the countryside.

On a parallel basis with the industrialization and specialization of agricultural production, a broad network of enterprises and organizations involved in supplying kolkhozes and sovkhoses with material resources, equipment repairs and servicing, application of fertilizers, reclamation, construction, transportation, and storage and processing of commodities developed in the countryside.

However, production specialization also presumes cooperation, integration and corresponding comprehensive management. Only in such a case could we speak of a real, a true socialization of labor and production. However, the existing management system has obviously fallen behind the development of production forces, complicating and holding it back, proving to be excessively cumbersome and unorganized. The expanding size of the apparatus neither increased nor could increase the manageability of departmentally uncoordinated production sectors. The unity between sectorial and territorial management principles was disturbed and its decisive rayon level was weakened worst of all.

The trends toward a "barter economy" are becoming clearly apparent in the activities of several dozen enterprises and organizations located on the same territory, who are literally neighbors but under the jurisdiction of different departments. The organizations servicing agriculture use a considerable percentage of the funds they receive for agricultural development for different purposes. They frequently concentrate their main efforts on earning maximal profits at the expense of kolkhozes and sovkhoses. For example, since the construction workers are interested in using the most expensive structures and materials, the cost of building industrial projects in the countryside has increased sharply. Pursuit of "gross output" and assessment of activities not on the basis of end results but on the amount of the funds spent creates no more than the appearance of efficient work. While fulfilling and overfulfilling their plans, the partners of the rural workers have earned high profits even when kolkhoz and sovkhos crops have dropped or milk, meat and other production has declined.

The development of production forces and the increased specialization and concentration of socialist production, the increased complexity of its structure and the intensification of processes of interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration in the countryside have made more topical than ever the persistent Leninist appeal which was made during the first years of building the new way of life of paying "tremendous attention" to "one of the major evils which hinder agricultural construction"--"the lack of coordinated work among various departments in the local areas." "Food--small local

industry--fuel--large-scale national industry and so on," Vladimir Il'ich pointed out in his May 1921 draft "STO (Labor and Defense Council) Order to Local Soviet Institutions," are all areas closely interrelated and the "departmental" division among them needed for purposes of administering the state becomes harmful unless we steadily work on coordination, elimination of friction, red tape, departmental narrow-mindedness and bureaucratism. In the local areas, closer to the masses of workers and peasants, such shortcomings become more clearly apparent and the local areas must develop by exchanging experience means for successful struggle against such shortcomings" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 43, pp 278-279).

Bold attempts at "coordinating, eliminating friction, red tape, departmental narrow-mindedness and bureaucratism" under the conditions of increased production specialization and more complex interrelationship among different subunits within the agroindustrial complex were made in the local areas, bringing about the creation of regional production associations in many oblasts of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Georgia, Latvia and Estonia. Their experience proves that establishment of such associations, above all on the rayon level, as stipulated in the plenum's resolutions, is a correct and promising measure which makes it possible to develop on this level a truly competent and democratic management organ which can fully influence the production process in accordance with kolkhoz and sovkhoz interests. Such an agency is the council of associations which handles centralized material incentive, sociocultural measures, housing construction and production development funds.

The creation of associations will enable us better to coordinate the activities of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and organizations and enterprises servicing agriculture and largely subordinate their efforts to achieving high end results.

The agroindustrial associations offer real opportunities for accelerating the creation of small rural enterprises engaged in processing a variety of agricultural products. Practical experience has proved that expanding the capacities of processing industry sectors with the help of rural manpower and material resources, taking processing facilities closer to raw material sources, and reducing transport outlays, such small factories are in no way synonymous with inefficiency. Technical progress, which parallels production concentration, is not represented exclusively by industrial super-giants, even less so in a specific sector such as agriculture. Unquestionably, the centralization of assets will enable us to develop in the countryside enterprises in the construction materials industry, which are so urgently needed by kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Such associations will not only strengthen the ties between agriculture and industry. Experience indicates that associations help to integrate contemporary science as well within this alliance as an equal and desired partner.

The agroindustrial enterprise can provide real help also in resolving an important problem such as upgrading the participation of private auxiliary plots in the production of agricultural commodities. Methods of extensive cooperation between public farms and private plots in the course of which the

population is given on a contractual basis cattle and fodder and after which the animal husbandry products are purchased from it at government prices, tried in several parts of the country, have proven their usefulness. With such close cooperation, the labor invested in the private auxiliary farm becomes essentially a variety of social labor.

Agroindustrial associations also offer more favorable organizational and economic opportunities for cooperation between kolkhozes and sovkhazes, on the one hand, and industrial enterprises, on the other, in the development of a variety of auxiliary farms, greenhouses, etc. This kind of cooperation is an important reserve for increasing the country's food resources.

The creation of agroindustrial associations does not represent a simple change of labels. It lays new organizational, legal and economic foundations in managing the agroindustrial complex on the scale of a rayon, oblast, kray and autonomous republic. The success of the association will depend to a decisive extent on the extent to which the party committees and the soviet of people's deputies will adopt a responsible approach to the solution of all problems related to the establishment of new management organs, the extent to which their essentially new features and significance will be realized and the firmness with which the practice of petty supervision and of taking over the functions of economic managers, which is still quite widespread, will be abandoned.

It is important to emphasize that the agrarian policy implemented at the developed socialist stage is leading us firmly and systematically toward the further all-round development and improvement of both forms of socialist agriculture--kolkhozes and sovkhazes. The strengthening of their economy and enhancement of their organizational-economic autonomy must remain permanently in the focal point of attention of the party committees and the new management organs. The role of intrakolkhoz democracy must be enhanced further. The democratic system of participation in the management of sovkhaz workers and employees must be improved.

The reorganization of management, planned by the party, is most closely related to improving the style and method of party work. This is understandable, for they are reciprocally complementary and interdependent. The new management organs make it possible for the party raykoms, obkoms and kraykoms to eliminate personnel turnover and the need to deal with practical production problems. Under such circumstances the party committees will be able to play their leading role in economic construction more successfully.

The creation of agroindustrial associations, which are organs of the soviets, substantially expands the scale of activity of the latter and their responsibility for the state of affairs. It is precisely the soviets which must daily direct and control the work of the new management organs.

The double jurisdiction of enterprises and organizations which are part of the association and which service agriculture, will remain. For this reason one must always remember the danger of recurrences of departmentalism. The plenum particularly emphasized the role and significance of the final link

within the new management system--the agroindustrial commission--which is granted extensive rights and which assumes the responsibility for improving population supplies with foodstuffs and coordinating the work of all ministries and departments within the agroindustrial complex.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures to Improve the Economic Mechanism and to Strengthen the Economy of Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes" makes it incumbent upon the central departments to formulate draft laws on the further development of economic relations between agriculture and the other economic sectors with a view to ensuring stable economic conditions for expanded reproduction in kolkhozes and sovkhozes. It indicates the need to increase the material responsibility of enterprises and organizations under the USSR State Sel'khoztekhnika Committee, the USSR Ministries of Reclamation and Water Resources and Procurement, Soyuzsel'khozkhimiya, and other enterprises and organizations in the area of production services in terms of the quality and time for doing the work and providing services, increasing the interest of enterprises and organizations servicing kolkhozes and sovkhozes in achieving high end results in the production of agricultural commodities and the products of their processing, shipping such commodities promptly to the consumers and increasing the economic effectiveness of kolkhoz and sovkhoz output.

It is exceptionally important that in the course of this work no single legal act, regulation or instruction on daily practical relations among partners within the complex be affected by the still-existing viruses of the type of unfortunate departmentalism which has learned well how to depict itself as the defender of national interests whereas in fact it opposes them and is profoundly alien to our entire collectivistic way of life. It should not be allowed, in order to please that same departmentalism, and contrary to the stipulations of the party's Central Committee and Soviet government and the letter and spirit of the resolutions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee plenum, to harm the interests of production collectives working the land. True centralization presumes the broadest possible democracy. It has nothing in common with imaginary centralization, which is bureaucratic and leads to the petty supervision of enterprises.

This must be mentioned, for we remember the first lessons we learned when we began to implement the familiar party and government decisions on joint work to improve the economic mechanism, which is taking place slowly, halfway, clashing against the sluggish power of inertia on the various levels of the administrative apparatus.

For many reasons, by far not all villages enjoy today's stable economic conditions for practicing real cost-effectiveness, although without which agricultural effectiveness is impossible. Many sovkhozes proved to be working at a loss, for which reason prices, profits and credits lose their role of economic levers and fail to stimulate production growth. In this connection, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has deemed necessary the implementation of a number of measures which, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed at the plenum, represent a most important economic-political act in terms of scale and extent of influence on all kolkhozes and sovkhozes without exception.



Raising the purchase prices of cattle, hogs, sheep, milk, grain, sugar beets, potatoes, vegetables and some other products, introducing price markups for goods produced under worse conditions or by losing or underprofitable farms, increasing state aid for the development of the social infrastructure in underprofitable and losing kolkhozes, writing off kolkhoz and sovkhos debts to the bank totaling 9.7 billion rubles and postponing the repayment of debts in excess of 11 billion rubles must all improve the economic situation in the countryside, equalize farming conditions and thus strengthen the collectivistic principles in the life of the Soviet countryside.

It is entirely obvious that this most important action undertaken by the party and the state is closely related to the painstaking and persistent work on further improvements in prices of agricultural commodities and goods which industry supplies to agriculture. We must eliminate violations of the principle of equivalent exchange between the two biggest sectors of the socialist economy and create more favorable conditions for expanded reproduction in kolkhozes and sovkhos. Improving a most important tool of centralized planning such as purchase prices and streamlining rental relations make it possible to develop an equal interest on the part of individual farms and rayons in producing all the goods needed by the state and opening to them considerably greater opportunities for upgrading production efficiency and social progress.

The decisions of the May plenum will help us to eliminate a great deal of what prevents the working person today to be the master of the land to the fullest extent and in the true socialist meaning of the term. Developing in a person the attitude that he is the master of the public property and the features of a true collectivist who is honestly participating in the common work for the good of all members of society would be inconceivable without improvements in distribution relations.

The plenum documents call for improving kolkhoz and sovkhos wages so that every working person can see, can feel the direct, simple and understandable connection between his accomplishments and his earnings. This very five-year plan the brigade and collective contracting and piece rate-bonus systems must be extensively applied in the sectors within the agroindustrial complex. These wage methods, while directing the efforts of the working people precisely on high end results, save on labor, strengthen labor discipline and unite production collectives. The salaries of sovkhos managers, specialists and employees will be increased by an average of 30 percent. This will increase their interest in the results of economic management. The wage level of agricultural workers will be increasingly brought up to that of industrial workers. At the same time, the practice of payment in kind will be expanded. Practical experience has indicated that this increases the interest of kolkhoz members and sovkhos workers in the results of collective labor.

The Food Program, which was adopted at the May CPSU Central Committee plenum, does not promise to the people that one beautiful morning, as though with a magic wand, rivers of milk will start flowing between shores of cream. The Food Program is a scientific plan for long and persistent work. The party is

undertaking its implementation seriously on a long-term basis. The program includes tasks requiring different periods of time--long-term, medium-term and urgent. The implementation of the program must begin immediately, so that this very year it must mandatorily yield its initial results.

The organizational factor is assuming increasing importance in the work of party, soviet and economic organs and their apparatus and all our cadres with every day which has passed since the historical May plenum. The reason for its increased significance is that even the best-planned program could remain on paper only unless followed by practical action, and unless proper control and supervision of execution of adopted decisions have been properly organized. Lenin's call to develop the broadest possible labor initiative, practical-mindedness and efficiency is addressed directly to every party member and Soviet working person.

Communist construction calls for improving the party's leadership of economic education and the development in every Soviet citizen the feeling that he is the master of his country, together with high economic knowledge and a communist attitude toward labor.

"Economic education," states the recently passed CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee decree "On Further Improving the Economic Education and Upbringing of the Working People," "must actively contribute to the development of modern economic thinking, socialist initiative and efficiency, and extensive participation of the working people in production management. It must lead to strengthening discipline and mounting a general offensive aimed at upgrading production efficiency." The decree notes that "serious improvements in economic upbringing and the education of the workers within the agroindustrial complex and the mastering of new economic management methods are tasks of major importance."

Each republic, kray, oblast and rayon, each national economic sector and all labor collectives in town and country must make their maximal contribution to the implementation of the Food Program--the central party and state task for the 11th and 12th Five-Year Plans. This task can be successfully implemented only if each party organization achieves in its work a firm combination of ideological with organizational work and unity of word and action. By disseminating the resolutions of the May plenum the press, radio, television, publishing houses and creative associations must do everything possible so that the Food Program may become the program of millions of people. In his appeal to the Krasnoyarsk Siberians, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "Comrades, this is a nationwide project. No one should stand aside from it. Peasants, workers, engineers, technicians, scientists and students, our entire people, must truly take up the implementation of the Food Program. Only thus shall we be able to resolve the great problems set by the party at the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee plenum."

The solution of these problems will help the Soviet people to achieve a considerable advance toward the building of communism. The reaching of new levels of socioeconomic maturity by Soviet society will mean further progress

in the socialization of socialist labor and production and intensified agro-industrial integration, which is legitimately accompanied by intensified integration processes in the areas of social relations, the industrialization of the work and living conditions of the rural population and the increasingly closer rapprochement between the two forms of socialist ownership and cultural-living conditions in town and country. The solution of these problems will represent a further elimination of social boundaries dividing classes and people engaged in manual and mental labor.

Almost 1.5 centuries ago, in his "Principles of Communism," anticipating the features of the future society, F. Engels wrote: "The same type of people will engage in farming and industrial work instead of letting two different classes do this" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch" [Works] vol 4, p 336). The building of a developed socialist society has shifted this prediction, which became a programmatic party requirement, to the area of a practically soluble problem.

The progress of real socialism and the revolutionary practice of the masses invariable confirm the power of the prediction and historical truth of Marxism-Leninism.

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CSO: 1802/17

L. I. BREZHNEV'S ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ASKED BY THE NEWSPAPER 'PRAVDA'

Moscow KOMMUNIST No 11, Jul 82 pp 15-16

[Text] [Question]: What is your assessment of the circumstances which are developing currently in and around Lebanon?

[Answer]: Disturbing news, which triggers indignation and anger, is coming out of Lebanon every day. Anger toward those who are committing crimes on Lebanese soil. Thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians have died in the hands of the occupation forces and the bloodletting continues. Beirut, the Lebanese capital, is being destroyed. Israel's actions can be qualified only as genocide.

Why is Israel continuing its piratical aggression? Why is it scorning the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council, which call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the forces of the aggressor from Lebanon? Why does it permit itself to ignore world public opinion? The reason for all of this is that behind it stands a country whose name is well-known--the United States.

We in the Soviet Union admire the courage of the Palestinians and of all those who are stubbornly opposing the Israeli military. However complex the Palestinian problem may be, and however great the difficulties the Palestinian people may experience, one thing is clear: The Palestinian problem is not a Gordian knot which can be unraveled with a sword. And the staunchness shown by the Palestinians under such tragic circumstances proves with new emphasis that they are defending the living cause of a living nation and that they cannot be crushed.

The definite conclusion, therefore, is that the Israeli aggression is becoming a major political and moral defeat for Israel and is increasing its isolation in the international arena.

Incidentally, an increasingly large number of people in Israel itself are beginning to realize this. The understanding that the best and the most realistic means for resolving the problem of the Arab people of Palestine, as the Soviet Union has repeatedly stated, is the creation of a Palestinian state, is also gaining broader acceptance throughout the world.

The events in Lebanon are constantly in the center of attention of the Soviet leadership. The position of the Soviet Union is clear: the flames of war must be extinguished, the aggression terminated and the Israeli forces must leave Lebanese territory.

Let me add that our country has given and will give assistance and support to those who do not bow their heads to the aggressor and who strive for a just settlement and peace in that part of the world.

[Question]: In your opinion, what are the initial steps to be taken toward this objective?

[Answer]: It is necessary above all for Israel and the United States to implement the resolution of the United Nations Security Council on stopping the aggression against the sovereign state of Lebanon and the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces.

As to what comes first, what is most urgent, the siege of Beirut must be lifted by the Israeli forces. We would not oppose as a first step to this effect separating the forces which defend West Beirut and the Israeli forces.

The forces of the United Nations could be used to this purpose, the more so since contingents of United Nations temporary forces are already in Lebanon by decision of the Security Council. Naturally, we shall continue categorically to oppose the appearance of American forces on Lebanese soil. We have issued a proper warning to this effect.

Let me further emphasize that the more united the forces which oppose the Israeli military adventure are and the broader the range of countries who demand that the aggression be curbed becomes the faster and more reliably will an end be put to it.

Arab unity assumes a key significance in the current situation which, frankly stated, is grave. It is our most profound conviction that that which prevents such unity should be set aside at this critical point. On this level as well the need for the Arabs to formulate joint measures to ensure the rights of the Palestinians to life, security, independent development and the creation of their own state is becoming increasingly more urgent and obvious.

Finally: the events in Lebanon force us to raise anew the following question: Is it not time to undertake most seriously and with all suitable responsibility the just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle Eastern problem? The sad experience of decades saturated with acts of aggression and military conflicts has proved that the way of armed confrontation or separate deals has neither brought about nor could bring about a settlement of the Middle Eastern problems. They can be settled only as a result of the collective efforts of all the interested parties, including the PLO, as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Looking ahead, it is precisely that direction that we see the value of the suggestion we have formulated on convening an international conference, and the sooner the better. The Soviet Union is ready to make practical efforts in this direction, loyally cooperating with anyone who is willing to make his contribution to the establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East.

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## UNIFIED NATIONAL ECONOMIC COMPLEX OF THE MULTINATIONAL SOVIET STATE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 82 pp 17-31

[Article by N. Tikhonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers]

[Text]

I.

The Soviet people's selfless labor has built a developed socialist society whose economy constitutes a unified national economic complex. It embraces all elements of social production, distribution and exchange on the country's territory and functions on the basis of a complex system of sectorial, inter-sectorial and territorial production ties. Its formation may rightly be numbered among the main economic achievements of the world's first multinational socialist state.

"The unified national economic complex--the material basis of the fraternal friendship of the USSR's peoples," the CPSU Central Committee Decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the USSR" points out, "is developing successfully in the mature socialist society.... The economy of each republic occupies an important place in the social division of labor and is making an increasingly weighty contribution to the country's national wealth." The creation of the single national economic complex is the result of the communist party's Leninist policy. The completion of the process of its formation serves as one of the most important signs of the USSR's entry into the period of mature socialism, when the reorganization of "the sum total of social relations on the collectivist principles inherent in socialism" is gradually being completed.

The assertion of the complete domination of public ownership of the means of production, given the leading role of ownership by the whole people (state), was the decisive precondition for turning the Soviet economy into a unified national economic complex. The Soviet Union is now a mighty industrial power with highly mechanized agriculture. It has a strong production potential capable of resolving the most complex and crucial economic, scientific and technical tasks, maintaining the country's defense capability at the necessary level and ensuring the steady growth of the entire Soviet people's material well-being and cultural standards. Its economy is characterized by the concerted running of the economy on the scale of society as a whole on the basis

of a system of statewide planning embracing all enterprises, sectors and regions of the country and by the assertion of the process of labor activity of relations of collectivism and comradely cooperation combined with socialist enterprise and competition in the struggle for high end results.

The successful functioning of the single national economic complex has a positive effect on the processes of gradually eliminating the major differences between mental and physical labor and between town and country for strengthening our society's social homogeneity, improving the socialist way of life and developing the Soviet people as a new historical community of people free of all forms of national oppression and developing spiritually on the basis of the mutual enrichment of national cultures.

The resolution of the nationalities question played a tremendous role in turning the Soviet national economy into a unified complex. The political, economic and cultural ties of our country's nations and ethnic groups have their origins deep in past centuries. Not only the reunification of the fraternal Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian peoples in a single state but also the incorporation of many ethnic groups in the Russian centralized state was of profoundly progressive historical significance, for it signified the rallying of the working people of all of Russia's nationalities in the struggle against exploiter classes and against the colonialist policy of czarism and led to the deepening of economic and cultural ties.

At the end of the 19th century the national liberation movement of the outlying peoples became a very important ally of the Russian working class in the revolutionary struggle against autocracy and the bourgeois landowner system. The leading and directing force of the workers movement--the Bolshevik Party created by V. I. Lenin--proclaimed as its aim the full liberation of all of Russia's peoples from social and national oppression and advocated granting them the right to self-determination, even including secession and the formation of an independent state.

Consistently implementing the principle of proletarian internationalism, the party envisaged not only the possibility but also the desirability of preserving state unity after the victory of the socialist revolution on a voluntary basis and with the establishment of the peoples' full equality of rights.

The Great October Revolution opened the way to the total elimination of national oppression and inequality in all its forms. The "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia" signed by Lenin was published only 1 week after the revolution. The world's first worker-peasant state took on the task of realizing what K. Marx and F. Engels foresaw: "Hostile relations among nations will fall away as will antagonism among classes within nations" (K. Marx and F. Engels: "Soch." [Works], vol 4, p 445).

The resolution of this task of worldwide historic significance in a country of giant proportions, inhabited by more than 100 nations and ethnic groups, was complicated by the fact that at the time of the October Revolution the peoples of Russia had reached very different stages of historical development--ranging from a communal system to capitalism. Therefore, many peoples of

czarist Russia, particularly in Central Asia, the Northern Caucasus, the Volga Region and the Extreme North, had no, or virtually no working class of their own and in the majority of cases still had a patriarchal-tribal way of life and a backward economy. More than 40 of the country's ethnic groups did not even have a written language.

The mixed economy in the transitional period and the tremendous disparities in the economic development of individual regions at that time were a substantial obstacle to the actual socialization of production and the formation of a unified national economic complex. Thus, at the beginning of the 1st Five-Year Plan more than 75 percent of the entire volume of industrial production was concentrated in four regions: the Center, the Northwest, the Ukraine and the Transcaucasus, while little more than 5 percent of all industrial output was being produced in Siberia, the Far East, Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

A whole series of natural, climatic and demographic factors played a restraining role on nationwide close labor collaboration. Approximately 56 percent of USSR territory is in the northern, cold, nonagricultural zone, where there is essentially no arable land and the economy has very specific features. The deserts of Central Asia and Kazakhstan occupy approximately 15 percent of the country's territory. Adding to this the fact that the Soviet Union is a huge country occupying one-sixth of the globe, where distances and natural conditions complicate transportation and communication problems in the extreme, makes the difficulties that the Soviet economy encountered on the way to economic and social integrity understandable.

The wise economic, social and nationalities policy of the CPSU, whose fundamental points were formulated by the great Lenin, made it possible to resolve the exceptionally complex problem of turning the USSR national economy into a unified complex in a historically short time.

To build socialism Lenin substantiated the need for a voluntary alliance of nations pooling their efforts for the sake of the accelerated development of production, the establishment of new economic relations, the people's cultural upsurge and the joint defense of the new system.

Several republics were founded on our country's territory as a result of the socialist revolution's victory. The joint struggle for Soviet power and against foreign intervention and internal counterrevolution which unleashed the civil war strengthened their alliance. The collapse of the intervention and the final victory of the Soviet system in the civil war in the Ukraine, Belorussia and the Transcaucasus confronted the working people of the republics which came into being there with the question of creating a single union state with the Russian Federation. "We want," Lenin wrote at the time, "a voluntary alliance of the nations.... An alliance founded on the fullest trust, on clear awareness of fraternal unity and on quite voluntary agreement" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 40, p 43).

In substantiating the need for the Soviet republics' voluntary unification into a federated multinational state, Lenin proceeded from the premise that without this it was impossible to uphold their independence in the face of



world imperialism. Without close economic cooperation it was impossible to restore the production forces destroyed by the wars, create a unified socialist economy regulated according to an overall plan or ensure rational social division of labor, the efficient utilization of natural resources, the steady increase of the working people's well-being, the flowering of the culture of all nations and ethnic groups and equalization of their levels of economic and social development.

The founding of the USSR on 30 December 1922 was the living embodiment of Lenin's nationalities policy and the necessary precondition for implementing a unified economic policy throughout the country's territory, deepening the territorial division of labor and comprehensively developing the economy of each union and autonomous republic and region.

Lenin indicated the ways to turn the once economically backward Russia, devastated by long wars, into an advanced industrial power. These Leninist ideas were embodied in the famous GOELRO Plan, in accordance with which a network of regional power stations was constructed as a base for restoring and developing production forces at an accelerated pace by using the progressive achievements of science and technology. The realization of the GOELRO prewar five-year plan programs made it possible to create within a very short historical time the material and technical base of socialism and lay a strong foundation for the country's defense capability.

Lenin's principle of democratic centralism became the foundation of the planned management of the Soviet economy as an integrated system. He emphasized that large-scale mechanized industry gave rise to the need for centralized management, unity in the production process and the strictest labor discipline.

The centralized management of the socialist economy is effected above all with the help of a unified system of plans. "All the plans of individual production sectors," Lenin pointed out, "must be strictly coordinated and linked and must together comprise the unified economic plan that we need so badly" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 42, p 154). Only thus is it possible to ensure that sectorial and territorial proportions are maintained and changed in good time, to implement major scientific and technical programs and to concentrate resources on resolving key economic and social problems.

However, democratic centralism conflicts with bureaucratic centralism and relies on the broad independence and responsibility of individual production units and of the entire social system and on the initiative of the working mass. "There is nothing more erroneous," Lenin wrote, "than to confuse democratic centralism with bureaucratism and stereotype.... Centralism, understood in the truly democratic sense, presupposes for the first time in history the possibility of full, unimpeded development not only of particular local features but also of local innovation, local initiative and a diversity of ways, methods and means of advancing toward the common goal" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 152).

The Leninist principle of democratic centralism became the basis for creating a planned economic mechanism as a form of managing economic development characteristic of socialism and making it possible to realize in full the advantages of the new social system.

The formation of the USSR economy as a unified whole was an important factor in and, at the same time, the result of resolving the tasks of worldwide historical significance of industrializing the country, switching agriculture to the track of large-scale social production, carrying out a cultural revolution, training millions of skilled workers and creating a mighty defense potential. Thanks to this, our motherland was able to withstand a severe trial during the Great Patriotic War, rout mankind's worst enemy--fascism--restore the economy in an unprecedentedly short time and scale new heights in economic development.

The unification of the country's entire economy into a single complex is a new phase of the socialization of labor and production at the stage of mature socialism. It stems objectively from the very essence of the socialist system and is a necessary condition for realizing its advantages. The unity of the Soviet economy as an integral organism is conditioned by various aspects of our societal life.

The high level of development of production forces, social labor division and collaboration and the assimilation of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in all spheres of social production are the material bases of this complex. Only on the basis of the organic unity and close interaction among all social production units is it possible to ensure a high, stable pace in its development and increased efficiency and steady growth in the technical standard and quality of output and to create reliable prerequisites for enhancing the people's well-being.

Socialist ownership, planned economic management, which links the individual units within the system of the social division of labor and accelerates the growth of production forces, and the conscious use in the interests of all of society of the system of economic laws operating under socialist conditions serve as the socioeconomic basis for the unified national economic complex. The integrity of the socialist economy is attained through the unified system of plans and the unity of economic, financial, credit, income and price policy.

The national economic complex' sociopolitical foundation is the unity of interests of all classes and strata of our society, of all its nations and ethnic groups led by the communist party which, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, directs the country's economic and social development and mobilizes the masses' energy for the building of communism.

## II.

Assistance to outlying national districts has been the consistent course of the socialist state's all-union economic policy. In this connection in particular the budget expenses of a number of union republics were for a certain period covered mainly through subsidies from the general state budget. In 1924-1925,

for instance, the proportion of the Turkmen SSR's own income in its budget was slightly over 10 percent, while even the Ukrainian SSR met less than 40 percent of its budget expenditure from its own funds.

The Russian people made an inestimable contribution to overcoming the backwardness of former outlying national districts. Disregarding difficulties and deprivations, they rendered selfless assistance to the country's other peoples.

Fraternal assistance to the economically and culturally underdeveloped nations and ethnic groups enabled them to come to socialism bypassing the capitalist stage, and determined the preferential growth rates of the economies of formerly backward outlying districts. In the 60 years since the founding of the USSR, the volume of overall industrial output for the country at large has increased almost 540 times over; over the same period it has increased by more than 700 in Belorussia and Kirgizia, more than 900 in Kazakhstan and Moldavia and more than 1,000 in Armenia. The concept of "outlying district" is now used only in the geographical sense: In the social and economic senses it no longer exists as applied to our country.

Thanks to the CPSU's Leninist policy the nationalities question in the USSR has been resolved once and for all.

The communist party, creatively developing Lenin's immortal ideological legacy, is tirelessly concerned with building up the material and spiritual potential of each republic and ensuring its maximal use for the progress of all society.

The country's economic unity, inherent in socialism, is ensured by the further improvement of economic relationships among union republics. Each of them specializes, on a planned basis, in the development of sectors and production facilities which are most effective for it and which agree with its natural and economic conditions.

The RSFSR ranks first in the country for the extraction of oil (including gas condensate), gas and coal and the production of metal-cutting tools, motor vehicles, tractors, chemical equipment, cement textiles, refrigerators, television sets, furniture and many other commodities.

The Ukraine provides a considerable share of the all-union output of pig iron, steel and coal and ranks first in the extraction of iron ore and the production of granulated sugar. The republic produces many tractors, agricultural machines, chemical fertilizers and other types of industrial commodities.

Belorussia accounts for over half the potassium fertilizers and ranks first in the production of silage and fodder combine harvesters. Every sixth Soviet tractor, every fifth motorcycle and every seventh metal-cutting machine tool is produced by Belorussian enterprises.

The entire production of cotton harvesting machines and the bulk of cotton ginning equipment and cotton staple and raw silk is concentrated in Uzbekistan.

Georgia's industry produces one-third of all mainline electric locomotives, and extracts and processes a considerable proportion of manganese ore; Azerbaijan accounts for the entire production of deep-well pumps and domestic air conditioners.

Every third mainline passenger coach, every fourth radio receiver, every sixth bus and washing machine produced in the country bear the trademarks of Latvian plants. Latvia was the first to master the production of Soviet diesel trains, transistors, minibuses, and noise-free streetcars. The Estonian SSR is the country's main base for the extraction of shale oil.

The Ukraine provides the other republics and exports 41 percent of the rolled ferrous metal it produces, 13 percent of its coal and 12 percent of its cement; the RSFSR exports 19 percent of its rolled ferrous metal and 24 percent of its lumber; Kazakhstan exports 48 percent of its coal and 65 percent of its rolled ferrous metals, while Lithuania exports about half the cement produced there.

The following facts attest to the diversity and intensiveness of the development of production and economic ties in the USSR's national economy. The Moldavian SSR alone receives from the fraternal union republics goods from approximately 93 sectors and ships out the output of 72 sectors. Kazakhstan's material production uses the output of over 96 sectors in other republics. At the same time, the Kazakh SSR takes part in the work of 74 sectors in the fraternal republics. "The face of present-day Kazakhstan," says the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers greeting to the working people of the Kazakh SSR in connection with the 250th anniversary of Kazakhstan's voluntary affiliation to Russia and the award of the Order of Lenin to the republic, "is determined by powerful fuel and energy complexes, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, machine building and chemical industry, and light and food industry. The heroic virgin land epic was a great achievement of the socialist era, a vivid manifestation of the peoples' fraternal cooperation and friendship."

Experience in economic building in our country is a convincing testimony to the correctness of Lenin's ideas about the advantages provided by a large-scale centralized national economy as compared to a splintered one. The integration of the economic potentials and resources of all the republics accelerates the development of each separate one--whether large or small. Public, primarily national ownership of productive capital and centralized planning have made it possible to approach the placement of production forces rationally, have ensured freedom of economic maneuver, and have made it possible to intensify the socialist division of labor and specialization and coproduction among republics.

The high level of centralization and the concentration of all main sources in the hands of the state create objective prerequisites for the dynamic forward development of the national economic complex. This is helped considerably by the unified economic mechanism ensuring the unity of aim and will in economic practice and a unified scientific and technical policy. The measures to develop the country's unified power grid, to enhance the efficiency and reliability of the unified nationwide gas supply system and to improve the

coordination of the work of all types of transport with the national economy's other sectors are directed toward this goal. The expansion of production contacts among the nations enhances the process of rapprochement among the Soviet Union's national and ethnic groups.

The formation of the USSR national economy as a unified complex spans a long period and, although it was basically completed with the building of mature socialism, the intensification of its organic integrity is continuing and will be continued. This process in the economic sphere is inseparable from the Soviet people's social, political and cultural development as a new historical community.

A uniform socioclass population structure has now formed in all the country's republics and regions. All the union republics have reached an approximately equal level in the development of production forces, living conditions, social structure, and public education and culture.

The intensification of the organic integrity of the socialist society means the growth of its social homogeneity. In connection with the rapprochement among classes, social groups and strata in the social relations system, a rapprochement among their interests and the growth of the unity of all Soviet society is gradually taking place. This unity is embodied in the political stability and indestructible alliance of all classes and social groups, led by the working class.

Thanks to the successes of the industrialization policy, the ranks of the working class, which before the revolution was numerically weak in the outlying districts, had increased substantially by the end of the 1930s in all USSR republics without exception. While in 1913 the working class constituted one-sixth of the population, in 1939 it was one-third. However, in Central Asia, where before the revolution there were just 60,000 industrial workers, the working class' share in the population in 1939 was far lower than the country's average: only 13 percent in Tajikistan and 20 percent in Uzbekistan. The indicators for the Transcaucasian republics were somewhat higher, but they also lagged behind the average union levels.

In subsequent years the equalization process continued. A particularly substantial step forward was taken by the Georgian, Azerbaijan, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Kirghiz, Tajik and Armenian SSRs. A similar process was under way in the western oblasts of Kazakhstan and Belorussia. In terms of the working class' share of their population, the Kazakh, Armenian and Estonian SSRs outstrip the all-union level. Even in Latvia, which had a comparatively developed industry before the revolution, the share of the working class among the population increased under the Soviet system as a result of the accelerated development of industry. As a whole, the share of the working class in all republics is steadily growing.

Simultaneously with the growth in the ranks of the working class, the process of an absolute and relative increase in the size of the socialist intelligentsia has been taking place, particularly in the stratum of specialists with higher and secondary education.

In the 1960s there was an increase in the absolute number of employees and in their share in the country's population (from 18.1 percent in 1959 to 22.1 percent in 1970); equalization was taking place among the union republics with regard to this indicator. The rapid growth in the national intelligentsia in those republics that had previously lagged in that respect had a considerable influence on this. In the 1970s this process intensified further thanks to the further equalization of regions and republics in terms of the level of economic and cultural development. The implementation of universal secondary education was an important factor in the consistent equalization of the republics and nations as regards the proportion of specialists in the total size of the population.

The development of the country's national economy as a unified complex leads to the broadening and strengthening of ties among regions, republics and oblasts, not only in terms of procurements and trade but also with regard to the movement of cadres. The rapprochement among all republics in terms of living conditions in turn contributes to the growth of migration flows. Young people travel from one end of our vast country to the other on assignment after graduating from technical colleges and VUZs and on Komsomol warrants and remain there in permanent residence. Improvement in communications, particularly radio and television, helps to broaden cultural exchange and helps every citizen to feel involved in events taking place in any corner of the motherland. These are some of the causes leading to the growth in the multinational nature of the makeup of the population in all union and autonomous republics. Taking this into account, the 26th CPSU Congress drew attention to the need for appropriate representation of all the national and ethnic groups in their party and state organs and throughout the system of management on the territory of a particular republic.

The mastering of Russian as a language of international communication is among the problems which played an important role in the past but which have assumed new importance at the present stage of development of the economy and culture, under the conditions of a unified national economic complex.

The use of a language of international communication is spreading in the USSR along with the flowering of national languages and national cultures, enriching the language and culture of every Soviet national and ethnic group. This process is entirely voluntary. The broad masses' voluntary study of Russian together with their native tongue contributes to the exchange of experience and helps every national and ethnic group to acquaint itself with the cultural achievements of all the Soviet Union's peoples and with world culture. The CPSU has always proceeded and proceeds now from Lenin's formulation of the question: "We ... advocate that every inhabitant of Russia should have the opportunity to learn the great Russian language. The one thing we do not want is the element of compulsion" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 24, p 295).

Between 1970 and 1979, despite a certain reduction in the percentage of Russians in the country's population (from 53.4 to 52.4 percent), the percentage of persons of non-Russian nationality fluent in Russian (as a native or second tongue) increased steadily. According to the all-union USSR population

census in 1979, 82 percent of the country's entire population was fluent in Russian, with 62 percent of the non-Russian population fluent, as against corresponding figures of 76 and 49 percent in 1970.

It should, of course, be taken into consideration that a considerably larger number of members of indigenous nationalities in the republics understand Russian and have sufficient command of it to read a newspaper, understand the contents of radio and television programs, discourse on everyday subjects, and so forth, than is stated in the census sheets. Taking further into account the close kinship among the Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian languages (which determines the possibility of communicating even without a special study of the language of the other two), it is possible to conclude that at the start of the 1980s 9 out of 10 citizens of the USSR have a command of Russian which is, on the whole, adequate for free international communication. This factor plays a very important role not only in the reciprocal cultural enrichment of our country's peoples but in all spheres of life, including economics.

### III.

Socialism's increasing degree of maturity in all areas demands the concentration of effort on resolving the major economic and social tasks set by the 26th party congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums for the 11th Five-Year Plan and the period through 1990 also bearing in mind the country's development prospects through the end of the 20th century.

In the current decade we must largely change the shape of the country's national economic complex: ensuring progressive structural changes on the basis of the preferential development of sectors embodying the latest achievements of science and technology and determining an increase in social labor productivity growth rates; retooling of existing production facilities and sectors in the nonproduction sphere and replacing obsolete labor tools with new, more efficient ones on a mass scale; on this basis qualitatively improving work conditions and sharply reducing the share of heavy, manual and monotonous labor; updating output and raising it to contemporary world and increased population standards.

Special demands are made on further raising the efficiency of the national economic complex. It is necessary to resolve the general strategic task advanced by the 26th CPSU Congress of completing the national economy's transfer to a primarily intensive path of development, organically combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system. "The intensification of the economy and the raising of its efficiency," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the congress, "is a formula which transposed into the language of practical deeds, means above all that production will grow more quickly than its costs and that it will be possible to achieve more with relatively fewer resources. Planning and scientific, technical and structural policy must be subordinated to resolving this task. Management methods and policy in administration must also work for efficiency."

More attention should also be paid to large-scale work on production forces more efficiently, further moving many public production sectors to the east, comprehensively opening up the eastern regions' tremendous natural resources and creating in them modern, highly mechanized production facilities and a production and social infrastructure.

A graphic example of such an eastward move in the territorial and sectorial structure of the unified national economic complex is the consistent implementation of the impressive program for opening up Siberia's resources. The world's largest oil and gas extraction complex has been created in Siberia's immense expanses. In 1981 334 million tons of oil (including gas condensate) and 192 billion cubic meters of natural gas were extracted there, that is, one-half of the country's oil and one-third of the natural gas.

Under the Soviet system industrial centers have grown up in Siberia with developed machine building, chemical production facilities and light and food industry. The largest of them is Novosibirsk with 1,357,000 inhabitants. More than 1 million people live in Omsk, and 833,000 in Krasnoyarsk.

The industrial potential in the eastern part of Siberia is tremendous, too. The country's largest hydroelectric power plants have been constructed on the Angara and the Yenisey. Under the Soviet system the city of Norilsk has come into being beyond the Arctic Circle, with a mining and metallurgical combine, which is the country's major producer of nickel and copper.

The intellectual potential of Siberia, which scientists have called the laboratory of 20th century problems, is great and varied. Tens of thousands of scientists and specialists are now working in the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences and in its branches. They include many scientists of world reknown and creators of scientific schools. The elaboration of the long-term program "The Comprehensive Development of Siberia's Natural Resources" was completed in 1978. It is starting to be implemented already in the 11th Five-Year Plan. The program embraces key problems of the rational utilization of mineral, raw material, land, forest and water resources and the comprehensive development of entire economic regions. Siberia's mineral wealth, forests, water and land make it possible to create first-class energy- and water-intensive enterprises, the efficiency of which surpasses those in the European part of the USSR and to combine them in industrial centers and territorial production complexes.

Even now Siberia accounts for the entire increase in the extraction of oil (including gas condensate) and gas and a considerable amount of coal. The share of the extracting sectors of industry here is greater by a factor of almost 2.5 than in the country at large. In 1981 Siberia surpassed the European part of the Soviet Union and the Urals combined in terms of the volume of fuel extracted (in ideal fuel equivalent).

In Siberia the coal industry is being developed at an accelerated pace. In the Kansk-Achinsk field the country's 10 largest thermal power stations will be built, each with a capacity of 6.4 million kilowatts. This will be the world's largest energy complex. Electricity will be supplied to the Urals and the center of the country along 1,500-kilovolt DC power cables.



The Baykal-Amur Mainline (BAM) will play a tremendous role in opening up Siberia and the Far East. An area of 2 million square kilometers will be brought into economic circulation in the BAM Zone. Here a petrochemical industry, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, coal and timber-processing industries, mineral fertilizer production and much else will be developed.

Surmounting considerable difficulties, the BAM construction workers overfulfilled the 10th Five-Year Plan targets, laid hundreds of kilometers of track and built new cities and settlements and dozens of production projects. A good base has already been created to resolve the next task--to open through traffic along the whole length of the Baykal-Amur Mainline.

The development of Siberia is of vital interest to all the peoples of our multinational country. Emissaries from all the republics are working side by side there. Workers and specialists of 80 nationalities are constructing the BAM, for example.

The development of Siberia's production forces and the resolution of the nationalities question in that region are just one of the chapters in the chronicle of the Soviet people's great achievements. Equally exciting chapters are being written by our people's labor in the Transcaucasian and Baltic republics, the Ukraine, the Russian Nonchernozem Zone and throughout the country. Everyone knows of the impressive socioeconomic changes which have taken place in the Central Asian republics. There, where before the October Revolution the farmer knew only exhausting manual labor, now the power available per 100 hectares of arable land is twice the average union level. The Kazakh SSR today is an all-union granary.

The implementation of the Food Program approved by the CPSU Central Committee May plenum will be a most important stage in the further development of the single national economic complex and in improving its efficiency. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the plenum, "The preparation and implementation of this program is a fundamentally new step in the system of our planning, in the management of the socialist economy. The program embodies a targeted, comprehensive approach to resolving the food problem."

It can be stated without exaggeration that the USSR Food Program for the period through 1990 expresses in a concentrated form the special features of the functioning of the single national economic complex. How is this manifested?

First, in ensuring the balanced and concerted development of all sectors connected with the agroindustrial complex--agriculture, the food industry, rural construction, agricultural machine building, chemical fertilizer production, agricultural equipment enterprises, the agrochemical service, land reclamation and organizations employed in procuring, storing, transporting and processing agricultural produce and trading in food. All links of the complex have been issued clear, specific targets, proceeding from the common ultimate goal--the production of high-quality foodstuffs and their delivery to the consumer's table. On this basis it is planned to increase per capita consumption over the decade as follows: meat and meat products by 20 percent,

vegetable oil 50 percent, vegetables and melon crops 30-40 percent, and fruit and soft fruits 70-80 percent. The structure of Soviet people's diet will be qualitatively improved and brought closer to scientifically based norms.

Second, the program is aimed at improving the work efficiency of all sectors of the agroindustrial complex and making the decisive transition to a primarily intensive type of reproduction. This presupposes a considerable increase in crop yields and livestock productivity on the basis of utilizing the latest achievements of modern science, creating and mastering the use of highly efficient machine systems and complex fertilizers and herbicides and accelerating labor productivity growth rates in kolkhozes and sovkhozes. More attention will be devoted to making efficient use of land and fixed capital, economizing on production resources and reducing production costs and overhead. All-round intensification of production on the basis of the planned utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution is a key factor in raising farm productivity and fulfilling the Food Program.

Third, in addition to increased production, the Food Program provides for a wide range of social questions to be resolved: the social restructuring of the countryside, the expansion of housing and sociocultural construction, the raising of wage levels for a number of categories of workers and the retaining of cadres. The implementation of these measures will help to improve working and living conditions in rural localities.

Fourth, the system of measures provided for in the program is reinforced by the allocation of large resources to this effect. Capital investments in the development of the agroindustrial complex in the 12th Five-Year Plan will amount to approximately one-third of the sum total of capital investments in the national economy. Approximately 160 billion rubles will be invested in more than all capital investments in the national economy in 1980. More than 30 billion additionally is being allocated in 1983 to raising purchase prices, writing off debts under bank loans and other measures to strengthen the economy of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, to settle cadres in the countryside and to stimulate agricultural production. These are vast amounts, which must be utilized most efficiently, so that every billion invested by the state will yield substantial returns in increased production of high-quality food products and improved living conditions for all Soviet people.

Fifth, the methods of planning and management and the economic management mechanism are being improved. A system is being created for planning and managing the agroindustrial complex as a single entity--from agroindustrial associations in rayons, oblasts, krays and ASSRs to agroindustrial commissions in union republics and on the national level. The financial autonomy of kolkhozes and sovkhozes is being strengthened. The raising of purchase prices creates favorable conditions for overcoming the losses incurred by a number of sovkhozes and kolkhozes in livestock output and crops, for managing the economy profitably and enhancing the role of economic levers.

The Food Program is an example of a truly Leninist approach to the solution of radical questions of economic and social development and the full use of the

potential and advantages of the socialist economic system. The party and government view its fulfillment as the central economic and political task for the current decade.

The solution of large-scale strategic problems connected with improving the structure and increasing the efficiency of the single national economic complex is based on the system of measures to improve planned management, ameliorate planning and step up the economic mechanism's impact on improving production efficiency and work quality. These measures are based on the further development of Lenin's principle of democratic centralism. "We must simultaneously strengthen both basic principles of democratic centralism," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has emphasized. "On the one hand, we must develop centralism, thus erecting an obstacle to departmental and parochial trends. On the other, we must develop democratic principles and local initiative, relieve the top parochial leadership of petty matters and ensure efficiency and flexibility in decision making."

The strengthening of the centralized principle in managing the economy is expressed in an improved standard of planning work and in the role of the five-year plan as the main instrument for implementing the party's economic, scientific and technical and social policy. The unity of the socialist economy is damaged by the exaggeration of sectorial or local interests and by setting them against nationwide interests. Departmental barriers prevent the mastery of the most promising scientific discoveries and inventions of an intersectorial nature, the development of specialization and coproduction, and the comprehensive development of mineral deposits.

The multiplicity of construction projects initiated by ministries, departments and local organs unprovided with resources has held up the commissioning of projects of national economic importance and led to increased volumes of uncompleted construction and excessive extension of deadlines for installing and modernizing a number of enterprises. The party is taking steps to eliminate these unhealthy phenomena and to consolidate plan discipline.

"Centralized planning," the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR stresses, "combined with the broad initiative of union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts and okrugs, makes it possible to ensure the balanced and effective development of the Soviet economy. Resolving all economic and social tasks primarily from national positions and combatting any manifestations of parochial and departmental tendencies are the abiding requirement of a truly party-minded, internationalist approach to the matter." The measures for expanding the horizon of planning and enhancing the role of long-term plans direct us toward just such an approach. Only on their basis can strategic problems such as the food and energy problems and the tasks of creating a wide range of industrial robots assuring the comprehensive automation of production and the production of fundamentally new consumer goods be successfully resolved. This goal is also served by the transition to plan and evaluation indicators relating to the work of enterprises, associations and ministries which orient them toward attaining good final national economic results.

The improvement of accounting work and the regulation of the system of norms and standards promotes the improvement of specialization and the consolidation of coproduction ties. The role of the USSR Gosplan as the headquarters for the management of the Soviet economy is enhanced. It has been relieved of the need to resolve a number of minor day-to-day problems in order to concentrate on key problems of the growth and intensification of the economy and the enhancement of production efficiency.

The role of economic science is crucial in implementing urgent tasks of the development of the single national economic complex. Our country has many highly qualified economists in all republics. It is their duty to take the most active part in the analysis and summation of the experience in implementing various measures to improve management methods, material incentives and economic indicators for assessing the economic activity of enterprises and associations. Practical experience and theoretical research make it possible to pose the question of converting to a qualitatively new state in the implementation of the communist party's strategic line of improving and developing methods of managing socialist production--the elaboration of a program for the comprehensive improvement of the entire management mechanism. This program would make it possible to unite into a single entity measures for improving the organizational structure of management at all levels of the national economy, including the legal bases of management, and for further developing the methods and mechanism of planning, improving the system of economic levers and incentives for enhancing social production efficiency and intensifying it on the basis of scientific and technical progress, for elaborating and introducing a set of automated systems in all management units, for making extensive use of mathematicoeconomic methods and modern computer equipment in planning and management and for developing forms and methods of working people's participation in management, summing up the rich multinational experience in this field.

The development of democratic principles in the management of the single national economic complex will enhance the initiative and responsibility of sectorial and territorial organs, labor collectives and individual workers for the success of the common cause and for attaining the best end results. The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers 19 March 1981 resolution "On the Further Enhancement of the Soviets' Role in Economic Building" extended the rights of the local power organs in elaborating and implementing comprehensive plans for the regions' economic and social development, particularly in resolving social questions, using manpower resources, producing consumer goods and services, and planning land use and environmental protection.

Measures are being implemented to ensure the rational combination of sectorial with territorial planning and better coordination of ministries' work with union republic planning and economic organs. The general plan for the distribution of production forces, in conjunction with sectorial and territorial plans for production development and distribution, which are being drawn up to cover a 15-year period, provides a sound scientific basis for expanding the framework of the territorial division of labor, comprehensively exploiting

the new regions' riches and systematically and most effectively establishing territorial production complex as "integration centers" in the common area of the single national economy.

The key task of increasing the Soviet people's social and labor activeness--the basis of socialist democracy in the economic sphere--is being tackled. The USSR Constitution enshrines in law labor collectives' participation in the discussion and resolution of state and public affairs, production planning and social development, the training and placement of cadres, and the discussion and solution of problems relating to the administration of enterprises, improvement of living and working conditions, and the use of incentive to increase production efficiency and tap internal reserves. It also makes them more accountable for the state of affairs in production.

The widespread adoption of the brigade method of organizing and motivating the workforce is a promising trend in the development of socialist democracy in the economic sphere. The product of the masses' initiative, it has rapidly started to gain ardent supporters in every production collective. In addressing the 17th Trade Union Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed that because they increase production efficiency, such brigades are entirely consistent with the party's economic policy at the contemporary stage. "Integrated brigades working on a joint contract," he said, "achieve considerable savings of time, manpower and material resources. Discipline is tighter, earnings are higher and young workers learn their trade more rapidly in them. Labor productivity is, of course, also higher in them.... A well-organized and efficiently and, as I would say, intelligently operating brigade is a veritable school for developing workers' administrative skills and is an experimental laboratory for any kind of creative initiative."

The mass creation of brigades places greater demands on production management and on the provision of the requisite conditions for ensuring a smooth-running operation, a guaranteed continuous supply of materials and complementing items and a better-organized workforce. Brigades are becoming a key component of the entire imposing edifice of the single national economic complex and in the restructuring of the economic machinery to fit in with the demands of a predominantly intensive type of reproduction.

The reserves inherent in the economy's gradual transition to intensive development are still not being fully exploited. It was pointed out at the CPSU Central Committee November (1981) plenum that the style of economic activity and economic thinking, planning methods and the management system are still not being reorganized with sufficient vigor. The party has set the task of fully exploiting the advantages of the socialist economy and persistently and consistently improving the economic machinery and the management system.

Each of our five-year plans has been a practical embodiment of the Leninist policy of peoples' friendship. The land of the soviets will scale qualitatively new heights in the 11th Five-Year Plan period. Every republic and every people, large and small, in our multinational motherland is selflessly

working to fulfill the historic 26th CPSU Congress decisions. This will enable us to still further consolidate the single USSR national economy complex--the economic foundation of the Soviet peoples' indestructible friendship.

The creation and development of a unified national economic complex in the Soviet Union is of enormous international significance. It is a basis for further deepening the socialist economic integration of the CEMA members' national economies and for giving comprehensive economic aid to young and developing states and organizing mutually advantageous business cooperation with a number of capitalist states which prefer to expand trade rather than engage in an arms race and heighten the threat of a nuclear war. The Soviet experience of creating a single national economic complex will serve as a model for countries embarking on the path of creating a unified national economy on the basis of the cohesion and unity of peoples who have taken socialism as their ideal.

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ON THE FIRM GROUND OF SOCIOECONOMIC POLICY: ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE SHAPING OF THE NEW MAN UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM

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[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. Pechenev]

[Text] The questions to be discussed lie where the party's social policy and ideological education work meet. Posed in profound and active terms by the 26th CPSU Congress, they are currently generating lively interest and creative discussions in the broadest circles of communist and nonparty people, scientific workers and propagandists. And it is important, of course, that these discussions which are inevitable when major new ideas and propositions are advanced, should invariably take place within the context of the clear guidelines provided in the CPSU Central Committee report delivered by L. I. Brezhnev on the 26th party congress, and primarily in the section devoted to analyzing topical problems of the sociopolitical and spiritual development of Soviet society. For it was precisely in close conjunction with the solution of these problems that the congress formulated the most important tasks in the field of shaping the new man.

I would first like to express a consideration of a general methodological kind. It is that when examining problems on whose solution success in communist education depends to a tremendous extent it is essential to proceed from the concept of developed socialism elaborated by the CPSU. It is on the basis of this concept, as is known, that the party has determined its strategy and tactics for a protracted historical period and concretized the paths of duration of the realization of our program objectives and the resolution of the tasks of completing the building of communism.

What does this mean? First, that it is necessary to see what great and substantial changes have taken place in the social, political, spiritual and other spheres since the creation of the foundations of socialism in our country and the tremendous historical path traveled by the Soviet people since then. Second, it means that we must not allow exaggerations in defining how close the country is to the supreme phase of communism. The party teaches us to make a strictly scientific and realistic picture and assessment of the possibilities of the new society's present stage of development--a stage fitting on the whole into the framework of the first phase of the communist formation--disallowing in practical work overreaching [zabeganiye vpered] or setting of tasks and guidelines in the sphere of sociopolitical and spiritual development,

education and propaganda for whose implementation the objective conditions are not yet ripe.

Finally, it also means that it is necessary to see clearly the dialectical unity between our immediate and long-term program tasks--a unity incorporated in the concept of developed socialism. As L. I. Brezhnev has repeatedly stressed, the gradual transition to communism proceeds only in step with the improvement of developed socialism and the identification and full utilization of all its potential. It is the resolution of this historical task which today constitutes the main content of the activity of the party and the people; and the implementation of the economic and social development plans for the 1980s mapped out by the 26th CPSU Congress will constitute an important stage along this path.

Combining an orientation toward the communist future with efficiency and profoundly weighed realism, a genuinely scientific approach to the tasks of the present stage of our society's development exerts a fruitful influence on the standard of the party's ideological-political and economic work.

It promotes the elimination of harmful manifestations of "political vacuousness" in propaganda and education and makes it possible to increase the significance of the socialist ideal as an important stimulus and criterion of Soviet people's life, labor and struggle at the stage when the center of gravity of all our activity is shifting to the tasks of improving developed socialism, the further ubiquitous consolidation of a socialist tenor of life in all spheres of society and the eradication of things that are incompatible with its principles and requirements. "It is precisely this kind of approach," Y. V. Andropov notes, "that enables our party and people to resolve the tasks facing Soviet society in the final decades of the 20th century. Taken as a package, these tasks amount to what could be called perfecting developed socialism. Our country is at the beginning of this protracted historical stage, which in turn will experience its own periods and stages of growth."

Increased attention on the part of the party to key questions of social policy was one of the characteristic features of the 26th CPSU Congress. What does this entail? In answering this question I would like primarily to draw attention to the extremely important point in the Central Committee report that "under the conditions of mature socialism, the interconnection between economic progress and society's sociopolitical and spiritual progress becomes increasingly close." In other words, our progress toward communism is now becoming simply impossible with the well-balanced development of material production and all other aspects of social life.

This point stems logically from the concept of developed socialism as an integral socioeconomic and political organism, to use philosophical language. But it is particularly important that for the first time at our party's most authoritative forum this point was spelled out in precise terms as a party directive, and this is of essential significance for the theory and practice of communist building. It is well known, for example, what warm support from congress delegates greets L. I. Brezhnev's proposal that reports from the localities of the commissioning of new industrial projects should be considered



valid only "if the housing and cultural and consumer service construction program at the project envisaged by the plan is also fulfilled."

The most important question of party and state social policy is the question of the main development trends within the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia and also in the sphere of their interrelationships. Everyone, of course, noted the point with which the analysis of this question in the CPSU Central Committee report to the 26th party congress ended: "In assessing the experience of our society's development in recent decades it is possible, I believe," L. I. Brezhnev said, "to assume that the establishment of a classless structure of society will generally take place within the context of mature socialism."

When elucidating this most important theoretical point, from which our social policy and ideological education work will proceed for many years, it is necessary to avoid what we regard as two erroneous viewpoints still current in literature, including literature published since the congress. As K. U. Chernenko notes, "Not only inertia or laziness of thought but the inability to take a critical approach to one's own previously advanced generalizations which have not been confirmed by life" obviously have an impact here.

Some social scientists are inclined to regard the aforementioned point as being completely outside our former ideas about the social structure of socialist society, stating that Marxists previously supposed that a classless society can only be achieved under communism. In our view it is impossible to agree with this for at least two reasons.

First because the point made in the CPSU Central Committee report to the 26th congress is a creative development on the basis of practical experience of building the new society of the well-known Marxist thesis that "socialism means the destruction of classes" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 39, pp 276, 279). And this means that it would of course be wrong to interpret this point to mean that the establishment of the classless structure of a communist society takes place within the framework of developed socialism.

Second, the two concepts a "classless structure" and a "socially homogeneous structure" must not be confused. They are by no means synonymous, as is sometimes assumed. Whereas the establishment of a classless structure, according to Lenin, is linked primarily with the destruction of the difference between the social position of the working class and the peasantry (and, as is known, there are no other classes under socialism), the achievement of a socially homogeneous structure unconditionally also presupposes the overcoming of the differences between physical and mental labor--that is the overcoming of the old division of labor. Judging by current trends, the resolution of the latter task will take longer than the elimination of differences between the social position of the worker and the peasant and will be achieved at higher stages of our development. It is from here, obviously, that the substantial difference between the classless social structure of socialist and communist society stems. And it would be harmful to blur this distinction in science or propaganda.

All this is not an abstract argument; vital questions of both social policy and ideological work are linked with it. The effacing of class distinctions sets us the essentially new problem of shaping working people's socialist self-awareness under the conditions of a society moving toward the complete destruction of classes within the country while the class confrontation in the international arena is continuing and intensifying. The point of departure for solving this problem is the idea of essential theoretical and political importance expressed in the CPSU Central Committee report that the present-day working class was and remains the leading force in the process of establishing a classless structure of society: "Its revolutionary ideology and morality, its collectivist mentality and its interests and ideals are now becoming the property of all strata of Soviet society."

This clearly expressed thought cautions us against an erroneous idea of the process of the establishment of a classless structure of society as some mechanical intermixing of all classes and social groups and equally against exaggerating the significance of the intelligentsia, which is drawing increasingly close to the working class, of idealizing the social-moral role of the rural way of life. And such notions occasionally creep into scientific literature, fiction and political journalism.

The question is sometimes asked: Because the social difference between worker and peasant is conceived as being overcome prior to the elimination of the distinctions between physical and mental labor, does this not mean that the working person of the communist type will result from the interaction of, on the one hand, a group of worker-producers formed from the "merging" of the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry and, on the other, the intelligentsia?

I believe that this kind of interpretation of the establishment of a classless society can contribute nothing but confusion to our science. Indeed, given such an approach, the working class' leading role in establishing a classless structure within the framework of mature socialism essentially extends only to the kolkhoz peasantry. The intelligentsia is left out of this process, as it were. However, such ideas of its "isolation" manifestly contradict the real changes currently taking place both within the intelligentsia itself and in the sphere of its interrelationships with the working class and the peasantry. They also contradict the well-known Marxist prediction of a time when the working class "will no longer be a class but will encompass the whole of society" (K. Marx and F. Engels. "Soch." [Works], vol 19, p 296).

Of course, this problem must not be oversimplified. When we speak of the working class as a kind of "social model" of the future society, we are by no means trying in this way to embellish it (the working class has no need of this, of course). The working class (like any other social group) clearly also contains strata that are backward in particular respects, but it is not these that we are referring to in this instance. We are referring to the worldwide historic mission of the working class as the creator of communism, a mission stemming from its objective position within the system of contemporary social relations. In this connection it is appropriate to recall Lenin's remark that the concept of "worker" must include not only a particular person's

formally conceived social position and workplace, but also the person's system of views and habits developed over the years and the special mentality formed in the process of collective industrial labor.

Lenin warned of the tenacity of petty bourgeois habits, including in the factory or plant environment, and repeatedly emphasized that the development of a truly proletarian mentality was a long and difficult process. "It is absolutely necessary," he wrote in 1922, for instance, "not to deceive oneself or others and to define the concept of 'workers' in such a way that it fits only those who are really bound to acquire a proletarian mentality by virtue of their position in life. And that is impossible without many years in a factory, without any outside goals, but with common economic and social living conditions" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, p 20).

I think this proposition of Lenin's has not lost its methodological significance, even today. It is clear that even today, for instance, a secondary school or vocational and technical school graduate who is just starting work in a plant cannot yet possess the proletarian class mentality that, according to Lenin, constitutes an essential distinguishing feature of the advanced worker. On the contrary, one sometimes encounters among these categories of working people, as the 26th congress noted, young people in whom good general knowledge is combined with low political culture and thorough vocational training with an insufficiently responsible attitude toward labor.

Let us take another example. For one reason or another a kolkhoz may be turned into a sovkhos, and thus the people working on it will move, so to speak, from one column of social statistics to another. But this alone, of course, is not enough for them to acquire all the qualities of the advanced worker--time and great sociopolitical and educational work are needed. So when we speak of fostering in all strata of our society the advanced ideology, morality and collectivist mentality of the contemporary working class, we are of course mindful of the need for constant political, ideological and moral and labor tempering of the working class itself as well.

In short, life shows that the task put forward by Lenin at the beginning of the century, before October, of combining scientific socialism with a mass workers movement is not automatically resolved even under conditions of socialism. It confronts a party anew as further generations embark on life and as people's socioeconomic living conditions and the international situation change. And if a particular party forgets this task--without exaggeration its chief task--it encounters great difficulties sooner or later. The events in Poland have been another reminder of that.

Returning directly to the problem in question, I would like to emphasize that in the last 15 years our party has generally paid tremendous attention to analyzing and generalizing the changes in Soviet society's social-class structure. For instance, it was on the basis of this analysis, as is well known, that the conclusion was drawn that the social foundation of the socialist system in our country had expanded in the process of the creation of a developed socialist society--a conclusion of extreme importance from the theoretical and practical viewpoints. The alliance of the working class and

the kolkhoz peasantry which had always constituted that foundation had been developed within these classes' firm sociopolitical and ideological unity with the intelligentsia and within an alliance between all working people engaged in physical and intellectual labor, with the leading role of the contemporary working class being preserved and consolidated. This conclusion, which substantially enriched the theory and practice of building socialism and communism, was reflected in the new USSR Constitution, as is well known.

Of course, what lies behind that conclusion is the great change in the social position and role of the intelligentsia under conditions of mature socialism, which are profoundly reflected in the congress materials. It seems only a short time ago that we spoke of the intelligentsia as a stratum. That term now seems not entirely adequate. For now the intelligentsia is the most rapidly growing social group in our society and considerably surpasses the class of the kolkhoz peasantry in numbers. As is well known, one worker in four is now engaged chiefly in intellectual labor. In the last five-year plan alone the higher and secondary specialized education system trained 10 million qualified specialists.

The fact that the number of working people employed in actual production and creating physical assets together with the workers and the kolkhoz members is growing at increasing preferential rates within the intelligentsia is of fundamental importance from the social viewpoint. In essence, this section of the intelligentsia is increasingly merging with the highly skilled stratum of the working class and also the advanced section of the kolkhoz peasantry, which, though its numbers declined by approximately 2 million in the 1970s (from 15.3 to 13.3 million), markedly increased the volume of output it produced.

Of course, another important fact is that within the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry processes connected with the increasing saturation of their labor activity with intellectual content are taking place. And this means that intellectual labor is gradually disappearing, so to speak. The monopoly of the intelligentsia, and the process of erasing the essential differences between people engaged in intellectual and in physical labor is gathering strength. It was on the basis of an analysis of precisely these real trends in the development of social relations that the party concluded that the rapprochement between all classes and social groups of Soviet society is continuing and that we are gradually but confidently nearing the creation of a society in which there will no longer be any classes but which will remain for some time yet within the historical framework of mature socialism.

While using specific facts and examples from life to demonstrate the erasure of interclass differences and revealing the real process of increasingly complete social equality in our country, it is at the same time important to take the most careful account of the existing social differences particularly associated with the nature and remuneration of labor and with living conditions and standards. Some of these differences not only cannot vanish in the next few years but will persist as a necessary condition of social progress during a stage when material incentives are still of tremendous significance. This requires opposition to leveling sentiments. As we can see,

the creation in the main of a classless structure of society will still not mean either that the supreme phase of communism has been built (with its appropriate principles of distribution according to requirements) or that complete social homogeneity has been achieved in society. Full account must be taken of all this in both education and propaganda.

A peculiarity of the CPSU Central Committee report to the 26th congress that was fundamentally important from the theoretical and practical viewpoints was the fact that in examining questions of society's social structure, L. I. Brezhnev did not confine himself to traditional--if I may so term them--class problems. The report paid great attention to analyzing the nonclass and intraclass social differences that once, as it were, receded into our social policy's background by comparison with interclass differences. The need for careful consideration of the peculiarities and interests of each group in our society was emphasized. This, too, is a major ideological, theoretical and sociopolitical question, and we need to dwell specifically on it.

We can all see that with the advancing erasure of class differences and the simplification of, as sociologists say, the "macrostructure" of our society during the stage of developed socialism, there is a relative increase in the role of other social differentiation between people, and society's "micro-structure" becomes more complex--again, relatively speaking, of course. This necessitates making the appropriate amendments to both social policy and, of course, ideological education and propaganda work. For instance, it is no accident that the CPSU Central Committee report to the 26th party congress pays considerable attention to the need to equalize social differences in the territorial plane. And this task is set as a serious task in further developing Soviet society's social-class and national structure. Incidentally, it is precisely these differences that are one of the chief sources of the strained situation as regards manpower resources in a number of economically important regions of the country, and also of the great losses resulting from undesirable migration and cadre turnover.

As the congress materials show, it is equally important to overcome the social differences between people stemming from the continued existence of a vast sector of manual labor in our national economy.

As is well known, in industry as a whole approximately 40 percent of personnel (excluding workers engaged in maintaining and adjusting equipment) are employed in manual labor, and the figure is even higher in construction and the services sphere. The point here is not only the adverse economic consequences of this fact, which are exacerbated by the worsening problem of manpower resources. It is equally important to consider and to seek to overcome its social and moral disadvantages. For instance, it is clear that people employed in what are from a creative viewpoint unattractive types of production activity experience what is in psychological terms a perfectly natural feeling of interior dissatisfaction with their labor, which hampers the formation of a communist attitude toward it. Yet this has been and remains one of our main tasks.

The congress materials and the party and government documents adopted since then also pay close attention to demographic policy and to population problems,

which, as the Central Committee report says, have worsened recently. Life shows that not only economists and economic leaders but also ideological cadres must have, so to speak, a professional grasp of these problems. After all, it is a question here chiefly of the primary cell of society and of an extremely important educational institution in which an individual's character traits and moral makeup are formed--the family. And the key to an understanding of these problems and of the ways of solving them outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress is provided by L. I. Brezhnev's considered, but meaningful thought that "the peculiarities of the situation in different republics and regions should be carefully considered."

Indeed, an analysis of the results of the 1979 population census shows the following picture. The country's population increased by 20.7 million between 1970 and 1979. That is, of course, a considerable figure, despite the fact that the birth rate is relatively low, especially in a number of RSFSR oblasts, the Ukraine, Belorussia and the Baltic republics. The reasons for this are well known: The consequences of the heavy human losses during the war, the increased demands of the present-day family and the increased employment of women are all having an impact. Overall, in the aforementioned republics a woman bears approximately two children, on average in her lifetime. On the other hand, for instance, in the Central Asian republics this indicator is two or three times higher. So the picture is quite diverse. Therefore the problems in question must be resolved with due regard for the given specific situation and, of course, for our current potential. And the main way of solving them, as L. I. Brezhnev stresses, is to "increase concern for the family, for newlyweds and above all for women."

The next topic I would like to dwell on is the development of national relations. The 26th congress made a great contribution to the further elaboration of the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice of resolving the nationalities question in conformity with the historically new stage in Soviet society's development. Everyone noted how these problems were raised and elucidated in a businesslike fashion, profoundly, keenly and without a trace of idealization. And of course, the point is not that some kind of "centrifugal" tendencies have emerged in our country as the West proclaims. The unity of the Soviet nations and ethnic groups is stronger today than ever. This is being displayed with new force at the moment, as the entire country prepares to fittingly greet the 60th anniversary of the USSR.

Consequently, the point is that the dynamics of the development of economic and social processes in a large multinational state such as ours are bound to generate many problems that need to be sensitively considered and taken into account in party policy, for they, too, are not automatically solved.

There is the need, as indicated by the congress, for a certain redistribution, so to speak, and better utilization of manpower resources, for it is well known that, in addition to the shortage of resources in a number of places, there is a relative surplus of manpower in certain areas of the Caucasus and Central Asia, especially in the countryside. The party is urging that working people from all the republics, especially young people, be more vigorously and extensively involved in resolving major union-wide tasks such as opening up

the wealth of Siberia, the Far East, the North and the Baykal-Amur Mainline zone and developing the Nonchernozem Zone.

There is also the need for correct consideration in cadre policy and in ideological and political education work of the multinational composition of our republics and also of the specific requirements of citizens of nonindigenous nationalities in the spheres of language, culture, and daily life (especially of those citizens living in compact communities; The number of such people has lately increased considerably in a number of regions). Economic and other ties between republics are increasing and population mobility and migration are high. Party organizations must constantly keep sight of these and other questions and resolve them correctly and in a timely fashion to ensure that potential knots of tension do not arise.

"It is necessary," the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the USSR" notes, "to wage a consistent, aggressive struggle against attempts to kindle nationalist prejudices in individual people and to resolutely oppose any deviations from Leninist principles of nationalities policy."

As is well known, a considerable social achievement in the 1970s was the growth in the total numbers and relative size of the working class of all union republics. However, in a number of republics the indigenous population still accounts for an insufficient proportion of the working class, particularly among its industrial detachment. This is why the congress urged that skilled workers belonging to indigenous nationalities be more widely trained. Thus the social force that most consistently expresses the socialist, internationalist principles of our life and the force that opposes various kinds of localist phenomena and kinks will be stronger.

The 26th CPSU Congress again stressed the need to educate all working people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and of a proud sense of belonging to the single great Soviet motherland. It clearly and cogently indicated ways of further progress and rapprochement for all the country's nations and ethnic groups and ways of strengthening the Soviet people as the new social and international community of people within whose framework the making of a classless social structure is taking place in our country.

A notable distinguishing feature of the 26th CPSU Congress was the profound and detailed consideration of questions of further improving distribution relations. It is hard to overestimate the tremendous importance of correctly solving these questions. After all, both the provision of incentives for highly productive good-quality labor and the assertion of the principles of social justice and equality inherent in socialism depend directly on the improvement of distribution relations. The moral atmosphere in society, people's mood and their labor and social activeness ultimately depend on this.

The main direction and the crux of the improvement of distribution relations under socialism, as the 26th congress decisions indicate, is to ensure the fair, objective assessment and increase the social prestige of conscientious, honest labor for the common good. The congress' well-known proposition that the restructuring of all social relations on the basis of the collectivist

principles inherent in the new system be completed within the period of developed socialism imposes great obligations. In particular, it demands that everything hampering the strengthening and development of the socialist tenor of life and the formation of the new man be resolutely eliminated from the sphere of distribution relations.

First, this means it is necessary to further straighten out wages and the bonus system and increase the significance of an honestly earned ruble. Second, this means it is necessary to firmly close with every means at the disposal of our state of the whole people any channels of access to undeserved wealth and to eradicate parasitism, bribery, speculation, unearned income and any encroachments on socialist ownership. I would like to pause briefly on this last issue, which in propaganda is usually ranked among the controversial and difficult topics.

You occasionally hear the opinion that the times have gone when society and the state could ask how a particular citizen obtained great material and household valuables though these were clearly not in line with his labor efforts. Some people try to portray this actually as concern for "human rights" and as a manifestation of democracy and law and order. However, in our communist view, democracy and law and order are impossible without rigorous monitoring by the state and society of the extent of labor and the extent of consumption.

It is precisely this that Lenin, as is well known, saw as the requirement for the correct functioning of socialism. Without such monitoring, which presupposes a package of measures--from scientific labor organization and an appropriate tax policy to strict observances of legal norms--it is simply impossible to ensure the principles of social justice and equality with which millions of people in our country and all over the world associate their notions of real socialism and the socialist way of life. So this issue is not merely economic and social. It also has a tremendous political educational resonance. That was precisely the kind of resonance it acquired at the congress. And that is how the party is resolving it.

The 26th CPSU Congress profoundly elaborated questions connected with forming the new man and strengthening the material and spiritual foundations of this process.

Our party has never been inclined to underestimate the difficulties and complexities of educating the new man free from the "leaden vileness" of capitalism. It will be recalled that in 1919 Lenin, talking with P.A. Kropotkin about the most complex tasks of building the new world, pointed out that "it is very difficult to change people and that after all, as Marx said, 'the most impregnable fortress is the human skull.'" The greatness of our party lies in the fact that it has set about practically resolving this colossal task and storming the fortress against which the fine wishes of so many revolutionary dreamers and starry-eyed reformers have shattered.

In general terms, the question of what we have really achieved in forming the new man can be approached in various ways. For instance, you can--and we often do this--compare our man, compare what has been achieved in his education, with



the way he was before October, under the conditions of a comparatively backward capitalist country where the predominant mass of the population was petty bourgeois and peasants. Such comparisons are of course necessary and appropriate. But they alone are certainly not enough. Clearly, as Marxist-Leninists and as communists we must measure what has been achieved against both the demands of today and, of course, our ideals--that is, examine this question from both the angles in their close dialectical unity, which is what the 26th congress did.

This has made it possible, first, to show clearly the Soviet man to be a working person, a person of high political and moral standards, a steadfast patriot and a consistent internationalist.

He is a man who, in L. I. Brezhnev's words, does not shut himself away within a circle of petty matters but lives his country's concerns lives a life full of intensive labor and of a persistent struggle for the triumph of justice and good. We see and know this man--we know him from life, we see him and get to know him in the images created by our best writers, poets and dramatists: Mikhail Sholokhov, Konstantin Fedin, Aleksandr Fadeyev, Leonid Leonov, Konstantin Simonov, Vasiliy Bykov, Georgiy Markov, Sergey Zalygin, Fedor Abramov, Daniil Granin, Oleg Gonchar, Vasiliy Shukshin, Paul Kuusberg, Mustay Karim, Eduard Mezhelaytis, Leonid Martynov, Yonas Avizhyus, Nodar Dumbadze and many others.

The lofty, by no means embellished truth about the destinies and deeds of our contemporaries, with their victories and defeats, is told by shows and movies that have aroused widespread public interest and have left no one indifferent: "The Bonus," "The Thirteenth Chairman," "Mimino," "Your Son, Earth," "The Taste of Bread," "The Taming of Fire," "Moscow Distrusts Tears," "The Interrogation," "We the Undersigned" and "The Last Escape." Perhaps some of the above works are not above criticism in some respects, but people recognized them because the heroes of these works vividly embodied features of the Soviet character and of the socialist tenor of life which are dear to us all.

Of course, in life we all also encounter people of a different sort who by no means satisfy us and we see many complex, unsolved problems and tasks connected with forming the new man. The congress also seriously discussed how to solve these. Here I would like to draw attention to the CPSU Central Committee report's proposition--exceptionally important from both the methodological and the practical viewpoints--that the success of education is assured only when it is based on the firm foundation of socioeconomic policy.

This proposition provides us with the only correct reference point both for the formation of positive qualities in the individual and his increasingly multifaceted development and for the elimination of ugly phenomena like the grasping and acquisitive mentality, egoism and philistinism, indifference to people's needs and concerns, and drunkenness, which still remains a serious problem. It is clear that these negative phenomena cannot be overcome solely by means of propaganda and education. These means must be bolstered by the relevant socioeconomic measures and measures of other kinds.

I would also like to draw attention to the fact that the 26th CPSU Congress elevated to the level of a partywide, state concern the inculcation in every Soviet person of not only political but high social standards--that is, the ability to make sensible use of the great and diverse benefits that society gives us. It also clearly defined the main way of solving the problem: vigorous, purposeful shaping of the individual's interests and requirements. Today this is not only a fundamental direction of ideological education work but an important task of social policy. Let us note that this is the first time this problem has been raised in these terms at the congress level.

In our view, there can only be one answer to the question of what we must proceed from in resolving this task that is so important. While displaying tireless concern for people's vital demands and needs, we must above all work persistently to develop in every person the need on whose implementation the country's economic might, the people's material living standards and their spiritual blossoming all depend. I refer to developing that wholly creative need, the need for conscientious, creative labor for the common good. The resolution of this task on the scale of an entire society is, of course, a complex and protracted matter. It would be harmful to entertain any illusions on this score. But it is entirely in line with the potential and the tasks of developed socialism as a society that is gradually developing into a communist society.

The strengthened interconnection between all components of social progress under conditions of mature socialism necessitates the more profound study of the basic trends and actors in the development of the social consciousness. Now, as in Lenin's lifetime, the party is guided by his instruction to "soberly watch the actual state of consciousness and preparation of the entire class (not just its communist vanguard) and the entire mass of the working people (not just the leading people in that mass)" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, p 42). Only then can a party not only sensitively detect and accumulate people's feelings and needs but also lead them in its footsteps.

Therefore what is needed is a thorough knowledge of the mechanisms of the complex interconnection between the processes taking place in the spiritual sphere and the changes in people's economic, sociopolitical and family and everyday relations and living conditions. Only such a knowledge helps one foresee the influence on the social and individual consciousness of particular socioeconomic problems, political decisions and international events. Only then can ideological and political education work be precisely coordinated and closely linked, as the party demands, with organizational and economic activity.

It is important here to consider the social consciousness, in all its real complexity, taking into account the heterogeneity of its structure, which, as is well known, seems to consist of two layers: the "upper" ideological layer and the "lower" social and psychological layer. Each layer of the social consciousness interacts differently with the various elements of the way of life, and these circumstances must be taken into account in ideological work.

The well-known general sociological law that the social consciousness lags behind changes in reality is often manifested under socialism precisely in the sphere of social psychology, in the tenacity of socially obsolete traditions, prejudices and habits. And it is precisely psychology that to a considerable extent determines the individual's attitude and behavior. However, in ideological work and in assessing its achievements and results people often gear themselves solely to the ideological level of the social consciousness.

Yet the individual's psychology is formed not only through his study of particular ideological and theoretical concepts, not only under the influence of the fundamental socioeconomic relations of socialism (the "macroenvironment"), but also under the influence of his immediate living, working and consumer service conditions (the "microenvironment"). Deviations, for whatever reasons, from the norms and principles of the socialist way of life in this sphere chiefly affect the individual's psychology and in a number of cases cause the "split" in the individual human consciousness that sometimes leads to a gap between words and deeds, to abstract acceptance of communist morality but deviation from it in practice.

That is an objective contradiction, and it can be resolved only when one knows the mechanism of the interaction of all factors--material and spiritual, objective and subjective--and use both the former and the latter. In essence, when the party sets it as its goal to transform the scientific, communist world outlook from knowledge to a profound inward conviction of every person, it is talking, as it were, of transforming the ideological layer in people's individual consciousness into the dominant layer, into the factor that determines not only their theoretical but also their practical attitude to the world and shapes their social and emotional frame of mind, moral and cultural orientation and behavior in labor, daily life and the political sphere.

The study of the laws of the development of the social consciousness makes it possible to gain a deeper understanding of the reasons for negative phenomena in people's consciousness and behavior and thus to determine ways of overcoming them.

Clearly, under conditions of developed socialism we cannot ascribe the existence of survivals of the past in some people's consciousness to the direct influence of remnants of the former, nonsocialist, classes and groups--these have long ago ceased to exist in our society. The overwhelming majority of Soviet citizens are people who were born and have grown up in conditions where socialist social relations and socialist ideology have been dominant in our country.

To some extent the existence of survivals can, of course, be ascribed to the strength of tradition, to historical inertia, so to speak. However, the fact that under socialism these not only persist but also can sometimes intensify (for instance, the revival of consumerist and grasping sentiments, the growth of drunkenness and so forth) shows that at least some negative phenomena in people's consciousness and behavior arise and reproduce under conditions of socialism, although, of course, they do not necessarily stem from

its nature. In this sense it would be wrong to describe them merely as survivals. From a broad, sociohistorical viewpoint they are relapses into a bourgeois and petty bourgeois mentality in a socialist environment. So the task is to determine and investigate in which instances they stem entirely from blunders and flaws in ideological education work and in which they stem from omissions and shortcomings in economic and social practice, to uncover their objective and subjective roots, so to speak. "If negative phenomena are reduced merely to 'survivals of the past' in people's consciousness," K. U. Chernenko notes, "shortcomings whose causes should be sought in today's practice, in the miscalculations of particular working people, will be left outside the field of vision. It is here that a gap between education by word and education by life can arise. This must not be allowed to happen."

Analysis shows that certain negative phenomena are associated with shortcomings in the application of socialist principles in the sphere of distribution relations. This finds expression in "unearned" wages, peoples working "on the side," speculation in goods that are in short supply, bribery and so forth. Unearned income offends the sense of social justice organically inherent in honest working people and has an adverse impact on the moral state of the social consciousness since it lessens the authority and prestige of conscientious labor. To place a firm barrier in the way of "leveling" and "helping on", to close all sources of unearned income and at the same time to really increase the role of material and moral incentives for honest, good-quality, enterprising, highly productive labor is to resolve not only an important socio-economic and political task but also an important ideological education task. The 26th CPSU Congress decisions orient us toward this.

Moreover elements of spontaneity in the shaping of people's material and spiritual needs and in the development of the socialist way of life can have an effect on the development of the social consciousness.

The question of the more energetic counteraction of relapses into a narrow-minded, petty bourgeois mentality, and particularly, a consumerist mentality, was raised at the 25th and 26th party congresses. As is known, a basis for the manifestation and revival of these kinds of mentality is provided by the growth of the material standard of living--if this growth is not underpinned by the corresponding spiritual and ethical development of the individual--plus the influence of the standards, criteria and norms originating in the so-called consumer society and in the bourgeois way of life.

It is difficult to solve this problem--if it is solvable at all--simply by condemning and exposing negative phenomena which have already manifested themselves. Above all, a positive action program is necessary here. It follows from the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress that this action program consists in creating an integral, scientifically valid concept of the needs of a member of the society of developed socialism and in purposeful practical work to shape and harmonize Soviet people's material and spiritual needs.

To a certain extent the existence of a number of negative phenomena in the social consciousness is also the result of hostile propaganda and alien ideology which penetrate from outside. The CPSU Central Committee report to

the 26th party congress noted that "the activity of the class adversary's propaganda media has increased and the adversary's attempts to exert a corrupting influence on the consciousness of Soviet people have intensified." In its endeavors to poison their consciousness with the aid of the most sophisticated methods and to denigrate socialism, bourgeois propaganda brings everything into play: tendentious coverage of facts, misinformation, pretermission, half-truths and downright impudent lies.

Evidently, in this situation, one should have a better and more precise notion of the kind of impact the contemporary ideological struggle in the world arena has upon the party's ideological-educational work within the country. While rejecting the erroneous attempts to mechanically transfer the law-governed patterns and distinctive peculiarities of the international ideological struggle to the ideological life of the developed socialist society, it is at the same time essential to proceed from the premise that this struggle, not only in the immediate future but also in the long-term historical perspective, will be influencing the ideological situation in our own country and other socialist countries and the development of social consciousness and, consequently, it must be taken into consideration when defining the forms and methods of the communist education of the working people.

With the sobriety characteristic of communists, we must admit that we polemize with the adversary and his arguments not only when we come up against him face, so to speak, on the ideological battlefield, but also when, in daily life, we must deal with the traces and marks left by his informational and propaganda penetration, and by his subversive work aimed at eroding socialist consciousness. In these conditions, skillfully presented counterpropaganda within the country becomes an important factor for forming and maintaining the ideological-political cohesiveness of our society. It is now, as a matter of fact, separated as a relatively independent sphere of the work of all party committees (and not solely of the mass information and propaganda media and of the relevant ideological establishments). And the party requires that it be conducted systematically, consistently and with due competence.

The basis of our strategy, if one may use that expression, in this sector of work is clear. It is to shape in Soviet people an integral scientific world outlook, a consistent class consciousness and an ability to assess social processes, facts and phenomena independently and from Marxist-Leninist standpoints. In this sense the thesis that the best counterpropaganda is good propaganda which must be based on the vivid and well-reasoned revelation of socialism's achievements and advantages is a correct one.

Yet another problem moves into the forefront today when we are discussing the tasks of waging an offensive against the adversary's attempts to exert a corrupting influence on the consciousness of the population of our country and of the other socialist countries.

Everyone recalls L. I. Brezhnev's instruction: "It is very important that propaganda should not bypass thorny topics and should not be afraid to broach so-called difficult questions.... It is necessary to do so more boldly, remembering that if we do not answer them, the enemies of our country will try

to take advantage of this so as to slander socialism." But have our mass information and propaganda media and our lecturers and propagandists overcome this fear of difficult questions, this desire to cut corners? No, this fear has not been totally overcome and this is evidently because many people are still inhibited by misgivings about saying something out of place or distasteful, or by a fear of committing a mistake. A difficult question is difficult precisely because the answer to it is not preprogrammed in any well-known premises and requires independent cogitative work, profound inner conviction and, if you like, responsibility. And if any topical themes are missing from the pages of our newspapers, this still does not mean that they are not the subject of debate in actual life and that a particular public opinion on these topics is not being hammered out. Both for the newspapers and for all the mass media the matter does not rest there. "If you keep silent," Lenin wrote, "you have fallen behind! And a newspaper which is falling behind is already dead. Monotonous grayness and tardiness are incompatible with newspaper work" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 48, p 71). Clearly this can also apply today to the work of other mass media.

Thanks to the firmness of the socialist foundations of our life and to energetic counteraction, our class adversary has not achieved any significant success in the sphere of ideological-theoretical and political propaganda. However, we must in no way underestimate bourgeois, so-called sociological, propaganda. On the surface it is politically and ideologically objective and neutral, it is focused on the daily round, on everyday life (housing, stores, clothing, leisure, the family and so forth) and can at times find a response even among those people who in principle do not accept alien precepts in the sphere of politics and world outlook.

The task is, by exposing the imaginary impartiality of such items and broadcasts, to reveal their class content and thrust. In so doing, our main efforts must be aimed at shaping in Soviet people the kind of philosophy of life which would rule out the assessment of Soviet society's achievements on the basis of the standards and criteria of the so-called consumer society and at drawing up and skillfully propagandizing a scale of our own socialist values and preferences of a kind in which material blessings and the possession of status symbols and so forth are not the be-all and end-all.

It is obvious that for the effective counteraction of bourgeois influence, the profound theoretical elaboration of a broad range of problems, primarily of a philosophical and moral-ethical kind on which propaganda and education can be based, is essential on the one hand, and on the other hand--and ultimately this is the main thing--economic-organizational and cultural work aimed at the increasingly full satisfaction of Soviet people's sensible material and spiritual needs and requirements is also essential.

In a word, success here too is directly dependent on the close interconnection of the party's socioeconomic policy and ideological-educational efforts and on the actual guaranteeing of the unity of ideological-theoretical, political-educational, organizational and economic work. This unity contains the key to solving a task of truly crucial historic significance--that of shaping the new man as a comprehensively developed individual, an individual of the communist mold.

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## URGE TO WORK AND ITS EVOLUTION

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[Article by Professor N. Blinov, doctor of philosophical sciences]

[Text] Marxism found the key to understanding the entire history of Soviet society in the history of the development of labor, in the course of which the need to work itself experienced a certain evolution. Labor has always been and remains the foundation, the decisive factor of human life, a permanent form of human activity which determines man's social nature. The establishment of a socialist system opened a broad scope which enabled precisely this basic area of human activity to materialize the inner possibilities, talents and capabilities of the people and their creative potential.

From the very first days following the victory of the Great October Revolution, the CPSU has paid unabated attention to guiding the process of organization of communist labor and making work a prime vital necessity. It was natural for the 26th CPSU Congress to set among the most important priority tasks that of "making profound changes in the most important realm of human activity--labor--by improving and facilitating its conditions, ensuring extensive opportunities for highly productive and creative work, considerably eliminating major disparities between mental and physical work and converting farm work into a variety of industrial labor." In developing the concepts of the 26th party congress, the November 1981 CPSU Central Committee plenum defined important directions to be followed in the further reorganization of socialist labor.

### I.

One of the forms of manifestation of the law of increased requirements in the transition from socialism to communism, which was discovered by V. I. Lenin, is the process of converting labor activeness from a means for the satisfaction of needs into a prime vital need experienced by every member of society. This process affects the entire structure of human needs and changes their hierarchy. A close consideration of the socioeconomic factors which shape the need to work and the scientific study of the conditions for its implementation lead to the legitimate question of, Is the need to work typical only to a communist society or is it of a universally historical nature?

Marxist-Leninist theory brings to light the twin character of the universal nature of labor, which appears through its social functions. The initial premise of labor is that it is the most important natural prerequisite for life, a source of social wealth and an external necessity. Mankind realized centuries ago that objectively it was impossible to do without work as the main source of means of existence. On the other hand, with the enrichment of its humanistic and educational function, labor asserted itself as the principal method of self-expression of man, the development of his creative potential and the conversion of external necessity into internal need. K. Marx particularly singled out the idea that the need to work is developed naturally, for it is dictated by nature itself. The healthy organism needs "a normal portion of work and an end to rest" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 46, part II, p 109). In the course of the labor process itself, this external "naturally determined need vanishes in its direct aspect, for the natural need is replaced by a historically created need," while the external objectives "become objectives which the individual sets for himself. Consequently, they are based on self-realization, on the material embodiment of the subject, on true freedom the active manifestation of which labor precisely is" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 46, part I, p 281; vol 46, part II, pp 109-110).

What is the dialectical meaning of the interconnection and interpenetration between the two basic social functions of labor, inherently proceeding from its common nature? Since the labor process is dictated not only by external necessity but is also an inner need of the healthy human body, labor itself is the foundation for human existence and development.

Regardless of where and when it takes place, labor is inconceivable without living participants who are guided by consciously set objective interests, urged by motivations whose mechanism defines the laws governing social production. Under contemporary conditions, bearing in mind the increased role of the scientific organization of labor, we must take into consideration the reasons and factors which stimulate man's participation in the social labor process. In terms of the communist society, the solution of this problem includes a scientifically substantiated optimal combination of socioeconomic conditions under which "labor stops being merely a means of subsistence but becomes a prime vital necessity" (op. cit., vol 19, p 20).

In order for labor to become the truly first and most important vital need of every person, its attractiveness must be increased manyfold and act as a process of the free self-expression of the individual. "In material production," Marx wrote, "labor may acquire such a character only as a result of, first, if it has a social nature and, second, if it has a scientific nature, and if it is also a universal labor, a tensing of the forces of man not as a specific type of controlled natural force but as a subject who acts in the course of the production process not simply in a naturally developed form but in terms of an activity which controls all natural forces" (op. cit., vol 46, part II, p 110). Consequently, according to Marx, in order for labor to become a prime human need, we require the type of social conditions under which labor becomes universal and public. At the same time, it must assume a



scientific nature. In other words, we need a high level of development of production forces, above all of the main productive force of society--man--who will be able to control all natural forces.

Let us note that Marx speaks not of the reappearance of the need to work under communism but of the transformation of labor into a prime need. He therefore proceeds from what mankind has already reached. Having changed social relations, eliminating exploitation and the alienation of labor, the task is to achieve the type of reorganization of the structure of human needs in the course of which the already existing but as yet insufficiently developed need to work become determining in terms of all other needs.

The view is frequently expressed to the effect that as a source of means of existence, work is incompatible with the concept of prime vital need and that in terms of a means of existence it will always have an external, a forced nature. However, this could have been the case at the dawn of history, until a stable social organization had been created. It is impossible to refute the fact that the external nature of labor and the negative attitude toward it began to disappear the moment the elements of culture became apparent. The need to work is one of its most ancient acquisitions.

The appearance of the vivacity of the mind, creative cunning, and real passion for labor activeness in the masterpieces of folk creativity would have been simply impossible to explain had labor performed merely the role of forced effort and coercion. Life has refuted this viewpoint. Concepts of labor as an eternal curse, allegedly inflicted upon mankind for the sins of Adam and Eve are breaking down. People became familiar with work, accept it as a pleasure providing happiness and enjoyment, inseparable from the concept of happiness. Not all labor was cursed but labor in its historically transient forms of exploitation--"such as slave labor, corvee, hired labor," in which "it always acts as something repulsive, as a result of outside coercion" (op. cit., vol 46, part II, p 110). It is precisely where bourgeois ideologues seek proof of unchanging human nature that the communists draw their arguments justifying their social optimism. Industriousness is far older than the alienation of labor which distorts and restrains it, and such alienation will be surmounted by labor. The socialist revolution resolves this contradiction in favor of industriousness, by destroying the means for its suppression. This possibility was anticipated by the predecessors of Marxism themselves, the utopian socialists. They established that "given a sensible order, when everyone can follow his own inclinations, labor could become what it should be--enjoyment" (op. cit., vol 1, p 528).

As it earmarks the ways leading to the strategic solution of this problem, actually Marxism-Leninism raises the question of ascribing to labor the type of objective characteristics which, in turn, could trigger subjective sympathy for and profound interest in it. Such a formulation of the age-old problem, the solution of which has been attempted at different ages by the best minds of mankind, reveals its new facets. Above all, labor begins to act not merely as a source of the means of existence and the prime base of all social relations but as an object of specific human need. The targets of all other needs than labor are represented by useful items, material and

spiritual goods described as consumer values. Their consumption may be strictly individual (such as the consumption of food, clothing, etc.) or group ("consumption" of spiritual values such as works of art, theater performances, books, etc.), short or long (let us compare, for example, the consumption of food with the consumption of housing). Despite all differences, however, it involves the expenditure, the use of objects created by human labor. In that sense consumption destroys work utterly and becomes its absolute opposite.

As to labor needed by man, it is a "consumer value" possessing exceptional properties. The point is not only that labor, linked with the expenditure of physical and mental human effort, creates a natural need to restore them and to create certain consumer goods but, as K. Marx emphasized, the fact that in itself "labor is a substance whose objective is nothing but immediate consumption" (op. cit., vol 46, part I, p 281).

First of all, the process of such labor is also a process of its consumption, for it is only through it that man can satisfy his creative need and enjoy the play of his own physical and intellectual forces. According to A. N. Leont'yev "production is also direct consumption which creates a need. In other words, consumption stands between the need for an object and the perception or mental concept of it" (A. N. Leont'yev, "Deyatelnost'. Soznaniye. Lichnost'" [Activity. Consciousness. Individual]. Moscow, 1977, pp 191-192). It is precisely through the need for labor that "labor-production" becomes "labor-consumption." This is a manifestation of one of the forms of the overall systemic quality of labor. Second of all, the satisfaction of the need for labor, i.e., "labor-consumption," unlike other types of consumption, does not expend but multiplies social wealth to an extent which considerably outstrips the sum total of goods consumed by the worker both in his personal life and for production purposes. Third, the ideal predetermined measure of the time, amount and intensiveness of labor loses its significance--a measure which the individual considers desirable for himself on the basis of his other needs, either constant or newly created. The need to create does not have definable boundaries and, in this sense, is free. Therefore, labor is necessarily considered by us as a free activity which loses its dependence on any side considerations, for the need for it is dictated by the aspiration to be consciously useful to society and become a naturally self-asserted and highly moral individual. The basic stimulating factor here is labor itself as a means for satisfying the desire and need to work.

The implementation of the communist principle "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his needs" is closely related to the conversion of labor into a prime vital need. In turn, this depends on the creation of social, technical and cultural conditions under which labor, as Marx said, acquires the features of a substance whose objective is "only direct consumption." This calls for the study of the nature of the need to work as well as the contemporary trends governing its development. Otherwise the evolution of this need would remain essentially uncontrolled.

## II.

In the words of the Marxist classics, in opposing the former nature of activity and changing social relations and, above all, eliminating the exploitation of man by man and the alienation of labor, the socialist revolution made it possible to put on the agenda the implementation of the most important task related to the reorganization of the structure of human needs; the extant yet still insufficiently developed need to work, in this case, must become primary in terms of all other needs. This puts an end to its evolutionary development; the victory of socialism marks a qualitatively revolutionary leap in the process of the development in man of the need to work as a general historical trend. As the collectivistic production method gradually strengthened, the material foundations for the universality of labor and the development of a conscious attitude toward it, the need to work for the common good, were gradually secured.

With the elimination of private ownership of productive capital work becomes, in the broad meaning of the term, work for oneself, realizing its universality expressed by the principle that "he who does not work does not eat." This is the realization of the great objective set by Lenin--"to turn everyone into a working person," which can be achieved only through a conversion to a public large-scale economy.

Public ownership, which rallies human labor in a new manner, creates conditions for its planned organization on a national scale, ascribing it an immediate social nature. The labor of every working person begins to operate as an intrinsic part of universal labor.

Both under socialism and under communism the guiding principle of social life is the universality of labor, i.e., the obligation of everyone to work according to his capabilities. The universality of labor on the social level means a social recognition of it being the most essential, the most important type of human activity.

In asserting the universality of labor, socialism resolves the problem of creating the type of social production organization under which no one would shift to someone else his own share of participation in socially useful work, in which the identical obligation to work becomes the basic aspect of the entire human way of life. This circumstance establishes a qualitative distinction between the socialist way of life and the way of life of previous systems based on the exploitation of someone else's work and creating a most important base for the growth of the obligation to work for the common good into the habit of every active member of society.

One of the essential characteristics which strengthened the positive impact of the nature of socialist labor on the development of the need to work is, in our view, the steady enhancement at the mature socialist stage of the extent of understanding the social significance of labor activeness. This becomes apparent by reflecting in the minds of the individuals the changed nature of the link between the work of the individual and the work of society.

The high degree of realization of the social usefulness of labor is one of the most characteristic moral features of the majority of working people in developed socialist society, although it includes certain fluctuations in its assessment, depending on the affiliation of the working person with different socioprofessional groups. This conclusion is confirmed by comparable data of comparative studies we conducted among workers at the Moscow Spetsstanok and Stankoagregat plants, and the grinding machine tools and First Time-pieces plants. Thus, in 1964, 38 to 42 percent of the 1,500 surveyed workers, valued mostly in their work its social usefulness and significance; a second survey conducted between 1977 and 1980 reflected a change in this assessment which had reached 57-60 percent.

It is interesting to point out that under present circumstances the level of understanding of the social significance of labor by the overwhelming majority of working people outstrips the level of satisfaction with their work. This contradiction is characteristic of socialism. In a certain sense it reflects the actual tie between the nature and the content of labor activeness.

However positive and significant the changes in the nature of labor may be, they do not represent any automatic change in its content or a reorganization in the structure of the worker's labor functions. The reorganization of the socioeconomic base must be organically supplemented by a radical restructuring of the technological means of production.

It is only the study of the interdependent change in the nature and content of labor, which expresses dialectically related processes of transformation of socioeconomic and technological production means, which would enable us to recreate an undistorted idea of the establishment of objective prerequisites for the development of the need to work.

Although with all its tremendous achievements the socialist society has been unable as yet to reach a total consistency between scientific and technical and social progress, the prime significance of the impact of the scientific and technical revolution on the changed nature and content of socialist labor with the establishment of positive social consequences remains unquestionable. This is ensured by the advantages enjoyed by the socialist economic management system.

Whereas scientific and technical progress indirectly influences the nature of social labor under socialism, operating mostly even through its social consequences which have been refracted through the lens of socialist production relations, it has a direct influence on the nature and content of specific types of labor activity.

Under the conditions of a systematically organized and proportionally developed economy, the directions of scientific and technical progress are based on social requirements. Mature socialism offers more favorable opportunities for consciously influencing the process of technological development, efficient control of it and the forecasting of expected social consequences of its application.

The general trends followed by the shifts in the content of labor, which influence the development of the need to work, have been studied quite well. Despite the entire contradictoriness of technical progress, the prevailing directions are those of the progressing development of labor on the basis of the increased complexity and enrichment in the structure of its meaningful functions.

The qualitative composition of manpower is improving noticeably. An intensification of positive processes takes place within the system of the professional division of labor, which inevitably entails the intensification of social change. However, as noted by sociologists and economists, labor becomes meaningful and more complex as a whole in terms of the overall worker, while within the framework of individual skills the labor of some workers may become more complex and richer in content, and simpler in others. Many skills currently practiced in our country's national economy were totally unknown no more than 30 years ago. This is based on the existence of various types of work: manual, fully or partially mechanized, and automated. The further application of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution lead, on the one hand, to an increase in the number of professions requiring complex and skilled labor, and, on the other, an increased number of auxiliary-servicing personnel engaged in monotonous conveyor-belt type of work, etc.

### III.

The study of the prerequisites for communist labor and the theoretical considerations expressed by researchers confirm the stipulation that since society offers favorable opportunities for the development of a creative need, although it is still not found in all realms of labor and has not been comprehensively developed, the content and, with it, the structure of working time must necessarily change. Our scientific literature has frequently noted the essential possibility of determining the portion of the working day during which the workers work under the predominant influence of their interest in the work itself; whenever this interest is dulled or fatigue takes over, motivations of a different nature become more active: awareness of the need to work, the habit of discipline, the desire to earn money, the unwillingness to be reprimanded, and so on. One segment of the working day could be conventionally described as the time of work by necessity while the other portion could be described as working time over and above requirements, caused by an external need.

Such an approach could be considered as an attempt to measure the process of the conversion of labor into a prime vital need and to identify the specific indicators of the growth of the need to work.

By necessity, the boundary dividing the period of work performed on the basis of need and the period of work performed by necessity has been historically determined by the level of labor productivity, the objective conditions governing labor activeness and the extent to which the labor habit has been developed. In order to define this boundary we used an advanced method developed as early as 1964 at the Laboratory of Sociological Research of the

Philosophy Department of Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov. In the course of the investigation which was conducted at that time Moscow enterprise workers were asked three questions: "As a rule, after how many hours of work do you feel tired?" "How many hours during the working day (on an average) do you work without stress?" and "During how many hours in the course of a working day does the work give you satisfaction?"

In the course of the all-union sociological study conducted between 1976 and 1980 by the personnel of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research and the Scientific Research Center of the Komsomol Central Committee Higher Komsomol School, covering 10,000 subjects, the same questions were asked not only of workers but of members of other socioprofessional groups.

The results clearly illustrate various ratios between realized internal and external necessity or, in other words, freedom and necessity in the labor area which, judging by the breakdown of sociological indicators, directly depend on the specific type of work. In round figures, considering the arithmetic mean of the time of manifestation of the need to work, based on the answers to the three questions, the following becomes apparent: engineering-technical and scientific workers were in a leading position from the viewpoint of the level of development and popularity of the need to work (5.3 hours daily). This situation is entirely justified and explainable when the need to work develops at a faster pace among social groups which, based on the nature of their activities, are engaged primarily in complex and frequently creative labor. The closest to that group in terms of the development of a social need to work was the group of workers at industrial enterprises (4.91 hours per day). The gap between these groups in terms of the period of work performed under the influence of an inner need (work by habit) was quite small--under 0.4 hours per working day. This indicator among industrial workers exceeds by 0.11 hours the mean figures characteristic of the entire selected group.

Let us point out that at leading enterprises, where the achievements of scientific and technical progress are being applied more completely, labor conditions are being improved and opportunities are being created for the growth of the workers, in terms of skill and profession, the overall indicator was even higher.

Thus, at three machine tool-building plants in Moscow, it averaged 5.14 hours, which is close to the highest indicator shown by people engaged in creative mental work. In 1964, the average value of the conventional amount of time of work based on need in the same collectives was 4.8 hours. In other words, over the past 15 years it had increased by more than 30 minutes. Given such dynamics, it is possible to assert that the developed socialist society is gradually creating favorable and equalizing opportunities for converting labor into a prime vital need for workers engaged in both mental and physical labor.

Low indicators were found among the various groups of employees. Clearly, the time has come decisively to review the traditional approach to mental

work which, in its entirety, is interpreted on a blanket basis as an area of labor activeness in which the individual allegedly is offered better prerequisites for the development of the need to work compared with physical labor. Monotonous, simple and unskilled mental work contributes as little to the assertion of an inner need to work as heavy unskilled physical labor. This is concerned, for example, by the similarity of indicators (considerably below average) of the time spent on work based on need among employees (4.19 hours daily) and agricultural workers (4.29 hours daily).

The results of sociological studies reveal that the inner need to work (i.e., the moral or creative freedom or both) can today be measured in terms of a greater amount of time compared with the average necessary amount. In any case, this social phenomenon can be assessed as a possibility, developing into a trend, characteristic of the contemporary stage of transformation of labor activeness into a prime vital need.

However, before labor can become a prime vital need, society must convert to socially homogenous labor, having resolved three basic interrelated problems.

First, we must achieve a relative equalization in the nature, content and condition of labor in town and country, and the conversion of agricultural into a variety of industrial labor.

Second, the most important task in reaching social homogeneity of labor, which is being successfully resolved in the developed socialist society, is the rapprochement and organic merger between physical and mental labor in the production activities of working people employed in different economic sectors.

Third, the combination of mental with physical labor in production activities is in itself not a guarantee that labor will become a prime human need. Relief from heavy manual and unskilled labor and involvement in work requiring a mental effort does not mean in itself that a field for creative work has been made available to the individual.

Work can be not only physical and mental but creative and mechanical, related to the monotonous repetition of the same operation. Creative work alone can become a durable need. As to mechanical work, the volume of which is rapidly growing with technological progress, it is tiring and undereffective. It is a question mainly of operations related to work on a conveyor belt, computations, lengthy concentration of attention, etc., which could be programmed and taken over by machines.

The maximal liberation of man from unproductive waste of physical, mental and nervous energy, and the elimination of professions involving mechanical (both physical and mental) work or, since this is practically impossible to achieve entirely, at least an equal distribution of such work among all workers, is a prerequisite for the transformation of labor into a prime vital need.

In discussing the strengthening of the material and spiritual foundations of the socialist way of life and the shaping of the new man, in the CPSU Central

Committee accountability reports to the 26th party congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev particularly singled out the need to reorganize labor activities and to provide indications of the specific means to improve them. "Soviet society," he pointed out, "is a society of working people. The party and the state continue to dedicate a great deal of effort to make human labor not only more productive but more meaningful, interesting and creative. In this case the elimination of manual, unskilled and heavy physical labor must play the most important role.... This is not only an economic but a major social problem. Its solution means the elimination of major obstacles on the way to the transformation of labor into a prime vital need for every person." Therefore, the conversion of labor into a durable vital need of every working person becomes one of the most important items of the CPSU social program under developed socialist conditions.

A specific study of the actual extent to which labor is needed proves that such labor has not as yet become universal, not to mention the only form of labor activeness. The way of life of the people and their style of behavior develop differently, even among people operating under identical social conditions or belonging to one and the same professional group.

Along with objective factors such as the impossibility, given the level reached in production development and organization, to be limited to the norm of working time during which people work on the basis of need, subjective reasons are active as well (rapid fatigue, lack of interest in the very process or type of work, the low consciousness of some workers, recurrences of petit bourgeois and philistine concepts of labor, consumerist feelings and, finally, the underdeveloped need to work among many workers or even its lack in a certain segment of society), which predetermine the combination of labor based on need with labor based on obligation, i.e., coerced labor.

In summing up the results of sociological observations, we can say that more than one-half of the workers spend most of their working time under the influence of the inner need to work, which has become a habit, although it can still not be described as a communist need in the strict meaning of the term. A clear trend toward an increased share of labor based on need, within the overall social labor, may be noted in the developed socialist society. This means an organic blending between the process of converting labor into a prime vital need for every working person with the process of increasing effect of the creative function of socialist labor. According to Marx, the peak of the liberation of labor is found in the assertion of labor free from all interests other than that in the work itself.

As the degree of freedom in the labor activeness of the Soviet people grows, research and creative functions begin to predominate. The orientation toward creative work, as the study of the results of our investigation indicates, is becoming one of the predominant features in the mind and behavior of the various socioprofessional groups within socialist society, as shown in the table below.



Type of answer	Average, random selection	Industrial workers	Agricultural workers and kolkhoz members	Engineering and technical personnel	Employees	Scientific workers
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Preference shown for work requiring independent development, research and creative thinking	57.7	54.9	36.0	68.2	48.6	81.0
Preference for work in which everything is regulated and actions are precisely defined	18.1	20.6	48.0	8.2	14.5	6.3
No preference	16.0	16.7	9.2	16.9	30.4	7.2

In assessing the data (in percentage of surveyed individuals per groups of 10,000), let us reemphasize that in order for work to become a source of enjoyment and an inner conscious need, the same key applies in resolving the problems of developing the capability of the people and shaping within them a creative attitude toward the work, while the work itself must increasingly become creative in terms of content and nature.

The fact that on an average nearly 60 percent of the surveyed workers show a preference for the creative aspects of their work is an important result of the survey. This applied not only to scientific and engineering and technical workers but members of the working class, among whom the share of people with a creative orientation comes closer to the median indicators. In terms of percentile figures they exceed the number of workers who prefer the strictly regulated noncreative labor by a factor of 2.6. It is indicative that at all three surveyed Moscow enterprises over a 15-year period the number of workers in which a creative interest in labor predominates increased by 17 percent.

It is natural to assume that in the course of social changes in the countryside and on the basis of the application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress among workers engaged in physical labor, an orientation toward creative work will be increasing in the countryside.

The process of development of communist labor is not exhausted by objective changes in the nature and content of labor activeness or the new status of the working person in society. As we emphasized, the effect of a number of subjective factors related, in particular, to improvements in the motivational systems, based on the comprehensive application of socialist labor incentive methods, is of essential importance in this process. Changes in the motivations for socialist labor in terms of inner convictions depict the specific dialectics of material and spiritual labor incentives.

The communists have never absolutized ideological motivations as the only incentive for labor activeness under the conditions of the new society. The summed-up experience in building communism and the study of specific sociological research lead to the conclusion that as a whole the content and social significance of labor attract the Soviet people just as much as wages. Gradually but steadily socialist labor is becoming the basic form of orientation in the life of the Soviet people and its social prestige is rising steadily.

Socialist labor is largely a form of independent activity which, although not to a full extent so far is coming considerably closer to the ideal of human activity in a communist society in which the development of human forces will be given full scope (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," vol 25, part II, p 387). The meaning of the conscious and creative self-assertion of the individual is becoming increasingly easy to understand in the course of building the new society.

The process of converting labor into a prime vital need is a necessary prerequisite for the satisfaction of other social and individual requirements: communication, self-assertion, realization of creative possibilities and confidence in the future. The process of interaction with these higher social needs leads to the transformation of the need to work itself, enriching its content and giving it a more significant personality meaning.

Under mature socialist conditions the humanism of liberated labor which contributes to the harmonious development of man as the subject of social progress, is manifested vividly. We can speak of a real development of the individual only if labor becomes a vital need rather than a burdensome necessity. Only in such a case can we harmoniously combine the interests of the individual, the collective and society at large. On the other hand, man becomes truly free only when the expectations and demands of society coincide with his own.

In the mature socialist society the need to work is a starting point in defining the criteria of sensible human needs as well as their highest limit. It protects man from the danger of a consumerist approach to life, which hinders political and labor initiative and is manifested in violations of production discipline and the norms of socialist community life which leads to neglecting the activities for the good of society and which contributes to known labor methods for obtaining material and other goods to the detriment of the social interest. A. S. Makarenko saw in "the selection and development of human needs and leading them to the moral height which is possible

only in a classless society and which alone can inspire man in the struggle for further advancement" the deepest meaning of all educational work (A. S. Makarenko, "Sochineniya" [Works]. In seven volumes, vol 4, Moscow, 1957, p 39).

The main factor which governs the comprehensive conversion of labor into a prime vital need at the developed socialist stage is found in the efforts of the CPSU on the reorganization of the entire area of labor activity based on the organic combination of the achievements of scientific and technical progress with the advantages of the socialist economic system and the molding of a communist attitude toward labor in the Soviet people.

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## ROLE OF TECHNOLOGY IN ACCELERATING TECHNICAL PROGRESS

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[Article by A. Pliner]

[Text] The scientific and technical revolution formulates a number of basic requirements concerning the planned management of the national economy with a view to reaching the level of production forces needed for laying the material and technical foundations for communism. Along with the faster development of science and its experimental base, such requirements include above all the revolutionary reorganization of technology. The "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" call for a conversion to the mass application of highly efficient machine systems and technological processes which ensure comprehensive production mechanization and automation and the technical retooling of its main sectors.

### I.

Economic intensification and enhanced effectiveness are largely determined by essentially new progressive technologies--the most revolutionary elements in the production process. It is precisely essentially new technology, created as a result of the use of fundamental discoveries in the natural sciences, that radically transforms the production process and triggers the tempestuous development of new labor tools needed for its implementation.

The solution of complex technological problems on the basis of the achievements of the natural sciences calls for systematic extensive research and the economically justified utilization of its achievements in industry (and in material production in general). Under contemporary conditions such research is conducted most successfully through the joint efforts of academic, VUZ and sectorial scientific institutions and, frequently, in various areas of knowledge.

Joint work, which enjoys substantial independence from any kind of strictly departmental type of influence, is more systematic and faster. This is convincingly confirmed by the long cooperation which has existed between the electrical engineering industry and the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Electric Welding imeni Ye. O. Paton. Thanks to this cooperation essentially new welding processes and most modern equipment for their

implementation have been repeatedly developed; the use of new processes has been broadened, including in areas in which they were previously considered inapplicable.

For more than 40 years the cooperation between the Institute of Electric Welding imeni Ye. O. Paton and scientific research organizations and enterprises in various sectors has contributed a great deal to the development of technical progress. Some large-scale operations carried out under the guidance of the institute have brought about radical changes in technological processes and the creation of new production sectors. For example, electric slag metal welding led to the creation of a new metallurgical sector--electroslag smelting and electroslag casting. As a result of joint operations the production of multiple-layered petroleum pipes and others was developed. The institute's successes have been largely due to the existence of a good experimental-production base. As a rule, the institute supplied industry with thoroughly developed and comprehensively tested technology. The funds allocated for the development of experimental bases of scientific research organizations are quickly restored as a result of the increased labor productivity of the scientific organizations and allow us successfully to resolve more problems with a lesser number of working people.

The ZIL Production Association is fruitfully cooperating with several of the largest scientific centers in the country, such as Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov, the Atomic Energy Institute imeni I. V. Kurchatov, the Institute of Electric Welding imeni Ye. O. Paton, the Moscow Higher Technical School imeni N. E. Bauman, the All-Union Scientific Research, Planning and Design Institute of Metallurgical Machinery, the Tulachermet Scientific Production Association, the Scientific Research Institute of the Technology of the Automobile Industry, and others. The potential of the scientific centers has been used not only at the stage of development of ideas but mainly at the stages of development of essentially new technologies, the creation of equipment prototypes and their manufacturing, experimental-industrial exploitation and utilization in mass production. The combined efforts of scientists and specialists made it possible to make radical changes in production technology at the ZIL Industrial Association: the application of electroslag metal smelting, laser technology in welding parts and metal hardening, cross rolling of automotive parts, high-frequency electric current heat processing, comprehensive mechanization and automation of a number of production operations, including the use of robots, and asynchronous assembly conveyor belts. The laser welding of cardan shafts of trucks doubled their life span. The laser welding of the cutting blade area of a stamping tool, for example, increased its durability by a factor of 2-4. The metal powder spraying of the body of a water pump engine extended its usefulness by a factor of 6. As a result, within a 6-year period labor productivity at the ZIL Association increased by nearly one-half.

The needs of the national economy and the further development of science and technology (space research, research of the world's oceans, super-deep well drilling, etc.) called for the development of cable products which would work reliably and stably under extreme circumstances (deep vacuum, low and high temperatures and pressures, influence of powerful flows of nuclear

radiations, and chemically aggressive environments). This problem was resolved thanks to the application of an essentially new radiation technology which was developed through the joint efforts of scientists of several USSR Academy of Sciences institutes, the Ministry of Chemical Industry and the cable industry facilities of the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry. The use of radiation technology in the electrical insulation and cable sub-sectors in the field of electrical engineering made it possible, by modifying polymers, to obtain materials possessing entirely new qualities as well as reliable items. The economic results of the application of such technology in the electrical engineering industry exceeded 80 million rubles during the 10th Five-Year Plan. Currently, the new technology is entering many other production sectors. The necessary equipment for its utilization, developed by the physicists, is improving. Control of production processes is becoming automated with the help of computers.

Let us note yet another aspect of the problem of essentially new technologies, which are already today indicated by life and practical experience. In many industrial sectors (the energy, chemical, petroleum, petrochemical, metallurgical, ore mining, cement, etc.) technical development in recent decades has taken place primarily by increasing the unit capacity of basic equipment. In a number of cases this growth has approached its peak. Any further development in this direction becomes either impossible or inexpedient. Science and practical experience indicate that the solution lies in changing production technologies in order to ensure further progress. Thus, in the petroleum refining industry first-generation plants (with an annual refining capacity not exceeding 3 million tons) used a simplified technology in refining and cracking and produced a limited variety of items. Second-generation plants (with a 12-14 million ton capacity) proved inefficient on the basis of traditional technology (requiring extensive territory and a large number of workers, and high production cost). The third-generation giants (with a capacity of up to 20 million tons or more) were no longer based on increasing the unit capacity of the systems but on essentially new technological solutions. Instead of few, as in the past, they use dozens of new extensively combined processes and ensure the production of a wide variety of high-quality items. The combination of technological processes proved to be the most productive, for their continual operations began to play a major role; power outlays and the size of the area and of overall plant facilities were reduced.

Despite the entire tremendous importance of joint research among scientists among academic, VUZ and sectorial scientific institutions in the development of essentially new technologies, their entirely insufficient development must be acknowledged. For example, in the electrical engineering industry, as in many other sectors, the possibility of extensively developing research jointly with academic and VUZ institutes in the area of essentially new technologies are being used by far not completely. The Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry finances about 50 problem and sectorial VUZ laboratories but only a few of them are engaged in such work. A similar situation prevails in other industrial sectors. The VUZ sectorial laboratories are insufficiently used in joint research leading to the creation of

the latest technological systems. A certain exception is found in the Ministry of Chemical Industry and the USSR Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry.

However, the VUZs have substantial possibilities of doing research in the development of essentially new technologies. They account for nearly one-half of all of the country's doctors and candidates of sciences. The VUZs have cadres of scientists in all fields of knowledge and are fed by a steady influx of talented youth. That is why the VUZs can engage in comprehensive intersectorial and interdisciplinary research, i.e., operate in the areas where the sciences and the sectors cross and where the most significant discoveries of our time are taking place.

The fact that major problems and difficulties, related to the fact that they are not given capital investments for the development of experimental bases or funds for materials and equipment exist in VUZ scientific research should not be concealed. VUZs have no priority in obtaining the latest equipment. Nevertheless, they are trying to surmount such difficulties and to upgrade their scientific and technical potential. Let us refer to the positive example of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education of the Russian Federation. It created a scientific association operating on a cost-effectiveness basis in 1978. By 1980 it included the laboratories of 71 VUZs, 35 scientific research institutes, 24 experimental design bureaus and 40 experimental production facilities. The federation VUZs are engaged in research projects worth in excess of 1.2 billion rubles per year.

However, as we have seen, as a whole the situation is not all that satisfactory. Practical experience proves that the development of essentially new technologies by sectorial scientific organizations and enterprises, assuming that their specialists are engaged in such tasks without maintaining close ties with academic and VUZ institutions, is rather infrequent. A number of reasons may be found for the low fruitfulness of the work in such cases: delays in obtaining scientific information, difficulties in the development of ideas created in the basic sciences, i.e., their utilization (transformation) in new technological processes and the insufficient experimental-testing facilities for research, tests, investigations and determination of optimal solutions, not to mention the great disparities in scientific potential.

## II.

Lagging in technological developments may be largely explained by the insufficient attention paid to problems of new technologies (and of technology in general) on the part of planning and economic organs which control scientific and technical progress. A narrow departmental approach is felt here as well. The development of new technologies is quite labor-intensive and their application frequently requires substantial capital outlays and, sometimes, new construction. The traditional solution used by these organs is to move in a different direction. It is no accident that on a national scale every year about 3,000 models of machines, instruments, apparatus and only about 100

different technological processes are mastered. Most of them are developments related to production mechanization and automation and essentially new technological processes are isolated occurrences.

Meanwhile, the efficiency of such processes is considerably superior to economic results based on other types of application of new technology. In the electrical engineering industry, for example, during the period of experimentation aimed at improving the management of scientific and technical development, a number of projects were completed in the technological field. What were the results? In 11 years (1969-1979) the annual economic results of enhancing the technical production standard increased by a factor of 3.5. The share of this result, as reflected in lowering production costs, increased by one-half. Wherever revolutionary changes took place in technology such as, for example, in the production of low-tension equipment and semiconductor valves, the results were incomparably better. Savings from increased technical production standards at enterprises in these subsectors within the same period of time (1969-1979) increased, respectively, by a factor of 6 and 13.

However, despite the great efficiency of new technologies, we note alarming cases of curtailed outlays for research by some sectorial scientific organizations, whose research would benefit from the achievements of the basic sciences and would find means for their utilization. For example, in 1973 the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Electrothermal Equipment used 8.2 percent of its total outlays on research, 7.5 percent in 1975 and only 2.7 percent in 1977.

The gravity of this phenomenon lies in the fact that as a rule there is no specific client for research projects. The client should be a ministry which should always be concerned with the development of a scientific base for problems on all levels. Should a diminution of research be noted in some units of a sectorial scientific organization, the ministry should take measures to eliminate the lag. This is the only way to maintain the leading scientific and technical potential of the sector. Naturally, similar tasks face the other material production sectors.

Obviously, nor should the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology stand aside. Its control over the planning and implementation of research projects in the most advanced technological areas could substantially influence their development.

The lack of attention to technological problems on the part of planning and economic organs also explains the disproportions which arise in the development of individual interrelated industrial sectors and in material production in general, thus holding back its progress. Thus, within a 5-year period ferrous metallurgy spends about 10-12 billion rubles on equipment repairs. Meanwhile, capital investments in metallurgical machine building amount to 120/th of that sum. The more extensive use of new progressive processes in metallurgy (continuous steel casting, vacuuming, heat hardening, etc.) is restrained by the shortage of equipment the manufacturing of which is



extremely insufficient. The share of metallurgical equipment is declining even at leading machine-building enterprises which, from their very beginning, were the main base for the production of such equipment.

As a whole, state capital investments in machine building account for about 6 percent of industrial capital investments. Investments in sectors consuming the equipment receive approximately tenfold that amount.

It is also no accident that in material production sectors, machine building and scientific research organizations above all, have assigned a subordinate role to technological units and technologists. To this day both technologists and technology are given second priority. As a rule, they are assigned problems related to the development of traditional technological processes used in the manufacturing of new machines, equipment and instruments, which have been developed by the designers regardless of whether or not this took place on their own initiative or in coordination with the customers and meets the latter's technical requirements. The requirements of the customer are developed by scientific research organizations whose technologists also play a subordinate role in seeking means to upgrade equipment productivity and to create new machines which would be more economical but would still be based on traditional technology. It is only rarely that some economic sectors have technological organizations engaged not only in updating and improving existing technologies but in looking for new processes as well. Even less frequent are specialized technological subunits operating in close relationship (in cooperation with, as participants in comprehensive programs, etc.) with scientific institutions of academies of sciences and VUZs (union and republic) in the search for essentially new technologies based on discoveries made in the area of basic research.

The result of the long neglect of technology and, consequently, of the profession of technologist has been that young people avoid dedicating themselves to such a "nonprestigious" profession. Industry, construction and other economic sectors and their scientific organizations are short of technological cadres. Such shortages are felt even by leading enterprises and associations.

The current salaries of technologists are below those of designers holding corresponding positions. At enterprises in the machine-building, metal-processing, ferrous metallurgy and several other sectors the salaries of technologists are lower by one grade than those of designers with equal qualifications. For example, the salary of a first-category engineer-technologist is the same as that of a second-category design engineer; the salary of a second-category engineer-technologist is the same as that of a third-category design engineer, etc. This situation hinders the attracting and retaining of highly skilled technological specialists in technological subunits.

The need for a drastic change in the attitude toward problems of the reorganization of technology on the part of planning and economic organs and scientific institutions on all levels, academic and VUZ in particular, is an urgent and persistent requirement of our time. Such problems must assume

their proper position in state plans, the comprehensive programs for scientific and technical development and the plans of the scientific organizations. Equally needed are corresponding measures for economic and material incentive, the training and retraining of cadres and other measures aimed at the long-range development of science, technology and production.

It is important to note that a number of unresolved problems remain in the organization of the creation of essentially new technologies or the radical improvement of traditional technological processes. So far no precise criteria have been developed for evaluating and analyzing technological processes used in the various industrial sectors. Nor is there a system governing their choice and controlled application. The extensive inclusion in the state plan and the comprehensive programs of projects related to the creation and application of essentially new technologies would help to resolve these problems. Naturally, this would require developed methods for forecasting technological changes and understanding the logical ties between them and scientific achievements, above all in the field of basic research. We need properly developed experimental bases to test and develop the latest technologies both in scientific organizations and in industry. Also important are problems of stimulating interest in the extensive application of essentially new technologies. Today their assessment and encouragement are hardly distinct from the many projects related to the creation and application of new equipment. The relatively modest bonuses for new technology are no longer fulfilling their mobilizing role. Let us recall K. Marx's stipulation that the product of mental labor--science--has always been valued far below its worth, for the working time needed for its reproduction can not be compared with the working time required for its initial development (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 26, part I, p 355).

However, this aspect of the problem (the rating and stimulation of basically new technologies) has neither been developed nor resolved yet. In our view, the solution itself should be divided into two stages. During the first stage steps could be taken within the framework of existing regulations and means and methods of stimulating the organization and material incentive of scientists and specialists for research, development and application of essentially new technologies. However, such incentive and material bonuses should be substantially different from the ones used in similar operations such as, for example, for the development of new equipment. This can be achieved by including in all the computations of bonuses and incentives a certain coefficient, 1.5-2 for example, or an even higher figure in the case of particularly complex and effective cases.

It is natural that already at the first stage a number of difficult problems will arise, from the mental solution of which could be achieved only as a result of experimentation, even on the scale of a single sector. Such an experimentation would be the second stage in resolving the problem. It should mandatorily involve the participation of academic and VUZ scientific institutions engaged in the type of basic research which could be used in the

study and development of new technologies. However, the industrial sector which will be the eventual consumer and will reap the economic benefits of the latest technologies, should head such experimentation.

Today we can anticipate problems which should be investigated, developed and resolved in the course of such experimentation. This applies, in particular, to determining the amount of necessary outlays to finance the research, development and application of the latest technology and the share of such outlays of each participant (organization); problems related to the project's network; computing possible economic results of the utilization of the latest technology and methods for determining actual results; procedure for and amounts of incentive and material bonuses awarded to the individual participants on the basis of their contribution; sources of funds for such purposes.

A number of long-range steps must be taken to ensure a decisive change in terms of accelerating the research, development and mastery of essentially new technologies. A new approach is needed to the education, training and retraining of technological specialists. The time has come to change stereotyped engineering and scientific and technical thinking so that problems related to technology and technologists would assume their suitable position in modern industry and contemporary scientific research.

In considering the role of the higher school in resolving problems of technological reorganization, we could say that it could make an invaluable contribution to the acceleration of the process by organizing the training of scientific and engineering cadres especially for research, development and mastery of essentially new technologies in various economic sectors, in close cooperation with scientific institutions engaged in basic research. Particular attention should be paid to developing experience in such cooperation and in joint work by specialists operating in different fields of knowledge and economic sectors. The students should develop the ability to assess applied technologies, to analyze the achievements of basic research and to find possibilities of their utilization for the creation of essentially new technologies.

On a parallel basis it would be possible to organize in the various economic sectors the retraining of specialist cadres dealing with technological problems.

### III.

As a rule, progressive technology has a considerably longer lifespan compared with machines and individual items. The process of its obsolescence develops more slowly. That is why the task of greatly improving technology as a whole and applying individual new processes, particularly when they "widen" bottlenecks or ensure the continuity of processes, assumes great importance. The main criterion of the expediency of technological improvements and the effectiveness of the selected method (alternative) is the extent of increased labor productivity, including the degree of elimination of manual labor. Alternatives of technological improvements which yield modest results in terms of labor productivity, mechanization and automation deserve no

attention and should be discarded. In such cases the search for a better alternative should go on. It is thus that leading industrial enterprises have achieved significant results. For example, in the course of the reconstruction and technical retooling of the shops at the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine, technology, particularly in steel casting, underwent considerable improvements. During the past two five-year plans, the increased production of cast iron (1.4 million tons) and steel (2.9 million tons) proved to be less expensive by a factor of 2-2.5 compared with the installation of the same type of new production capacities.

Particular attention should be paid to the use of additional technological processes aimed at processing production waste and, therefore, ensuring the more comprehensive utilization of the initial raw material. The greatness of this task and the opportunities become apparent if we considered the amount of waste which is dumped. Every year more than 2 billion cubic meters or 100 million tons of metallurgical slag and almost as much coal ash are dumped. The value of the processing of waste is that this brings us closer to waste-less production which prevents environmental pollution, i.e. to the future type of material production. Some enterprises have achieved substantial results in this area. For example, with the active participation of the scientific and technical societies, the Azovstal' Plant was able to achieve the full comprehensive utilization of blast and Martin furnace slags and to put an end to the pollution of the environment and the loss of land on which the waste is dumped. Slags are processed into valuable construction materials (pumice, gravel, granulated slag) and high-quality fertilizers. In 1979 alone the plant supplied to consumers more than 3 million tons of pumice and granulated slag and 689,000 tons of phosphate fertilizers produced from waste.

Even more important in terms of the acceleration of progress and increasing production effectiveness will be the fact that the new technologies will help to reorganize them decisively, and to break down ossified narrowly sectorial barriers whenever they hold back the comprehensive utilization of natural resources and the production of a variety of materials and items the manufacturing of which is today dispersed among different sectors and departments. Practical experience has confirmed that such technologies also indicate, as a rule, that a continuity of processes has been achieved and, consequently, that energy resources are being conserved. However, it is precisely the narrow departmental and sectorial approaches to the solution of economic problems and, particularly, the problem of accelerating scientific and technical progress, are a major hindrance. Examples of lengthy and totally unjustified delays in resolving major national economy problems may be cited, such as the comprehensive use of the coal of the Kansk-Achinsk Basin, and the Khibinsk apatite ores. The efficient utilization of the coal of such an extremely rich deposit requires its energy-technological processing which yields semi-coke, resin and gas; some of the semi-coke is subsequently resinified and used as a smokeless household fuel. However, "department interests" are hindering proper research and development of technologies. The coal producers acknowledge as their only obligation the extraction and shipment of raw coal; the power workers burn it and the ministries of chemical industry and construction materials industry are

unwilling to see that this basin represents a raw material base for them. A special experimental-industrial system known as ETKh-175 has been "under construction" at the Krasnoyarsk TETs-2 ever since 1976, for the development of a technology for the energy-technological utilization of the coal. Several institutes in different sectors have been "working" on methods for the development of liquid fuel from the coal mined in this basin for the past 20-25 years. However, matters have not progressed beyond theoretical developments. No experimental-industrial facilities for testing the method have been created.

To this day the Khibinsk apatite ores are not used comprehensively, although they have been extracted for some time. In addition to apatite, the ores contain substantial quantities of nepheline, titanite, titanomagnetite, aegirite, and rare metals. However, only apatite is extracted from the ores and less than 12 percent of the methylene. Furthermore, valuable side elements are not extracted in the processing of apatite, amounting to thousands of tons of rare earth elements, fluorine and strontium, which are irrecoverably wasted.

Together with a number of research and design sectorial institutes, the scientists at the USSR Academy of Sciences Kola Branch have developed and successfully tested a technology for extracting minerals from ores in a closed cycle. A tried system for their concentration has been developed, leading to the production of apatite, nepheline, titanite, and titanomagnetite concentrates. The processing of apatites resulting in the production of complex fertilizers, fluorine, strontium and rare earth elements has reached the level of experimental production. All of this, however, remains unutilized. The industrial sector engaged in the production of fertilizers ignores them. Reality dictates the need for the fastest possible conversion in such cases to the creation of industrial complexes, the gaining of experience in handling them, including the breakdown of strictly sectorial frameworks, on the one hand, and establishing relations between such complexes and various sectors, on the other.

One of the decisive prerequisites in the search for and development of essentially new technologies in the future is systematic work on designing and creating "enterprises of the future." The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers Decree "On Measures to Upgrade the Work Effectiveness of Scientific Organizations and to Accelerate the Use of the Achievements of Science and Technology in the National Economy," dated 24 September 1968, stipulates that "on the basis of scientific and technical forecasts on most important problems and forecasts on the technical and economic development of individual economic sectors, USSR ministries and departments and councils of ministers of union republics must organize the development of projects (based on the technical and economic reports) of enterprises and production facilities on a long-range basis (10-15 years) as well as models of machines and equipments for the future, with a view to developing the necessary scientific and technical base for converting to qualitatively new technological processes and increasing labor productivity by several hundred percent compared with the present level."

Not much experience exists in such work in some industrial sectors. However, even the existing one is of considerable interest. For example, the USSR Ministry of Coal Industry has designed and is building "mines of the future" in which the miners' labor productivity will be sevenfold higher compared with the 1975 level. This will be achieved by introducing major changes in the process of breaking up, shifting (transporting) the rock and the coal, accelerating the opening of underground shafts and propping, selective coal extraction, etc. Equipment involving extensive automation of machines and mechanisms is being created for the implementation of the new technological processes, including some with remote control. An automated mine will enable us to extract coal without miners and labor productivity will quadruple that of today's nonautomated machinery. All manual operations (which are quite difficult) will be totally eliminated in the opening of shafts and the speed of preparatory work for shaft opening will quintuple. In the mines the coal and the rocks will be transported with conveyor belts instead of by rail. Working conditions in the "mines of the future" will be improved considerably.

The Berezovskiy No 1 Strip Mine, which is now being installed at the Kansk-Achinsk coal basin, represents such an "enterprise of the future," i.e., an enterprise operating on a new technological level. Labor productivity per worker in coal extraction will be triple that of the current strip mines in the basin. The new enterprise will be using assembly-line technology for stripping and extraction operations, applying systems of continuous-action machines with a productivity of 5,250 cubic meters per hour, consisting of a rotary excavator, conveyor belts, loaders and dump-shaping machinery. The Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building has already developed an excavator for the first section of the mine; the balance of the equipment will be developed according to the installation schedule. Let us note that the delivery of the coal from the strip mine to the Berezovskaya GRES No 1, some 20 kilometers away, will be by conveyor belt mounted in the shafts.

The first part of the Atommash Plant was completed within the shortest possible time. It can be justifiably considered a "plant of the future" both in terms of technological processes and equipment and the standard of worker and specialist cadres.

The exceptional importance of designing and building "enterprises of the future" lies not only in the creation of a scientific base for the future but in the elaboration of practical programs for the implementation of new principles and the pursuit of new directions which ensure accelerated technical progress. Currently it is following a direction along which the conversion from automated lines and robots to automated plants is already becoming apparent. This process is gradually taking place under our very eyes and will begin to gather strength and speed in the near future. Lenin taught the economists always to look ahead in the direction of technical progress. Today this applies not only to economists but to all specialists involved in managing technical developments. The process of conversion to automated plants would be as impossible without radical changes in technology as was in its time the successful use of computers and automated control systems on the

basis of traditional management methods and conventional documentation. Hence, unless we undertake today the extensive reorganization of technology in a variety of production areas, it will unquestionably fall behind the pace of technical progress.

That is why the importance of the "enterprises of the future" is important to us also because their design and creation comprehensively resolve the problems of the most advanced technological processes and the economical and rational utilization of natural resources (raw materials and materials), equipment and manpower conservation, as well as improvements in production variety and quality and matters of specialization and cooperation.

Designing and building "enterprises of the future" is of major practical importance. On the basis of the latest technologies and technical facilities, developed for the "enterprises of the future," such developments may contribute to a certain extent to the retooling of existing enterprises. All possibilities exist of engaging in such retooling not after the completion of the "enterprises of the future" but alongside them. This will ensure a tremendous acceleration of technical progress, for the main productive capital and cadres are concentrated in currently operating enterprises.

Naturally, work on designing and creating "enterprises of the future" must be continuous. For example, an enterprise which was planned during the 10th Five-Year Plan is under construction. By 1985, however, it will become necessary to begin drafting a new design for the "future enterprise" which will be built in the 1990s. This is dictated by the pace of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution which is essentially a technological revolution.

Work on designing and developing "enterprises of the future" should not be made optional according to whether or not a sector is willing or unwilling to undertake it. In our view, it must be included in the state plans and comprehensive programs. This is the most realistic means for the implementation of the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on matters of accelerating technical development in production. We must bear in mind in this case that progressive industrial sectors actively engaged in the search for new methods to accelerate it could and should make a major contribution to the creation of "enterprises of the future" thus contributing to the fastest possible progress, particularly in machine building.

Competition of ideas on different levels, such as between academic and sectorial scientific organizations and among such organizations within a sector and even a subsector, is a very important prerequisite for the successful solution of problems in the area of research and development of the latest technologies and advanced equipment. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree we mentioned states on the subject that "with a view to ensuring extensive competition in the area of scientific and technical developments, preventing the appearance of monopolies in the solution of most important scientific and technical problems and ensuring that the most effective means for their implementation are selected by USSR

ministries and departments and councils of ministers of union republics, the USSR Academy of Sciences and the sectorial academies of sciences to assign if necessary scientific research and even engineering, design and technological developments to several organizations using different methods so that the best scientific, technical and economic solutions may be chosen at the early stages...."

Let us note that such experience in competing ideas is being acquired in some sectors in industry, construction, architecture, and others. In the electrical engineering industry, for example, in the past as well the development of most complex equipment was assigned on a competitive basis to several organizations simultaneously. This method yielded good results but has been used less of late. Nevertheless, it is still sporadically applied when complex problems arise. Thus, the development of a hydrogenerator with a very large unit capacity of 600 megawatts for the Rogunskaya GES, on the Vakhsh River, was assigned on a competitive basis to two associations: Elektrosila in Leningrad and Uralelektrotyazhmash in Sverdlovsk, which completed this project in 1978-1979. The results were considered by a ministry scientific council and the Uralelektrotyazhmash variant, which involved total water cooling of the rotor and the stator, which enhances the generator's efficiency, was adopted.

The task of preventing the faults caused by the monopoly position of a scientific developing organization or manufacturing enterprise remains and may even become aggravated with the current system of production concentration and the integration of science with production. An instructive example is the adverse effect of the monopoly situation enjoyed by the Experimental Scientific Research Institute of Metal-Cutting Machine Tools (ENIMS) on the development of the latest methods for metal processing in machine building. Such methods (electrophysical, electrochemical, laser, pulse, etc.) make it possible radically to change metal processing technology and sharply to curtail if not entirely eliminate metal cutting and to lower equipment metal intensiveness. However, it is precisely ENIMS which is protecting the long-obsolete metal-cutting technology by opposing the use of the latest technological processes in machine building and the development and industrial production of equipment for the implementation of the new processes. It is able to do so because of its excessively broad rights to allow (or hinder) the production of new metal-processing equipment. It is largely thanks to this policy pursued by ENIMS that as many as 8 million tons of chips form in the country.

The Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool-Building Industry planned the development and production of new machine tools and machines based mainly on traditional technology during the 11th Five-Year Plan. However, the increased level of mechanization and automation, programmed control and others which are stipulated in its plans will make no revolutionary changes in the production process. For example, it is planning the production of comprehensively mechanized and automated equipment suitable to currently used technological processes in casting.



In other words, a contradiction has appeared and is intensifying in the sector between the objective requirements of intersectorial integration in the development of science, technology and economics and the integration of departmental structures, which are aimed mainly at improving traditional technologies within strictly sectorial limits. This contradiction must be quickly resolved through organizational and economic methods in the interest of the national economy. The monopoly enjoyed by ENIMS must be eliminated and prevented to appear in other similar cases. Technologists, designers and machine tool builders must become interested in the creation and application of essentially new technologies in metal processing and in producing the necessary equipment to this effect.

Maximal national economic results with minimal outlays are largely the result of progressive technology. It is mainly on it that improvements in the production process depend. It is only the joint work of sectorial, academic and VUZ scientific institutions that can take the problems of essentially new technologies to the front end of creative activities and can accelerate the formulation and fruitful solution of the type of problems which ensure revolutionary reorganizations in the production process and thus lead to a new qualitative development of social production forces.

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## ECONOMIZING ON MATERIALS: PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

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[Article by Yu. Nikitin, deputy minister of electrical equipment industry]

[Text] The thrifty and efficient utilization of all kinds of resources at the disposal of our society is one of the most important principles in the socialist economic management system. The "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" paid particular attention to the need to reach higher production efficiency while observing the strictest possible regimen of savings. Although reserves for achieving material and other outlays, which lie on the surface, are by far not exhausted, the conservation of all types of resources increasingly depends on the efficiency of scientific and engineering solutions, the pace of development of new scientific ideas and their application and the comprehensive and systematic approach to this problem based on upgrading production efficiency. This was reemphasized in the recent CPSU Central Committee Decree "On the Work of the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry on the Conservation of Material and Labor Resources in the Light of the Requirements of the 26th CPSU Congress," which directed our sector and all machine-building industries to engage in a more intensive utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in order to increase the regimen of savings.

### I.

In accordance with the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the production of electrical equipment, which determines the pace of scientific and technical progress in many sectors, will be increased by the electrical equipment industry during the 11th Five-Year Plan and subsequently. To this effect, the entire industrial output must be raised to an essentially new technical level. This precisely is the key to a qualitative reorganization in all economic sectors, which is equal to multiplying the energy, manpower and material resources of the country. Our sector, which consumes virtually all the types of materials produced in the country, can meet this target assignment only as a result of their thrifty and maximally efficient utilization. Therefore, the problem of conservation of materials, metals above all, has become our main problem today and has a tremendous impact on all sectorial activities and end results.

Our industry has a flexible and reliable tool for the solution of this problem--a comprehensive program for economizing on material resources. It is based on the creation and accelerated mastery of new designs, improved technologies, use of progressive processing methods, improving production organization, and using materials which are more efficient from the viewpoint of overall resource outlays.

The point is that as designs and technologies improve and as labor productivity, standardization, rationalization and the application of inventions advance, machine-building output is becoming less costly while the share of the cost of materials in the total cost of the individual items increases. Raw material and fuel extraction are becoming increasingly more expensive with every passing year; furthermore, high-quality machine-building output requires high-grade materials and major outlays. Suffice it to say that outlays per 1 million tons of rolled steel, including capital investments, are as high as 350 million rubles. The economic results obtained in the national economy from the operation of 10 million electric engines of the new standardized series 4A in which, as a result of improved design and technology, steel, cast iron and copper outlays have been reduced by 20-30 percent, is assessed at the same amount today. Bearing in mind that approximately 25 million engines can be produced with 1 million tons of rolled steel, one can imagine the tremendous impact which lowering outlays and improving the efficiency of utilization of materials and mass types of machine-building output has on upgrading the profitability of overall public production.

Naturally, there are many ways to conserve material resources. However, metal conservation is of particular importance to the sector today. It holds one of the leading positions among the machine-building industries in terms of ferrous metal consumption. Ferrous metals account for from 70 to 93 percent of its overall production costs. Furthermore, our goods contain large quantities of expensive nonferrous, rare and rare earth metals. According to a forecast, by the year 2000 some of them will be not simply rare but nonexistent. Today the sector is the biggest consumer of copper, lead and silver. That is why by saving on such expensive and very scarce materials by the gram we achieve tremendous savings of tens or hundreds of millions of rubles.

Sectorial workers, specialists, engineers and technicians are constantly dealing with the conservation of material resources. Substantial results have been achieved during the past 10 years: whereas the volume of output nearly doubled, outlays of rolled ferrous metals, for example, increased by no more than 19.5 percent.

Our workers understand perfectly that the efficiency of the measures taken to conserve metal largely depends on the ability to use the achievements of scientific and technical progress in designing new and updating currently produced goods and developing production technologies and organizational methods. One of the basic directions in the struggle for metal conservation in the sector is the creation and accelerated mastery of designs calling for reduced material intensiveness.

The sectorial system for managing scientific and technical progress was directed toward the accelerated development and application of new highly effective equipment and technology; it was based on an experiment which was initiated in the electrical equipment industry 14 years ago. The experience which was acquired is currently used by more than 20 sectors and has been extensively reflected in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers Decree "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Efficiency and Work Quality."

The experiment covered a most extensive set of measures the main among which were the organizational restructuring of the sector, the creation of scientific-production associations, head scientific-technical subsectorial centers and the institution of chief designers for the various types of equipment, the development of a sectorial system for production quality management, conversion to planning the production of goods based on quality categories, the introduction of a continuous related planning and single source of financing operations related to new equipment and technology "from concept to application," and the economic incentive provided for such work based on end national economic results.

The sectorial system for managing scientific and technical progress made it possible to bring to light the most promising directions in improving the various types of electrical equipment and flexibly to concentrate along these directions all forces and funds. As a result, during the last decade the time for the creation and application of new items in the sector was reduced by an average of a factor of 1.5-2. During the 10th Five-Year Plan alone about 2,000 new types of electrical industry goods were mastered and savings from their use in the national economy totaled about 3 billion rubles; the production of superior-quality goods reached 49 percent. During the last year of the 10th Five-Year Plan alone savings from the use of the new items by consumers increased by 25 percent, compared with an average of 9 percent during previous years. The increased technical production standard during the five-year plan accounted for more than 70 percent of the overall growth of labor productivity and made the conventional release of more than 26,000 people possible.

The entire set of measures aimed at saving material resources enabled us to save more than 400,000 tons of rolled metal and more than 40,000 tons of nonferrous metals during the 10th Five-Year Plan. During that period of time we converted from simple norming of material outlays to their comprehensive economic management based on the "Comprehensive Sectorial System for the Conservation of Material and Manpower Resources," which was approved by the ministerial collegium for 1981-1985. The system covers a broad range of measures along the entire chain from "concepts to application." The development and mastery of new less material-intensive goods, standardized series of mass types of electrical equipment and energy- and material-conserving technology were organized on a planned basis: the work plants of the leading scientific research institutes and design bureaus included strict assignments on the conservation of materials and their implementation was made part of the basic work-effectiveness evaluation indicators as was the case with indicators of the technical standards of output. Nevertheless, we are aware

of the fact that by far not all reserves have been put to use and that the party's Central Committee makes it incumbent upon us decisively to adopt intensive economic management methods and to see to it more persistently that all sectorial units fulfill their assignments on the conservation of metals and other materials and to pay particular attention to the accelerated application of highly economical items, to the technically substantiated replacement of materials in very short supply and to upgrading the rolled metal utilization coefficient. All of this demands the mobilization of most profound reserves and the comprehensive study of production possibilities in the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution.

## II.

The experience acquired by the sector during the decade of systematic work on the conservation of material resources enabled us to identify a number of central problems and to formulate some basic conclusions and suggestions. It had seemed self-evident that the more materials we consumed the greater the likelihood of material losses became. Additional resources were even planned on this basis. A different principle became apparent in the course of the experiment: the larger the amount of materials we used the greater the possibility of conserving them became. The realization of such opportunities follows the entire way from a scientific concept to design and technological development, through production and the use of the items by the consumer. However, it became clear that possibilities of conserving materials were unevenly distributed along this chain. The most essential among them were at the scientific research and design-engineering stages.

Many types of electrical engineering items are produced in millions of units and are used literally everywhere. This includes generators, various types of engines, low-tension equipment, welding equipment, cables, wiring, sources of electric current, lighting equipment, and many others. In the case of such items the development of standardized series in which one or another type of equipment is modified in all areas of its application (each modification being maximally consistent with specific operational conditions) yields substantial economy. This was the principle on which the uniform series of 4A asynchronous electric motors was built. Thanks to the high degree of reliability and efficiency of these items and the considerable reduction in metal intensiveness this yielded extensive savings (200 million rubles). Currently the same principle is followed in the development of standardized series of most mass-produced types of electrical equipment. For example, the new motor series--AI--will make it possible to reduce their weight by an average of 10-15 percent despite the fact that the possibility of improving their design is considered virtually exhausted. Standardized series are developed on the basis of comprehensive programs with the participation of electrical engineers from other CEMA-member countries. Measures have been planned to ensure the manufacturing of such series on the basis of optimal parameters which, in turn, are developed in accordance with the extensive studies made on the application of electrical engineering items and forecasts of economic requirements for electrical equipment possessing specific characteristics and meeting the recommendations of the International Electrical Engineering Commission.

The production of mass types of electrical equipment in uniform all-union and, in the future, international series is a specific method chosen by the electrical equipment industry in our country. Practical experience indicates that this precisely is the way to broaden the possibility of optimizing the characteristics of the equipment, mainly its specific material-intensiveness, the creation of a mass progressive technology and efficient technological equipment and rational production specialization and cooperation. With high-level standardization and on the basis of uniform series specialization can be developed by assembly and individual part. Furthermore, this would enable us to develop efficient methods and to create automated design systems which will enable us to contemplate on the computing stage the rational utilization of materials.

The next link in the economy chain is to improve the quality of the items. The work in this area is based on the principle of satisfying the needs of the national economy for electrical equipment without increasing and even while reducing volumes of output. Increased equipment efficiency--lifespan, reliability, specific load and other consumer qualities--is virtually equivalent to additional output without capital investment outlays or additional use of material resources. It was precisely the idea of such an approach that was properly appreciated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the November 1981 CPSU Central Committee plenum. That is why the creation and accelerated use of highly efficient new equipment became our general direction in the conservation of material resources.

For example, as a result of improving many assemblies and systems, we were able to contain within the 500-kilogram range a turbogenerator developing 800 megawatts. The new series of explosion-proof electric motors for mines will enable us to save annually about 300 tons of copper, more than 500 tons of electrical engineering steel and more than 6,000 tons of rolled ferrous metals.

During the second stage of the sectorial experiment, which began in 1979, the main attention was focused on the formulation and application of economic measures which firmly connected the interests of scientific and technical progress with those of the economic activity of enterprises and which increased their interest in updating their output and improving the technology and organization of output and quality control.

The material-intensiveness indicator is considered basic in quality planning and certification. An overall assessment from the viewpoint of the material intensiveness of the entire sectorial output has been undertaken. The types and groups of items in which this indicator has been reduced with excessive slowness have been identified. It is very important that at the development stage of a new item a reduction in material-intensiveness was planned not on the basis of a comparison with previous and sometimes very unsatisfactory indicators or a compromise agreement of parameters with the consumer but on the basis of the achievements, trends and requirements of scientific and technical progress in this area. It was precisely for this reason that a procedure was formulated according to which all technical assignments for the

development of new and updating currently produced items undergo expert evaluation, which excludes any increase in the material-intensiveness of a specific item compared with worldwide standards.

It is a question of the ability to assess the work efficiency of a new item during the design stage from the viewpoint of the optimal satisfaction of the interests of the specific consumer and the national interest of saving material and energy resources and the ability to find the proper optimizing criterion for our computations and design. In this case extensive and properly organized studies of the use of electrical engineering equipment in the national economy, scientific forecasting, and an efficient system for the coordination of technical assignments for the development of new and updating produced equipment involving competent organizations representing the main consumers of electrical engineering items greatly help the designers.

The efficient method of functional-cost analysis of outlays (FSA) has helped designers and engineers in their efforts to develop a stricter regimen of savings during all the stages of the development of new equipment, including its use by the consumer. This frequently makes it possible to introduce essential changes in design, technological and operational methods and norms and to substantiate the use of simpler designs and thus achieve considerable savings of material resources, metal above all.

FSA is a method of economy and thrift which calls for the application of the functional approach, i.e., the finding of more economical methods allowing the item to perform all required functions. Improvements in one item or another apply to the functions which it performs or should perform. The optimal variant can be selected by comparing the various alternatives of commodity functions in terms of cost. By breaking down the item into functions, FSA offers possibilities of eliminating unnecessary outlays. Bottlenecks are surmounted in the course of the five FSA stages--preparatory, information, analytical, creative and recommendation--in the course of the systematic solution of a number of problems, which include the choice of the object, the study of its functions and cost structure, the search for new technical solutions, technical and economic expert evaluation and submission for manufacturing. A choice of various organizational forms is available during all the FSA stages, particularly the creative one.

For example, at the Elektrosila Production Association in Leningrad, a task force of specialists recruited from all services related to designing and producing the specific item under study, is in charge of looking for means to improve both design and technology. Here the basic FSA method is the application of the theory for resolving invention problems developed in our country. The Elektroluch Production Association recruits specialists from leading scientific research institutes and VUZs such as Moscow Higher Technical School imeni Bauman, the Moscow Energy and the Georgian Polytechnical Institutes in applying FSA. The study involves the participation not only of scientists and instructors but students as well. The unrestrained imagination of the "novices" introduces fresh ideas and destroys the restrictions of stereotypes.

Today examples of efficient use of FSA in the electrical equipment industry could be listed in the hundreds. Here is one of them: as a result of the study of a low-tension item--the series AM-2000 contactors--about 50 suggestions on improving its design, and production technology and organization were submitted at the Elektrosila Production Association in Leningrad. Their implementation will save 250,000 rubles annually and will help to conserve up to 450 kilograms of silver.

Currently about 200 enterprises and associations have developed and are applying more than 1,500 recommendations developed as a result of functional-value analysis. They affect the modernization of electric engines, low-tension equipment, light-generating and cable items, transformers and household equipment.

Having realized the possibilities of FSA, most enterprises and associations in the sector became the main supporters of its application, which is taking place on a mass systematic basis. This work is headed by a ministerial FSA coordination council. Corresponding councils have been set up at all-union industrial associations. Base centers for functional cost analysis have been set up in more than 40 associations, hundreds of enterprises and scientific organizations, and special services have been set up in leading scientific and technical subsectorial centers. A sectorial standard has been drafted regulating the entire FSA work. The obligations of the various services have been clearly demarcated, the method is being promoted and a sectorial competition for best FSA work has been organized.

Nevertheless, all of these efforts are still insufficient. It immediately became clear that the FSA method must have reliable economic support. The experience acquired in its application indicates that the most characteristic reasons for unnecessary outlays are the inefficient use or lack of extensive technical data in item designing, and the insufficient level of information available to the designers regarding itemized costs. In order to eliminate unnecessary outlays, in the course of FSA work the most complete set of information regarding similar projects, progressive solutions, new materials and complementing goods, new technological developments, and so on, must be used. This means that extensive and efficient information gathered in a great variety of areas and covering a tremendous range of problems is necessary.

Here again the problem arises applying not only to FSA information support but in general to improving design operations. It is an open secret that the machine-building industry does not have traditions on material conservation as among aerospace designers and designers working in the defense industry sectors. It is a question of a sum total of ways and means constituting a kind of "secret of mastery" and of the very mentality, orientation and feeling of creative design. In machine building all of this is somewhat different compared to sectors in which there has always been a struggle for each kilogram or even gram of lowering the weight of items. The weight of items produced by the machine-building industry has never been rigidly limited. Sometimes, thinking of the notorious "gross"--greater weight has



been even encouraged in planning the production of machine tools in terms of tonnage. Furthermore, metal conservation assignments have been made truly rigid only recently.

All collectives working in the sector have become convinced that urgent work is needed to master the secrets of conservation and actively to adopt the progressive experience of the aerospace and defense industries. The need to create special services to deal with this problem became apparent. Generally speaking, the exchange of progressive experience in conservation should be organized on the broadest possible intersectorial and national scale. Perhaps we should consider the creation of centers in which this experience would be collected and studied and where methodical materials will be drafted on the use of economical methods and all innovations in design, technology and production organization would be analyzed from the viewpoint of conservation of material resources, possibilities of their application in a great variety of sectors would be studied and specific recommendations on the subject would be issued. Intersectorial courses, conferences, meetings and other similar measures aimed at the sharing of experience in conservation would be very useful. The organization of a system of purposeful exchange of basic and current information on such problems becomes urgent, not only at the stage of ready solutions but on the level of concepts as well. Some kind of "brainstorming" of economic problems would also be possible, involving the participation of researchers, designers, technologists and production organizers working in a great variety of directions and different sectors and areas of the national economy. In a word, we need an efficient widespread experience-sharing system which would enable us to put together even the most minute innovations and traditions, specific solutions and general ideas, and technical means and organizational methods.

### III.

The problem of material-intensiveness is by far not simple, as it might initially appear. Is lowering a specific indicator always advantageous? Unquestionably it is, when it becomes a question of mass-produced types of electrical equipment in which, if an item is produced in the millions, reducing the weight by even one kilogram may yield tremendous savings. Unquestionably, such a reduction would be unprofitable if we are dealing with designs which enable us to economize in principle, on the basis of end national economic results. This is exemplified by the recently mastered production of KRUE--complete distribution systems with electric-gas insulation for super-high tension LEP [Electric Power Transmission Lines]. These are heavy and highly metal-intensive structures. However, the use of the KRUE improves the characteristics, and work reliability and stability of electric power grids to such an extent that in the final account even assessed in terms of the metal used, they yield substantial economic benefits.

This like many other examples convincingly proves that it is the final economy which sometimes becomes apparent only at the consumption stage, rather than the "intermediary" economy is real and advantageous. The principle currently adopted by the electrical equipment industry in

developing optimizing criteria in designing electric power equipment based on minimal overall production outlays and maximal operational results, leads us precisely toward such economy. The point is that in the course of practical work engine loads are uneven. In industry such engines work almost continuously while in the case of household washing machines, for example, they are operated no more than several dozen hours per year. Therefore, in developing new standardized series of such machines it would be expedient to consider two modifications--the "light" and the "heavy." The first should include short-working engines, whose efficiency could be lowered, therefore saving on materials. The second should apply to constantly working engines, in which case it would be advantageous to increase material outlays, improve the efficiency and, as a result, save on electric power. The overall end effect of the use of such differentiated series would be positive.

For a variety of reasons, contemporary technology is the decisive link in the chain of scientific and technical progress and problems of its reorganization are being posed today far more extensively compared with the simple stipulation of improving existing methods and means. We must look for essentially new technological solutions which would enable us qualitatively to change the processes of consumption of manpower and materials. We need proper material support and stimulation of technological operations and cadres of theoretical technologists--specialists--whose purely "technological" thinking would be combined with scientific daring and broad concepts. However, this is a problem of the future. Now, today, progressive technological methods exist which could substantially improve the use of materials. The inadmissible inertia or lack of organization can be explained only by the quite frequent situation in which the technology of the manufacturing of a new commodity to be applied is obsolete. To this day, for example, cutting is the most popular method in metal processing in machine building. As a result of this customary "reliable" method, every year more than 8 million tons of steel are turned into chips despite the existence of progressive methods such as pressing, multidimensional stamping, precise casting, welding structures, and plasma, laser and electron-ray metal-processing methods.

The problem of technological improvements in the electrical equipment industry is particularly complex. The point is that most technological processes in electrical equipment production are specific and require specialized equipment. However, we are below world standards in terms of its development and production. The shortening and, in the future, elimination of this gap will enable us to develop a contemporary powerful technological base in this sector.

In our country problems of elaboration of efficient designs and effective production technology are being resolved on a parallel and comprehensive basis, on the uniformly high standard of scientific and technical progress. The sector has made a decisive turn in that direction: it has comprehensively introduced in the production-quality certification system a new unit--technological certification. An item cannot be considered as being of high quality if its technological standard is low. Today economy and conservation are considered basic indicators in determining the technological standard.

Substantial possibilities of economizing are found in the production process itself in which all design, technological and organizational solutions are directly implemented. Socialist competition, public reviews-contests for best results in the conservation of all types of resources and the development of rationalization and other social methods for guiding the creative initiative of the masses toward finding possibilities of lowering various types of losses play a tremendous role in this respect. Extensive experience has been acquired in this direction by the Zaporozhtransformator Production Association imeni V. I. Lenin, which has been awarded the Red Challenge Banner of the AUCCTU, Komsomol Central Committee and USSR Gosstab for 4 consecutive years, based on the results of the all-union public review of the efficient utilization of raw materials, materials and fuel and energy resources. During the first half of 1981 alone 1,680 suggestions were made by the association's personnel in the course of the review; 902 were applied with savings totaling more than 800,000 rubles.

The annual public reviews of the efficiency with which raw materials, materials and fuel and energy resources are used contribute to the mass involvement of the direct participants in the production process in the struggle for economy. In the course of such reviews many production bottlenecks are eliminated through the initiative of the workers. Many important problems, which had been simply ignored previously, are posed and resolved.

These examples reemphasize the extremely high value of the creative initiative of the direct participants in the production process in conservation. Some reserves can be detected by them only and only at the narrow sector in which the plant designer, technologist and, naturally, worker act as the owners of the process and where nothing escapes their sight. The search for such reserves is the most priceless practice of the masses, which shapes the moral base of the participation of every citizen in the campaign for thrift. In other words, opportunities for the conservation of material resources are found along the entire "science-production" chain, and in all the various directions of sectorial activity. This means that the problem of saving is essentially comprehensive and that its solution requires a systematic and comprehensive approach and interconnection on all levels and in all respects of the efforts related to design, technological development and production organization.

#### IV.

One of the largest reserves for upgrading social production efficiency is the organization of efficient and truly creative relations with related enterprises--suppliers of materials and, above all, metallurgical workers. Electrical engineering and metallurgy are inseparably interrelated. This relationship is realized in the course of the closest possible interdependence and a multiplicity of reciprocal obligations. The largest scientific and technical centers and enterprises in the electrical equipment industry are engaged in the development and production of electrical equipment for metallurgy, which not only helps to improve the quality of metallurgical output and to increase the labor productivity of metallurgical workers, but also changes the very nature of this labor, substantially improving its

conditions and even discovering in this sector essentially new opportunities for the production of one type of material or another. On the other hand, a rather substantial share of the capacities in ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy are engaged in the production of goods used almost exclusively by the electrical equipment industry.

Unfortunately, the possibilities of metallurgy frequently fall behind the needs of the machine-building industry. A number of serious claims of an essential nature face this sector. Whereas the electrical equipment industry determines the progress of metallurgical production, the materials supplied to the metallurgical workers not only do not accelerate the progress of electrical engineering but frequently hinder it. One could develop an infinite variety of means to improve electrical equipment but in a number of cases no major results can be achieved if no new materials are used. One could rely on available materials without obtaining the expected features of electrical equipment because the characteristics of the materials supplied for its manufacturing are sometimes even below the level guaranteed by the state standards.

It is difficult to resolve such problems without making major changes in metallurgical production on the basis of scientific and technical progress. Here again we must establish particularly efficient and properly organized intersectorial interaction and a particularly active creative cooperation among related sectors, which will ensure great reciprocal advantages to these sectors and will enable us to achieve high end national economic results with lowest possible outlays.

The need for and possibility of such cooperation on the scale of entire sectors is a clear proof of the integrity of the country's economic mechanism. Such cooperation examples do exist. They are found in one of the most important types of metallurgical output--electrical engineering steel--and in one of the most mass-produced types of electrical equipment--asynchronous electric motors for general industrial use. By the end of the 1960s the designers faced a peculiar problem: in order to improve the energy characteristics of the engines more materials had to be used. Energy indicators drop as we reduce material intensiveness, frequently followed by reliability. The solution of this problem had to be sought in improving the materials themselves, electrical engineering steels for magnetic conductor engines above all. In particular, electrical engineering steel for magnetic conductors had to have considerably higher magnetic characteristics and be produced not in sheets but in rolls, which would have made it possible to mechanize and automate the rather labor-intensive production process and apply efficient low-waste or wasteless stamping.

The problem of developing such steel was given to the metallurgical workers and met with a lively response. The point was that the hot rolled alloyed steel, which was hindering progress in electrical machine building, was also unsuitable to the metallurgical workers themselves. It was produced with the help of an obsolete method. Its quality was low and the technological process of its production involved heavy manual labor under harmful conditions. Metal waste was substantial in the production of the sheets. Therefore, by

its very nature, the problem of electrical engineering steel was comprehensive and intersectorial. Its solution called for the development of suitable organizational methods. A coordination and interconnection on the level of the national economic plans of the sectors was achieved in the efforts of the electrical engineers to develop a new unified series of 4A motors and of the metallurgical workers for the creation of new electrical engineering steels. As a result of comprehensive joint efforts, for the first time in the USSR an entire class of isotropic nonalloyed electrical engineering steels was developed. In terms of their characteristics, the best among them are superior to similar foreign products.

How did the electrical equipment industry benefit from this? The 4A series, the developers of which were awarded the USSR State Prize, marked the conversion of electrical machine building to a higher level. The technology for the manufacturing of magnetic conductor engines was changed radically: manual labor was eliminated and assembly-line automated stamping doubled and tripled its productivity. Outlays of electrical engineering steel in this series were reduced by more than 12 percent. The production of electric motors of all series was increased by more than one-half as a result alone of the use of the metal saved as the result of the use of the new steels.

What were the benefits to metallurgy? Above all, the structure of domestic production of electrical industry steels improved. Today this enables us to ensure the better satisfaction of the needs of a number of sectors. The technological improvements which were mastered in the use of the new steels make it possible to enhance the productivity of steel-smelting, rolling and heat-processing units. Many of the new technological developments are of general importance to the entire metallurgical production.

Naturally, the country's national economy profited greatly. In 1980 alone national economic savings from the production and utilization of the new grade of electrical engineering steels exceeded 40 million rubles. This amount will continue to increase as we increase their production.

The experience based on our long and efficient cooperation proves that it is precisely on this basis that present-day relations between related sectors must be built. They begin when the sector-customer becomes fully aware of the responsibility not only of his demand but the suggestion of the related sectors and when the sector-supplier begins to consider demand as the main incentive and guideline for his efforts and the principal criterion for their fruitfulness.

At that point the prospects become clear. It becomes possible to determine accurately what should be saved in the first place and what should be saved in the subsequent stages, how to prevent savings in one area from exhausting savings in another, what are the directions to be followed in developing a scientific foundation and how to correlate the demands of the economy with the development and changes in the requirements of the national economy. All of these problems can be supplied with substantiated answers exclusively on the basis of a truly scientific and comprehensive forecast. This is the foundation on which all sectors, related sectors above all, must structure

their work. It is precisely this kind of approach that we expect of the sectors related to us--the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, Ministry of Chemical Industry, USSR Ministry of Petrochemical Industry, and USSR Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper and Wood-Processing Industry, whose output has a great impact on reducing the metal- and labor-intensiveness of electrical equipment goods and on upgrading their quality and technical standards.

The conservation of rare and expensive nonferrous metals is a particularly important part of the overall problem of conservation of materials in our country. An active search is under way of methods for replacing them with less expensive and less scarce materials. In the cable industry, copper wiring is to be replaced with aluminum-copper (1 ton of such a conductor replaces 1.3 tons of copper). The conversion from copper to aluminum-copper bars and flat structures in electrical machinery will save 7,500-8,000 tons of copper annually. Extensive work on the development of new materials which can be effectively used instead of nonferrous metals, such as bimetals, plastics, and metal ceramics, is taking place in the sector and in cooperation with related industries.

However, the successful implementation of such projects requires the solution of many organizational problems which exceed the limits of a single sector. One of them is the problem of powder metallurgy. Currently it is applied in more than 20 sectors. Having realized the tremendous efficiency of this practically wasteless method, some sectors are developing their own production capacities, technologies and equipment. Is this sensible? Would it not be better to assign to a single sector full responsibility for the development of powder metallurgy and to give it funds for the organization of such production which will meet the needs of the entire national economy? As long as there is no solution to this question industry, including the electrical equipment industry, will experience major difficulties in the development of this progressive technology. Powder production remains inadequate and its variety is small. Whereas of late nonferrous metallurgy enterprises have been able to increase the production of copper powders, no one is producing iron powders which are used instead of high-grade electrical engineering steels, although the need for such powders in our sector alone is estimated in terms of tens of thousands of tons.

During the 11th Five-Year Plan our sector is faced with resolving the most important problem of scientific and technical progress--the all-round enhancement of the technical standard of all items. A course has been charted toward the series production of powerful generators developing up to 1 million kilowatts for nuclear, thermoelectric and hydroelectric power plants. The accelerated development of the nuclear power industry and the inexpensive coal in Ekibastuz and the Kansk-Achinsk Basin and the gas and petroleum deposits in Western Siberia and the Far East are directly related to the increased production of highly efficient electric power equipment. During the new five-year plan the electrical engineers must undertake deliveries of electric power equipment operating on ultra-high tension--1,500 kilovolts DC and 1,150 kilovolts AC--for the transmission of substantial amounts of power from the eastern parts of the country to the industrial center and to master

the development of powerful electric locomotive engines meeting the hard conditions of the Baykal-Amur Mainline and specialized highly reliable equipment for deep drilling and laying petroleum and gas pipelines.

Work of tremendous importance remains to be done for the agroindustrial complex, based on the large-scale targets of the Food Program. Agriculture must be supplied with particularly high-quality comprehensive electrical equipment which should ensure high productivity in traditional agricultural operations and the possibility of using in the countryside contemporary technological processes based on automated control and high-level preservation of agricultural commodities.

This very partial survey of the problems to be resolved during the new five-year plan gives us an idea of their major national economic significance. Understandably, success in this area is possible only on the basis of a scientific comprehensive approach to upgrading work-effectiveness in the electrical equipment industry itself. The comprehensive conservation of material resources is one of the main leading factors in this approach.

The systematic implementation of a regimen of economy on all levels of the national economy is a difficult task in our party's economic strategy. The electrical engineers were profoundly touched by the words of Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at the November 1981 CPSU Central Committee plenum, to the effect that the resources at the disposal of the country enable us to look at the future with confidence. However, we must handle them intelligently and thriftily. We must find reserves at each sector, upgrade labor productivity, better organize production and produce better. In responding to these words, the electrical engineers will dedicate their maximal efforts and do everything possible to make the output of their sector among the best in the world.

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## OUR SOVIET PUBLIC HEALTH SYSTEM

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[Article by O. Shchepin, doctor of medical sciences, V. Yerokhin, candidate of philosophical sciences, and G. Tsaregorodtsev, doctor of philosophical sciences]

[Text] In the mature socialist society protecting the health of the working people has become a truly national project. The USSR Fundamental Law has raised concern for the health of the Soviet people and for improving their working and living conditions to the level of a constitutional norm of governmental activity. The state is concerned not only with increasing a person's ability to work and production-economic potential but with the creation of all the necessary prerequisites for the all-round harmonious development of the personality. This humanistic aspect is a clear manifestation of the nature of the socialist health care system and the essential difference between it and similar services in the bourgeois countries.

Health care in the USSR is a complex multiple-stage system of outpatient-polyclinical, hospital, sanitary-hygienic, pharmaceutical and other institutions which implement sociomedical measures in order to ensure the fullest possible satisfaction of the needs of the people for the protection and strengthening of its health.

The 10th Five-Year Plan was an important stage in improving this service in the country. In recent years particular attention has been paid to the primary health care units. "Today our polyclinics can receive half a million citizens more per shift than 5 years ago," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted at the 26th party congress. Specialized medical care has been developed intensively, cardiological, oncological and narcological above all. A great deal has been done in the protection of motherhood and childhood as well.

Today the country has a powerful material and technical base of health care institutions. The directives of the 25th CPSU Congress on raising the overall number of hospital beds to approximately 3.3 million by 1980 were overfulfilled. The average capacity of the oblast and central rayon hospitals has increased. Mobile forms of medical aid, particularly in the remote areas, have been developed.



Today the Soviet health care system employs more than 6 million people. In terms of availability of physicians (38.5 per 10,000 population) the USSR is far ahead of most economically developed countries. The concern shown by the party and the state for the well-being and health of the people has led to the fact that under the Soviet system the average lifespan has more than doubled while the overall mortality rate has declined by a factor of almost 3. Noticeable successes have been achieved in the struggle against childhood infections. Although more work remains to be done to lower infantile mortality (compared with the pre-revolutionary period, incidentally, it has declined tenfold), we should not forget that to this day every year more than 5 million children die throughout the world from diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, measles, poliomyelitis and tuberculosis, whereas in our country lethal cases as a result of such diseases have been virtually eliminated. It would be also proper to bear in mind that in the USSR more than 14,000 polyclinics and outpatient hospitals and more than 570,000 beds are at the disposal of the young Soviet citizens. Every summer 4.8 million children are served by seasonal preschool institutions and kindergartens, whereas only 640,000 children may benefit from such institutions in the United States, the richest country in the Western World, followed by the FRG with 14,800, and 3,000 in France. The fact that in our country 80 percent of all outlays for children in kindergartens and nurseries are assumed by the state and that constant concern is shown for expanding the network of such institutions may be the reason for such a great disparity in such indicators among countries with different social systems.

The merciless exploitation of the working man inherent in capitalism leads to the exhaustion of his physical and spiritual forces and, frequently, to mental degradation. Characteristically, a certain increase in the average lifespan in the West (a fact which the defenders of the old society love to stress) has not been accompanied by a respective improvement in the health standard of the working people. For example, mental illness in the U.S. population is outstripping population growth by a factor of 2. The connection between this phenomenon and the class-antagonistic nature of the capitalist system is obvious even to bourgeois ideologues. Thus, Italian sociologists A. Minucci and S. Vertone note in their book "Skyscraper in the Desert" that neurosis is the psychological price which the worker must pay today so that the monopolies can achieve a steady escalation of profits and that this illness is one of the forces of alienation which bring a new type of slavery to the worker.

Naturally, the struggle which the working people in capitalist countries are waging for their rights is yielding certain results and contributing to some positive changes in the areas of health care and social insurance. The progressive social organizations are doing a great deal to promote this. However, the exploiting nature of capitalism is comprehensively hindering the implementation of such lofty aspirations.

The extensive program for upgrading the material well-being and spiritual standard of the Soviet people is profoundly scientific and covers all types of social areas. This enables us to realize the humanism which is inherent in medical practice.

While noting certain successes in the work of the practical health care organs, it would be an error to conceal the major shortcomings, difficulties and unresolved problems which adversely affect the quality of population medical aid. As was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, we must substantially improve the work of polyclinics and outpatient clinics which treat the overwhelming majority of citizens. In a number of areas they have fallen behind the possibilities of medicine. There is a shortage of cadres, particularly of middle and junior medical personnel. The equipment is obsolete and there is a shortage of modern drugs. Plans for the building of hospitals and health care institutions are being poorly implemented. Sometimes the organization of the medical treatment process is unsatisfactory. Unjustifiably long delays in the examination of patients lead to the ineffective utilization of the available beds and increase the length of time patients have to remain bedridden. We do not always observe the principle of continuity in the work of hospitals and polyclinics. Even in hospitals combined with polyclinics hospital physicians frequently ignore data obtained under polyclinic conditions.

The satisfaction of the needs of the Soviet people, including those related to the protection of their health, is a basic principle in our society. Specific concern for the individual and his needs and requirements is the beginning and end of the party's economic policy, as the CPSU Central Committee accountability report to the 26th congress emphasized. The strengthening of the material foundations of health care and the growth of skilled cadres are objective realities which cannot fail to please all of us. "... This makes even sadder the letters which are sometimes sent by the working people describing violations of official duties by some medical workers and the lack of attention to the people," L. I. Brezhnev said at the congress.

The expanded collegium of the USSR Ministry of Health, which met soon after the 26th party congress, exposed a number of organizational shortcomings in the work of subordinate organs and institutions, their primary units above all. Obviously, we cannot rely exclusively on the extensive increase in the volume and content of medical aid. The high quality of services is based today on the application in medical practice of scientific and technical achievements, contemporary diagnostical and treatment methods and efficient drugs. It depends to a tremendous extent on the professional knowledge, skill, responsiveness and spiritual warmth of the physician, the registered nurse and the practical nurse. That is why a thorough study must be made of the structure of social requirements for medical services. The new trends in its development must be defined and proper specialists must be trained. The simple expansion of the material and cadre base in medicine will not resolve all problems raised by life. A new approach to their solution is necessary.

Developed socialism introduces new features in the organization and functioning of the health service. The reaching of a higher level of maturity of social relations, the expansion of material and technical possibilities and the steady increase in the social requirements of the population demand its further improvement. This calls for the elaboration of criteria which would define the level and trends of this service, consistent with the current stage. The concept of socialist health care, the substantiation of which has

been ascribed great importance in recent years, presumes the systematic dialectical-materialistic study of the development of medicine as an integral phenomenon of human culture, determined by the sum total of the base-super-structural relations which predominate in a given society.

We know that the intensification of scientific research related to the growth of production forces brought about the appearance of theoretical medicine in the 19th century. Successes in the study of man and the tempestuous development of areas such as morphology and physiology broadened the area and possibilities of using methods for active medical intervention. Correcting functional pathology became one of the leading principles in medical practice.

Scientific and technical progress opened to medicine qualitatively new prospects. It acquired computers, complex apparatus for diagnosing and treating diseases, and basically new chemical compounds. The use of synthetic materials, ultrasound, lasers and fiber optics made it possible to correct the defects of nature with increasing efficiency and to compensate for or even totally replace one organ or another. It was thus that the putting of artificial heart valves has saved the lives of thousands of children.

On the basis of an increasing knowledge of the nature of the studied phenomena, medicine is persistently following the path of the profound and comprehensive mastery of controlling vital processes. Today it has a number of pharmacological, instrumental and psychogenic methods with which to influence individual functions. In a number of cases, for example, under the influence of a drug or hypnosis, i.e., under artificial conditions, it is even becoming possible to control the overall activities of the body.

The logically consistent confirmation of the ideas of practical determination of the content and volume of medical activities according to the level of production forces in society leads to the conclusion of the active-constructive nature of the medicine of the future. Great possibilities in this respect are found in rational psychohygiene, and control of somatic (bodily) processes based on the achievements and subsequent mastery of the fine mechanisms of self-regulation inherent in the human body. In particular, close attention should be paid to the mechanism of heredity, to embryogenesis. Modern society is interested in studying the reasons for hereditary diseases and defects in intrauterine development, and in finding methods to prevent them, for the share of these diseases in the overall structure of morbidity is quite high (in one way or another, a congenital pathological state is detected in 6-7 percent of newborn children). In this case the economic aspect is equally important. According to V. D. Timakov and N. P. Bochkov, specialists in medical genetics, the cost to society of maintaining an individual suffering just from Down's syndrome (one form of genetically based idiocy) is virtually equal to expenditures in the fight against influenza.

Doubts are occasionally expressed on the expediency of the constructive orientation of medicine from the ethical viewpoint. This applies mainly to the problem of medical genetics. It is true that as this scientific sector

is converting from purely theoretical research to the practical implementation of its results, a number of ethical problems arise. The social consequences of influencing the genetic foundations of man are substantial and as yet difficult to predict, particularly under the conditions of a class antagonistic society. Although under socialism reasons for the appearance of contradictions between science and morality do not exist, such problems deserve most serious study. What is important is to observe the dialectical requirement of specific research. Science should not separate itself from real human life and the practical utilization of its achievements can not be restrained artificially. Concern for man in all his aspects is the determining principle of socialist humanism, by which scientists in our society are guided.

Naturally, any active involvement in human activity does not end with the purely physical functions of the body. Today the psychological pressure on man and his habitat are experiencing significant changes. The growing intensiveness of social life, the extensive development of the national economy and the tempestuous progress of science and technology bring new problems along with their unquestionably positive factors in terms of health protection. The construction of enterprises under difficult natural-geographic conditions and the technical reorganization of the contemporary countryside have brought about an unparalleled migration flow of the population, which is accompanied by drastic changes in climatic zones. This requires corresponding intensified research and the elaboration of a theory of general adaptation as a basic medical-biological concept in modern medicine.

A phenomenon such as urbanization deserves particular attention and discussion within the topic of the interrelationships between society and environment. Population concentration in industrial centers affects all aspects of its life. It aggravates not only demographic and ecological but relatively new psychophysiological problems. The big contemporary city is a powerful polyvariant irritant of the nervous system which leads to a sharp increase in man's psychoemotional load. Combined with increased physical passiveness in the people and changes in the nature of their nutrition, this could become grounds for the dissemination of some negative phenomena such as drug addiction, above all alcoholism and smoking, an increased interest in problems of sexual interrelationships, and a type of boom pertaining to some medicines (sleep-inducing, analgesics, and stimulators of the nervous system), etc. One could hardly say confidently that medicine has effective possibilities in its fight for human health under such specific ways of life. The inertia of the natural scientific approach, in which the entire attention was focused on the study of purely physical functions of the body, remains quite strong. The set of medical-sociological and, particularly, medical-psychological sciences needs more extensive work. Correspondingly, a rather substantial reorganization of medical education is needed along with the organization of sociological and psychological services on the practical level of the health care system.

Similar conclusions can easily be reached from the positions of medical support of production activities as well. The intensification of all aspects

of life, particularly in the production area, is a real fact which must be taken into consideration. The complexity of today's production process and the high parameters of management processes have requirements affecting labor psychophysiology. It would be naive to hope that the process of increasing the complexity of human life will come to an end in the future or turn back. The traditional view that preventing a disease means the elimination of one or another harmful feature is inadmissible in this case, for it is impossible to eliminate all pathogenic factors in the natural and social environment. Consequently, the need arises for a more profound interpretation of the idea of disease prevention and the need for active and aggressive prophylactic work with a view to upgrading the starting level of population health. This work should be conducted on a differentiated basis, in accordance with the characteristics of the structural organization of both man and his environment. The strengthening of man's psychoemotional resistance to external irritants, involving his reserves of adaptation possibilities and influencing natural and social conditions are, although interrelated, also different types of active prophylaxis which have their specific ways and means of implementation.

The task of the science of medicine and the practical health care organs is to ensure optimal human activities in their real environment. In particular, in speaking of medical supportive production activities, we should pay attention to the fact that a factor such as labor-intensiveness, while not absolutely pathogenic, could become such if exaggerated. The higher nervous system has a high-level plasticity and its adapting possibilities are substantial. A creative and well-organized work brings joy and satisfaction to man however stressed he might be. Nervous breakdowns in various somatic (bodily) consequences of stress influences, high blood pressure above all, are caused as a rule less by the intensiveness and nature of the work than the attitude toward it and by external yet exceptionally important features such as the level of organization of the production process, the prevailing atmosphere in the collective, and so on. This must be remembered both by the organizers of the production process and the physicians. Medical support of production activities can no longer be reduced merely to medical supervision and the formulation of hygiene recommendations. By profoundly developing labor psychophysiology, the medical establishment joins the efforts aimed at upgrading the efficiency of the entire economic management mechanism and make their contribution to the development of a new approach to labor for the sake of the great objective of building communism.

The scientific long-term comprehensive program for improving the public health service, the basic guidelines of which were earmarked in the familiar CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers Decree "On Measures Further to Improve the People's Health Care," is contributing to the solution of these basic problems. On a broad social level the strengthening of the medical-prophylactic trend, disease prevention rather than merely treatment, and the creation of proper conditions for a healthy way of life are the most important of the tasks formulated here. This is the main way for the development of health care in the mature socialist society.

Whereas the practical possibilities and progress of medicine are determined by the level of social production forces, its forms largely depend on the nature and type of production relations. Capitalism is indifferent to man. Furthermore, its main objective--higher profits at any cost--leads to anti-humane actions and to wasting the health of basic population masses. Here medical activities are considered a type of business which provides a specific kind of service. Its individualism and primarily treating rather than preventive direction lead to contradictions and dead ends in the development of the health care system. According to many foreign specialists medicine in the capitalist countries is developing one-sidedly, merely as a means for providing medical aid rather than health care in the specific meaning of the term. Because of its one-sidedness it not only forgets about human health and the prevention of disease but leaves without medical care a high percentage of the sick because of the high and exceptionally rapidly increasing cost of treatment.

Socialism eliminated the basic factor for human alienation--private property of productive capital--thus creating favorable prerequisites for achieving maximal harmony between the content and form of organization of medical activities. The extensive socioeconomic and medical-hygienic measures which were implemented drastically increased the aggressive power of medicine. Under socialism alone for the first time its true purpose is revealed and asserted--to secure the physical and psychoemotional possibilities of optimal human existence.

Naturally, this is not to say that the traditional line of medicine, the treatment of disease, is denied under socialism. The treatment of sick people unquestionably retains its role in the system of public health care and is being improved steadily. However, the center of gravity is being increasingly shifted to the prevention of disease, to extensive prophylaxis, conducted on a national scale.

At the mature socialist stage successes in protecting the health of the working people and in the fight against disease change the social status and increase the prestige of the medical profession. At the same time, in the course of the transformation of the social and natural environment, medicine, the physician, the health care system as a whole, begin to face stricter requirements. The close interweaving of various directions and realms of social activity in ensuring the well-being and improving the working, living and recreation conditions of the people call for singling out yet another important trend--the growth of the subjective factor in health protection. This presumes the increased individual responsibility of party, administrative and trade union managers and medical workers in this important national project. Most of the problems which face the medical personnel involve the solution of major comprehensive problems which must be resolved through the joint efforts of many different economic sectors.

This includes mainly the problem of environmental protection. Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, true concern for the health of the population is inconceivable without the harmonious interaction between man and his habitat. While emphasizing the negative consequences of

the development of science and technology, the Western ideologues are doing everything possible to promote the idea of its uncontrollable nature, its spontaneous development and hostility toward human interests. Under capitalism the social management of such processes faces an insurmountable barrier--the private ownership interests of the bourgeoisie. The socialist society proceeds from the fact that it is not man who must adapt to the constantly changing environment at the cost of his health but that the latter should be subordinated to the vital needs of man. The essence of this matter cannot be reduced to the elimination of disease-causing external factors as the basic disease prevention method. It is a question of eliminating the pathogenic nature of changes in the environment through a sensible ecological policy and under the conditions of intensified industrial, emotional and intellectual activities, to ensure a normal life for man.

One of the important problems in improving medical aid to the population, which can not be resolved through the efforts of medicine alone, is to strengthen the material and technical base of the health care system. During the 11th Five-Year Plan the number of hospital beds will be increased by 8-10 percent. Work is being energized on breaking down medical therapeutic and pediatric sectors. However, the construction of polyclinics remains behind urban expansion. The real possibilities of extensively involving the funds of enterprises and kolkhozes in the building and reconstruction of medical institutions are still by far not being fully used.

Labor safety as well is a sociomedical problem. Strengthening the health of the working people, the struggle against industrial accidents and making maximal use of the ability to work is a single economic and humanistic task. The health of the population is a social resource not only in the broad social but in the strictly economic meaning of the term. On the one hand, with the growth of labor productivity and the economic significance of each production unit within society and, on the other, manpower shortages, concern for the health of the population becomes an essential factor in social production efficiency. The economic coefficient of the efforts of medicine and health care consists of a number of aspects the most important of which is labor safety and the struggle for reducing temporary incapacity as well as extending the active working period in human life.

The following data indicate the scale of economic losses suffered by society as a result of morbidity with temporary disability: sick leave averages 900 days per 100 workers per year. Reducing the amount of sick leave per worker by no more than a single day would lower social insurance costs by 205 million rubles. Possibilities of reducing morbidity with temporary disability exist. They are found mainly in the struggle against respiratory diseases, which account for more than one-third of absenteeism caused by illness. Another item of concern is the high and continually rising absenteeism of workers and employees who must take care of sick members of the family. Every day approximately 700,000 people stay home to take care of sick children. In the case of our highly developed industrial country, in which every working person already enjoys more than 100 days of legitimate leave, this is a major loss. Obviously, instead of relying on expanding the network of children's institutions even further, decisive measures should be taken to improve their work.

The economic significance of the labor contribution of the individual worker will increase with the development of scientific and technical progress and increased power-labor ratio. This applies to the use of retirees as well. Let us consider data provided by the Leningrad Labor Expertise Institute, according to which 52 percent of all retirees have retained their full work capacity; 27 percent can work with some limitations; and approximately 7.5 percent have a limited work capacity. These figures prove the premature leaving of people who have reached retirement age to "deserved rest," the more so since physicians have long noted that a drastic curtailment of intellectual and physical activity as a result of retirement adversely affects the health and leads to intensified physical and mental aging. A planned policy in the area of employment of people of retirement age is by far not a secondary economic or sociohumanistic task.

A comprehensive labor safety program can be implemented only through the joint efforts of physicians, engineers and psychologists with the support of administrative, party and trade union organs. Modern engineering psychology and labor hygiene ascribe essential importance to colors and music played at work, which create a favorable emotional background which encourages psychophysiological activities. From the viewpoint of the party's social policy, attention to such aspects of the labor cycle are no "petty matters" in the least. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, man spends one-third of his life at work and we must do everything necessary to make the production process satisfactory. No scientific organization of production is possible without taking rhythm into consideration. In this connection, we must quickly eliminate rushing, which is a negative phenomenon. In this case economic and medical interests totally coincide, for physicians have long established that "peak periods" of morbidity with temporary disability take place precisely in the aftermath of rushing periods. The schedule of the work week and the work day should be coordinated with the rhythm of the body. This is one of the means for both increasing labor productivity and making the person satisfied with his job.

The interests of the contemporary production process call for taking into consideration the consistency between professional characteristics and the psychophysiological features of the individual. In turn, this presumes the development of methods of medical-pedagogical vocational guidance. Sectorial therapists, neuropathologists, psychiatrists and other specialists frequently have to deal with illnesses caused by a variety of work conflicts. Dissatisfaction with one's profession, job or specific type of work adversely affects the general feeling, disposition and behavior of the people in daily life, in their family and at work.

In a socialist society the functioning of all areas of social life, including work, is aimed at the good of the working people. However, the desire for immediate economic results does not always allow us to understand the tremendous economic and humanistic effect of medical-hygienic recommendations. It is no accident that we still come across efforts to justify their violation for industrial-technical reasons. However, we know that it is not only easier but less expensive to prevent than to treat an illness. Normally hygienic and optimal labor conditions should be programmed at the very stage



of designing. We must most daringly convert from safety technology to safe technology. This is the imperative of the time. We believe that the time has come to formulate a system of material incentives for administrative and trade union workers and designers for the implementation of measures which contribute to the implementation of this principle.

Also important from the medical viewpoint is the comprehensive encouragement of the movement for mastering related professions and skills. Physiologists have noted that in the course of the work so-called dynamic stereotypes develop in the worker, the destruction of which (such as, for example, in the course of retraining) is sometimes considerably more difficult than the development of new ones. Therefore, in order to ensure the better combination of medical-psychological stipulations and industrial requirements, we should not break down the old dynamic stereotypes but enrich them by broadening the realm of production activity. Incidentally, this approach is consistent with the main objective of the socialist society, which is the all-round harmonious development of the individual. K. Marx himself convincingly proved that the appearance of the so-called "partial worker" is the result of a division of labor, which appeared during the manufacturing stage, when "every worker becomes adapted exclusively to performing a partial function and his manpower, for the rest of his life, becomes an organ of this partial function" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Sobr. Soch." [Collected Works], vol 23, p 351). The liberation of labor and the elimination of "professional cretinism of the partial worker" become therefore a most important social problem to the solution of which the medical-biological and medical-sociological sciences must make a major contribution.

The Soviet health care system is based on a broad network of scientific research institutes under the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, and respective union and republic ministries. Considerable improvements in the planning and coordination of their work has become necessary. Ties between the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences presidium and the problems commissions and scientific councils of the ministries must be strengthened. Particular attention must be paid to the development of the science of medicine in Siberia and the Far East, as is stipulated in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees dealing with these areas.

The trade unions, as the largest social organization, which covers virtually the entire able-bodied population of the country, play an important role in upgrading the efficiency of the efforts of the medical personnel and the health care organs. Without discussing all aspects of their comprehensive activities in this area, let us point out two problems, the solution of which, despite their seemingly separate nature would, in our view, be of major public interest and educational importance. The first applies to the moral-psychological aspects, workstyle and ethics of relations within labor collectives, particularly between officials and subordinates. As is the case with industrial accidents, it would be expedient to make a study of the circumstances and reasons for the outbreak of one illness or another (infarct of the myocardium, a hypertonic crisis, aggravation of some chronic diseases, and so on) and to try to eliminate the reasons which cause them and to hold the culprits liable. This problem is ripe. It has been frequently discussed

in the press and as long as no corresponding legal norms and medical criteria have been drafted regarding the classification of such cases as industrial accidents, the trade unions should assume the initiative of supervising this important aspect in the life of the labor collective.

Another matter which, in our view, demands the firm intervention of the trade unions is the rational and proper utilization of the benefits granted by the state in order to strengthen the health of the working people and improve their rest. A number of AUCCTU plenums, held in recent years, have pointed out that a large number of cards issued for treatment, recreation, and tourism and even for summer Pioneer camps remain unused. Clearly, the impression has developed among some people that all such benefits are of an abstract impersonal nature and may be reduced only to increasing the real population income. We must upgrade the individual responsibility of the trade union organs and the working people themselves in terms of using such benefits to the fullest extent and in accordance with their original purpose.

Unquestionably, the general level of medical knowledge among the country's population has increased immeasurably. However, it could be considered satisfactory only if the patient not only obeys the prescriptions of the physician during treatment but becomes promptly concerned with taking preventive measures. The term culture in general and sanitary-hygienic culture in particular should mean not the sum total of acquired passive information which merely broadens a person's erudition, but also knowledge which leads to the shaping of views and determines actions. We believe that one of the reasons for the poor level of hygiene among some people is the low quality of popularization of medical knowledge. The frequently found professional didactic attitude in the area of hygiene propaganda and the repetition of elementary, universally known and "ready-made" truths are not conducive to the development of a proper and sensible attitude on the part of man toward his health but, conversely, merely increase the immunity of indifference on the part of those to whom the propaganda is addressed. The depressing and monotonous reminder of the notorious dose of nicotine which could kill a horse is of little help in the fight against smoking. We must improve the ways and means of dissemination of medical knowledge by taking into consideration the specific nature of labor activities, living conditions, level of education, age and other characteristics of individual collectives and social groups. We must abandon the obsolete methods of medical education in favor of the broader, gradual and systematic medical-hygienic upbringing of the working people, the purpose of which is to convert health principles and rules into natural behavioral norms.

The traditional forms of doctor-patient relationship have experienced profound quality changes in the socialist society. Socialism has freed man. This has brought about a sharp increase in the self-awareness of the people, a feeling of the value of their life. The patient does not care for the fact that to the physician he's one of many. By trusting the physician and allowing an outsider (sometimes after painful thoughts and hesitations) to enter his internal unique world, it is natural that he expects attention, tactfulness and empathy. Developing in the future physician the loftiest spiritual qualities and teaching him the art of being a Human, and a true representative of the most humane of all professions can not be achieved with the help of a few optional lectures on medical ethics and deontology. Further steps

must be taken in the entire system of medical education toward humanitarianism, for so far the so-called "body-centric" approach predominates in the training of the physician. The graduate of a medical VUZ knows a great deal about the structure and functions of the body and very little about the person, the specifics of interpersonality relations and the science of psychology itself.

Currently increasingly strict requirements are raised concerning the "internal resources" of the medical workers themselves, i.e., regarding the standard of their professional training, civic-mindedness, feeling of duty to the people and moral-ethical and deontological qualities. It is a question of enhancing the quality of medical services in such a way as organically to combine the profound professional knowledge of the physician, experience and spiritual warmth toward whoever may be in need of help.

Morality plays a special role in medicine, for here situations frequently develop in which administrative and legal control are insufficient and the control of one's own conscience, the conscience of the medical worker, plays the main role. Bearing all of this in mind, the still-encountered cases of violation of official duty, callousness, bureaucratism and bribery, encountered in medical practice, become entirely intolerable.

Here is another major problem: although in terms of the availability of physicians our country leads the world, there is a constant shortage of physicians in most important services such as sectorial therapeutic, pediatric, dental and emergency medical aid and many others. That is why the efficient planning of the training of specialists and an increase in the number of training positions deserve extremely close attention. Retaining cadres in the countryside remains an acute problem. Although in recent years a large number of physicians have been assigned to the villages, many specialists leave rural sectorial hospitals and outpatient clinics because of the lack of suitable sociocultural conditions and the insufficient attention which the local organizations pay to the living conditions of the young specialists.

Today the people who have been entrusted with leading collectives face strict requirements. This was repeated at the 26th CPSU Congress, which emphasized the need for further improvements in the management of all units in the national economy. The health care system has a big detachment of management cadres, which numbers many worthy and prestigious leaders. The training of precisely such leaders is one of the important tasks in the cadre policy of the health care organs, with the support of party and soviet organs.

The implementation of a broad aggressive Soviet medical program presumes the inevitable breakup of the framework of strictly professional activities and the conversion of the work related to the health of the population into a unified social, economic and humanistic objective of the developed socialist society. "Everything possible must be done," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the congress, "for the Soviet person to be able always and everywhere to rely on prompt, skilled and responsive medical aid." The health care personnel have accepted these words as a manual for action.

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## TWO DESTINIES

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[Article by K. Shatsillo, doctor of historical sciences]

[Text] One overcast February morning in 1915 the prison guards led out of one of the solitary cells and along the main hall of the preliminary imprisonment home five detainees. Following a mental head count, the bailiff rumbled, "March!" Under guard, the group walked along inner passages in the direction of the Petrograd Okrug court. The five were the bolshevik faction at the Fourth State Duma--A. Ye. Badayev, M. K. Muranov, G. I. Petrovskiy, F. N. Samoylov and N. R. Shagov. Today the last two would have been 100 years old. This essay is dedicated to these firm fighters for the cause of the revolution.

At the beginning of the 20th century the center of the global revolutionary movement had shifted from Western Europe to Russia. Soon afterwards the three main characteristics of a revolutionary situation, as described by V. I. Lenin, developed here: a crisis "at the top," unusual aggravation of the needs and difficulties of the people and, by virtue of these reasons, a considerable increase in the revolutionary activeness of the masses. At that point the outbreak of the revolution and its fate largely depended on subjective factors and, in particular, on the existence of a revolutionary organization which could head the struggle of the peoples of Russia.

It was under these historical conditions that Lenin undertook to create and created a social democratic party of a new type--the Bolshevik Party. This was not only a party which represented the interests of the workers but a party of the leading workers themselves.

"Without the tireless and heroically persistent work of these leading workers among the proletarian masses, the RSDWP would not have existed 10 years or even 10 months. It was only thanks to the activities of such leading workers and their support that by 1905 the RSDWP had become a party which in the great days of October and December had become inseparably linked with the proletariat and which retained these ties through the worker deputies not only in the Second but the Third Duma, the duma of the Black Hundred," Lenin wrote in December 1910, in the obituary of Ivan Vasil'yevich Babushkin ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 20, pp 81-82). The accuracy of these words has been confirmed by a number of historical facts,

including the specific destinies of two other leading workers, also deputies in the Fourth Duma--Fedor Nikitich Samoylov (1882-1952), party member since 1903, and Nikolay Romanovich Shagov (1882-1918), party member since 1905.

Personalities are strictly individual. However, those who are in step with the times and who stand in the front lines of the fighters for the bright future of the people have amazingly similar destinies. Samoylov and Shagov were born the same year and almost the same month, in the heart of Russia, in the families of poor peasants who, despite heavy and exhausting work 24 hours a day, were unable to feed themselves on their miserable plot of land. In winter, when farm work came to an end, need forced the peasants to hire themselves out in the neighboring textile factories. The tight-fisted Russian merchants had brought many of them together in the nonchernozem guberniyas. The plan was simple: in the summer and autumn the peasants would still be able to feed themselves somehow, but in winter they would have to come to the city and, humbly bowing, look for any kind of work for miserable wages in order not to die of hunger themselves and be able to send to their children, who had remained behind with grandmothers and aunts, one or two rubles monthly. It was thus that with seasonal work Samolyov's and Shagov's parents, half peasants and half workers, spent their entire lives. Their sons grew up as hereditary proletarians who had tasted from an early age all the "charms" of capitalist exploitation.

Fedor Nikitich Samolyov was born in the small Gomilenki village, Vladimir Guberniya, some 20 versts from Ivanovo-Voznesensk. Fedor was 12 when his father made the decision to leave the countryside once and for all. He nailed the windows and doors of his small hut shut, sold the cow, which was the family's only possession, put his wife and three small sons (Fedor was the oldest) on the cart, and went to seek his fortune in the "Russian Manchester," as the factory owners of that time described their textile center. Ivanovo-Voznesensk, the seat of Vladimir Guberniya, had a population of about 100,000. Most of them were textile workers who huddled with their families in suburbs whose names were very expressive: Pit, Snout, Drop, Hunger, Mudville.... These were areas of endless mud, total lack of sanitation and no more than a few paved streets in the center. Nevertheless, the city had 15 churches and 300 taverns.

It was in one of these districts that Samoylov found a small room. The mother and father found work at the textile factory, while 12-year-old Fedor began his working career as a busboy in a restaurant: he washed dishes, scrubbed the floors, and carried the produce to the kitchen. His workday was from 5 a.m. to 11 p.m. His only relief came during the rare free minutes when he could pick up a book. Fedor never went to school but this intelligent boy with a photographic memory rapidly learned to read and eagerly absorbed any printed matter he could lay his hands on. The restaurant owner encouraged him. After seeing Fedor read a 1-kopek booklet, "In Memory of the Coronation of Nicholas II," he blossomed: "So, those are the type of books you read, Fedenka! Good boy, read, read! Such books teach only good things. But there also are bad booklets which you should not read." It was only later, when he became older, that the literate Fedenka gained access to the "bad" books also.

Samolyov quit the restaurant 2 years later, not only because he was exhausted by the 18-hour work day. The 14-year-old adolescent had drawn his first independent conclusion: to leave the tavern dirt as soon as possible. But where to go? His father helped him find a job in a store. More insults and more beatings.... The only good thing was that in addition to musical instruments and mirrors the owner traded in books as well. During breaks one could read. The next year Fedor was 15. He was given an internal passport and followed his father's footsteps to the textile factory. However, this was already a second-generation proletarian. Whereas his father had spent his life torn between the town and the country and, in the final account, abandoning the factory, had gone back to finish his life in the countryside, Fedor Nikitich could not conceive of himself outside the working class and its struggle.

The young book-lover was quickly noticed by older comrades who counseled him to read selectively. They also suggested books: first legal but serious such as E. Zola, V. Korolenko and M. Gorkiy, after which, gradually, they developed his interest in clandestine publications. It was thus that Samoylov began to read the works of Lenin and K. Liebknecht and the newspaper ISKRA. In May 1903 he was invited to attend a clandestine meeting in a forest, on the other side of the small Talka River. No more than seven or eight people were present. One of them, a representative of ISKRA's "Northern Workers Union" (Yaroslavl) suggested that the social democratic organization, which had been recently broken up by the police, be resurrected in Ivanovo-Voznesensk. The idea met with unanimous support. A librarian, secretary and cashier were elected and the decision was made to organize study circles and to involve in them progressive workers. It was from then on that Samolyov firmly linked his fate with the Leninist bolshevik party.

This marked the beginning of a new difficult life, full of concerns and danger but also of the proud awareness that one belonged to the great proletarian brotherhood--the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party. The members of the circle not only studied regularly but distributed Lenin's ISKRA, the pamphlets issued by the Northern Committee and other clandestine publications. Their number increased quickly and at the beginning of September a general meeting of all organized workers in Ivanovo-Voznesensk was held. This time about 100 people came. In the spring and summer of 1904 during virtually all free days the Ivanovo-Voznesensk social democrats organized mass meetings in the forest. Assigned speakers described the struggle waged by the RSDWP and the objectives of the labor movement. F. Samolyov was one of the most active participants in all of these measures. He had already been noticed by the police. He was called in by the police captain who tried to "educate" the young worker and "save him from the revolutionary filth." However, life itself was a far more eloquent agitator than the policeman: by law the working day was 11 1/2 hours long but the factory owners stretched it to 14-15 hours; the miserable wages were hardly sufficient to lead a semi-hungry existence; frequently the people rented not even part of a room but part of a bed: those who worked different shifts shared the same bed. "How to go on living?" was a question which many asked. The conviction that it was the RSDWP rather than the church that had the answer helped to increase the influence of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk social

democrats. On 9 January 1905 the czarist troops in Petersburg opened fire on a peaceful workers march. The same day barricades appeared on the streets of the capital. The first Russian revolution had broken out. The news of the savage dealing with the workers quickly spread throughout the country. On 16 January the members of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk city party center met with representatives of plant cells in Bogorodskoye village. It was decided to go on strike on the morning of 17 January. The participants in the meeting distributed hectographed demands of a general political nature. On the following day several enterprises in Ivanovo-Voznesensk and Kokhma struck. However, substantial military forces, which had been brought here, joining the police and the Cossacks, scattered and beat up the strikers and jailed some of them. The important conclusion which the Ivanovo-Vosnesensk social democrats drew was that if it is to be successful the strike must be general and well-prepared, which required above all broader and stronger ranks. The city party organization was headed by the Central Group of the Northern RSDWP Committee. It was led by F. A. Afanas'Yev, the oldest social democrat, former Petersburg worker; worker S. I. Balashov, RSDWP member since 1898; Ye. A. Dunayev, N. A. Zhidelev and A. S. Bubnov, both of whom were bolsheviks since 1903, and others. F. N. Samolyov joined the leadership. At the beginning of May, on the assignment of the Moscow RSDWP Committee, M. V. Frunze, a professional revolutionary and member of the RSDWP since 1904, arrived in Ivanovo-Voznesensk.

In May-June the Ivanovo-Voznesensk bolsheviks prepared and mounted a general strike in the course of which the first Russian citywide soviet of workers deputies was created. It was a new form of people's power. Its real creator was the revolutionary initiative of the broadest possible popular masses. "The soviets," Lenin pointed out, "have not been invented by a specific party.... They were brought to life by the 1905 revolution" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 299). F. N. Samolyov, or "Arkhipych," as he was known in clandestine circles, was elected to represent the "Association of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Textile Manufacturing" in this first citywide soviet of worker deputies of Russia. Work in the Northern Committee, together with experienced bolsheviks, Leninists, and contacts with comrades, members of the soviet of worker deputies as well as the lessons of the revolutionary struggle and constant self-education had led F. M. Samolyov into the ranks of outstanding members of the bolshevik guard.

His fate had a great deal in common with that of the other character in our essay--Nikolay Romanovich Shagov--who was born in Klintsovo village, Nerekhtskiy Uyezd, Kostroma Guberniya. His father, a poor peasant, spent half a century combining work in the countryside with that at the factory owned by the merchant Krasil'shchikov, located in the neighboring bigger Rodniki village. Nikolay was able to attend the parish church school for 3 years and at the age of 12 he went to work at the same factory. Until the age of 15 he was a general worker after which he became a weaver apprentice. Now his daily earnings jumped from 7-8 kopeks to an entire 15 kopeks. However, even these kopeks were insufficient to provide a living. Between 7 and 14 May 1897 1,430 Krasil'shchikov workers went on strike and won. However,

more valuable than a few additional pennies was the experience which the 15-year-old boy acquired. He realized that life could be improved only with common struggle.

A social democratic organization was established in Rodniki in 1903, under the direct guidance of the Northern RSDWP Committee, which was located in Yaroslavl. The courses it offered the workers dealt with history, literature, mathematics and physics. General educational subjects were used to promote socialist ideas. Shagov became an active student from the very first days. With the permission of the workers the course instructors collected funds with which to purchase clandestine publications. Books and classes gave Shagov his initial information about socialism, the historical mission of the working class and the methods of its struggle. He joined the Rodniki social democratic organization in 1904. He attended some of its clandestine meetings and willingly carried out assignments.

The outbreak of the 1905-1907 revolution shook up the entire country and inaugurated a new stage in its history. "Until 22 (9 by the Gregorian calendar) January 1905, the revolutionary party in Russia consisted of a small handful of people.... However, in a few months the picture changed entirely. The hundreds of revolutionary social democrats "suddenly" developed into thousands and thousands, and became the leaders of between 2 and 3 million proletarians" (V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 30, p 310). One of those "suddenly" developed leaders was N. R. Shagov, who joined the bolshevik party soon after the start of the revolution.

The revolution is the holiday of the oppressed. Samolyov and Shagov made full use of this holiday: to them the 2.5 years of the first Russian revolution was a period of uninterrupted intensive revolutionary struggle and training. No single strike or demonstration took place without their participation. They published and distributed leaflets and attended an endless number of clandestine meetings and mass gatherings! F. N. Samolyov was detained twice. He was systematically fired from one factory or another and his premises were the target of endless searches.

Something else which characterized Samolyov and Shagov was the fact that they were not only active in the clandestine revolutionary struggle but also made maximal use of the miserable opportunities offered for legal activities among the workers following the lame October 1905 Manifesto which had been extracted from the autocracy. Starting with 1906 Samolyov became one of the organizers and members of the board of the "Professional Society of Workers of Textile-Printing Factories in Ivanovo-Voznesensk." Shagov became a member of the auditing commission and, subsequently, member of the board of the trade union of textile workers which was created that same year in the Rodniki industrial area. He opened in Rodniki a bookstore for workers in which he concealed clandestine publications as well.

The defeat of the revolution and the advent of the reaction greatly complicated the life and struggle of the Russian working class but were unable to stop them. Although not so actively as during the revolution, the clandestine struggle and legal activities of the trade unions went on. A new type



of work was added: participation in elections for the legislative State Duma, which had been set up in accordance with that same October Manifesto. As we know, the bolsheviks boycotted the elections for the First Duma. Their attitude toward the elections for the Second Duma was different. "History has proved," Lenin wrote in the newspaper PROLETARIY in August 1906, "that when the Duma meets the possibility to engage in useful agitation within and around it arises.... History has mercilessly refuted all constitutional illusions and any 'faith in the Duma.' However, it has also unquestionably proved the familiar although modest usefulness of this institution in terms of the revolution, as a rostrum for agitation, for exposing the true 'snout' of the political parties, etc." (op. cit., vol 13, p 343).

F. N. Samolyov and all Ivanovo-Voznesensk bolsheviks most actively participated in the elections for the Second Duma to which they sent the bolshevik-Leninist N. A. Zhidelev. Every single one of the six candidates for the Third Duma from Vladimir Guberniya turned out to be bolshevik. One of them was Samolyov. By decision of the social democratic organization, five of the six withdrew and the bolshevik S. A. Voronin became a member of the Third Duma representing the workers of Vladimir Guberniya.

The period of triumph of the reaction proved to be short. Only 3 years after the revolution was suppressed, a noticeable animation spread throughout the country soon turning into a new revolutionary upsurge of the masses. Under those circumstances the party's proper tactics were of prime importance, for the bolsheviks were firmly convinced of the imminence of most acute class battles. Lenin's tactic was developed in the course of the struggle on two fronts: against the mensheviks-liquidationists, who favored a termination of clandestine party activities, and the otzovists, who rejected the possibility and necessity of legal struggle to be waged by a clandestine party.

The sixth (Prague) All-Russian RSDWP Conference was held in January 1912. It expelled the liquidationists from the party as a result of which, as Lenin said, "It became possible ... to restore the party" (op. cit., vol 48, p 44). In the summer of the same year the mandate of the Third Duma expired and elections for the Fourth Duma were forthcoming. Lenin's resolution "On Elections to the Fourth State Duma," which was adopted, noted that "The conference deems absolutely necessary the participation of the RSDWP in the forthcoming electoral campaign for the Fourth Duma, the nomination of independent party candidates and the establishment of a social democratic faction within the Fourth Duma; which would be subordinate to our party as a whole. The main task of the party for the elections and the future social democratic faction in the Duma itself--the dominating task--is to engage in socialist class propaganda and the organization of the working class" (op. cit., vol 21, p 138).

Guided by the decisions of the Prague conference, the local party organizations engaged in active efforts. "Agitation organized on a strictly party basis has become widespread and has set the tone of the entire social democratic electoral campaign" (V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 22, p 6). In particular, the Ivanovo-Voznesensk bolsheviks held two party conferences at

which candidates for the Duma were nominated by the workers of Ivanovo-Voznesensk and the railroad workshops. The same procedure was followed by the bolsheviks in Kostroma Guberniya.

Throughout the country more than 3,500 representatives stood up for elections. The active bolshevik efforts yielded results: 54 percent of them were social democrats and, together with RSDWP sympathizers, the percentage rose to nearly 80. This was a major victory which ensured further success in the subsequent stage--the election of the nominees. Despite the interference of the authorities, who were doing everything possible to hinder the election of the "refractory" workers and to support suitable candidates, 60 percent of the 150 representatives elected in the six guberniyas in which special congresses of worker representatives had been held, turned out to be social democrats and, together with the independents the number rose to 83 percent. As a result, the following bolsheviks were elected in all six guberniyas deputies to the Fourth State Duma: Petersburg--A. Ye. Badayev; Vladimir--F. N. Samolyov; Kostroma--N. R. Shagov; Kharkov--M. K. Muranov; and Yekaterinoslav--G. I. Petrovskiy.\* "All six workers," Lenin wrote at that time, "are ours. This has never happened before. This is the first time that we have captured the South" (op. cit., vol 48, p 133). The mensheviks were able to elect seven of their deputies but only from the second, the so-called city curia (they were organized in guberniyas in which the number of workers was insignificant). The six industrial guberniyas, which held congresses of worker representatives and which elected bolsheviks as their deputies, numbered more than 1 million workers, while the guberniyas which elected mensheviks to the Duma had no more than 136,000. This fact clearly proved the size of the influence which the bolshevik revolutionaries and the conciliationist mensheviks had among the working class.

A new life began for the bolshevik deputies, which consisted mainly of the ability to combine legal work as members of the Duma and the RSDWP with clandestine revolutionary activities, without which no victory over the thoroughly corrupt autocracy was possible. PRAVDA, the legal newspaper, began publication on 5 May 1912. It raised an entire generation of revolutionary proletarians. All bolshevik deputies established most close contacts with it. They regularly published their articles in it. Petrovskiy became one of its editors, while Badayev and Shagov were in charge of economic and publishing affairs. Czarism mounted numerous repressive measures against PRAVDA. During its first year of publication 41 issues of the newspaper were confiscated and 36 legal proceedings were instituted against the editors. Within a period of 2 years and 3 months the government closed PRAVDA on eight different occasions. However, again and again the newspaper reappeared under a somewhat changed name and with a new official publisher. "Initially the official PRAVDA publisher was A. Ye. Badayev," Samolyov recalls. "Subsequently, in turn, virtually all bolshevik deputies became its publishers."

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\* R. V. Malinovskiy, elected as representative of Moscow Guberniya, was subsequently exposed as an agent of the security service and executed by firing squad at the end of 1918.

Regular visits paid to voters were another method for linking legal with clandestine activities: the deputies engaged in social democratic propaganda while submitting reports on Duma activities. Several months after the Fourth Duma was in session, in January 1913 F. M. Samolyov toured Vladimir Guberniya. He spoke in Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Teykovo, Kokhma and the small Lyubishka town. The trip was closely watched by secret agents who tried to expose the clandestine ties maintained by bolshevik deputies. The moment Samolyov entered the train he noticed that he was being followed. He identified the compartment in which the secret agents were sitting and made an unexpected and daring decision. "I sat down across from them," he recalled, "and stared at them. I wanted to be able to recall their faces. This lasted some 10 minutes. They were unable to keep it up and one after the other, trying to avoid my eyes, left the compartment quickly."

On another occasion, on his way to a clandestine meeting, he was helped by the local bolshevik comrades. Feeling the presence of a "tail," Fedor Nikitich, "we turned into a narrow twisting street with all kinds of passages. My comrade walked so quickly that I could hardly keep up with him. We turned one way then another and soon confused the secret agents. We began to run and, several minutes later, out of breath, reached the home of one of the comrades. Everything was quiet and not a soul was around. The plainclothesmen had lost us. We stayed there until dark. I was given to wear a tight-fitting coat, felt boots, and a hood. I carried a stick in my hand. It was thus, totally unrecognized, that I reached the secret premises in which many of our people had already gathered. I reported on the work of the social democratic faction. I was asked many questions and, in a lively discussion, drinking tea, it was past midnight when we ended. As everywhere else, the behavior of the bolshevik deputies was unanimously approved." The next day, accompanied by a large group, Samolyov reached the railroad station and came face-to-face with the secret agents. "I pointed my followers out to my comrades and loudly described them as plainclothesmen. Hearing this, they quickly disappeared but reappeared the moment the train started, having changed their hats. We burst out laughing at this masquerade."

Similar conditions prevailed in the course of Shagov's trip. He visited Kostroma, Kineshma and Tezino. However, within the same year the police department had already informed the town governor and the governor, in a report dated 9 May 1913, that "members of the social democratic factions in the State Duma, and the work group, as we have repeatedly seen, have tried to use intermissions in the Duma sessions and have visited their electoral districts with a view to making their antigovernmental views public under the guise of informing the voters of the activities of the State Duma. Some of them, relying on the special immunity of members of legislative institutions, have engaged in clearly agitational activities and have disseminated views calling for the overthrow of the existing social system." On the request of the police department, the deputies were kept under steady secret observation. Samolyov and Shagov were followed by plainclothesmen everywhere, even on fishing and mushroom-picking trips, during their rare periods of recreation. Shagov wrote in the newspaper ZA PRAVDU in its 25 October 1913 issue that "Unfortunately, like other comrade deputies, I must say that my very first impression during the trip was that of the energetic activities of the

secret agents. The moment I would show up in a guberniya the 'pea jackets' were everywhere." However, making use of their rich conspiratorial experience, the deputies were able to lose their "tails" and hold numerous clandestine meetings. Their Petersburg premises were turned into secret meeting places where many clandestine party workers found shelter.

The bolsheviks made active use of the speeches of their deputies at plenary sessions and helped them to write their speeches. Vladimir Il'ich alone wrote Shagov's draft speech on the government's agrarian policy, Petrovskiy's speech on the national problem and the estimates of the ministry of agriculture, and Badayev's on the policy of the ministry of public education and the draft law on national equality, to be submitted by the faction to the Fourth Duma. The bolshevik deputies frequently asked questions of the ministers, turning them into brilliant revolutionary speeches. "I am a worker myself and have experienced the full hardship of the life of a textile worker. I know how difficult it is for him to survive at the best of times, when he works," said Shagov in the Duma in substantiating the urgency of the problem of the lockout of Petersburg workers in January 1913. He then proceeded openly to describe the RSDWP program and called for the total elimination of capitalist slavery and of the Russian social order. Almost always the speeches which the worker deputies gave in the Duma were accompanied by the hooliganistic escapades of the extreme right. Two among them were particularly zealous: Kursk landowner N. Ye. Markov and Bessarabian landowner V. M. Purishkevich. The first, a 7-pood heavy, and one of the leaders of the "Alliance of the Russian People," tried to emphasize his closeness to the 'simple people' by cutting his hair with a pot," wore a tight-fitting coat and boots, and in his deep voice, used the vocabulary of garbage collectors. The second, a small bald man, screamed and whooped throughout the entire Taurid Palace, where the Duma held its sessions. "Scoundrels, gallows birds, and slave laborers" were the epithets with which he described the representatives of the working class. However, nothing could disturb the bolshevik deputies, who firmly and systematically used the rostrum of the Duma to expose the anti-people's system in the country.

Together with the other bolshevik deputies, ever more frequently and energetically Samolyov and Shagov joined in leadership of partywide matters. Between the end of December 1912 and the beginning of January 1913 (Gregorian calendar), a RSDWP Central Committee conference of leading party workers was held in Krakow. It was attended by virtually all bolshevik deputies, including N. R. Shagov.\* He was very excited to meet Vladimir Il'ich, about whom he knew only from stories by the comrades and from his works published by both the legal and clandestine presses. Shagov was always amazed by Lenin's ability to think clearly, analyze matters profoundly and intelligibly describe even the most complex problems. Now he realized one more thing: although he addressed his party comrades simply and attentively, Lenin naturally became the brain, the soul and the heart of any partywide project. Lenin addressed the conference with a speech on "Revolutionary Upsurge,

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\* F. N. Samwilov could not attend the Krakow and Poronino conference because of illness.

"Strikes and the Party's Tasks." Among the various other problems related to the main speech a report on the work of the faction was prevented. Its activities had become extremely difficult as a result of the fact that initially the bolsheviks had joined the mensheviks in a single faction. Enjoying a one-vote majority, whenever matters were put to a vote, the seven mensheviks, which were automatically in the majority, rejected all bolshevik suggestions and implemented their own resolutions. The result was that the overwhelming majority of the Russian proletariat, who had sent bolshevik deputies to the Duma, was totally deprived of representation. The Krakow conference directed the deputies to strive for total equality between the factions. It emphasized the need for deputy participation in party work as one of the party collectives and, outside the Duma, the resolution stated, "The deputies must be in the leading ranks of the party organizers." In order to enhance the role of the deputies, Petrovskiy was made Central Committee member. Badayev was elected member of the RSDWP standing commission, while Muranov, Samolyov, Badayev and Shagov were made "agents of the Central Committee."

During the summer adjournment of the Duma, Samolyov and Shagov returned to their guberniyas where they held a number of official (under police supervision) and unofficial meetings with their voters. They not only described their activities in the Duma but reported on the resolutions of the Krakow conference and on the reasons for differences among and struggle with mensheviks and Trotskyites, who were leading the Russian working class away from the proper path of struggle against czarism and the Russian bourgeoisie. As early as 7 March 1913 an appeal to the workers of Moscow, Kostroma and Vladimir Guberniyas, signed by the three deputies from these guberniyas, calling for the creation of their own legal bolshevik newspaper entitled 'NASH PUT' appeared in PRAVDA. During the summer meetings with the voters, Samolyov and Shagov organized the collection of funds for the newspaper, and its first issue appeared on 25 August 1913. It contained articles by Lenin, Gorkiy, Olminskiy and bolshevik deputies. However, the authorities confiscated 12 of the 16 'NASH PUT' issues and then proceeded to close down the newspaper and to detain the editors.

The Poronino conference of the RSDWP Central Committee was held in September-October 1913 with the participation of 22 delegates from various parts of Russia, including virtually all bolshevik deputies. Once again Shagov met with Vladimir Il'ich. The conference discussed and adopted the resolution drafted by Lenin "On the Work of the Social Democrats in the Duma" and "On the Duma Social Democratic Faction," in which the bolshevik deputies were given a clear program of action, and which emphasized that unity with the menshevik part of the faction can be preserved only if it gave up suppressing the bolshevik deputies. Since the menshevik seven did not acknowledge the equality of the six bolshevik deputies, in the middle of November 1913 the latter set up their own "Russian Social Democratic Worker Faction" for the Fourth State Duma, of which they informed the Russian workers in the newspaper ZA PRAVDU. The overwhelming majority of the proletariat approved the activities of its deputies.

World War I was approaching. The bolshevik deputies openly condemned the militarism of the Russian landowners and bourgeoisie. "We are perfectly aware," said Shagov at the Duma, "that the entire burden of the war will fall most undesirably on the peasantry and the working class. On behalf of the entire Russian proletariat and the peasantry we once again object to this act." On the eve of the war the workers movement reached a new level. The proletariat of the Central Industrial Rayon actively joined the struggle. The striking workers in Kostroma Guberniya called upon their deputy for support. Through the newspaper TRUDOVAYA PRAVDA Shagov reported on his actions based on the telegram which the workers had sent, after which he traveled to the guberniya to meet with them. On the night of 16 June he organized a clandestine strikers' meeting in the forest between Rodniki and Tezino villages. Guards and secret agents followed him. Shagov officially objected to the minister of internal affairs and managed to hold a clandestine bolshevik meeting near Kostroma in July, at which he described the activities of the faction and obtained the approval of those present. In turn, the Kostroma governor sent Shagov's "complaint" to the ministry. "I know perfectly well," he wrote, "that Shagov is one of the most firm revolutionaries and, consequently, that his tasks can only be revolutionary." He also added that "... Shagov's influence is growing daily.... When strikes spread throughout an entire area in the course of a few days, and when workers submit identical duplicate claims, it is entirely obvious that the labor movement is being guided by someone's invisible and so far unreachable hand. Having captured the labor movement, at the proper time this hand will direct the proletariat wherever it wishes and, obviously, toward a social revolution." The Kostroma governor was not alone. Many high czarist officials felt that in the summer of 1914 the Russian proletariat "was turning toward a social revolution." This was one of the reasons which made the ruling czarist circles hope that the war would help them avoid the approaching revolutionary crisis.

F. N. Samolyov's fate developed differently in 1914. The further aggravation of his illness became known to Vladimir Il'ich, who summoned him to Krakow. It was here that Samolyov met the party leader for the first time, a meeting he remembered for the rest of his days. For a few days, while physicians were "practicing their witchcraft" on Samolyov, he described to Vladimir Il'ich the situation in the homeland and closely listened to Lenin's assessment of events. By the end of the week, on the insistence of the physicians, Samolyov went to Switzerland, to Bern to be treated. Lenin saw him off at the railroad station, gave him letters of recommendation, and advised him where to stay and requested that he write more frequently. A correspondence developed between them, the nature of which is revealed by one of the preserved letters of Lenin to Samolyov:

"Dear Fedor Nikitich!

"I received your letter and I am very glad to learn that you have settled down.

"Now you need rest, sunshine, sleep and food. See to all of this. Are you being fed well?

"You must drink more milk. Are you?"

"You must weigh yourself once a week and keep a record."

"You must visit the local physician at least once every 10 days to pursue the course of your treatment. Do you have his address? If you do not, write to me and I will find out."

"Above all, you must sleep (how many (hours) do you spend sleeping?) You need sunshine and (food), milk in particular."

"Write me in detail about all of this."

"Nadya sends regards! I shake your hand and wish you a good rest."

"Yours, Lenin"

"P.S. Are you bored? If you are I could see to it that you are visited by friends from Geneva and Lozanne. However, would such visits tire you? Write!"

"Does your boardinghouse have a bathtub?" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", vol 48, pp 265-266).

Having found out that the treatment was not being very successful, Vladimir Il'ich wrote to the Bern comrades. He insisted that Samolyov be examined by the best Swiss physicians and transferred to a sanatorium. "Do not worry about the cost of telephoning or traveling: if necessary, we shall cover all of this, for Samolyov must be back on his feet at all costs by the autumn" (ibid., p 283). Such was Lenin's concern for a sick party comrade.

The outbreak of World War I found Samolyov, almost fully recovered, in Bern. Lenin arrived in Bern after a short stay in jail in Austria-Hungary, on 23 August (5 September). In Bern he addressed the Bern bolshevik group on the attitude toward the war. Lenin clearly formulated all the central problems which had appeared in connection with the outbreak of the world imperialist war, described its nature and sharply criticized the behavior of the leaders of the Second International, who had voted for military credits and had switched from the position of proletarian internationalism to the camp of bourgeois nationalism. The first slogan formulated by the leader was "... Comprehensive propaganda in favor of a socialist revolution among the troops and in the theater of military operations, and propaganda of the need to turn the weapons not against one's own brothers, the hired slaves of other countries, but against the reactionary and bourgeois governments and parties of all countries" (op. cit., vol 26, p 6). Lenin formulated clearly and unequivocally the thought of the need to turn the imperialist war into a civil war in his very first speech.

Samolyov took part in the bolshevik meeting addressed by Lenin, and it was precisely through him that the ideas contained in the report reached the

bolshevik faction in the Duma. Samolyov reached Petrograd with great difficulty, crossing Italy and the Balkans. The moment the faction and the Petrograd bolsheviks received Lenin's theses, they immediately distributed them for discussion in the largest Russian cities. Lenin's clear thoughts regarding the attitude toward the world war became familiar to the local party organizations.

The beginning of the war inaugurated a difficult stage in the history of the Russian proletariat and its bolshevik party. Using wartime laws, czarism promulgated in the country what was essentially martial law, with repressions of leading workers and revolutionaries. The authorities closed down the bolshevik newspapers and journals.

Under these circumstances, the bolshevik faction in the Duma, which assumed the main burden of party work within Russia, assumed a particular role in the initial months of the war. Unlike the menshevik deputies, who limited their activities within the "parliamentary framework," the bolshevik faction not only voted against military credits but spread a protest against the war among the working class. The bolshevik deputies used recesses in the work of the Duma to visit their electorate, to acquaint the local party organizations with Lenin's "Theses on the War" and to establish contacts with the labor movement.

A conference between the bolshevik faction and the representatives of some party organizations began on 2 November 1914 in Ozerki, a Petrograd suburb. On the evening of 5 November the participants in the conference were detained. The detention marked an open czarist persecution of the Duma representatives of the Russian proletariat. The trial of the deputies was held on 10-13 February 1915. All of them were sentenced to exile in Turukhansk. It would be difficult to overestimate the role which this trial played in the internationalist education of the Russian working class and the struggle against social chauvinism. "... The trial of the RSDP faction," Lenin pointed out, "provided for the first time open and objective data, which spread throughout Russia, on the most important, the basic, the most essential problem of the attitude toward the war of the different classes in Russian society" (op. cit., vol 26, p 174).

The February revolution freed the bolshevik deputies from Siberian exile, which had been a difficult trial for all of them and in the course of which Shagov's health was completely undermined. Following treatment in a Petrograd clinic, he returned to his native area and entered a hospital in Kostroma, where he died on 9 June 1918.

F. N. Samolyov actively joined the tempestuous life of revolutionary Petersburg. On 3 April 1917, with many others he went to welcome Lenin who had returned from long foreign exile, and heard his April theses which called upon the proletariat to make a socialist revolution. Soon afterwards Samolyov returned to his native Ivanovo-Voznesensk. Here he joined the city bolshevik committee and the soviet of worker deputies, which he headed starting in September 1917. As an active participant in the October Revolution, Samolyov became a secretary of the city party committee, labor commissar and chairman of the guberniya revolutionary tribunal.



The time of the Revolution and the civil war was a time of blossoming and tempestuous activities on the part of Fedor Nikitich. In 1919 he was sent by the party to work in the Ukraine after which he was assigned to represent the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to the Bashkir Military-Revolutionary Committee. In December 1921 the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets elected him member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee; he was elected candidate member of the Central Control Commission at the 11th party congress. At the same time, F. N. Samolyov was one of the heads of the RKP(b) Central Committee Istpart; he headed the VKP(b) Moscow Istpart Committee and, between 1932 and 1935, was deputy chairman of the All-Union Society of Old Bolsheviks. In 1937 he became director of the State Museum of the Revolution. He has written interesting memoirs and studies on the Ivanovo-Voznesensk soviet in 1905, the bolshevik activities in the Fourth Duma and on the faction in exile. F. N. Samolyov retired in 1941. However, he was socially active until his very death (13 June 1952): he delivered lectures and reports and spoke of his recollections on his faction comrades, meetings with Lenin and the heroic days of the three Russian revolutions.

In mentioning I. V. Babushkin, G. I. Petrovskiy and other revolutionary workers, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, notes in his "Vospominaniya" [Recollections] that "... I am writing about these selfless fighters in order to make it even clearer why the Russian working class always followed V. I. Lenin, the bolsheviks and the great Communist Party." Side by side with G. I. Petrovskiy and their comrades in the bolshevik faction, F. N. Samolyov and N. R. Shagov were in the leading ranks of these selfless fighters.

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## GREAT BANNER OF UNITY

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[Review by V. Dolgin of the book by L. I. Brezhnev "Ob Internatsionalizme i Druzhbe Narodov" [On Internationalism and Friendship Among the Peoples]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 702 pp]

[Text] Proletarian, socialist internationalism is one of the main principles governing the great Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

Ever since the proletariat became aware of itself as a class, and since the founding of a party of the working class the unity of the workers movement and the cohesion of its international detachments became powerful weapons in the struggle for liberation from capitalist enslavement.

The objective law governing the international solidarity of the working class is rooted in its very status in capitalist society. "Since the situation of the workers of all countries is the same, and since they have the same interests their enemies are also the same and they must struggle jointly and counter the fraternal alliance among the bourgeoisie of all nations with the fraternal alliance of the workers of all nations" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 4, p 373).

The enemies of the proletariat, anyone who is trying to perpetuate the exploitation of the toiling people, spare no efforts to destroy this alliance. Soon after the founding of the Soviet state, V. I. Lenin wrote: "The bourgeoisie of all countries and all the parties of the petite bourgeoisie, the 'conciliationist' parties, which allow an alliance with the bourgeoisie against the workers, have tried most of all to divide the workers belonging to different nationalities, to promote mistrust and to destroy the close international alliance and international fraternity of the workers. The workers lose whenever the bourgeoisie succeeds in this" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 40, p 47). "We are the enemies of national hostility, national discord and national exclusivity," Lenin emphasized. "We are internationalists" (ibid., p 43).

Internationally, the principles of proletarian internationalism are based on the founding of the comity of socialist countries. They appear in their expanded cooperation, strengthened friendship and unity of objectives and actions in strengthening the positions and protecting the gains of socialism.

Proletarian internationalism is embodied in the comprehensive support of the national liberation struggle of the peoples and concern for strengthening the unity of the global communist and worker movements. That is why the CPSU and the other communist and workers parties, which stand firmly on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism, ascribe such great importance to proletarian internationalism and to defending it against the attacks of the class enemies and their opportunistic stooges.

In particularly emphasizing the importance of proletarian internationalism today, L. I. Brezhnev has described it as "one of the main principles of Marxism-Leninism. Unfortunately, some people are beginning to interpret it as though actually little remains of internationalism. There also are leaders who are openly calling for its rejection. In their view, the internationalism which was substantiated and defended by Marx and Engels has become allegedly obsolete. From our viewpoint, the rejection of proletarian internationalism would mean to deprive the communist party and the workers movement in general of a powerful tested weapon. This would be a good service to the class enemy who, incidentally, is actively coordinating its anticommunist actions on an international scale. We, soviet communists, deem the defense of proletarian internationalism the sacred obligation of every Marxist-Leninist."

L. I. Brezhnev's book "Ob Internatsionalizme i Druzbe Narodov" is a compilation of the experience of the CPSU in its implementation of the internationalist-Leninist line. The extensive data it contains, which develops and deepens the theoretical aspects of proletarian internationalism as one of the founding Marxist-Leninist principles, and the geographic spread of his speeches--Moldavia, Kazakhstan, Kiev, Tbilisi, Minsk, Tashkent, Berlin, Warsaw, Delhi, Havana, Prague, Sofia, Belgrade, Budapest, Ulan-Bator and Bucharest--prove the tireless struggle waged by our party for strengthening the friendship among the peoples, peaceful coexistence among countries and strengthening the unity and cohesion of the fraternal communist and workers parties. They prove the tireless activities of the CPSU Central Committee, Central Committee politburo and Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev in this area.

#### I.

The entire history of the struggle waged by the working class in different countries and the entire experience of the communist and workers parties heading this struggle confirm the scientific substantiation of proletarian internationalism, the vitally necessary unity of action and the strengthening of the alliance among workers and working people of all countries.

The working people the world over welcomed the Great October Socialist Revolution. They actively supported the bolshevik party, which headed the revolutionary struggle of the working people in Russia, and did everything to prevent the aspiration of the world's bourgeoisie to suppress the first state of workers and peasants in history. At the same time, under the influence of the victories of the socialist system in the Soviet Union, the international communist movement strengthened and the prestige of communist and workers parties in many countries broadened.

The principle of proletarian solidarity was manifested with new strength during the Great Patriotic War. "... We were not alone in the struggle against fascism," L. I. Brezhnev pointed out. "We remember our fearless fellow workers--the partisans, the heroes of the resistance in many countries occupied by the Hitlerites. We remember the soldiers of our allies in the anti-Hitlerite coalition. However, nor can we forget the obvious fact that the main burden in the war fell on the Soviet person..." (p 453).

Support of the Soviet Union in its struggle against fascism was fully consistent with the national interests of the peoples of all countries. The communist parties of Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania called for active struggle against involving their countries in the war against the Soviet Union. The communists headed the national liberation struggle of the peoples against fascist enslavement. Through their dedicated and heroic efforts they earned trust and authority, proving to be the true and systematic defenders of the basic interests of the broad toiling masses and the national interests of their countries.

The relations among the members of the socialist comity are the highest form of manifestation of proletarian and socialist internationalism. Such internationalist relations are manifested in all areas of intraparty, socio-political, economic, scientific and technical, cultural and other relations. "In relations with the socialist countries," L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes, "the CPSU firmly follows the tried rule of working in a spirit of true equality and interest in reciprocal success, and to formulate decisions bearing in mind not only national but international interests. Whatever problems may arise, it is our conviction that they can be resolved in a spirit of strengthening friendship, unity and cooperation. That is how we build our relations with the fraternal socialist countries--Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia" (p 313).

The highest possible internationalism of our party and the Soviet people is confirmed by the entire history of the existence and development of the Soviet state and by numerous examples not only of comprehensive aid to the members of the socialist comity and the national liberation movements but readiness to make national sacrifices in the interest of proletarian internationalism. Did the Soviet Union not suffer tremendous casualties in liberating the peoples enslaved by fascism? After the war, depriving itself from its meager stocks, it sent grain, metal and fuel to the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania and other countries, while the imperialist countries tried to strangle through economic blockade countries which have taken the path of building socialism. This, for example, was the reason for the notorious "Coordination Committee for Control of Exports to Socialist Countries" (COCOM). Incidentally, the latest hysterical explosion of anticommunism, the latest pretext of which was the Polish events, brought to life this offspring of the cold war, with the help of which, among others, the United States is trying once again to organize a blockade of the socialist comity. During these complex times, as during other grave periods, when a threat to the sovereignty and safety of the fraternal countries has existed, proletarian and socialist internationalism are manifested with

particular emphasis. "The history of world socialism is familiar with all possible trials," L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out. "It has had difficult and critical moments. However, the communists have always boldly faced enemy attacks and won. That was and will be. Let no one question our common resolve to defend our interests and the socialist gains of the peoples!" (p 438). As to Poland, as W. Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary said in January 1982, "During this difficult period we are experiencing, the members of the socialist comity are showing their attention and giving us priceless international aid." In accordance with the 1982 trade and payments protocol signed between the USSR and Poland, deliveries of Soviet goods will help to restore the Polish national economy which suffered as a result of the profound economic and political crisis triggered by the subversive activities of antisocialist forces. The Soviet Union will meet a considerable share of Poland's needs for basic types of fuel and raw material commodities, machine-building goods, and others. Taking into consideration the difficult position in which the Polish national economy finds itself, the Soviet government is granting Poland credit on easy terms. Polish enterprises will receive various types of equipment and other commodities from the USSR.

Proletarian, socialist internationalism is materialized in relations among socialist countries in the ever-closer cooperation and mutual aid in all realms of their national economic development, on the basis of socialist economic integration; in coordinated foreign policy actions in that strengthening the international positions of socialism and ensuring peaceful conditions for the implementation of the plans for building socialism and communism; and in the joint actions against aggressive imperialist plans and in defense of the working people in the capitalist countries and support of national liberation movements.

Loyalty to the ideas of socialist internationalism and the aspiration of the fraternal countries to strengthen the cohesion of their comity found a new confirmation at the 36th CEMA session which was held in Budapest in June 1982. The decisions passed at the session confirm the steadily strengthening and developing interaction among the fraternal countries.

The strengthening and development of the global socialist system are having a decisive impact on the further successes of the entire global revolutionary and liberation movement. It was precisely thanks to the changed ratio of forces in the world in favor of socialism that the capitalist system has been suffering one defeat after another, as confirmed by the victories won by revolutionary forces in Angola, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos, Mozambique, Nicaragua and Ethiopia.

The objective interaction between the increasing power of socialism and the successes achieved by the progressive forces is clear. The increased influence of the communist and workers parties in the capitalist countries and the victories of the national liberation movements largely predetermine the growing power and international prestige of the socialist countries. At the same time, the socialist countries feel the steady support of the working people in the capitalist countries and all progressive forces who support the

socialist world and are fighting for the peace and security of the nations. "We, Soviet communists," L. I. Brezhnev says, "like the communists in other socialist countries, are deeply grateful to the comrades in the capitalist countries, who supported us during difficult periods in our history and periods of normal peaceful toil. In turn, we show our steady solidarity with the struggle waged by our class brothers in the capitalist camp and are trying to give them moral and political support.... " (p 322).

Overall historical experience shows the legitimate need and necessity of further strengthening the international solidarity between the peoples of the socialist countries and the working people in the capitalist states in the common struggle against the forces of reaction and war, the assertion of humanistic ideals and the establishment of a new just way of life. The importance of international duty in defending the class interests of world socialism increases.

This is understood by the enemies of socialism and the world revolutionary movement. That is why they are dedicating tremendous efforts to discredit real socialism. They are subjecting to fierce attacks the principle of proletarian internationalism and are trying to divide the international communist movement and disturb the ranks of revolutionary forces. Adapting to the conditions of contemporary global developments and correspondingly changing their tactics, the antisocialist forces are trying to remove the communist parties which stand on principled Marxist-Leninist positions from the leadership of society and lead such parties to adopt false positions.

The enemies of socialism are trying above all to defame the Soviet Union. Open anti-Sovietism is combined with treacherous maneuvers and the desire to break down the international communist movement and to break the ties of solidarity between the communist parties of the socialist countries and the other fraternal parties. Unfortunately, it is those who do not understand or are unwilling to understand that one cannot fight for socialism while at the same time trying to earn doubtful prestige among the bourgeoisie and that it is impossible to call for unity in the struggle for the rights of the working people in the country while at the same time harming the unity of the global communist movement fall into this trap. By blackening real socialism, such people deprive the communists in their own countries of a future. Gus Hall, U.S. Communist Party secretary general, said very convincingly on this subject that "we do not intend to follow imperialism. We have no intention to use slanderous attacks against the forces of socialism and to repeat anti-Soviet fabrications for the sake of earning so-called recognition, acquire false respectability or prove our independence. We shall not build our policy by adapting ourselves to attacks against our class and our party or against socialism."

The critics of real socialism do not consider or do not wish to consider the situation in which the communist parties, the working class and the national liberation movements would have found themselves today had there been no Soviet Union or socialist countries, had the imperialists ruled the world unchallenged, and had the aggressive aspirations of the reaction not been countered by the efforts of the socialist countries and the progressive peace-loving states.

The entire content and meaning of contemporary global developments confirm the steadily growing importance of Marxism-Leninism and its basic principle--proletarian internationalism. The ideas of socialism have been practically embodied in a major group of countries on four continents on earth. "There is no country or group of countries," L. I. Brezhnev points out, "or ideological or political current which has not experienced the influence of socialism to one extent or another. Such is the reality at the end of the 20th century" (p 448).

Naturally, the building of socialism is not a smooth road. The general laws governing its implementation are refracted in each of the socialist countries in accordance with the characteristics and specific conditions which developed under given historical circumstances. There have been difficulties and errors, as in any pioneering project. However, there has also been the victory of socialism, definitive and irreversible. In answer to occasional critical views on one specific aspect or another in the development of our country, L. I. Brezhnev has said that "we do not consider in the least that everything in our country was ideal. Socialism was built in the USSR under incredibly complex conditions. The party opened a virgin path. No one better than us knows the difficulties and shortcomings we encountered along this way and the ones which we have not surmounted as yet.

"We listen attentively to comradely and constructive criticism. However, we are firmly opposed to the type of 'criticism' which distorts socialist reality and thus, willy-nilly, helps imperialist propaganda and the class enemy" (pp 445-446).

The humanistic nature of proletarian internationalism is manifested particularly strongly in the foreign policy and international activities of the CPSU, which are inseparably linked with its domestic policy course. Peace is needed not only for the successful implementation of the plans for building socialism but also by countries which have freed themselves from colonialism in order to strengthen their independence. It is needed by the international workers movement. All nations, all progressive mankind want peace. The most consistent and energetic fighters for the peace and security of the peoples are precisely the Soviet Union and the members of the socialist comity. Their peace initiatives are a constant positive factor in international life and all mankind has been benefitting from the results of their internationalist efforts to preserve peace on earth for almost four decades.

In recent months, in a number of his speeches L. I. Brezhnev has formulated new exceptionally important initiatives on strengthening the peace and security of the peoples and ending the arms race. Pointing out that it is only stern necessity that forces the Soviet Union to take measures to maintain the country's defense capability on the necessary level which, naturally, calls for the use of substantial funds to the detriment of plans for peaceful construction, L. I. Brezhnev reemphasized that "... We do not spend and will not spend for such purposes a single ruble more than is absolutely necessary to ensure the safety of our people and its friends and allies. We see the future not on the level of an infinite stockpiling of mountains of weapons but on the level of achieving sensible agreements with

the other side on reciprocally lowering the levels of military confrontation." L. I. Brezhnev's message to the second special session of the United Nations General Assembly to which he stated on behalf of the 269-million strong Soviet people that, guided by the aspiration to do everything possible to remove the threat of nuclear devastation hanging over the peoples and to exclude its very impossibility from the life of mankind, the Soviet state solemnly pledges not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, met with a tremendous response and support of peace-loving nations.

The voice of our party sounds like a toxin which warns of the threat of global catastrophe and calls for the struggle for peace among nations, cooperation and mutual aid: "Peace is the decisive prerequisite for progress in all realms of human activity. We are convinced that if the communists, the revolutionaries, and all healthy and sensible forces become fully aware of their responsibility and act in a united front the plans of the opponents of peace will be unquestionably defeated" (p 449).

National relations in the Soviet Union have become a model of embodiment of proletarian socialist internationalism and of the triumph of this principle in relations among peoples. The communist party and the Soviet Union, taking into consideration and harmoniously combining the interests of the nations inhabiting our homeland and constituting its Soviet republics, with the interests of our entire multinational state, from the very beginning charted a course toward accelerated economic, cultural and sociopolitical development of national outlying areas. The more developed parts of the country gave comprehensive aid to previously oppressed nations and nationalities. Fraternal aid came mainly from the Russian Federation. "Such aid," L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes, "readiness to undertake tremendous efforts and, let us state openly, sacrifices for the sake of surmounting the backwardness of the national outlying areas and ensuring their accelerated development was Lenin's legacy to the Russian proletariat as a high international duty. The Russian working class and Russian people carried out this duty honestly. This was essentially a great exploit of an entire class, an entire nation, made for the sake of internationalism. This exploit will never be forgotten by the peoples of our homeland.

"The history of this exploit began literally during the first days of the revolution. Soviet Russia--dislocated and hungry itself--allocated tens of millions of rubles for irrigation projects in Turkestan as early as 1918. Even during the civil war decisions were made to give Azerbaijan financial, food and technical aid; considerable funds were allocated to help Kharkov railroad workers and Donbass miners. Substantial aid was given to the economies of Belorussia, Armenia and Soviet Lithuania and Latvia.... Many factories and plants were transferred free of charge to the republics of the Transcaucasus, Central Asia and Kazakhstan where engineering and technical workers, skilled workers and specialists, scientists, teachers and workers in the field of culture were assigned" (p 559).

The selfless mutual aid among the Soviet peoples made it possible to accelerate the development of previously backward areas and to create in all republics highly developed industry and large-scale mechanized agriculture.



Numerous industrial and cultural centers and urbanized towns and villages appeared in the feudal and semifeudal outlying areas of czarist Russia.

The national policy of the communist party, aimed at the planned development of the economy and culture of all fraternal republics and strengthening and expanding relations among them, brought about the real blossoming of the national economy, science, art, education and health care and to the enhancement of the material well-being and cultural standards of all peoples inhabiting the land of the soviets. A clear example of this may be found in each republic and nation within the Soviet Union. Thus, once Uzbekistan was one of the most backward outlying areas in czarist Russia. Pre-revolutionary Uzbekistan had essentially no industry. It had no more than several dozen semi-artisan enterprises, which were essentially engaged in the primary processing of agricultural produce. Today it has a modern industry and goods produced by the republic are shipped to many foreign countries.

The economic backwardness of Kazakhstan was eliminated within a historically short time. Today it has become an area of highly developed industry, which includes ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, and fuel-energy, cement, machine building, light, food and other industrial sectors. The KaSSR has become our country's largest granary.

The same could be said of virtually all Soviet republics. Their development clearly proves the triumph of the Leninist national policy of the CPSU.

As the actual inequality among the peoples inhabiting the Soviet republics was eliminated, the nature of their relations and cooperation changed substantially. They became more varied and planned. Essentially one-sided aid yielded to extensive reciprocal aid. Today the Soviet republics are successfully implementing their functions in the all-union division of labor and are increasing their contribution to the country's joint economic and scientific and technical progress. "All of our republics, including those which were previously lagging economically and culturally, have now reached a high level of development. At the same time, the economy of each individual republic has become an inseparable part of the single national economic complex" (p 621).

The international cooperation and fraternal mutual aid among the Soviet peoples are clearly manifested in the construction of the most important national economic projects, in which working people from the entire Soviet Union participate. Republics exchange goods, share experience and help each other with skilled cadres.

Turksib, Kuznetsk, Magnitka and the Chelyabinsk Tractors Plant were created by multinational collectives of working people. More than 500 cities and about 2,000 enterprises from all union republics participated in the construction of the Volga Hydroelectric Power Plant imeni XXII S"yezda KPSS. Members of 41 different nationalities participated in the construction of the Kremenchug GES in the Ukraine. Equipment for the power plant was supplied by 820 enterprises in 12 union and autonomous republics. Equipment for the Baltic GRES in Estonia was supplied by 75 enterprises in the RSFSR, the

Ukraine, Belorussia, Latvia and other republics. The entire country participated in developing the virgin lands of Kazakhstan. Working people from many cities, nations and nationalities in the USSR are participating in the construction of the Kama automotive giant in Tataria, the Baykal-Amur Mainline in Siberia, Atommash, the gigantic petroleum and gas pipelines, and the projects in the Nonchernozem. L. I. Brezhnev has described the largest construction projects of our time as an outstanding school in civic and international education.

In accordance with Leninist national policy, the Soviet state is engaged in the efficient interrepublic placement of production forces, redistribution of material and manpower resources and equalization of levels of economic development. This ensures the overall upsurge and blossoming of each Soviet republic and contributes to the shaping and steady enhancement of the role and significance of the common features shared by all nations and nationalities. The line of ensuring the actual equality among all nations in the Soviet Union is reflected in the state national economic development plans. Such was the case during all previous five-year plans and such was the task set at the 26th CPSU Congress, which charted a course of further growth of the material and spiritual potential of each republic. Whereas the 11th Five-Year Plan calls for an overall increase in industrial output in the USSR by 26 percent, in the case of several republics, with a view to further equalizing levels of economic development, greater increases are contemplated: by 28 percent in Belorussia, 30 percent in Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan, and 31 percent in Armenia and Georgia.

All of this allowed the CPSU Central Committee to note in its decree on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR that "the task of equalizing levels of economic development among Soviet republics has been resolved in its essential lines in the country. The juridical and actual equality of all nations and nationalities has been secured."

The greatest tasks in the building of socialism implemented in the Soviet Union such as, for example, the development of raw material and fuel and energy resources in the remote areas of Siberia, the building of big railroad mainlines and gigantic electric power plants, scientific work in outer space, and so on, require the joint efforts of the working people in all Soviet republics. In the course of these great accomplishments the friendship among the peoples of our country strengthens and matures and the power and prosperity of the Soviet state are hammered out.

For centuries capitalist countries such as England, Belgium, the Netherlands and others, masters of half the world, invested in road building and organizing the way of life and well-being of their own small countries, compared with their overseas possessions, the labor, sweat and blood of millions of enslaved colonial peoples. It was only after many generations that the colonial powers were able to come out of the Middle Ages and to create in the mother countries advanced industry, organize the education of the population, and so on. The wealth, comforts and amenities acquired by plundering the colonies benefitted mainly the rich classes, the bourgeoisie. As to the working people, they are being just as mercilessly exploited although, naturally, their living standard is higher than that in the former colonies.

Sometimes we ourselves fail to consider the fact that within a single human lifespan the Soviet state enabled nations, many of which were in a state of extreme backwardness, to rise to the level of the leading European countries which took centuries to develop. And although not everything has been accomplished yet, and a struggle for the solution of many problems lies ahead in following the unknown roads to the new way of life, the multinational Soviet people have confidence in their communist future.

"Friendship among the peoples," L. I. Brezhnev says, "has become part of the flesh and blood of our social life. Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Georgians, Azerbaijanis, Lithuanians, Moldavians, Latvians, Kirghiz, Tajiks, Armenians, Turkmens, Estonians--all the nations in our homeland--consider each other comrades and fellow workers, help one another, work jointly, and jointly participate in the struggle for building communism. Such is the grandiose result of the Leninist national policy" (p 461).

To the citizen of the Soviet Union internationalism and Soviet patriotism are not abstract concepts. They constitute his outlook, his moral and ethical foundations which are embodied in deeds and actions.

The unbreakable unity and cohesion among Soviet nations and people and their loyalty to the ideas of communism and profound patriotism have been repeatedly manifested throughout the history of our state. This is confirmed not only by outstanding examples of dedicated loyalty to the homeland and the cause of Leninism displayed by Nikolay Ostrovskiy, Zoya Kosmodem'yanskaya, Aleksandr Matrosov, Dmitriy Karbyshev, Musa Dzhahil, Panfilov's soldiers and thousands of other living or dead, famous or unknown heroes. Soviet patriotism is expressed in the mass seemingly unnoticeable daily actions of millions and millions of patriots. In the stormy year of 1942, on the front defending the Soviet North, joining the party, the Oset Taymuraz Afakoyevich Tsopanov said: "To me every little corner of our country is precious.... I am glad that now I shall fight as a communist and shall dedicate my entire strength to the defeat of the enemy." In the blockaded Leningrad Dmitriy Shostakovich, the great composer of our time, created his Seventh Symphony. "Working on the symphony," he then wrote, "I thought of the greatness of our people, their heroism, the best ideals of mankind, the splendid qualities of man, our beautiful nature, humanism and beauty ..."

The zealous patriotism of the Soviet citizen has blended with his profound internationalism. Every person, with his complex world of inner feelings and emotions, likes and dislikes, specific nature and customs, is displaying in his own way his attitude toward his surroundings and other people and acts in his own specific manner. However, that which has become part of the socialist system, the spirit of collectivism and fraternity among peoples lead the people of the new world to peaks of moral perfection which are unknown in bourgeois society. During the final battles for Berlin on Eisenstrasse Soviet private Trifon Luk'yanovich, a worker from Minsk, heard during the brief lull, the cry of a German child sitting next to his dead mother on a street under fascist fire. He, bearer of the orders of the Combat Red Banner and Glory, aware of the fact that the fascists had destroyed his family in the homeland, without thinking, risking his life, threw himself into the

fulfillment of his human duty. This exploit, duplicated by other Soviet soldiers, has been perpetuated in the Vuchetich sculpture erected in Treptow Park.

Internationalism is an inviolable norm of our reality. The Soviet people firmly fight still extant isolated violations of this norm and occasional throwbacks of the bad past which is being eliminated by our way of life.

In pursuing an internationalist line in the development of the multinational Soviet state, our party has invariably opposed all distortions in national policy. "The CPSU has struggled and will always firmly struggle against manifestations alien to the nature of socialism, be they chauvinism, nationalism or all kinds of nationalistic quirks.... The party has the sacred duty to raise the working people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and in the proud feeling of belonging to the single great Soviet homeland" (p 668).

Together with their great-power chauvinistic accomplices, the imperialist forces spare no efforts or funds to try to divide the peoples of the Soviet Union and to promote nationalism. Some of the "critics" of our system they have raised accuse the Soviet Union of having allegedly Russified the peoples of the outlying areas and eliminating the originality of the individual republics. "Life clearly proves," L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in presenting the Order of Lenin to the Uzbek SSR, "that the slanders of our foes notwithstanding, socialism not only does not bring about the loss of the unique features of the nations and the characteristics of their cultures and traditions, but raises this uniqueness to a new height and makes it available to many other nations."

Today, in the year of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union, the greatness of the accomplishments of the Soviet people, headed by the communist party, is seen particularly clearly by the working people of all countries. Guided by Marxist-Leninist theory and the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism, the Leninist party has rallied the working people of different nationalities within a single fraternal family, a cohesive and unbreakable unity of objectives and interests, spiritual kinship and trust.

The problems of internationalism considered in the book assume particular importance under contemporary conditions, when imperialist forces, headed by the United States, have mounted a global attack, an ideological "crusade" against the Soviet Union, world socialism and peace-loving and progressive forces in general. The collection puts together statements by L. I. Brezhnev, which ideologically arm not only communists but all supporters of peace and progress in their struggle for detente, cooperation and mutual understanding. They are a practical manual for action for the working people building a new society.

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## IDEOLOGICAL FUNCTION OF MODERN IDEALISTIC PHILOSOPHY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 82 pp 111-120

[Article by Academician T. Oyzerman]

[Text] State-monopoly capitalism is, in V. I. Lenin's familiar definition, the most complete material preparation for a socialist system. The progressing capitalist socialization of production and the merger of the bourgeois military-bureaucratic state apparatus with the gigantic corporations, which subordinate to a single command a great variety of production, distribution, service and consumption areas, are all unquestionably contributing to the accelerated development of production forces regardless of the existence of historically obsolete capitalist production relations. "We cannot ignore," L. I. Brezhnev points out, "the fact that contemporary imperialism also uses the opportunities offered by the increasing blending of the monopolies with the state apparatus."

However, capitalist progress inevitably develops into the progressive enslavement of the toiling masses. Capitalist socialization means in practice the strengthening, the intensification of the basic contradiction within the bourgeois production method--the contradiction between its social nature and the private form of acquisition. Inherent in the development of this contradiction is the variety of forms of suppression of the social autonomy of the main production force in society--the working person. Naturally, under contemporary conditions, when imperialist capitalism is opposed by the world socialist system, the liberation struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries and the anti-imperialist movement of the peoples of the developing countries, the forms of enslavement of this force are updated and changed substantially. Along with economic means, bourgeois culture and ideology are playing an increasingly great role. Suffice it to recall in this connection bourgeois "mass culture," which is using the latest technical information facilities which, under the conditions of the socialist society, serve the true upsurge of the spiritual culture of millions of people, to depersonalize, standardize and alienate the individual.

It may appear that bourgeois philosophy, as a rather specialized area of social consciousness, aimed at the well-educated readers, is as remote from "mass culture" as the sky is distant from the earth. However, this is a misleading impression, for it deals merely with appearances. In the contemporary bourgeois society a number of popular publications interpret for the

benefit of the broadest possible public most complex philosophical concepts, particularly ideas which are a refined defense of the establishment. The main feature is that contemporary idealistic philosophy, which reflects the general crisis in the capitalist system, is the ideological and theoretical source of that same anti-intellectualism without which "mass art" or the bourgeois culture of monopoly capital in general would be inconceivable.

We find in the studies of Soviet Marxist philosophers a substantive analysis of most influential currents in contemporary bourgeois philosophy such as neopositivism, existentialism, the Frankfurt school of social research, "critical rationalism," neo-Thomism and philosophical anthropology. The Marxist-Leninist criticism of the latest idealistic philosophy exposes its basic arguments and characteristic masks with the help of which the opponents of Marxism present themselves as "neo-Marxist," the supporters of obscurantism claim to be developing scientific methodology, and the supporters of capitalism identify themselves as critics of bourgeois society. Nevertheless, dialectical materialism faces extensive work in criticizing contemporary idealism. Bourgeois philosophy has the ability to create ever-new variations on old themes. The forms of expression of contemporary idealism are quite varied and its arguments are constantly changing in accordance with changes in the sociopolitical circumstances and the intellectual climate. Incurable idealists and firm opponents of materialism nearly always act as critics of idealism. Actually, they merely replace one discredited form of idealistic philosophizing with another.

The ideological unity in bourgeois philosophy finds its paradoxical manifestation in the arguments among bourgeois philosophers. Although their differences pertain to very specific matters and are of no interest to the public at large, they are depicted as essential conceptual differences even within the framework of a single philosophical current. Every contemporary idealist considers himself the creator of a new philosophical school, loudly proclaiming an unprecedented change he has allegedly brought about in philosophy. The capitalist law of competition and the shameless advertising and self-advertising inseparably linked with it unquestionably apply in the realm of social consciousness as well. The competitive struggle in philosophy is usually depicted as the free coexistence of independent doctrines, schools and directions, as a pluralism of ideas and ideologies, and as varieties of intellectual self-expression of creative individualities.

Actually, a proper assessment of such polemic forgeries and internecine wars would reveal that the contemporary idealistic philosophers are defending (consciously or subconsciously) the basic foundations, the vital mainstays of the last exploitative system. All of these philosophers are united in their lack of faith in social progress, negation of the objectively historical need of transition from capitalism to socialism and a negativistic attitude toward science and intelligence. Therefore, even those among them who subjectively oppose the bourgeois way of life objectively turn out as supporters of capitalism, for they reject social progress and slight the possibility and necessity of a sensible reorganization of society.

In describing the theory of Hegel, the great idealist, Lenin wrote: "Hegel's faith in the human mind and its rights, and the basic postulate of Hegelian philosophy to the effect that the world is subject to a continuing process of change and development led the students of the Berlin philosopher, who are unwilling to accept reality, to the thought that the struggle against reality and existing injustice and evil is rooted in the universal law of eternal development" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 2, p 7).

The contemporary bourgeois philosophers have simply no faith in human intelligence; they consider the great accomplishments of the mind in science and technology as the fatal, the tragic consequences of the unjustified arrogance of mankind which has developed the audacity to think that it can radically change the eternal order of things. "The mind is sick," sadly proclaims T. Adorno, one of the most noteworthy representatives of contemporary bourgeois philosophy. "We must begin by healing people with minds from their intelligence."

One should not think that the struggle against intelligence and science, which is so typical of contemporary bourgeois philosophy, has no essential influence on the human mind and soul. The contradictions in contemporary social developments, the thread to the very existence of mankind created by capitalism, the negative consequences of the scientific and technical revolution and ecological dysfunctions create certain prerequisites for spreading the anti-intellectual epidemic. That is precisely why the systematic exposure of contemporary bourgeois philosophy--the most refined form of imperialist bourgeois ideology--is a vitally important and highly topical task facing Marxist philosophers. It is precisely in this connection that we would like to consider in this article the publication of an international scientific-publicistic series in the GDR entitled "Critique of Bourgeois Ideology and Revisionism." Academician M. (Bur), director of the GDR Academy of Sciences Central Institute of Philosophy, is the editor-in-chief of the series. The editorial collegium consists of noted Marxists from socialist and capitalist countries (Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, the FRG and France). Noted philosophers, economists, sociologists and historians participated in the creation of the series, the publication of which began more than 10 years ago. Today we may note that the books published within this series have gained extensive recognition in many countries, as confirmed by numerous reviews and translations from the German into other languages.

This entire Marxist-Leninist series deals with relevant problems of contemporary social life and the class and ideological struggle. Naturally, the confines of a single article make it impossible to describe the variety of problems on the basis of which the authors substantively discuss the latest bourgeois ideology, its arguments, means of polemics, methodological foundations, etc. We shall point out merely some topics which, in our view, are particularly important: the failure of "deideologization" and "reideologization" in the contemporary social democratic movement; the universal-historical significance of Leninism; the scientific and technical revolution and the class struggle; Maoism as the accomplice of imperialist reaction; and dialectical materialism and contemporary natural sciences. This list of

problems alone, which accounts for a small part of the series, convincingly proves that its authors and editors have determined with perfect accuracy the direction of their critical research.

The main feature of the series is the closest possible tie between the considered theoretical problems and contemporary political practices and ideological struggle. Let us take as an example the book by Hungarian Marxist A. (Gede) "The Alienated Marx" (No 8). The author discusses the bourgeois and petit bourgeois interpretations of the works of the young K. Marx, works written at the beginning of the 1840s, when Marx was only becoming Marx as the founder of scientific communism, converting from idealism to materialism and from revolutionary democracy to communism.

The contemporary bourgeois Marxologists pit the works of the young Marx (the "Philosophical-Economics Manuscripts of 1844" in particular) against mature Marxist works. They consider the early works as the main, the determining features of Marxism, despite the obvious fact that we failed to find in them a number of basic Marxist concepts (the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the concept of added value, etc.). Some among the most refined interpreters of the historical process of the establishment of Marxism go even farther by eliminating the qualitative distinction between Marx's early works and his fundamental works such as "Das Kapital." A. (Gede) considers in this connection the views of E. Fromm, the noted neo-Freudian philosopher, who proclaims the concept of alienation as basic Marxist category, reducing the fact of alienation simply to a specific mental condition, an emotion, when "man conceives of himself as alienated from himself." Unlike E. Fromm, A. (Gede) argues that the concept of alienation, which holds a very important position in Marx's early works, was one of the methodological approaches to the concept of added value, which was developed by Marx only in the 1850s. Already in his early works, Marx understood by alienation the alienation of the product of labor from the producer, the alienation of production activities which, under the conditions of private ownership, becomes oppressive, a duty which suppresses the activities of the toiling man. The ideological boom created around the works of the young Marx, as (Gede) properly proves, is a form of bourgeois misrepresentation of Marxism, whose influence even under the conditions of a capitalist society is so unquestionably great that his opponents are forced not only to acknowledge the outstanding significance of this doctrine but even frequently to act as "also-Marxists."

The final, the hundredth, one could say the anniversary book in the series was published at the end of last year. It was written by two philosophers well known in our country: M. (Bur) (GDR) and R. Steigerwald (FRG). The book, which is entitled "Renunciation of Progress, History, Knowledge and Truth"--is a kind of summary of the entire content of the series. Its main theme is the study of the most important ideological trends in most modern bourgeois philosophy. The consideration of all other--gnosiological, logical and ontological--problems is either ignored or directly subordinated to the task of bringing up the ideological function of contemporary bourgeois philosophizing. Consequently, it is not merely a question of philosophy but of the philosophical ideology of the contemporary bourgeoisie.



This approach to the consideration of the material is entirely justified and, furthermore, directly consistent with the main task of the series. The task is clearly to prove the way the "impartial" (as claimed) latest idealistic philosophy is actually the most refined apology of the capitalist way of life. This formulation of the topic, as the authors emphasize, is particularly necessary, for in the contemporary ideological struggle it is precisely conceptual (and therefore philosophical) problems that keep appearing on the forefront. In the face of the unrestrainable development of the global socialist system and the socialist orientation of many developing countries, the bourgeois ideologues have begun to speak a "new" philosophical language. They now claim that no progress, scientific and technical achievement or social reorganization in general can basically surmount the fatal, the tragic disharmony of human life. In the light of these remarks it becomes clear why M. (Bur) and R. Steigerwald devote the first part of their book to the critical pitting of the philosophical theories of the progressive bourgeoisie of the 16th, 17th, 18th and first half of the 19th centuries against contemporary bourgeois philosophizing. The authors begin by offering the reader the opportunity to make a comparison between, on the one hand, the basic statements by F. Bacon, R. Descartes, T. Hobbes, D. Diderot, P. Holbach, E. Kant and H. Hegel, on the one hand, and the basic statements of Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Jaspers, Heidegger, Popper and some other philosophers, on the other. The thoughtful reader can see, even without the comments of the authors, that the contemporary bourgeois philosophers reject the classical philosophical legacy and betray the ideals which inspired the ideologues of bourgeois revolutions in the past.

Naturally, the philosophy of Bacon, Descartes, the French materialists of the 18th century, Kant, Hegel and their immediate followers suffered from bourgeois limitations. However, the bourgeoisie of that time was at the head of social progress. It struggled against the dominating (feudal) form of exploitation; its interests essentially coincided with those of social development as a whole. As (Bur) and Steigerwald properly emphasize, the philosophy of that age inspired faith in the human mind and its rightness, belief in the possibility to control the elemental forces of nature, awareness of the need for a sensible reorganization of society and enthusiasm for the truth. That is why the ideology of the bourgeois revolutions became the historical predecessor of Marxism, while German classical philosophy became one of its theoretical sources. It is clear, therefore, why contemporary bourgeois philosophy is rejecting its historical past. "An essential characteristic of this contemporary bourgeois thinking," note (Bur) and Steigerwald, "is the comprehensive refusal to acknowledge progress and historical development, knowledge and truth, social patterns and the unity of the historical process" (p 27). The relativistic interpretation of the truth, the irrationalistic interpretation of the historical process and the characteristic of knowledge as being the privilege of the "aristocracy of the spirit," as well as the dissemination of nihilistic and pessimistic views concerning the historical future of mankind and human existence itself directly characterize the philosophy (and ideology as a whole) of the contemporary bourgeoisie.

In the light of this topic let us pay attention to an earlier book in the series, written by A. (Abush) "Socialist Humanism: Tradition and Contemporaneity" (No 2). It convincingly proves that the true heir of the humanism of the ideologues of the bourgeois revolution is Marxism--the scientific ideology of the liberation movement of the working class and the building of a classless communist society. On the one hand, (Abush) describes the outstanding representatives of bourgeois humanism in Germany (the parts on A. Humboldt, F. Helderlin and H. Hegel). On the other, he analyzes the works of the outstanding representatives of socialist realism in Germany--B. Brecht, his "political theater," J. Becher's and A. Seger's militant humanism. One of the chapters in his book deals with the Leninist theory of culture, on eliminating the gap between people and culture and on mastering the cultural heritage of mankind. In our time "real humanism" is possible only on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism, inseparably linked with the practice of the communist movement and the building of communism. Such is A. (Abush's) basic conclusion.

But let us go back to the hundredth volume. On the basis of the general and essential characteristics of the spiritual crisis of capitalist society, (Bur) and Steigerwald analyze in the second part of their book the main features of contemporary bourgeois ideology. They prove that despite the extensive blabberings regarding the "death of philosophy," the bourgeois philosophers are actively participating in the ideological struggle as supporters of the capitalist system, which they depict as a "pluralistic society" which has, so to say, a number of degrees of freedom. "Contemporary bourgeois philosophy replaces the problem of truth with the concept of pluralism. This concept, borrowed from "contemporary" revisionism, is converted from a vice into a virtue. Its historical and theoretical groundlessness is presented as its strength" (pp 43-44).

However, is there such a real pluralism which is so highly praised by the bourgeois ideologues? The formulation of this question is not only legitimate but highly necessary, for the theory of the pluralistic society (and pluralistic ideology) represents the latest form of apologetics of capitalism. However, some Marxist researchers frequently characterize contemporary bourgeois ideology as being essentially pluralistic, not realizing the fact that by the same token they find themselves influenced by the ideology of pluralism which they themselves reject. Unlike these researchers, the authors of the book answer the question in the negative. The assertions of its defenders notwithstanding, the capitalist economy is naturally not pluralistic. The existence of nationalized enterprises under capitalist conditions does not conflict with the nature of the system, for they represent capitalist state ownership, which is inseparably linked with privately owned capital. Thus, the "mixed economy," which is praised by many bourgeois economists, is entirely capitalistic in nature, i.e., it has nothing in common with pluralism interpreted as a combination of capitalist with socialist forms of economic development.

Equally groundless are claims regarding pluralism in contemporary bourgeois ideology. Naturally, many differences exist among bourgeois ideologues, some

of which may be even quite substantial. However, all of them agree on the basic--in justifying capitalism and rejecting the historical necessity of the socialist reorganization of society.

The bourgeois approach to the question of the objective historical necessity of a socialist reorganization of society is convincingly exposed in the book by E. Haan, "Dialectical Materialism and Class Consciousness." From the viewpoint of a bourgeois ideologue-metaphysicist, the author points out, historical necessity, assuming that its existence is admitted, is objective only to the extent to which it exists regardless of human activities. In reality, the author explains, objective historical necessity is indivisible from the activities of people, people's masses and struggle among the classes. This necessity is not something transcendental, secondary, opposing social life, its dynamics and changes from the outside. Historical necessity is a subject-object relation in which the subjective turns into objective and vice versa. Socialist consciousness, which revisionism has long depicted as the product of a spontaneous workers movement, is actually established, strengthened and developed thanks to the scientific socialist ideology introduced within the labor movement. The Marxist-Leninist, the communist party is precisely a combination of scientific socialist theory with the practice of the liberation movement of the working class, a combination thanks to which this movement becomes truly socialist.

M. (Bur) and R. Steigerwald prove in their book that the bourgeois ideologues are equally unanimous in their desire to justify capitalism. Some of them continue to blabber about the eternal nature of capitalism and private ownership. Others, conversely, claim that today capitalism is developing along a noncapitalist way, gradually becoming a classless society. There seems to be a precipice separating these two groups of bourgeois ideologues. In reality, however, although differently they defend, they perpetuate the capitalist system. The bourgeois philosophers may oppose or support positivism or existentialism, neo-Freudianism or neo-Malthusianism. However, such divergences exist within the framework of an essentially uniform bourgeois ideology, i.e., the various social (including philosophical) theories of the contemporary bourgeoisie are merely variations of the same basic ideological content. For example, the fact that some anticommunists make extensive use of anticapitalist and even socialist phraseology does not change the essential nature of the content of anticommunism as the extreme manifestation of imperialist reaction along the entire line. Consequently, we should not underestimate the significance of the tactical, historical or other differences among the different types of contemporary bourgeois ideologues. However, it is very important not to ignore the main feature which unites them all. (Bur) and Steigerwald are entirely correct by emphasizing that "this pluralism is of an imaginary nature" (p 45). In our view, this conclusion is of essential significance in the struggle against contemporary bourgeois ideology.

In his "Materialism and Empiriocriticism" Lenin firmly opposed attempts to pit Machism and empiriocriticism against other frankly fideistic and openly idealistic theories. Differences among idealistic doctrines, whose representatives frequently engage in fierce polemics against one another, he emphasized, are less essential than the characteristics which unite them.

The authors apply Lenin's methodological approach to the study not only of philosophy but of overall bourgeois ideology. Unquestionably, this is quite important in exposing the ideology of contemporary imperialism, which pits the essential unity of a scientific socialist ideology against imaginary ideological pluralism which essentially proves to be merely an external manifestation of the unanimity of bourgeois theoreticians in their struggle against socialism. That which such theoreticians describe as pluralism is merely a variety of ways, means and methods and systems of arguments used to substantiate and defend that same capitalist system. Since any attempt to justify historically obsolete capitalism cannot withstand a comparison with facts, loses its influence and is discredited by the entire course of social development, it is replaced by new theoretical elaborations aimed, although in a different manner, at resolving the same basic ideological problem. Therefore, that which the bourgeois philosopher describes as pluralism and usually praises as the direct expression of the "free" development of philosophy and social theory in general, is in fact nothing but the inevitable manifestation of the general crisis experienced by the capitalist system. Today this fact is acknowledged even by the bourgeois ideologues themselves. However, their acknowledgement is hypocritical, for the crisis in capitalism is depicted as a crisis of the "industrial society"--a terminological cliché which is equally applied to capitalism and to socialism with a view to concealing the real reasons for the economic, political and spiritual crisis in contemporary bourgeois society. In this connection, the authors cite the well-known West German sociologist W. Ropke, who expatiates on the subject of the pathological degeneracy of Western European society, characterizing such degenerative processes as a "crisis in contemporary society" but not in the least as a crisis in the capitalist society.

Marxist-Leninist literature properly emphasizes the fact that the bourgeois ideologists quite frequently claim that capitalism is transformed into a noncapitalist (although, naturally, also nonsocialist) society, while the "state of general well-being" follows a "middle or third way of social development which equally excludes capitalism and the socialist system. This trend, as the authors of the book point out, is indeed typical of contemporary bourgeois ideology. However, it coexists with another directly opposite form of apology of capitalism, i.e., side by side with conservatism or, more specifically, neoconservatism. Its influence has become particularly intensified over the past decade. Neoconservatism is primarily a form of contemporary anticommunism, particularly in the United States, its main citadel. That is precisely why (Bur) and Steigerwald have a special section in their book entitled "Conservative Ideology--Conservative Politics--Late Bourgeois Philosophy." They define conservatism as an ideology which reflects the position and interests of historically obsolete classes and social groups. The ideology of conservatism appeared as the feudal reaction to the bourgeois revolution. Contemporary bourgeois conservatism is aimed against the socialist revolution, the socialist social system and the scientific socialist ideology.

The authors, agreeing with the views of other Marxist researchers (such as, for example, with the basic concepts in the book by Ludwig Elm "The 'New' Conservatism. Ideology and Politics of a Reactionary Current in the FRG"),

indicate the following features of new conservative ideology: (1) faith in the existence of a divine providence or, simply stated, the predetermination of the bourgeois status quo; (2) acknowledgement that the conflict between rich and poor is a manifestation of a mystical meaning inherent in the process of life; (3) insistence on the need for authoritarianism, hierarchy and power not subject to democratic control; (4) claim that freedom is possible only within the framework of private ownership social relations; (5) faith in the traditional forms of relations among people, common law and mistrust of the possibility of a conscious and sensible change of society; (6) preference for "organic" and "gradual" evolution as compared with a "sudden" and allegedly unjustified radical change (see p 58).

With all of its similarity with feudal conservatism, contemporary bourgeois conservatism nevertheless is substantially different from the latter, as (Bur) and Steigerwald accurately emphasize. The old conservatism had a clearly expressed anti-individualistic nature, where as the "new one" acts "on behalf of the freedom of the individual," attacking collectivism, the real content of which is being misrepresented in all possible ways.

Neoconservatism reflects a situation experienced in contemporary capitalist society. It defends the interests of the bourgeoisie against those of the working people, condemning their liberation movement and all forms of protection of their interests, including trade unions, which are depicted as a power which disorganizes society, is opposed to the system and law and order, and so on. Neoconservatism, particularly in its philosophical variant, treats social development as an allegedly destructive process, a degradation of existing and established habitual forms of human life. Related to this is a negative attitude toward social progress in general and the scientific and technical revolution in particular, which is expressed in the concept of "zero growth," i.e., in theories which substantiate the need to put an end to economic development.

Paradoxical though it might seem initially, the ideology of neoconservatism, with its typical idealizing of the patriarchal system, presents itself as the ideology of the imperialist bourgeoisie, essentially of its upper and most influential part. However, as any ideology of the ruling class (as the authors properly emphasize), its influence affects not only that class but goes far beyond it, including the nonbourgeois population strata. This is confirmed, in particular, by the popularity which the ideology of "ecological reformism" is enjoying in the capitalist countries.

By calling for a struggle against the negative consequences of the scientific and technical revolution, "ecological reformism" considers that they can be resolved within the framework of capitalism, regardless of the fact that by virtue of its own economic nature, capitalism inevitably leads to ecological dysfunctions, to the worsening of the natural conditions surrounding human life and the pollution of water, air, and so on, which threaten the very existence of mankind. "Ecological reformism," which usually assumes the guise of "technical pessimism," criticizes "technical civilization," thus agreeing with the bourgeois concept of the "single industrial society." A specific historical analysis of the development of production forces under

capitalist conditions is replaced by an abstract consideration of the contradictions between society and nature. Such an antihistorical formulation of the problem leads to the conclusion that public production, regardless of its historically defined social form, means not only the production of material goods needed for human existence but an inevitable destruction of the natural conditions for the existence of mankind, regardless of human intentions. "Technical pessimism" clearly ignores or at least underestimates the fact that public production, while creating a "second nature," also produces corresponding historically developing human needs to reorganize the environment. Therefore, public production, depending on its social aim and level of development, can not only worsen but also improve natural human living conditions. "The ideology of the so-called ecologically reformist movement," note the authors in this connection, "like all most modern bourgeois ideology means, in principle, in the final account, a negation of progress, historical development, knowledge and truth" (p 95).

Such are some of the basic stipulations in the meaningful book by (Bur) and Steigerwald, which is a kind of summation of the entire series.

In the preface to their book the authors point out that unlike philosophical irrationalism which dominates contemporary bourgeois society, "Marxism-Leninism means rationalism and the Marxist-Leninists are the rationalists of our age" (p 8). Naturally, by this they mean not the historically obsolete rationalism of the past, which aspired to the development of metaphysical systems of absolute knowledge, identified physical with logical foundations, separated theoretical knowledge from empirical research, and so on. Nor is it even a question of contemporary bourgeois neorationalism, which is criticized in the book by M. Wade "Epistemology or Philosophy?" within this series. The neorationalism which opposes the philosophy of the theory of knowledge excludes, therefore, problems of life, matter and nature from philosophy. This leads to absolute relativism, a subjectivistic interpretation of knowledge and its subject, and negation of the materialistically understood sensualism and of the empirical foundation of knowledge in general. Conversely, (Bur) and Steigerwald bear in mind the viewpoint of historical and dialectical thinking which finds its proper expression particularly in the Marxist-Leninist outlook. They pit this Marxist understanding of historical thinking against the contemporary reactionary "critical rationalism," the supporters of which (K. Popper, H. Albert, and others) reach subjectivism and agnosticism, in an effort to prove that no single claim or solution can be sufficiently substantiated, as a result of which all social change should be reduced to a minimum.

PENSEE ["Mysl"], the French Marxists' theoretical journal is the organ of "contemporary rationalism." It is in this sense, quite rightly in our view, that (Bur) and Steigerwald apply this term.

During the period of the first Russian revolution, V. I. Lenin wrote that "The bolsheviks are the Jacobins of the contemporary social democracy...." (op. cit., vol 11, p 47). Naturally, it was a question not of identifying bolshevism with the revolutionary movements in the age of the early bourgeois revolutions but of the development of the great revolutionary tradition which

was rejected by the social democratic opportunists. It is in the same spirit that we must accept the characterization of the Marxist-Leninist outlook as contemporary rationalism.

In conclusion, let us point out that by far not all the volumes in the "Critique of Bourgeois Ideology and Revisionism" series have been translated into Russian. However, many of them are valuable aids in the communist ideological upbringing of the working people. It is to be hoped that this very important circumstance will be fully taken into consideration by our own publishers.

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## THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 82 pp 121-123

[Review by B. Korolev, candidate of philosophical sciences, of the book "Gegemonizm: S Epokhoy v Konflikte" [Hegemonism: In Conflict With the Epoch]. S. N. Morozov, general editor. Progress, Moscow, 1982, 285 pp]

[Text] In emphasizing that "political imperialism means, in general, a striving toward violence and reaction," V. I. Lenin pointed out in particular that "competition among several large countries in their striving toward hegemony is essential to imperialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 27 pp 388-389). The title of the book under review is a precise description of the dangerous nature of this phenomenon today, which is causing increasing concern among peace-loving forces.

The authors emphasize the features of specific political, military, ideological and other manifestations of contemporary hegemonism. Its international legal definition is provided in the resolution "On the Inadmissibility of a Policy of Hegemonism in International Relations," which was adopted by the UN General Assembly at the end of 1979 on the initiative of the Soviet Union. The document states among others that hegemonism is a manifestation of the "policy of a state or group of states aspiring to control, dominate or subordinate to themselves other states, peoples or parts of the world politically, economically, ideologically or militarily" (p 5). This makes the struggle against hegemonism today one of the most important prerequisites for improving the international climate and strengthening detente and the foundations of universal peace. Since hegemonism cannot be separated from militarism and war, the struggle against any one of these phenomena cannot be successful without the struggle against the others, which are inseparably linked to it.

Inevitably aspirations toward hegemony in international affairs create hotbeds of tension, urge on the arms race and aggravate conflict situations and international crises. Hegemonism, which is an obvious threat to all nations, most frequently selects as its victims small and medium-sized countries. It is precisely they, the developing countries most of all, which are especially subject to the fatal influence of its various manifestations, such as aggression, occupation, intervention in internal affairs, economic blackmail, subversive activities, etc.



The policy of hegemonism may operate on a variety of scales -- global as well as regional. Some countries, whose ruling circles preach hegemonism, are simply not strong enough to engage in the pursuit of global domination and, for the time being, are forced to restrict their appetite to regional frameworks, in the hope that in the future they will be able to operate on a broader scale. However, the methods of action of such hegemonists are as perfidious and cruel as those of the hegemonistic policy pursued by the big imperialist predators.

The authors consider the forms of manifestation of contemporary hegemonism -- U. S. imperialism, the rebirth of Japanese expansionism, the South African variant of racial hegemonism, and Beijing's Maoist hegemonism. Each one of the chapters dealing with one specific type of modern hegemonism or another contains a large amount of expository data in addition to its general features. Thus, in discussing the rebirth of Japanese expansionism, the authors point out that at the present stage the Japanese financial oligarchy does not deem the use of the old methods of military aggression possible, and is trying to achieve its objectives through economic, political and ideological means. In the global plans of world imperialism Israel has been assigned the role of a kind of "regional superpower" which is violating the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine and pursuing an aggressive course toward neighboring Arab countries. An openly racist and colonialist course of action is being pursued over huge areas of the African south by the ruling circles of Pretoria's regime. Let us point out however, that such a method of treating a topic on a country-by-country basis suffers from a certain one-sidedness. The problem-analytical approach should have been used as well. This would have made it possible to bring out more clearly the common and individual features in the specific manifestations of hegemonism and, in particular, to depict its strategy and ideology. In this connection, the problem of the collective counteraction to hegemonism and the description of the forces which oppose hegemonism and expansionism in international politics deserve particular attention.

The creation of the imperialist colonial system was a classical manifestation of the policy of hegemonism. Over a number of decades it ensured the political and economic domination of the peoples of the colonial "periphery" by a handful of imperialist predators. The revolutionary changes which took place in our age and the upsurge of the national liberation movement swept off the face of the earth this shameful system. However, to this day imperialism controls powerful levers with which to exert pressure on the liberated countries. Recent events (the latest examples being the U. S.-sanctioned punitive operation mounted by British imperialism against Argentina and the armed aggression mounted by the Israeli Zionists against Lebanon) prove that today as well recurrences of direct colonial piracy are possible. However, today's hegemonism applied toward the countries in the national liberation zone operates with the help of naked force or else, judging by the circumstances, through different more perfidious methods. As was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, "thousands of ways and means...are being used to tie these countries to their own, in order to gain freer access to their natural resources and use their territories for their own strategic intentions."

Hegemonism adopts different disguises according to the changing imperialist foreign policy doctrines. Nevertheless, the authors point out, it is based on a set of theoretical-doctrinal ideas which substantiate the leading role of the United States in the contemporary world (see pp 64-65). The geopolitical vision of the world, which has nurtured the theory and practice of American imperialism for decades, has now been embodied in international U. S. doctrines and practices. Reliance on naked military might is the "common denominator" in the variegated conglomerate of global actions, "power" considerations and demonstrations of total permissibility characteristic of U. S. foreign policy philosophy.

The "power" course in foreign policy, which was formulated by the supporters of the so-called "political realism" school of thought (H. Morgenthau) substantiated the "need" for American imperialism to rely on military power during the postwar period on the basis of geopolitical considerations. The various "power" concepts, which are the linchpins of alternating U. S. foreign policy doctrines, have become very popular in recent years during the Carter and even more so under the Reagan administration. The trend toward minimizing detente, which became apparent as early as 1977, also represented a trend toward strengthening the elements of globalism, interventionism and hegemonism in U. S. foreign policy, based on the threat or use of military power (see p 91).

As the authors note, "today's global strategic manipulations of American hegemonism are quite clearly aimed at solving the triple problem of achieving global domination: Military superiority over socialism, leadership of the capitalist world, and counteraction to the social and national liberation of the peoples and to progressive changes in the liberated countries" (p 117).

In pursuing its hegemonistic objectives American imperialism is trying to tie its allies closer to the U. S. military machine, to force them to subordinate their interests to Washington's global plans and to follow undeviatingly in the wake of American foreign policy. In this connection, the authors remind us that the American politicians are trying to create new blocs to replace the now crumbled CENTO in the Near and Middle East and SEATO in Southeast Asia, and to set up under U. S. aegis military groups in those areas of the world which were previously free from them.

Today hegemonism threatens even developed capitalist states. Applying military and economic levers, the United States is pursuing the further strengthening of its international positions to the detriment of its partners' interests. The Western public and soberly thinking political leaders are especially alarmed by the American strategists' intensions of using the territory of the Old World as a theater of military operations in a so-called "limited" nuclear war. Such plans are justifiably considered an attempt to turn the peoples on the European continent into a kind of hostages should Washington unleash a global armed conflict. The unparalleled scope of the antiwar movement in Western Europe convincingly proves that the peoples are unwilling to be the pawns in the dangerous political game played by American hegemonism, which is gambling with the very existence of many countries and entire continents.

Beijing's hegemonistic policy as well plays a negative role in international relations. In recent years the thesis circulated in China has been that "The 21st century will be the Chinese century." In pursuing its strategic course the Beijing leadership would like to promote a clash between the United States and the USSR, drag mankind into a nuclear war and, profiting from this fact, implement its hegemonistic and aggressive plans (see p 184). For the present, the rapprochement between China and the United States has already had an influence on undermining detente and distabilizing international relations.

In analyzing the specific features and characteristics of contemporary hegemonism, naturally the authors have paid attention to a characteristic phenomenon in contemporary international relations, such as the activities of multinational corporations (MC). These monopolies, the authors note, are now acting as a stimuli of uneven capitalist development and generators of increasingly aggravated interimperialist contradictions. At the same time, the MC have also become the main instrument of neocolonialism through their attempts to recolonize the developing countries, and the principal menace to the independence and sovereignty of the young countries (see pp 52-53). Laying the economic foundations of hegemonistic policy, the monopoly giants created dangerous trends of expansion, aggressiveness and adventurism in the development of international relations.

In noting the prime significance of economic dominants in terms of explaining the origins of hegemonism, naturally we must not ignore the other reasons, particularly considerations of domestic policy nature, military-strategic aspects, etc. In discussing the sources of hegemonism, the authors quite justifiably consider the profound ideological and political kinship between hegemonism and its spiritual forebears and inspirers, above all the supporters of Pangermanism and Hitlerism (see pp 96-114).

The attitude toward fascism and the lessons drawn from the struggle against it are the litmus paper in assessing contemporary political doctrines and political parties and their programs. Our country and its armed forces made a decisive contribution to the crushing of fascism as the most disgusting form of hegemonism, militarism and racism.

However, the strong ideological and political kinship between bankrupt Hitlerite fascism and the contemporary pretenders to global domination is unquestionable. The object and specific proof of this continuity, as applied to one specific variety or another of contemporary hegemonism is an important task. Unfortunately, the authors seem to have assigned second priority to such a study, although many aspects of the fascist variety of hegemonism have not been lost in the least. This mainly applies to anticommunism and anti-Soviet ideology and propaganda. The propagandist "equipment" of German Nazism, such as the notorious "Lebensraum" theory, the ravings regarding superior and inferior races, wailings concerning the "red menace" and calls for a "crusade" against world communism is still being used by the newly-hatched hegemonists.

A separate chapter proves the incompatibility between socialism and hegemonism. Bearing in mind the specialized nature of the publication and the level

of information of the book's foreign readership, in our view the question of the antihegemonistic nature of socialism should have been discussed more thoroughly. In particular, the authors should have dealt especially with the "arguments" used by the foes of communism in misrepresenting Soviet foreign policy. We must not only expose the slanderous and falsifying nature of anti-Soviet "reasons" but also prove the real purpose of the fabrications regarding "Soviet hegemonism," "communist expansion," etc. We know that as a result of detente such fabrications should have been filed away. Of late however, even the most worn-out anticommunist cliches have been put back in circulation by a variety of reactionary disinformation centers. They are also expanded not only by bourgeois propaganda media but by official personalities and heads of countries and ruling parties. Unquestionably, it is the present American administration that is setting the tone in this matter.

The struggle for reducing the threat of war and restraining the arms race has been and remains the pivotal direction followed in our party and Soviet government foreign policy activities. One of the most important principles in communist ideology, which is a reliable guideline in its domestic and foreign policy is consistent internationalism and respect for the right of nations to participate in world affairs. In calling upon all supporters of peace to engage in active efforts, the CPSU substantiates the real possibility of preserving and intensifying detente and the time-tested policy of peaceful coexistence.

Hegemonism is historically doomed. It conflicts with the objective course of history and social progress. However, this does not indicate the automatic failure of the latest varieties of hegemonism and expansionism. The danger of hegemonism lies in its adventuristic nature and reliance on power and war. Today such play with fire is particularly dangerous, for it is a question of a world thermonuclear war.

As a whole, this first attempt at creating a general work on contemporary hegemonism, written by a large group of specialists (A. M. Belonogov, A. V. Vakhrameyev, A. A. Galkin, V. I. Gantman, L. Ya. Dadiani, M. S. Kapitsa, A. V. Kozyrev, R. S. Ovinnikov, D. V. Petrov, V. F. Petrovskiy, A. S. Pokrovskiy and N. A. Ushakov) may be considered timely, useful and pertinent. Bearing in mind the political gravity of the problem, let us hope that the Soviet social scientists will pursue their active efforts in developing its various aspects.

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JOURNAL'S MAIL: JANUARY-JUNE 1982

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 82 pp 124-128

[Text] During the first half of 1982 KOMMUNIST received 1,262 materials, including 215 articles, essays, reviews and notes, 224 responses to publications in the journal, 172 questions, suggestions and wishes addressed to the editors, and 651 declarations, petitions and complaints.

Led by the communist party, the Soviet people have enthusiastically undertaken the implementation of the decisions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the Food Program it approved. The journal's mail is continuing to receive numerous letters and articles whose authors express a variety of views and suggestions on how to reach our targets, make fuller use of available reserves and resources and the achievements of contemporary scientific and technical progress and leading experience to this effect.

The journal's correspondents begin with the main thing: The efficient utilization of the land as the principal means of production in agriculture. The land must be protected. One must always show concern for it and increase its strength. It is important for each rayon and farm in each soil and climatic area to seek and find means for increasing crop production and livestock productivity which, under proper conditions, can yield the highest economic results possible and enable us to obtain high-quality inexpensive products.

Candidate of Geographic Sciences P. Pilatov from Yaroslavl writes about existing reserves in the utilization of arable land. He suggests that particular attention be paid to the steppe zone and the adjacent steppe territories in the forest-steppe zone of the USSR. Furthermore, as a rule, the naturally fertile chernozem and chesnut-type soil terrains are flat and lend themselves to the use of high-powered wide-span machinery and must be maximally utilized in the implementation of the Food Program. Today on the tens of millions of hectares of such soil wheat production costs are the lowest in the country, the profitability of grain sales to the state is the highest and the wheat is of the best quality. For this reason he considers it possible and necessary to formulate a comprehensive "Program for the Development of the Steppe Chernozem in the USSR."

M. Markova, an agronomist and candidate of agricultural sciences from the city of Dmitrov, in the Moscow area, writes that today our material

opportunities are greater and the country has trained skilled cadres of scientists and production workers. Consequently, conditions exist for growing extensive amounts of food and fodder we need through the fuller and more skillful utilization of the plowland, meadows and pastures. Currently an unjustifiably large amount of arable land is planted in feed crops. Furthermore, a substantial share of the crops is used to feed the livestock, while areas in hay and pastureland are sometimes neglected or used inefficiently.

M. Markova severely criticizes scientists and economists who are still unable to agree on some problems related to economic assessments of the land and have been engaged in long discussions; in particular, they are still arguing on the subject of having a standard measure for determining the volume of produce per unit of area and determining the comparability of conditions under which such measurements must be made. So far the land actually has no technical documentation and an all-union state standard. The time has come to have a land survey with mandatory economic evaluation of soil fertility and to formulate all-union standards governing the use of farmland.

In his May CPSU Central Committee Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev paid attention to problems of improving planning and economic incentive in agricultural production, strengthening the kolkhoz and sovkhoz economy and increasing their independence in resolving production development problems. While warmly supporting this view, our readers particularly emphasize the harm and faulty nature of the still extant practice according to which the local planning organs, ignoring kolkhoz and sovkhoz initiative and their actual circumstances and possibilities issue routine mandatory directives.

A. Makedonskiy, candidate of economic sciences from Kharkov, writes that this established "tradition" is causing tremendous harm to the production process and therefore to the state. In his view, the scientific production and financial plan of the kolkhoz, sovkhoz or interfarm enterprise or organization, formulated on site, by the enterprise itself, should become the basis of intrafarm planning. "The final word as to what to plant, or when to begin one operation or another must be that of the kolkhoz or sovkhoz," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the November 1981 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Why therefore, has this party instruction not been implemented yet?

Interesting among the opinions expressed by the readers is the suggestion made by A. Zaytsev from Kamensk-Shatinskiy, Rostov Oblast. "Allow me to draw the attention of the highest authorities," he writes, "to the following fact. There is a chronic shortage of mechanizers in agricultural production and construction. In many farms equipment in good working condition is left idling or is used on a one-shift basis only. Meanwhile, many adolescents, who have graduated from secondary schools with diplomas as general machine operators, who live in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, cannot be entrusted with handling the equipment, being under 18 years of age. However," A. Zaytsev points out, "I am familiar with a number of good examples of 14-15-year old youngsters have done excellent work with most complex machinery, supervised by their father or instructor, handling the equipment seriously and independently. The parents of such children know that they are raising true men who help the family and are useful citizens. My suggestion therefore, is to allow young people 17 years old and some times even younger to work in

agriculture with such machines and mechanisms and to amend, if necessary the Labor Code in this respect.

In his letter on urban sponsorship of the countryside B. Anisimov, chief designer at a production association in the Maritime Kray, states that the heads of kolkhozes and sovkhoses are not always concerned with suitably organizing the working and living conditions of workers and employees who have come to help the farms. He cites examples of urban citizens mowing hay and digging potatoes while tractors, hay-mowing equipment and potato picking machines are left idling at the farm, or when as a result of all kinds of organizational confusions a great deal of working time is lost. Directing the city people to help the villages is inevitably dictated in the majority of cases by the fact that in our country the share of the rural population has declined substantially during the last decade, for which reason, according to B. Anisimov, the time has come to organize relations between sponsors and sponsored on a contractual basis. It is also time to draft corresponding laws. This would increase the responsibilities of both parties and would make the more efficient use of urban and rural manpower resources possible.

V. Kovalev writes from Arkhangelsk that our mass information organs should describe the best experience not only in industry, agriculture and construction but in the organizational and ideological activities of party committees and primary party organizations more vividly and clearly. In this connection, he rates highly the article by K. U. Chernenko, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, on the vanguard role of the communist party in improving organizational and ideological-educational work, and the party's leadership of the economy, culture and social relations, published in KOMMUNIST No 6. He argues that this article should be discussed by each party raykom and that specific measures should be earmarked to improve work style and methods, and that the television should prepare a series of telecasts from party organizations where all components of our agrarian policy are implemented most successfully, particularly in terms of the interrelated solution of economic, social and organizational problems related to the development of agroindustrial integration. He also suggests that systematic practical science conferences on topical problems of the implementation of the Food Program be held, congresses of agricultural workers be convened regularly, round table meetings organized by KOMMUNIST for managers and practical workers representing sectors within the agroindustrial complex.

Sverdlovsk plant sociologist V. Sobko discusses the problem of upgrading the efficiency of sociological services. The sociological group, which was set up at his enterprise 5 years ago, conducted a number of several studies and actively participated in the solution of current social and cadre problems. However, he expresses a certain dissatisfaction. First of all, it is not always possible to take fully into account the anticipated development of the plant or sector. So far, he writes, we leave unresolved many problems related to production development and reconstruction. In his view, this prevents the anticipation and consideration of the influence of changes in productive capital and the application of new technologies and forms of labor organization on the development of production relations and the entire life of the production collective and therefore, on labor and social activeness, and the fuller revelation of the abilities of the individual working person.

A number of materials deal with the means for further intensification in our work. S. Teletov, doctor of physical and mathematical sciences (Moscow), mentions the need emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress to give priority to the development of basic research. According to the author, the funds assigned to it are not always used for their specific purpose. The term basic research is all too frequently interpreted as applying to many types of scientific work. That is why serious collective methodological efforts must be made by the scientists in order to coordinate the work of institutes working in various fields for the sake of resolving major scientific problems and increasing the systematic nature of research topics. The author, who emphasizes the importance of better interaction between theory and experimentation, complains that all too frequently it is rough and inaccurate and that refined measurement and research methods developed by many institutes are being insufficiently used. Great attention should be paid to experiments which the author describes as basic and which enable us to resolve essential key problems of general scientific and polytechnical significance.

V. Goylov, scientific associate in a Moscow institute, writes that the requirements of the 26th CPSU Congress on improving work efficiency and quality directly apply to the work of scientific collectives. He emphasizes the importance of properly assessing the quality of scientific research conducted by social scientists. In his view, the situation has almost reached the point that the main indicator of activities of institutes, their branches and individual associates is determined by the overall volume of publications -- books, pamphlets, articles, papers, etc. It is no secret, however, that many published works do not enrich our scientific stock and practice but "prove the proven." Consequently, the author believes, we must develop a system for determining the quality of output in the social sciences.

G. Filist, candidate of philosophical sciences (Brest), writes on the need to upgrade the role of the "Social Science" course in the upbringing of the growing generation. The editors sent his letter to the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, whose president, M. Kondakov, reported that many of the author's remarks on the shortcomings of the textbook in use, his suggestion regarding the establishment of a single "Social Science" course for the 8th-10th grades and idea on the fuller use of interdisciplinary ties in teaching are noteworthy and will be taken into consideration.

History teacher and propagandist I. Galochkin (Riga), CPSU member since 1928, reminds in his letter of the harm of formalism in ideological activities. Formalism belittles and impoverishes ideological and political-educational work. It leads to superficiality, amateurism and a shallow quantitative approach to the assessment of results. Such approach could have been somehow justified 30-40 years ago because of lack of experience, propaganda cadres and scientific and methodical publications. Today such shortages no longer exist, but formalism endures and can be considered as nothing but a manifestation of unconscientiousness and eye washing. I. Galochkin describes what should be done to oppose formalism. Above all, ideological activities need plans drawn, as V. I. Lenin said, "on a long-term basis and with a view to major success;" what is needed is a profound analysis of the efficiency of party and economic training at all its stages.



During the last 6 months letters discussing the tasks related to the struggle for peace, the defense of the social gains of peoples which have rejected the imperialist yoke, and increased revolutionary vigilance have accounted for a high percentage of editorial mail. A. Yeremkin, tower crane operator from Saransk, writes: "With the advent to power of the new American administration the antipeople and militaristic plans of imperialism are assuming an increasingly sinister fascist nature. By imposing upon other countries the need to increase the production of means of defense, which absorb tremendous national resources and lower living standards, the imperialists are hoping to create dissatisfaction among the masses in the socialist and developing countries, to divide the peoples and to restore in these countries the exploiting capitalist system, which is hated by the working class and all conscious working people."

I. Dedov, teacher at the Volgodonsk branch of the Novocherkassk Polytechnical Institute, is pleased by the fact that KOMMUNIST is steadily publishing materials which disseminate the ideas of the great Lenin on the class struggle, the socialist revolution and the safeguarding of its gains from the external and internal counterrevolution. "The most important Marxist-Leninist concept on the need to defend the revolution immediately after it has been made," he writes, "is of tremendous and truly universal-historical significance in our age.... Recent events prove that the revolutionaries in many countries have failed to master this most important Leninist concept with proper firmness."

V. Polikarpov's article "When the Revolution Is in Danger" (No 3, 1982) drew the attention of a number of people, including V. Markov, from Kstinino Village, Kirov Oblast, A. Orlov, from Moscow, A. Siroid, from Chernigov, and others. Many of the letters point out that this article sets an example on how to implement the stipulations of the 26th CPSU Congress and the Central Committee resolutions on ideological matters related to upgrading the theoretical knowledge of party cadres and all party members and increasingly broader circles of working people and studying the foundations of our revolutionary theory in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. K. Lasypanov, docent at the Karachayevo-Cherkess Pedagogical Institute, point out that such publications arm social science teachers with profound knowledge of the ties between history and contemporaneity. N. Yefimov, chair of USSR history docent at the Moscow State Pedagogical Institute imeni V. I. Lenin, specifies that the problem of the defense of revolutionary gains in our country "was expounded entirely inadequately for quite some time and has not been reflected in training publications."

The readers point out the importance of exposing the attempts of bourgeois ideologues to misrepresent Lenin's concept of the history of the civil war in Russia. Muscovite A. Kazakov, party veteran and participant in the civil war sarcastically writes on the "persistence with which the overseas 'Sovietologists' are studying the experience of the revolution and counterrevolution. They are doing this not out of historical interest but in pursuit of their own objectives, which are well known to us. It is against them that we raise the weapon of Lenin's doctrine that "Any revolution is worth something only when it is able to defend itself.'... The revolution must be able to defend itself and do so daringly and firmly, unafraid of any danger."

The editors received a great deal of mail in answer to the journal's publications, particularly articles on improving the mechanism of economic management and planning. Let us take as an example two responses to the article by P. Lomako, USSR minister of nonferrous metallurgy "Let Us Use Nonferrous Metals Thriftily" (KOMMUNIST No 8, 1982). Leningrader O. Nev writes: "The author is absolutely correct by pointing out the need for further improvements in the procedure for collecting nonferrous metal scrap and waste, but I question the method used to increase the interest of the population in this project, as suggested by the minister. In my view, paying a deposit for aluminum containers will be useless..." According to O. Nev, as we know, it is difficult to deliver even glass containers, although they could be piled up in front of the house before delivery. But where and how to store empty tin cans, which cannot be taken to the reception centers one by one. "It is the Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy which must undertake the collection of such scrap metal with the help of less intermediaries. It should go among the population and collect the scrap wherever possible instead of waiting for someone to bring it to it."

Here is the solution to the problem according to V. Chapurin, section foreman at Markolkhozstroyob'yedineniye (Yoshkar-Ola): the practice of receiving from the population scrap, containers and other secondary raw materials is frequently inconvenient. The centers receiving the individual types of raw materials are scattered. They are usually located outside city limits and their work is badly organized. In the author's view, after removing some departmental barriers it would be necessary to organize single centers for accepting from the population all types of containers and secondary raw materials and, if necessary, to organize their hauling and to encourage deliveries of valuable raw materials by exchanging them for goods in short supply. "The establishment of such complexes will enable us to plan and develop the project; unified central management will make cost effectiveness possible. This will be in the interest of both the state and the population."

We continue to receive reactions to V. Laptev's article "Economic Mechanism and Economic Law (KOMMUNIST No 16, 1980) and to the survey of reader response to the article, compiled by V. Alekseyev (KOMMUNIST No 4, 1982). Reaction to the survey the reaction was manifested in two separate directions: Economic managers actively support the basic idea in V. Laptev's article and V. Alekseyev's survey on the need for an economic code. Jurists and legal experts oppose it. The editors have not excluded the possibility of reopening the question in order to inform the readers more fully with the views and arguments expressed in the course of the scientific discussion.

Many readers have commented on the new section in the journal "The Most Important Link in the Food Program." The article by V. Arkhipenko "Grain and People," which was published in that section, met with a broad response. The readers consider the questions raised by the author relevant and express their own considerations on how to resolve them. M. Ures (Gorkiy) would like to find in the next few issues thorough answers by ministries and departments on the measures they have taken.

Serious thoughts are expressed by R. Arakelov from Baku on the brief reviews of the books by Iren Komyat "Istoriya 'Inprekorra'" [The Story of Inprecorr],

and V. Sheyberg "Charlz Skott is Latvii" [Charles Scott From Latvia]. "I am writing to you in the hot traces of these books, as they say, not having read them yet, but so greatly excited by the reviews themselves..." The author reminds us of the importance of propagandizing the actions and exploits of the fiery revolutionaries and fighters for communism. He considers it absolutely necessary and mandatory that stories about them, above all for the benefit of young people, be clear and dynamic, written in a lively and simple yet vivid and emotional style. The reader should be able to imagine clearly the life, work and exploits of the revolutionary and his personality. "Why not celebrate a Day of the Revolutionary? The lives and actions of our 'spiritual fathers' and the commemoration of them can help to raise true citizens and sons of the fatherland."

The following letter was received from V. Marochkin from Moscow: "I read with interest and gratitude G. Marutov's article "Weimar, 1945" (No 7, 1982). I would be very obliged to you if you were to give me G. Marutov's address. I would like to meet him and to invite him to see my our Goethe museum. I use this occasion to invite the editors as well. Enclosed, please accept one of the 40 publications on the museum."

The publication turned out to be a note published in a Viennese (Austrian) newspaper according to which Muscovite V. Marochkin has turned one room in his apartment into a museum to which he proudly refers as "The World of Science and Art." The room contains more than 1,000 books and 9,000 pieces of memorabilia related to Goethe -- postcards, badges, illustrations, records, stamps, souvenirs and works of art. Clocks indicate the time the poet was born and died; there are dried flowers and leaves and soil from Weimar, which V. Marochkin has repeatedly visited. The museum contains many rare books, such as the first Russian collected works of Goethe, published in 1878, the 45-volume Leipzig edition, the Stuttgart edition, etc. A map of Europe on the wall shows memorial places related to Goethe and his travels.

The editors receive a large number of mail on a great variety of problems of interest to the readers, on the practice of building communism and on improving our Soviet way of life. For example, we know the tremendous importance which the party and the government ascribe to organizing work with the letters of the working people and the reception of citizens by officials. Here is a letter on the same subject: N. Shevchenko, chief of the juridical bureau at the Magnit Plan in Kanev, Cherkassy Oblast, would like KOMMUNIST to clarify a problem which arose in the collective: How does the plant director receive people who want to discuss personal matters -- alone or in the presence of the party committee secretary, the chairman of the plant trade union committee, the legal counsel, etc.?

The editors' answer was that the director should ask the party committee secretary, the chairman of the local trade union committee, the legal counsel and sometimes representatives of other plant services to attend, so that he can take their views into consideration and obtain the required information, for he cannot know at any given moment the situation in all production sectors or the status of housing or kindergarten allocations; he may be somewhat unfamiliar with some legal regulations. That is why, with this kind of organization of the reception of working people the opportunity arises to

resolve problems more objectively, competently and efficiently, frequently on the spot. Otherwise time would be lost in consultations or in the clarification of one circumstance or another. Practical experience proves that as a rule such practices equally suit managers and visitors. However, we should not forget that frequently the problem which the member of the collective would like to discuss with the manager may be of a delicate nature and be discussed confidentially, without anyone else's presence. The visitor could inform the director or his secretary of such a situation in advance and discuss this when the date of the meeting is set. It is the manager's duty to accede to such a request and to display responsiveness and tactfulness.

Letters are the most important channel of live ties linking the journal with its readers and one of the most trustworthy and valuable sources of information. The suggestions and remarks they contain enable the printed organ to see more clearly its own omissions and indicate ways to eliminate them.

In turn, the editors try to help their correspondents with some of their own problems or in case their rights and interests are violated. Such mutual aid and reciprocal enrichment are aimed at the all-round development of the creative initiative of the working people and strengthening in the Soviet people the noble feeling of personal involvement with the great cause of building communism.

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