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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 12, August 1982



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1 November 1982

USSR REPORT
TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST
No 12, August 1982

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

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WE ARE THE SOVIET PEOPLE

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[Text] The Soviet people constitute an unprecedented phenomenon in history. Internationalist in terms of its very essence, this new community of people has united in a single family over 100 nations and ethnic groups belonging to various races but has not submerged them within itself; on the contrary, it has secured the flourishing of each one of them while at the same time evolving numerous common psychological and moral features conditioned by the unity of their political, economic and ideological life.

In all their everyday actions in life and in their relations with the peoples of other countries the Soviet people have never claimed exclusivity. In blazing new trails into the future with calm and dignity--difficult paths previously unknown to anybody--they are now into their seventh decade of heading mankind's ongoing progress toward the heights of social progress. They have had to pay a high price for their pioneer mission. But they have held firm, held out and withstood and now live according to their own worker logic, setting the entire world an example of creative activity and invariably acting as the creator of new forms of human intercourse and highly humane social relationships.

By their birth and development the Soviet people have graphically proved the vital force of communist ideology, the feasibility of its main principle--labor collectivism and its logical corollary, proletarian internationalism--the narrowness and futility of bourgeois national egoism and the peace-asserting essence of the socialist social system. By all their feats of labor and arms the Soviet people confirm that socialism is precisely the mode of organization of societal life which makes it possible to eliminate man's exploitation of man, political and legal inequality and all forms of oppression of some people by others and to make society's fundamental objective concern for the working person and his material prosperity and for the comprehensive and harmonious development of each individual. The path traveled by the Soviet people convincingly shows that the division of people into antagonistic classes and also all social collisions can be eliminated and the roots of implacable enmity in society, including national enmity, eradicated only on the basis of public ownership of the means of production.

We Soviet people, most of whom were born and have grown up under socialism, accept this as something self-evident. But it is essential to recall this since an opposed social system--capitalism--and bourgeois ideology, which is

designed to justify it, still exist in the world and there are still individuals who are sometimes inclined to forget what truly great benefits we enjoy which are unaccessible to the working masses in the capitalist countries and what obligations are imposed on us as members belonging to the developed socialist society built by the Soviet people. It is not superfluous for us who live today to look more closely at the history of the land of the soviets, realizing how much has been done in a short time, and to investigate in greater depth the role our country has played in the modern world since its emergence. The thorny but noble path traveled by the older generations of our people is worthy of constantly being remembered by us so that we can feel how much we are indebted to the people who fought selflessly for socialism, built and defended it and created, defended and strengthened the Soviet Union. This supremely democratic state formation, created and transformed into a monolith by the goodwill of the peoples, has translated the idea of working people's fraternity into a reality.

In celebrating the 60th anniversary of the USSR's formation we primarily pay tribute to the perspicacity of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, that genius of the revolution under whose leadership the peoples of the former Russian empire who overthrew the exploiter system did not split up into "national enclaves" but trustingly extended their toil-worn hands to each other, assimilating the Leninist party's appeals to defend their social gains jointly and in a unified formation against internal and external class enemies and build a new life on a joint basis. The nationalities policy formulated by Lenin, which became law from the moment of the adoption immediately after the October Revolution of the "declaration of the rights of the peoples of Russia," has always been consistently implemented by the communist party.

This policy precludes privileges enabling one nation to rise above others. However, Lenin considered it not only possible but obligatory to grant certain privileges for the necessary time to peoples lagging in their historical development so that they could catch up more rapidly those who had moved further ahead. It is precisely in this really internationalist sense that one should interpret his remark that Soviet experience in resolving one of the most agonizing and acute questions of the age--the nationalities question--in a state "containing a plethora of ethnic groups virtually unknown in other countries convinces us that the only correct attitude to the interests of the nations in such instances is to satisfy them to the maximum extent and create conditions precluding any possibility of conflicts on these grounds" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, p 240). These words spoken at the very dawn of the formation of the Soviet people and social practice have been confirmed a thousand times over.

We will always bow our heads in homage to the bright memory of revolutionaries of various nationalities, those tens of thousands of communists who were able to uphold and implement the Marxist-Leninist ideas of the interdependence of the social and national liberation of working people and the primacy of class, not national interests in the revolutionary struggle--or more precisely, the organic coincidence of these interests given the consistent implementation of

a social and nationalities policy reflecting the objective interests of the working class. Devoid of any nationalist or racial prejudices whatsoever and internationalists to the marrow, so to speak, through their ability to work among the polyglot masses and their personal example of selfless service of the lofty ideal of the solidarity of the whole of working mankind the fighters of the Leninist party guard exerted a decisive influence in overcoming in the minds of our country's peoples both chauvinist sentiments and national distrust.

The class rather than national principle governing the structure of Lenin's party, its consistent and active internationalism, its respectful attitude to working people's national feelings and needs, its realistic approach to posing and solving the nationalities question and, finally, its uncompromisingness in the struggle against any manifestations of deviation from proletarian internationalism and any kind of nationalist manifestation in its own ranks promoted to the maximum extent the emergence and growth of the unifying wave which sprang up in all the Soviet republics created after October and reached its peak in 1922.

In referring to the history of the creation of the USSR and the formation of the Soviet people and noting the CPSU's outstanding role we are thereby also stressing the role of the working class, since the party is the working class' political vanguard, its most conscious, organized and selfless part. The working class' indisputable social merits and moral and psychological qualities now also distinguish the Soviet people as a whole as precisely a new historical community of people.

No matter from what angle you look at the working class it is the creator and bearer of everything progressive and historically significant in the present-day development of mankind. It is the main "representative" acting on behalf of the natural historical law of the socialization of labor and the internationalization of societal life, the processes which underlie social progress but are venally perverted and distorted by the world bourgeoisie. And it is also the main force liberating labor from exploitation, emancipating the producers of material and spiritual benefits, releasing the colossal energy latent in working people and thereby providing scope for the operation of this law. Here the working class accomplishes socialist revolution in the final analysis not in order to gain power and dominate others but, on the contrary, to reveal the creative potential of liberated labor in all its magnitude and, having unfettered the development of productive forces, to organize the whole of societal life on new, collectivist principles.

The working class did not emerge into the historical arena empty-handed in spiritual terms, either. Assimilating in culture, ideology and moral awareness all the best things created by mankind before it, the international proletariat acquired in Marxism-Leninism its own scientific world outlook--a world outlook opposed to that of the bourgeoisie and correctly reflecting reality--and communist ideals. In a profound sense the working class was also the original source and inspirer of a world-outlook revolution and the spiritual renewal of society.

The proletariat is the supreme product of the centuries-long history of class society which crystalized in the process of the development of the antagonistic contradictions between labor and capital into a diametric opposition to all forms of oppression. The entire course of the class struggle instills in the proletariat active rejection of the negative features inherent in petty bourgeois strata, which are harnessed by the will of fate to the devil's chariot of private property, which both snares and oppresses them. It is purposeful, resolute and bold in the class struggle. It embodies all the best features of the working classes and is therefore, first, incapable of striving for domination over others and, second, has a good understanding of any working person and is also ready to struggle for his social liberation. Turning, in the course of the class struggle, from a class in itself into a class for itself, so to speak, the proletariat thereby also turns into a class constituting the social model for all working people. Becoming a socialist working class following victory in the revolution, it rightly occupies the leading position in society and paves the way for the elimination of classes in general, that is for the building of a classless socialist and communist society.

The working class is the most dynamic and mobile social group, the social group most responsive to everything new, progressive and positive in the historical, social and culture sense. This is explained by the fact that it is called upon by its objective position to eliminate man's exploitation by man by accomplishing a socialist revolution and rebuilding societal life in accordance with its communist ideals. The proletariat is strongly linked with the most advanced sphere of social production--large-scale industry, which determines technical progress. It plays a great role in the scientific and technical revolution, which is gathering momentum before our very eyes.

When one notes the historical fact of the transition of all strata of the population in the USSR to working class positions and the assertion of its ideology and morality nationwide this means a very great deal. This fact means that the remarkable qualities of our working class have become inseparable features of the Soviet people: Its capability for organization; political maturity; devotion to the communist cause; high awareness of social duty; industriousness; readiness to defend the motherland; indivisibility of patriotism and internationalism; class solidarity; humanism; invariably peaceful aspirations; and dedicated hatred for exploiters; oppressors, aggressors and all reactionary forces united under the black banner of imperialism.

It is impossible not to single out the special role of the Russian people in the establishment and development of the Soviet people, The name of the first among equals of the fraternal peoples has been firmly and justly attributed to them. Not, of course, because the Russian people are numerically the strongest or possess some qualities which are unaccessible to others. They have won respect and authority for their revolutionary services, selflessness and spiritual generosity. It is no exaggeration to say that the Russian people have become the backbone of our new internationalist community of people.

The rulers of czarist Russia made great endeavors to instill in Russians a sense of "superiority" over a contemptuously hostile attitude toward "outsiders." But nothing could eliminate sensitivity to other people's troubles

from the soul of the Russian people, who became a good friend to all the country's peoples, large and small. The misanthropic ideas of chauvinism and racism never took root in practice on Russian soil, and superpatriotic intoxication never turned the heads of indigenous Russians.

There are many reasons for this, but the main ones are extremely clear. First, the Russian working class was the most powerful, most conscious and most organized and revolutionary detachment of the country's working class. Reared by the Bolshevik Party on the principles of consistent and effective proletarian internationalism, it actively propagandized them among the working masses, proving their value by their own example. Second, the Russian working people were themselves subjected to merciless exploitation by both landowners and capitalists, domestic and foreign. Thus Russian working people sensed no difference between themselves and the identically oppressed and exploited national backwaters of the Russian empire and so did not see themselves as "superior" to them in any respect.

The Russian people were undoubtedly the decisive force in the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, on the battlefields of the civil war and in the restoration of the national economy, the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of the countryside--that is, in the building of socialism as a whole--and subsequently in the victory over fascist Germany. They also made and are continuing to make an invaluable contribution to our society's postwar development.

As far as the first two decades of the Soviet Union's existence are concerned the Russian people rendered aid to all the USSR's other peoples which it is difficult to measure with conventional yardsticks. They shared literally everything they had with them, often giving away things they were in dire need of themselves, and taught them everything they had managed to learn before them. During this period the crux of the communist party's nationalities policy consisted simultaneously of establishing the national statehood of many Soviet peoples--there was an intensive process of the formation of new union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts and national okrugs--and effecting the accelerated economic and cultural development of all the backward regions of the country. The family of socialist nations and the peoples' uncrushable friendship and fraternal cooperation were formed on precisely this basis. The party relied primarily on the Russian people in implementing this nationalities policy.

If, for example, you analyze just the statistics relating to the union republics' budgets during those years you can see both that aid to the national backwaters assumed the form of a consistent and comprehensive course in all-union economic policy and where this aid came from. At that time the republics' budgets were primarily covered on the expenditure side by subsidies from the all-union budget. At times the proportion provided by their own revenues was very small and was naturally incapable of ensuring the requisite rates of

economic and cultural development. It is clear to everybody that the subsidies were mainly attributable to the Russian Federation's contribution to the all-union budget.

Russia magnanimously shared with the other republics the cadres of scientists and specialists who built plants and factories, power stations and irrigation systems, roads and railroads, created national scientific and academic institutions and trained skilled workers, technicians, engineers, teachers and doctors from among the local population.

Tremendous aid was rendered in eliminating illiteracy, organizing the whole public education system and helping the inhabitants of the national backwaters to assimilate the riches of world culture. More than 40 nations and ethnic groups obtained a written language for the first time. The Russian language became the means of international communication, which made a supreme contribution to the consolidation of the entire complex of internationalist ties.

These pages from the history of the Soviet people provide a totally convincing answer to one of the most important aspects of the question of centralization and self-government [samoupravleniye] within the framework of the multinational socialist state. A question which gives no peace to certain theorists abroad--namely those who for some reason have always seen the unified all-union policy of economic and cultural building pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet state as diktat by Russia toward the other republics and have always ranted about the forcible Russification of the USSR's peoples and other similar fabrications. The extremely simple answer which could be given is that if sharing your last piece of bread with those who need it, often leaving yourself with less than you have given away, and striving to help a laggard in order to make him your equal means diktat it is pointless to debate this topic. Moreover, our opponents know very well themselves how matters stand in reality, and therefore they have their own reasons for digging up this question time and again.

The objective is a primitive one--to prove that everything is not done as it should be in the Soviet Union. This is useful to those who fear real socialism are not suited by the just resolution of the nationalities question and would very much like to impose on us the latest fashionable "model" of national mutual relations.

History, as is known, does not recognize the conditional tense: "What would have happened if..."--although it is not difficult to imagine something of "what would have happened." At least under our country's specific conditions following the republics' voluntary unification in the Soviet Union it would have been a crime against the socialist revolution and the future of socialism and an irresponsible attitude to the peoples' destiny to have made centralized leadership of the union state formalistic, telling the republics "govern yourselves as you wish." This would have been a conscious deviation from the principles of the proletarian internationalism to the benefit of national sovereignty interpreted in an egotistical, narrow and formalistic manner. Under

such conditions it would have been extremely difficult if not impossible for many of our peoples to have extricated themselves from poverty and backwardness. But today it is common knowledge what national flourishing they have achieved under the conditions of comprehensive fraternal mutual aid attentively and skillfully administered by the central union authorities.

But maybe it is not a question of the past? Maybe now, when all the nations and ethnic groups comprising the Soviet people have achieved economic and cultural equality--they have had political equality from the start--when every union Soviet republic constitutes an economically strong and highly cultured state formation, maybe, proceeding from all this, we should weaken the bonds of democratic socialism for the sake of that notorious self-government? Of course we are talking about the present. All imperialism's ideological and psychological attacks on the Soviet people started with anti-Soviet "advisers," be they overt or covert, displaying touching "concern" for their "interests" and human and national rights, always treated in abstract terms. But we know that the age-old dream of all such "advisers" is to weaken by any means the great socialist power--the bastion of social progress and peace throughout the world--smash its economic and political system and weaken our invincible strength--the peoples' fraternal friendship.

It is clear to all that centralization and self-government and national sovereignty are not abstract concepts. Differing actual social and political conditions invest them with differing and sometimes directly opposed specific historical content. It is not necessary to attempt to prove to Soviet people that the national-state system established in our country splendidly safeguards the interests both of the Soviet people as a whole and each individual nation and ethnic group, large or small.

By having the same type of social structure the USSR's nations and ethnic groups have common fundamental vital interests. The just satisfaction of these interests depends on both all-union and local organs of state administration. The consistent implementation of the economic and social policy of the communist party, which knows no loftier concern than serving working people's interests, is a matter for each and every person. All Soviet people know very well that national interests are best observed when the interests of the entire Soviet people are observed throughout the country. And when this is forgotten harm is done to every people, including your own.

Under the USSR Constitution union and autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts and okrugs have sufficient rights and opportunities to solve their own national problems, that is, problems of local significance. But when these problems assume all-union significance they are solved by common efforts. Take for example the virgin lands epic in Kazakhstan, the irrigation of vast tracts in Uzbekistan and Turkmenia, the building of the major hydropower installations on mountain rivers in central Asia and the Transcaucasus, the development of West Siberia's oil and gas deposits and the building of the Baykal-Amur Railroad and the new territorial industrial complexes springing up alongside--ambitious projects of this kind can only be accomplished on the

basis of the joint efforts of the entire Soviet people. And they serve the accelerated development of the republics in which they are carried out while simultaneously making a major contribution to the country's established unified national economic complex as a whole.

The soviets of people's deputies of all the national-state formations in the USSR fully implement their rights without hindrance within the confines of their territory. Nobody prevents them implementing laws adopted in the republics, leading local industry, the municipal economy, public education and health care, establishing public order in accordance with national traditions or organizing people's labor and leisure. There are also many other questions which come exclusively under the jurisdiction of local authorities. National creative unions ensure the development of artistic culture equally unhindered.

When it is a question of the growth of the USSR's economic might and therefore also its defense capability or the fulfillment of important communist party and Soviet state decisions or any measure of all-union significance it is necessary to think not about weakening centralization but about punctiliously fulfilling the requirements stemming from it. Each Soviet nation's sovereignty is ensured primarily by the sovereignty of the USSR and its prestige in the world. And there is no alternative to this. The country's national economic complex is not simply the arithmetical sum of the union republic's economies but a unified economic organism which only operates efficiently given confident planned leadership from a unified center. Localistic tendencies, neglect of statewide interests or a tendency to view our economic development solely or mainly from the viewpoint of a given single republic or region play a negative role. This applies particularly to the compilation and fulfillment of state plans for the USSR's economic and social development and comprehensive programs solving some particular important statewide problem such as, for example, the Food Program adopted by the CPSU Central Committee May (1982) Plenum.

"As the 26th congress noted, the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the USSR" states, "The party's course provides for the buildup of each republic's material and spiritual potential and at the same time the maximum utilization of this potential for the harmonious development of the entire country. The party sees this as an essential condition for the progress of Soviet society, the consolidation of the USSR's economic and defense might and the growth of working people's prosperity. Centralized planning combined with broad initiative on the part of union and autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts and okrugs make it possible to ensure the balanced and effective development of the Soviet economy. To resolve all economic and social tasks primarily from statewide positions and combat any manifestations of parochialism and departmental narrow-mindedness is an immutable requirement of a party, internationalist approach to matters."

A unified policy also has to be pursued in all corners of the country in ideological work and the communist education of Soviet people. A Marxist-Leninist world outlook, communist morality and socialist social awareness are class,

not national phenomena. And therefore to deviate from them in favor of certain local traditions contradicting them means willy-nilly to slip from the world-outlook positions of the working class and communist ideology. There has never been a supraclass ideology in any class society. Certain champions of national uniqueness for some reason forget this elementary truth when it comes to attitudes toward certain spiritual values which appear to be strictly national. National nihilism is bad and harmful, but national conceit and tender feelings for "antiquity" and everything which has been carried down to our day from it is no better. As we say, we are not people who refuse to acknowledge our roots. It is just that for us the blood link with the past lies in the field of the material culture and democratic spiritual culture created by the people's intellect and talent. An uncritical and unthinking attitude to historically obsolete traditions, customs and morals leads as a rule to neglect of the new pan-Soviet spiritual values invested with a revolutionary, collectivist, communist content. And this manifestly does not promote the further consolidation of the Soviet people as a new historical community of people or, consequently, the spiritual health of each individual nation.

Among the fundamental objective bases of the formation and constant growth of the Soviet people's cohesion are the radical changes in their social class structure in the process of the building and improvement of socialism. Such changes have occurred in all the country's nations and ethnic groups. The exploiter class was eliminated more or less simultaneously in the republics and in this sense their social structure became identical in type by the end of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. However, there were great differences between the classes and social groups of working people which persisted for quite a long time. Back in 1959, workers, employees and kolkhoz members and their families accounted respectively for 56.1, 19.5 and 24.2 percent in the Russian Federation; 42.6, 15.6 and 41.4 percent in the Ukraine; 36.3, 14.5 and 48.5 percent in Belorussia; 31.5, 14.8 and 53.5 percent in Tadzhikistan; and 22.2, 9.8 and 67.5 percent in Moldavia. The 1970 all-union population census showed that the class composition of the union republics' population had evened out to a considerable extent--the urban and rural working class had grown rapidly and there had naturally been a decline in the proportion attributable to the kolkhoz peasantry--and in 1979 workers and their families had become numerically the largest social group in all the republics.

But if you look at the class composition of the population broken down by years in individual republics, particularly those whose peoples strode directly into socialism from feudalism, bypassing the capitalist stage thanks to the efforts of Soviet power and their joining the union state, the picture is simply stunning. Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirgiziya, Tadzhikistan and Turkmenia, which previously had no industry and an almost totally illiterate population consisting not only of settled communities but also in some places of nomads, have developed so rapidly that they now have a social structure identical to republics which had far outstripped them in terms of historical development. Suffice it to say that according to the 1979 census Kazakhstan has the highest percentage of working class in the country--68; this compares with

an average figure for the USSR of 60 percent. The conclusion is thus self-evident: In developed socialist society the actual equality of the nations and ethnic groups comprising the unified Soviet people is an indisputable fact, irrespective of what angle you approach it from. Like the other outstanding achievements of the new society, this fact instills in the soul of each one of us the same pan-Soviet pride that strengthens the patriotic and internationalist feelings of the builders of communism.

"Life convinces us," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated in the CPSU Central Committee report to the 26th party congress, "that the intensive economic and social development of each of our republics accelerates the process of their all-around rapprochement. National cultures are flourishing and enriching each other and the culture of the unified Soviet people--a new social and international community--is being shaped. This process is taking place in our country in the way it has to take place under socialism--on the basis of equality, fraternal cooperation and voluntariness. The party keeps a strict eye on observance of these Leninist principles governing the nationalities policy. We will never deviate from them!"

At the same time the social structure of Soviet society is developing intensively in the direction of the intensification of its homogeneity: The working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia are drawing closer together in terms of their qualitative indicators, mutual relations between them are improving, and their alliance is strengthening. "Under present-day conditions," the CPSU Central Committee resolution 'On the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the USSR' notes, "the rapprochement of all the classes and social groups in Soviet society is continuing, leading toward the establishment in its main and fundamental respects of a classless structure of society within the historical framework of mature socialism." This important scientifically substantiated tenet of creative Marxism-Leninism convinces us that new prospects are opening up for the Soviet people in the immediate future, particularly in the question--a natural question of the Soviet people--of the future merging [sliyaniye] of nations. This is not the place to examine this question in all its complexity. Let us just note that nobody intends to artificially accelerate this indubitably progressive process, which has nothing in common with the assimilation of some nations by others but benefits all the country's peoples. Time will tell what this projected new fusion of peoples of different ethnic groups and races will be like, but it seems perfectly clear that it will be a human community of an unprecedentedly high level since it will be effected on the threshold of the full implementation of the great humanist ideals of communism.

The Soviet people, who have built a developed socialist society--to date the highest achievement in mankind's social progress--are marching in the vanguard of the world revolutionary process. By creating the world's first worker and peasant state they have confirmed in practice the Marxist conclusion concerning the necessity of dictatorship of the proletariat during the transition from capitalism to socialism and the fundamental natural laws governing the building of the new society--laws of a universal character. By their heroic

struggle and equally heroic labor the Soviet people have radically altered the correlation of class forces in favor of real socialism, easing other peoples' path toward socialist revolutions and national liberation revolutions and setting an example to peoples who have thrown off the colonial yoke of how to build a new life while bypassing the capital stage of development. In other words, the Soviet people played the outstanding role in the emergence of the world socialist system and the collapse of imperialism's colonial system and are continuing today to be a reliable support for all forces struggling for socialism and national rebirth.

One could talk for a long time about the many progressive things which the Soviet people have accomplished for the first time in history, but what they have never done is equally important. For example, they have never played a double game with other peoples--it has always been possible to rely on them in friendship and cooperation. They have never staged international provocations or armed border conflicts. They have never coveted other peoples' lands or other people's wealth. They have never started wars. They have never left in trouble countries and peoples subjected to imperialist aggression and pressure.

The Soviet people have to their credit numerous fine actions which have served and continue to serve the improvement of the international climate. At the League of Nations and subsequently at the United Nations their voice has always been confident and loud, like the voice of a just and unbending giant of a peacemaker. They are the most consistent fighters for an end to the insane arms race, disarmament and the prevention of a world thermonuclear catastrophe. On the people's behalf and with their full approval the Soviet Union adopted a commitment at the second special UN General Assembly session on disarmament not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and appealed to all the nuclear powers to follow this example.

The Soviet people are workers, creators and humanists. They do not need war. But they do know how to be soldiers. When enemies force them to take up arms our people become a formidable force, terrifying in their anger, capable of sweeping any aggressor from the face of the earth, as happened to the fascist invaders. Let this not be forgotten by the imperialist "hawks" who have now multiplied in such numbers, particularly over the ocean. Soviet people are optimists and are confident that in the question of war and peace reason will ultimately prevail over insanity.

The Soviet people today have many great and important actions and many outstanding achievements to their credit. They also have a considerable number of problems--urgent and sometimes very difficult problems--and shortcomings. Their solution, rectification and elimination lie in our hands. Everybody in his place, conscientiously and consciously fulfilling the decisions of the 26th party congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and the 11th Five-Year Plan targets, must do everything to improve developed socialism, further reinforce the country's economic and defense might and improve the life of all Soviet people. Every moment he must do everything to increase the prestige of world socialism. Then the proud words "We are the Soviet people" will ring out even more forcefully.

Source: Izdatel'stvo TsK KPSS "Pravda". "Kommunist", 1982.

SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL REVOLUTION AND ITS SOCIAL ASPECTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12 Aug 82 pp 13-24

[Text] As we know, the call for greater attention to the social consequences of the scientific and technical revolution was heard from the rostrum of the 26th CPSU congress. It was addressed mainly to our social scientists--economists, philosophers and sociologists. We must interpret both that which has already been accomplished in this area and what will be accomplished. We must analyze the reasons for erroneous or unsuccessful solutions and wrong assessments and predictions which social practice failed to support.

Increased interest in the social aspects of the scientific and technical revolution and an abundance of specialized and popular science publications have marked the past 20 years.

Let us give this work its due. Tremendous factual data have been summed up. The basic trends of science and technology under socialism and the specific social processes which arise in the course of the scientific and technical revolution have been identified. The nature of the unity between the requirements of this revolution and those of economic and social practice has been substantiated. Specific social studies, which proved the influence of the scientific and technical revolution on the conditions and content of labor, labor skills, changes in the professional and social structure of society and, finally, the way of life and ways of using their leisure time by the working people played their role.

However, by far not everything is satisfactory in this abundance of scientific output. Unfortunately, many books and pamphlets are being published, which contribute to no "increase in knowledge" whatsoever, representing a compilation which retells known truths and facts. The main shortcoming of such publications is their eclecticism, the lack of a strict concept.

The Marxist-Leninist classics laid the foundations of a purposeful and streamlined sociological theory of scientific and technical development. It is the only true way leading to success in research. However, it is a true way if we take not only isolated excerpts interpreted indiscriminately and arbitrarily but if we master the methodology of the study of the social problems of science and technology brilliantly developed in the works of Marx, Engels and

Lenin. Unfortunately, our social scientists cannot always boast of their ability to master such methodology and the industriousness and persistence this requires. Hence the frequently low theoretical standard of publications and disparities in practical recommendations which sometimes prove to be groundless.

Let us note some of the main points in this problem.

Above all, how to describe the scientific and technical revolution briefly, without plunging into expanded and "exhaustive" definitions? It means radical qualitative changes in production forces as an integral system, caused by blending the development of science, equipment and production technology within a single process, which encompasses all three basic components of the system, i.e., labor tools, labor objects and purposeful human activities, "labor itself" (Marx).

In the case of labor tools the conversion from production mechanization to automation and the use of new technological methods and processes, computer systems, microelectronics, robotics, new sources of energy and new transportation facilities is of a truly revolutionary nature. We note in the labor tools as well revolutionary changes related to the unparalleled increase in the range of resources involved in the production process, particularly in the metallurgical, chemical, microbiological, electrical engineering and other production sectors. However, the most decisive changes take place in human labor activities themselves.

According to researchers, the directions followed in the scientific and technical revolution include the use of new sources of energy, development of near and outer space and production chemization, biologization, automation and cybernetization. The question of the nature of the scientific and technical revolution has been a topic of lengthy discussions in literature. According to some, it was the use of computers and control systems; other have given priority to the development of science as a direct productive force, control of nature and, finally, the assumption of a "cosmic" nature of science and technology.

Usually, the authors do not bother to provide any kind of theoretical substantiation of their viewpoint and to lay it on the firm foundations of logical and historical grounds. They take into consideration merely the greater or lesser "importance" of one direction or another followed by the scientific and technical revolution, a direction which, as a rule, is interpreted arbitrarily. However, on this basis dozens of definitions could be "fabricated," as has already been the case.

It is precisely here that we can use Marx' theory of the development of science and technology. This theory focuses on the study of human labor activities in their historical dynamics. Marx interprets technological progress not by itself (a sin still found in some of our work on the history of technology), but as organically related with human activities. According to Marx all

technological development is a systematic process of transmission of labor functions from man to machine, and the use of artificial rather than "natural production instruments." Thus, in "Das Kapital," Marx considers the appearance of machines as a process of transmitting the function of controlling labor tools from man to equipment, when the latter become "from tools of the human organism into tools of a mechanical apparatus" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch" [Works], vol 23, p 389). In tracing the profound trends of machine output, Marx also earmarked the basic outlines of automation. Once again he proceeded from the study of the prospects of human labor activities. He predicted that a time would come when "instead of being the main agent in the production process the worker will be equal to the process" (Op. cit., vol 46, Part II, p 213). Today it is possible to become "equal" with the production process as a result of the fact that technology shifts control functions from man to machines, as is the case with developed automation. It is precisely automation that is the general direction of the scientific and technical revolution.

Actually, chemization, the development of nuclear power, contemporary technology, the use of computers and microelectronics are all taking place not along with automation but through automation. The scientific and technical revolution is related to a conversion to automated labor in the production process in the way the first industrial revolution was related to a conversion from manual to mechanized labor.

Here again we must consider the fact that the so-called social consequences of the scientific and technical revolution are precisely and mainly the result of automation.

Automation changes the interrelationship between man and equipment in the course of labor activities. Increasingly the worker becomes a controller, a tuner, a programmer of the technological process rather than an element directly involved in it. This leads to an entire series of changes in the labor, production and social areas. The nature and content of labor change in the direction of increased creative, research and target-setting functions. This contributes to the further elimination of major disparities between mental and physical labor. Requirements concerning the skills and intellectual training of cadres increase. The share of highly skilled workers and specialists (technicians, engineers, laboratory technicians and scientific workers) engaged in servicing the automated equipment and the technological processes grows. The labor resources which are released as a result of increased labor productivity become employed in other realms of human activity.

In turn, such changes influence the social changes which occur in contemporary society, namely:

Under the influence of the growth of labor productivity and industrial development, structural changes take place in the ratios among the basic areas of human activity. Labor resources are transferred from agriculture to industry and from industry to science, education and services. This increases the concentration of the urban population. Its way of life changes, the pace of

social change rises, migration processes are intensified and agricultural labor becomes industrialized;

The contemporary condition of production forces and the level of labor productivity they determine make it possible considerably to shorten the working time and to increase their leisure time. This contributes to their all-round harmonious advancement;

In the course of the scientific and technical revolution global interrelationships affect all nations, one way or another. Each country can in principle establish direct trade and economic relations with any other country. Such relations become so widespread that at the present time it is no longer possible to produce anything within a given country without taking international standards, world market prices and the international division of labor into consideration. The processes of spiritual reciprocal enrichment of nations intensify.

All of these are general features based on the logic of the development of the scientific and technical revolution. They act as its necessary requirements, as a natural result of its influence on the work, lifestyle and spiritual life and economic or natural conditions governing human existence. They are inner trends the specific manifestation of which depends on the type of socioeconomic system and on domestic and foreign policy features. Socioeconomic and political relations could hinder the development of such trends and modify, distort or stimulate them.

Naturally, such social changes, which arise in the course of the revolutionary changes taking place in science and technology, are not the result of automation alone. They can take place also as the result of the comprehensive mechanization of production operations, their more efficient organization and many other processes.

This means that the scientific and technical revolution is not limited in the least to major changes in equipment, technology and science, which leave the worker unaffected. As we pointed out, if we assume that this is a radical change in the overall system of production forces, it affects above all the main production force--man--together with his ability to work and to create new material and spiritual values.

Unfortunately, such active and effective role of man is frequently ignored in socioeconomic literature, which discusses either impersonal processes in the world of science and technology or the individual and society subject to their influence.

In the capitalist countries, this type of passive role assigned to man and turning technology into a fetish are elevated to just about a basic theoretical principle in interpretations of contemporary society and the means of its development in relation to scientific and technical progress. This has its reasons. Under capitalist conditions, the worker indeed feels himself a target of the action of "blind" forces of equipment, technology and organization,

which control his work and life. The bourgeois ideologues rely on this fact in reducing "demon capital" to "demon technology," proclaiming scientific and technical progress as the cause of all social ills.

Under socialism the worker, the working person, becomes the true master of all achievements of science and technology and not only the constructive but the directing, the organizing force of the scientific and technical revolution which is the object of man's creative and conscious activity. The outcome is that man is not only the "social measurement" of the scientific and technical revolution but its "main character" as well.

Technology (as well as the scientific knowledge it embodies) becomes a tool in the hands of the worker. However, it is also the tool of the class which owns it. The ruling class makes full use of it in its own interest. Under socialism the working people create the social wealth and, being its owner, channel scientific and technical progress into social progress.

The very term "scientific and technical revolution" presumes that a revolution takes place in both technology and science. We already discussed the nature of revolution in technology. What kind of revolution takes place in science? Let us note that this is not a question merely of a revolution in our knowledge or changes in our concepts regarding specific fields of knowledge, such as physics, chemistry or biology, although unquestionably these and other sciences experienced revolutionary changes in the 20th century. It is a question of science not merely as a system of knowledge but as a social institution, as a specific area of social activity which currently employs more than 4 million people. It is a tremendous expanding area of spiritual production.

What kind of revolution takes place in science as a realm of social activity?

At this point attention should be paid to the following: science has two basic functions in terms of target orientation and final direction. Scientific knowledge is embodied in equipment, technology and material production in general--this is one of the directions. Scientific knowledge is embodied also in the participants in the production process itself, in the people, their outlook and their creative capabilities. In the different stages of the historical development of science interrelationships between technical and personality orientations have changed. Since the time of the first industrial revolution priority was given to the development of the technical orientation of science. The natural sciences emerged in the limelight. Applied research, technical developments and industrial research made their appearance. From a servant of the divinity, which it was in the Middle Ages, science became a servant of material production, its active factor, something which Marx pointed out in his time.

Today we note a trend toward yet another change in the interrelationship between the individual and the technical orientation of science. Science is becoming increasingly oriented toward man, toward improving the creative capabilities of the individual. This does not lower its material and technical

function in the least. On the contrary, for the first time in history the spiritual growth of man becomes a decisive material production factor. No successful development of equipment and technology and their application and utilization are possible without the faster intellectual and spiritual development of man--the worker, engineer, technician and production organizer. The participation of science in the enhancement of the individual clearly increases as well. A tremendous number of people are employed in the area aimed at the intellectual advancement of society. This involves lower and higher education schools, the entire system of popularizing knowledge, publishing, newspapers, television, radio, etc. The realm of application of science with a view to "individual application" is developing at a headlong pace and its role is increasing immeasurably compared with the area of the applied, the technical utilization of science. Even in the basic sciences the conceptual function is becoming increasingly important. The theory of relativity, modern nuclear physics and discoveries in biology and mathematics are all factors which enrich the individual's spiritual world.

Here is another important circumstance. Once science was a relatively independent realm of activity, isolated from others. Today it is becoming a type of activity which is beginning to imbue virtually all the other--production, technology, economics, politics, ideology, education and health care. The intensiveness of its relations with production increases it drastically. Marx' prediction that the production process will become a material-creative experimental science is being fulfilled slowly but steadily.

We have had long and sometimes scholastic discussions on Marx' formula on the transformation of science into a direct production force. This formula was violently rejected by some social scientists who questioned how could science become a direct production force, for science is a spiritual factor while production force is a material one. What kind of spiritual factor could a production force be?

The point is however, that, to begin with, Marx listed among production forces spiritual production forces as well. He did not exclude in the least man's purposeful intellectual activities from the overall combined productive labor. Secondly, science itself, as a realm of social activity, does not act exclusively as a superstructural factor.

In the final account, essentially it is only man, with his spiritual and physical potential, who is the true, the real production force. Man alone can produce. Technology, however developed it may be, in itself produces nothing. It is only man, armed with technology, who can create material and spiritual goods.

The case with science is precisely the same. Embodied in the human intellect and creative capabilities, it becomes as much a production force as technology in the hands of man. Furthermore, armed with contemporary scientific knowledge, it is man who is the creator of new equipment and technology.

Science is a tool of the human intellect--individual and universal--in the way technology is a tool of the human hands. As a tool of the "universal intellect" science is a "social production force"--a term frequently used by Marx. In other words, technology and science directly intensify the production possibilities of man and society, for which reason they act as direct production forces.

Our scientists must study the specific changes taking place in the interrelationship between science and production, the means to improve them and the directions along which science influences the growth of labor productivity and its organization and the enrichment of the individual's spiritual world.

We can easily note that consistent with the new stage in the development of science, with its orientation toward human development, is a new age in the development of society in the transition from socialism to communism. At the same time, this orientation is antagonistic to the practice of capitalist society, which is turning science into a means for superexploitation and destruction of man, and which subordinates the dissemination of knowledge to the ideological stipulations of stupefying the population and manipulating the mind.

The scientific and technical revolution is global. One way or another it affects both socialist and capitalist countries and countries which became free from colonial domination relatively recently. It appeared and is developing in the age of transition from capitalism to socialism on a global scale and, in this sense, is an intrinsic part of the global revolutionary process. It is this feature of the scientific and technical revolution which has been studied least of all. We are as yet faced with clarifying its role in the social renovation of the world and its interrelationship with the other components within this process.

Obviously, we must begin by determining the influence of the scientific and technical revolution on the working class and on the changes which are taking place within it quantitatively and qualitatively (higher educational level, skills, political consciousness and activeness, unity, readiness to struggle for its rights and the interests of the people, and others). Much remains unclear in determining the closer and more distant prospects of the scientific and technical revolution on a global scale and its influence on the general crisis in capitalism and the aggravation of economic, political and so-called global problems of our time. Let us include among the latter mainly problems of ecological and demographic nature, and the problem of preventing the threat of the destruction of mankind created by imperialism.

This is important as much theoretically as it is practically, for without a clarification of the trends and future of the scientific and technical revolution and its comprehensive impact on the course of social developments in the world, the communist and worker parties, which are struggling against imperialism and capitalism and for peace, democracy and socialism cannot formulate their strategy on a scientific basis.

Let us acknowledge that the conclusions of some Marxist researchers to the effect that by virtue of its very nature and aggravated contradictions capitalism is basically incompatible with the scientific and technical revolution were no more justified than the hope that the scientific and technical revolution itself would become a force acting only in the direction of destroying the foundations of the capitalist production method.

Yes, naturally, the scientific and technical revolution aggravates the purulence of the chronic ulcers in capitalist society (unemployment, inflation, crises, and militarization of the economy), and its exploitative nature. However, capitalism already has centuries of practical experience in making use of science and technology in its own interests and the use of a variety of economic, organizational and administrative measures aimed at resolving or easing arising crisis situations, social maneuverings and public opinion manipulations. The main thing is that capitalism, again by virtue of its unrestrained pursuit of profit, is aspiring toward the all-round development of science and technology, although we hear today voices from the camp of bourgeois social thinking, which are calling, conversely, for applying the brakes on the pace of the growth of output.

In fact, the scientific and technical revolution is involving increasingly new tolling strata into the realm of exploitation. In this area mental labor, science and engineering and technical activities have been particularly "bountiful." The modern Shylocks do not lose the opportunity "to make money" from human thoughts and genius and even, it may seem, from the human soul and heartbeat.

Therefore, it is not a question of the fact that capitalism is unable to "ride" the scientific and technical revolution but of the fact that it is "riding" man even more so, mercilessly exploiting not only his physical but his spiritual forces, which are developed and used for a strictly utilitarian purpose--for use by capitalism. Capitalism is not hostile to science and technology per se. It is profoundly hostile to man, to the individual.

The tremendous achievements of the creative and technical genius of mankind make it already possible to resolve grave problems such as the struggle against hunger, poverty, disease, unemployment and insecurity. The obstacle is imperialism with its man-hating policy and practices.

Under capitalism, science and technology are increasingly and threateningly serving the cause of militarization of the economy and the creation of increasingly new lethal means and mass destruction weapons. How not to remember at this point Marx' description of the disgusting pagan idol who could drink nectar exclusively out of the skulls of those murdered! In the same manner, constructive production forces in bourgeois society create on an increasing scale destructive and ruinous forces.

Finally, we must bear in mind that economic growth in the imperialist countries has always been achieved at the expense of underdeveloped countries, the

exploitation of their resources and inexpensive manpower and the hindering of their development. So far, the expectations that the scientific and technical revolution will bring about substantial changes in this situation and in narrowing the gap between developed and developing countries in the capitalist world have remained unjustified. On the contrary, the gap has become even wider. The explanation is that it is precisely the "rich" capitalist countries which can comprehensively accelerate scientific research and development and, on this basis, can steadily modernize the technical foundations of the production process. Such opportunities are minimal in most developing countries.

In the light of all this it is clear that in the course of the scientific and technical revolution the paradox discovered by Marx becomes entirely apparent instead of disappearing: the accelerated development of production forces and the steady change in material production conditions are both a vitally necessary prerequisite for the existence of capital, its growth, inflation and "fattening" as well as a factor pushing it to its doom.

The scientific and technical revolution, therefore, plays a twin role. It creates new opportunities for the fast growth of the economic power of society and its concentration and centralization. At the same time, it also shapes the material and organizational prerequisites for new production methods and contributes to the broadening and strengthening of the alliance of working forces hostile to capitalism, aware of their historical mission and the growing possibility of taking over the management of all social processes.

The scientific and technical revolution accelerates the development of capitalism and, therefore, the advent of its "final hour."

Being global, the scientific and technical revolution has some common development trends and patterns and even some common social "consequences" (demand for skill, content and organization of labor related to the new equipment and technology). However, the socialist and capitalist forms of its utilization are conflicting in nature and direction. The socialist society alone can fully direct the course of the scientific and technical revolution toward the implementation of the truly humanistic ideals.

It is very important in formulating the accurate strategic principles governing the management of technical, economic and social processes under socialism in their entirety and interdependence, to proceed from the accurate realization of the stage reached in the scientific and technical revolution.

In our view, one of the main indicators of the level reached by the scientific and technical revolution is the level and share of automated production on the scale of the entire industrial process or the share of the entire production personnel engaged in servicing automated equipment in the overall number of workers and employees. What is this share? As yet it is low in the USSR and the other developed countries. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the

November 1981 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, about 40 percent of our industrial workers are performing manual labor. This means that we are merely at the initial period of the scientific and technical revolution.

The strategy of the development of the scientific and technical revolution proceeds from the simultaneous and coordinated advance in all directions and the comprehensive development of the production process. The automation process itself will be successful only when the production process proves to be comprehensively ready for this.

Unfortunately, this seemingly obvious fact is frequently ignored. There are those who support automation or cybernetization "at all costs" and the ubiquitous application of computers in all cases. Computers are depicted as the solution to all difficulties. Theoretical computations are even being made according to which improving the organization of the national economy is considered either unnecessary or inefficient, for all economic and organizational problems can be resolved merely with the help of computers. Naturally, such "computer fetishism" can cause nothing but harm. The expensive cybernetic equipment which the enterprises feel they "must" have is frequently left to idle and collect rust, for the production process has not been prepared to use it in terms of cadre skills, or organizationally, technologically and economically.

The automation problem cannot be resolved merely with the help of automated machine tools, assembly lines and computers. It requires a comprehensive upsurge in technology and production organization, a conversion to a qualitatively new level of economic management, and the mass retraining of workers, technicians and engineers in accordance with the requirements of scientific and technical progress. Understandably, a very great deal remains to be done in order to update the production process in accordance with the latest word of science and technology, and to ensure its automation and scientific and technical progress on the scale of the entire society. This will require time, a conclusion which agrees with the stipulation of the 26th party congress to the effect that the developed socialist stage is a historically lengthy period which will take decades and in the course of which problems of social and scientific and technical progress will have to be resolved in a state of organic unity.

The congress' resolutions set a model of practical approach to the dialectics of the social and the technical in social development. This problem, which is theoretically important as well, has still not been properly developed by our social scientists.

It would be an extreme vulgarizing to take the term "social consequences" of the scientific and technical revolution literally, for it would mean as though the beginning starts with the scientific and technical revolution, which is followed by something entirely determined by and secondary to it--the social consequences. Yet this interrelationship is described in the various publications precisely as such--unilateral.

However, do these social consequences in turn not exert a determining influence on scientific and technical progress? Does the social aspect not operate not merely as a "common background" for the scientific and technical revolution but also as a powerful incentive for its acceleration, feeding it the greatest possible amount of constructive energy? Are we not also justified in speaking of the "scientific and technical consequences" of social progress?

This involves the complex dialectics of technical and social, economic and political and base and superstructural factors and objective prerequisites and subjective factors.

It is self-evident that such a unique phenomenon as the industrialization of the national economy in the USSR could have taken place at such a headlong pace only under the specific and unique sociopolitical conditions of our society, under their powerful stimulating influence and only as a result of the activities of the party, which was able to concentrate and channel the energy of the people's masses in the direction of this objective, after making a great revolution.

It was precisely in the same way that the upsurge of the scientific and technical revolution, which began during the second half of the century, was determined by all the previous sociopolitical and economic accomplishments of the country building a developed socialist society.

Having entered the mature socialist stage, our country acquired new social opportunities and incentives for intensifying the scientific and technical revolution and ensuring the increasingly fuller organic combination of its achievements with the advantages of mature socialism. This combination presumes, on the one hand, the need to ensure the full utilization of the opportunities presented by our sociopolitical system and economic management method with a view to accelerating scientific and technical progress and upgrading the efficiency and quality of output and the level of its organization and management; on the other, the need comprehensively to direct the development of science, technology and production toward the building of communism, the satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of man and the creation of optimal conditions for the blossoming of his personality.

The systematic efforts of the party and the state aimed at the implementation of these tasks enabled us to reach corresponding heights in our scientific and technical, economic and sociopolitical development. The Soviet Union made substantial general progress in laying the material and technical foundations for communism. The production forces in Soviet society reached a qualitatively new level. The scientific and technical revolution is developing in depth and width, changing the aspect of many production facilities and entire sectors. Soviet science holds leading positions in the most important fields of knowledge. The country's economic power reliably ensures further progress in building communism.

The main task in the 11th Five-Year Plan, as defined at the last congress, is the fact that further improvements in the well-being of the Soviet people will

be based on the steady progress of the national economy, the extensive development of scientific and technical progress and the conversion of the economy to intensification, more efficient use of the country's production potential, strict conservation of all resources and qualitative improvements.

The report submitted by Comrade N. A. Tikhonov at the 26th CPSU Congress noted that in terms of historical scale, significance and consequences the conversion of our national economy to intensive development justifiably ranks with a most profound change such as socialist industrialization, which radically changed the country's features.

The purpose of qualitative improvements in production efficiency and the comprehensive acceleration of scientific and technical progress is to assist in the implementation of a broad social program. It is a set of measures aimed at enhancing the people's well-being and the level and quality of consumption. It means the implementation of profound changes in the most important realm of human activity--labor--and coming closer to making individual labor creative and eliminating major disparities between mental and physical labor and converting agrarian labor into a variety of industrial work. It means a broad system of measures to improve housing and cultural-living conditions, which are needed in order to strengthen family relations, contribute to the happiness of mothers and children and ensure a tranquil and secure old age. It means increasing opportunities for harmonious spiritual life, further enhancement of education, culture and morality, and more efficient utilization of leisure time. It means all-round prosperity and rapprochement among nations and nationalities in the USSR, strengthening the social homogeneity of society and consolidating the sociopolitical and ideological unity of the Soviet people. It also means the further development of democracy and the Soviet political system through the implementation of the Leninist principle of involving everyone in administering the state and society.

The documents of the 26th CPSU Congress clearly earmark the levels we must reach in the 1980s, particularly emphasizing the need for the comprehensive development of scientific and technical progress, accomplishing profound quality changes in the material and technical base of the production process and upgrading its efficiency. Scientific and technical progress is a mandatory prerequisite for upsurge in our agriculture and the implementation of the great Food Program as approved at the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Naturally, all of this is considered not as a self-seeking aim but as a means for the implementation of an economic strategy whose supreme objective is the steady enhancement of the material and cultural standards of the people and the creation of better conditions for the comprehensive development of the individual. That is why, in discussing the tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "I would begin a discussion on such problems not by speaking about metal, transportation or even fuel and energy, despite their entire tremendous importance, but with problems the solution of which determines most directly the living conditions of the Soviet people. I believe that this is also the most party-minded approach, when concern for the

good of the people becomes the cornerstone. From the strictly economic viewpoint as well, it is better to proceed from the final objective to what should make reaching it possible." That is how the question is presented: from the final objective to our present.

In defining immediate objectives and specific means to achieve them, displaying a feeling of sober realism and a strictly scientific approach, the party has been invariably guided also by the long-range prospects of building communism and proceeding from the great ideals to which our society is aspiring. These are the ideals supported by the scientific thinking of the founders of Marxism-Leninism. They are clearly and aphoristically expressed by the slogan "Infinite and Comprehensive Development of the Individual," "From Each According to His Capabilities and To Each According to His Needs" and "The Free Development of Each is a Prerequisite for the Free Development of All."

The steadfast implementation of the communist ideals is, once again, not merely the consequence of scientific and technical and social progress. For example, if we speak of profound changes in labor and its conditions, content and nature, changes which are taking place mainly under the influence of automation, new technology and production organization, such a more skilled, creative and better organized labor would have a corresponding feedback. It would tremendously increase the creative energy which is needed in the development of new equipment and technology, improving the organization of the production process and upgrading its efficiency. In Marx' words, the fuller development of the individual "in turn, being the greatest production force, influences the production power of labor" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," vol 46, Part II, p 221).

The free time of the individual providing, naturally, that it is spent not in passive or even negative forms of recreation, but for self-education, amateur activities and the mastering of culture and art, plays a tremendous role in such a "full development of the individual."

The successful solution of the party's task of shaping the new man, his outlook, creative activeness and cultural and educational standard decisively determines the more or less successful implementation of all other tasks.

When the party calls for combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism, one of its important objectives is superiority precisely in the development of the human factor, for it consists of the inexhaustible resources of the labor and social activeness of the working people and the conscious, initiative-minded and interested participation of everyone in economic and political activities. If we are able to free the constructive initiative and creative energy of the masses to the fullest extent and to encourage and direct such energy in the best possible manner, the solution of the other economic and social problems, above all that of reaching the highest labor productivity in the world, will be the natural consequence of this solution.

Specific sociological studies must play a major role in identifying the reserves within the human factor. Unfortunately, some such studies are not conducted on the proper level, as they attempt to prove universally known truths or are aimed merely at making facts fit speculative concepts and hypotheses. Need we state that the elimination of such shortcomings would unquestionably improve the fruitfulness of the work of sociologists in the specific study of the factors which contribute to more efficient production returns on the part of the labor collective and to the fuller realization of the creative opportunities of every working person?

Naturally, the essential unity between social and scientific progress under socialism and their interdependence do not mean a general absence of all contradictions which develop between the course, pace and level of development of production forces and production relations. Each essential shift in science and technology raises new requirements facing the entire system of economic relations and the existing management and economic mechanism. In turn, changes in the socioeconomic area invariably influence the course of the scientific and technical revolution, stimulating it and creating more favorable conditions for upgrading production efficiency and quality.

The strategic guiding stipulations formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress for the forthcoming decade proceed precisely from this organic unity between social and scientific and technical progress. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the congress, "Today, looking 5 to 10 years ahead, we cannot forget that it is precisely during that time that the national economic structure with which the country will enter the 21st century will be laid and created. It must embody the basic features and ideals of the new society. It must be in the vanguard of progress and embody the integration of science with production and the unbreakable alliance between creative thinking and creative labor."

The inquisitive thinking of our social scientists faces the tremendous task of further developing the Marxist-Leninist theory of the development of production forces, the sociological theory of science and technology in particular--the task of the dialectical processing of the history of human thought, science and technology which Lenin considered the "continuation of the work of Hegel and Marx" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 29, p 131).

Knowledge related to our daily reality needs "dialectical processing" also. We need a profound contemporary study of social phenomena, processes and new trends, a study thoroughly based on Marxist-Leninist methodology, which gives us the accurate guidelines and recommendations for resolving the problems which steadily arise in the course of social and scientific and technical progress.

All of this is of tremendous vital theoretical and practical importance to our party and people.

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CAUSE OF EACH AND ALL

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[Article by G. Romanov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast CPSU Committee; on the practical work of the Leningrad party organization for the implementation of the Food Program]

[Text] In its consistent course toward the steady upsurge of the people's well-being, on the initiative of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, the 26th party congress called for radically improving the supply of the Soviet people with food products and, to this effect, the elaboration of the USSR Food Program for the period through 1990.

The content of the program and the means for its implementation were considered at the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which ranks in terms of significance and scale with the historical March 1965 Central Committee Plenum and which marks an essentially new stage in resolving one of the most complex national economy problems--the problem of food.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's report submitted at the May CPSU Central Committee Plenum is a document of tremendous political importance. It provided a profound study of the party's comprehensive activities for the development of the country's agroindustrial complex; it clearly defined the current and long-term tasks and the means for their practical implementation. The stipulations and conclusions formulated in the report are a most important contribution to the economic theory of socialism and the Leninist agrarian policy of the CPSU.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees adopted at the plenum, which support the basic document, include specific steps aimed at improving agricultural management, related sectors and the economic mechanism, increasing the material interest of rural workers in increasing commodity output and improving its quality, improving the housing and the social-living conditions of the rural population and strengthening the kolkhozes and sovkhoses with specialist cadres. Therefore, being a qualitatively new step in the system of economic planning and management, the Food Program embodies a comprehensive approach to it, combining within an integral entity the various units within the agroindustrial economic sector and contemplating their dynamic and balanced development.

Together with their party and the entire Soviet people, the party members and the working people of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast welcomed the materials of the May Central Committee Plenum as yet another convincing proof of the fact that the party is persistently implementing its supreme principle: everything for the sake of man, for the good of man! In fully approving the plenum's resolutions, with a feeling of particular gratitude and thanks the Leningraders note the tremendous personal contribution made by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev to the development of the Food Program and his entire tireless activities imbued with concern for improving the people's well-being and strengthening the power of our homeland.

I

The party has set as the most important prerequisites for the successful implementation of the Food Program the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the highly efficient utilization of the production potential, and the further strengthening of the material and technical base both in agriculture and in all sectors which service it. A sharp turn must be taken to intensive farming. Better use must be made of the land, the existing capacities, the labor, material and financial resources and all available reserves and possibilities in order to increase the food production and to mount a persistent struggle for upgrading labor productivity, reducing production costs, economy and thrift and eliminating negligence and waste.

The formulation of the new major tasks for the current decade is based on all the previous activities of the party and the people for the implementation of the agrarian policy following the March 1965 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Profound quality changes took place in agricultural production within that time and its efficiency increased. In particular, the party's Central Committee paid tireless attention to the development of highly intensive agricultural areas around large industrial centers, including Leningrad.

Three special decrees on agricultural intensification and comprehensive development in Leningrad Oblast have been passed by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers since 1968. Their implementation and the use of the progressive experience acquired in various parts of the country enabled us considerably to strengthen the material and technical foundations for agriculture, comprehensively to mechanize many labor-intensive processes, to ensure the extensive use of industrial technology and to shift the leading agricultural production sectors to an industrial track.

The recommendations formulated by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at a meeting of the oblast party organization aktiv, in December 1971, on the need to improve food supplies to the population and the oblast industrial centers with locally produced foodstuffs became an important starting point in the implementation of agrarian policy by the Leningrad party members. Persistently working on the implementation of these instructions and taking the steps defined by the party's Central Committee for upgrading agriculture in the Nonchernozem zone in the Russian Federation, the working people in the public sector increased agricultural output by a factor of 1.8 during the 9th and 10th Five-Year Plans.

Large specialized vegetable and potato growing, dairy and beef animal husbandry and industrial poultry breeding areas were developed on the previously swampy land of the Neva lowlands, the brush-covered areas of the Karelian Isthmus, the peat bogs in the Ladoga area and in the southwestern part of the oblast. Currently the oblast produces more than 1,000 quintals of milk and 268 centers of meat per 100 hectares of farmland, with an annual gross output in excess of 129,000 rubles. The following general indicator should be mentioned as well: the volume of gross output of all category farms within that period doubled, reaching 1 billion rubles, and the entire volume of food production in the Leningrad agroindustrial complex is worth today about 4 billion rubles.

The substantial increase in the share of the output produced on Leningrad fields and livestock farms in the food balance was the main and most essential result of these efforts. Whereas within that period the city and oblast population increased by more than 750,000 people, local per capita production increased by 62 percent for milk, a factor of 1.8 for meat and a factor of more than 2.5 for eggs. For the past 3 years the oblast has been able to meet most of its needs for vegetables from local production.

A great deal has been done to improve agricultural production management and the economic mechanism. The creation of cost effective sovkhos associations in Leningrad Oblast was a major step. Today we have 20 production associations and two specialized trusts. They account for the virtually entire volume of output of vegetables, eggs and poultry meat, about 70 percent of the milk and potatoes, 65 percent of the beef and 80 percent of the pork.

The party, Soviet and economic organs have done considerable work to industrialize rural construction. The oblast has two rural industrial and three housebuilding combines and four new trusts. The mobile mechanized columns have been strengthened.

Over a 10-year period about 80 industrial-type agricultural projects have been completed for the production of milk, beef, pork, eggs and poultry meat. Large-scale vegetable production on protected grounds has been developed and greenhouses covering more than 170 hectares have been developed in Leningrad's suburban area and in the vicinity of Kirishi, Tikhvin, Vyborg and R. Gisepp. Four mixed feed plants with a capacity in excess of 1,500 tons per day have been commissioned.

Extensive work has been done to ensure the social reorganization of the countryside. Nearly 2.9 million square meters of housing, schools for 40,000 students, vocational-technical schools for 6,300 students and culture clubs and houses with 22,100 seats have been commissioned in the rural areas. The central farmsteads and rural settlements, the development of which is based essentially on a unified general plan, are being systematically reorganized.

The influence of the scientific and technical potential of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast on the solution of agrarian problems in the Nonchernozem zone

in the Russian Federation and other parts of the country and on the technical retooling of agriculture is increasing. The production of mixed and concentrated chemical fertilizers, goods produced by the microbiological industry, animal feed substitutes and other goods is increasing systematically. Last year alone 900,000 tons of phosphorus and nitrogen fertilizers (in active substance), 84,000 tons of protein-vitamin concentrates and many other feed additives were produced.

The Kirovets tractor has gained a good reputation in the countryside. The production of new feed manufacturing equipment for the livestock farms, spraying equipment, and machines for truck gardening, plant protection and the removal of rocks has been mastered. Leningrad's agrarian scientists have developed and recommended the production of dozens of new types of machines, technological systems, crop strains and breeds of highly productive livestock.

Therefore, a reliable base has been created for the accelerated solution of the new important tasks formulated at the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

II

To the people of Leningrad the implementation of the decrees of the party's Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on the further comprehensive development of Leningrad Oblast agriculture in 1981-1985 is the first stage in the implementation of the measures earmarked in the country's Food Program. This document defines with perfect clarity the volumes of output and material and technical resources, capital investments, housing and cultural construction, and cadre training.

However, regardless of the nature of the problem, we had to be concerned above all else with upgrading the efficiency with which the main productive capital --the land--was being used and with increasing its fertility. Over the past 10 years areas with increased acidity in the oblast have been reduced substantially and the use of fertilizers, manure mainly, has been improved substantially: currently up to 20 tons of fertilizer are being applied per hectare of farmland. The structure of areas in crops and the use of crop rotation systems are being improved systematically. The creation of cost effectiveness brigades, fully in charge of end labor results--the crops--has become widespread.

All of this is having a direct impact on upgrading land fertility. Year after year many leading farms and associations average 25-30 quintals of grain, 180-200 quintals of potatoes, 350-380 quintals of vegetables, 550-600 quintals of root feed crops and 60-65 quintals of hay from perennial grasses per hectare.

As in the past, reclamation is the linchpin of the entire program for further agricultural intensification. At the beginning of the 11th Five-Year Plan reclaimed land accounted for more than 40 percent of the oblast's entire farmland. This area accounts for the main output of vegetables raised on open grounds and early potatoes, and for about 40 percent of the feed production for the public farms.

As we know, a distinguishing feature of the entire northwestern area is the nature of the very scattered areas of arable land, the deconcentration of manpower spread among small settlements, the low natural fertility of the soil, large brush areas, a substantial area of rocky soil and excessively moist land. Practical experience indicates that all other production, technical, economic and social factors can ensure the growth of output and higher labor productivity only if properly combined with reclamation.

It is understandable, therefore, that further improvements in the efficiency with which the reclaimed land is used is fundamental in terms of all organizational and economic measures related to increasing output and strengthening the feed base of animal husbandry. The CPSU obkom supported the initiative of the party organization at the Lengiprovodkhoz Institute, whose associates, together with the collectives of construction, exploitation and agricultural organizations undertook the implementation of specific scientific measures which guarantee planned crop levels per renovated hectare.

Further seed production improvements have been assigned an important role in upgrading farming productivity. The oblast's need for high quality crop seeds will be fully met this very five-year plan.

The concentration of seed production in specialized associations in Volosovskiy, Lomonosovskiy and Gatchinskii Rayons, in which the production of quality potato and perennial grass seeds increased by a 2-2.5 factor over the 5-year period, proved to be fully justified. However, it is obvious that these farms alone cannot resolve the entire problem. The task is to involve the "second echelon," so to say, in seed production. This means that the existing system for the production and growing of high grade seeds must be enlarged through the further specialization of brigades and teams in each farm in such a way that good quality seeds become available throughout the oblast within a short time.

Great attention is being paid to the application of scientific crop growing and animal husbandry systems consistent with the specific conditions of the individual rayons and associations. Together with the oblast agricultural organs our scientists have already undertaken the elaboration and application of such systems.

Practical experience gained in recent years convincingly proved that programmed production results, as a result of which the technological charts of livestock farms, teams and brigades take most fully into consideration soil and weather conditions, the possibilities of some crop strains and livestock breeds or others, and available material and manpower resources, are an efficient method in using the achievements of science and achieving stable crop yields and livestock productivity. As recommended by Leningrad's scientists, this method is already being applied in several oblasts in the Russian Federation and yields considerable amounts of additional output. Last year, for example, the use of the programmed crop method in Leningrad Oblast, covering an area of 20,000 hectares, resulted in additional output worth more than 500,000 rubles without additional material and manpower outlays.

Belogorka, the first scientific-production association for selection work in crop growing, which has already set a high production standard, the first of its kind in the northwest, is gathering strength. Here, on the basis of accurate implementation of all technological operations and high work quality, good grain, potato and perennial grass crops are harvested year after year and the plans for sales to the state of superior quality seeds of such crops are being fulfilled strictly. What is also important is that now both scientists and production workers are equally responsible for the main thing--the end result. One of the results of this work is that the processes for the use of new grain and perennial grass strains have been reduced to 2 to 3 years, and for potatoes to 4-5 years.

The joint work done by the collectives of the All-Union Scientific Research Plant Protection Institute and the truck gardening sovkhozes is yielding substantial results. Thus, the use of promising herbicides applied by the institute's scientists on the fields of several farms, made it possible to increase vegetable yields by 25-40 quintals per hectare and save a considerable amount of labor used on weeding. Many other important research projects are underway with the help of scientists from the VASKHNIL department for the RSFSR Nonchernozem zone, with the participation of 56 Leningrad scientific research institutes and higher educational establishments.

The objective and all-round evaluation based on a detailed consideration of the possibilities of the various natural-economic areas, rayons and farms indicates that this very five-year plan our oblast farmers will be able to reach the level of leading farms and associations in terms of potato, vegetable and feed crop yields. As a whole, in terms of feed units, productivity per hectare of farmland should average in excess of 35 quintals, as compared with 25 quintals which were averaged during the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The farm workers clearly understand that reaching such plateaus will contribute to the successful solution of the key problem--strengthening the feed base of animal husbandry. The party gorkoms and raykoms and the soviet and economic organs are carrying out extensive organizational work in the local areas in this direction, paying particular attention to problems of comprehensive mechanization of feed growing and procurement processes.

The creation of mechanized cost effective teams and detachments in each farm and assigning to them responsibility for crop rotation, storage areas, feed shops and equipment led to the development of a feed production sector. Progressive technologies such as the procurement of pressed hay with subsequent active ventilation in hay sheds, laying haylage and silage with the use of preservatives and carbamide, the production of briquetted and granulated feeds and protein-vitamin additives are being extensively applied.

It was on this basis that the average annual volume of output of coarse and fresh fodder was substantially increased during the last five-year plan. However, bearing in mind that in the oblast as a whole the rate of feed production is still lagging behind the increased size of the cattle herds, with the

participation of the party, soviet and agricultural organs, the scientists drafted a comprehensive target program for the development of feed production during the 11th Five-Year Plan, aimed at increasing feed production by no less than one-half. The program calls for improving the structure of the areas under crops and agrochemical services and the production of feed crop seeds. Efforts to develop specialized feed farms in already exhausted peat extraction areas are continuing.

As in the past, the extensive use of progressive technology and modern feed preservation means have been assigned an important role. Additional funds have been allocated for this sector to this effect. The building of standardized structures is expanding, so that over the next 2 years each kolkhoz will have its proper storage areas and shops manufacturing full-ration feeds. At the same time, food, meat and dairy, microbiological, chemical and timber processing industrial wastes are being increasingly used in animal husbandry.

On the basis of ensuring the fuller supply of the farms with rough and fresh locally produced feeds, the party and soviet organs are working to upgrade the efficiency of the mixed feed industry. This five-year plan the manufacturing of mixed feed at oblast enterprises will reach a level which will essentially meet the full needs of the public livestock farms through the completion of new and expanding existing capacities. Steps are being taken to improve the quality of mixed feeds and to reduce their production and transportation losses.

The development of dairy animal husbandry and the feeding of cattle and hogs will raise quality indicators. By 1985 the productivity of the milk herd must be increased so that average milk production per cow would be no less than 3,500 kilograms per year; the average daily weight increase in all hog breeding farms will be no less than 600 grams and the heifers sold will weigh more than 400 kilograms.

Naturally, in planning such levels we take into consideration the characteristics and various possibilities of the farms. However, it is also a question of mobilizing more rapidly managers, specialists and all our cadres for reaching higher indicators, strengthening the economy of lagging farms and raising the weak parts of the system to the level of the leading units.

Further improvements in selection and breeding work in animal husbandry and the efficient utilization of breeding resources provide major opportunities. Virtually all milk herds in the oblast consist of purebred stock, two-thirds of which are high grade. An efficient herd structure has been developed, as a result of which the growth rates and quality improvements in the livestock can be controlled on a planned basis.

As a result, during the past five-year plan the collective of the Leningrad Association of Purebred Livestock Sovkhozes increased milk production by nearly one-half; the average productivity of the 13,000 cows increased by 283 kg and exceeded 4,600 kg. A stable annual 4,000 kg milk output has been achieved

at the Detskosel'skoye Association. Similar indicators have been reached by the Ruch'i and Vsevolozhskoye Associations. These farms have developed a firm feed base. They have powerful feed shops which steadily supply the livestock with balanced full-ration feeds. The comprehensive mechanization of labor-intensive processes enabled many farms to increase the workload of machine-milking operators from 40 to 60 cows.

The task today is considerably to expand the network of purebred farms and to develop breeding livestock farms in each sovkhos and assign the most experienced animal husbandrymen to work there. The use of industrial production technology and progressive labor organization methods remains an urgent measure in the further intensification of dairy animal husbandry. Such problems can be essentially resolved through the reconstruction and comprehensive mechanization of livestock farms. Currently the level of comprehensive mechanization in the oblast's animal husbandry has reached 69-74 percent; mechanization in dairy farms has reached 82 percent. Thanks to increased specialization and concentration, last year the average size of cow herds per livestock farm reached 500 head and gross milk production per operator exceeded 100 tons.

The extensive introduction of two-shift and team labor organization methods is an important means for upgrading the efficiency of dairy animal husbandry and other sectors. Nearly three-quarters of all livestock farms and complexes have already adopted this progressive system. The method of two-shift work days with two free days per week and wages based on the labor participation coefficient of individual animal husbandrymen is being increasingly applied.

The oblast party organization pays constant attention to increasing meat production. Bearing in mind the gravity of the problem of supplying the oblast cities with meat products, all farms and associations without exception and regardless of their future specialization are raising and feeding cattle. The specialized sovkhoses hold a leading position in meat animal husbandry.

The work of the Nevskoye Sovkhos Association, which is raising more than 70,000 heifers, is characterized by its high level of labor industrialization. Here 95 percent of the delivered cattle is of superior weight, averaging 425 kilograms per head. The Labor Red Banner Order Sovkhos Pashskiy, with state deliveries in excess of 10,000 tons of beef per year, has become the flag bearer of the oblast's industrial beef production.

Characteristically, along with the eight sovkhoses belonging to the Nevskoye Association, virtually all vegetable-dairy and dairy-potato growing farms are participating in interfarm cooperation, with annual earnings of 9-10 million rubles from cattle raising. Therefore, interfarm cooperation, closely related to strengthened cost effectiveness, is becoming an important factor in the further equalization of economic farming conditions.

The Novyy Svet Cost Effective Association of Hog Breeding Sovkhoses, numbering seven farms, is systematically increasing its volume of output. Last five-year plan the association sold the state about 190,000 tons of pork, or more

chan twice the amount it sold during the 9th Five-Year Plan. Outlays per one quintal of pork averaged 5.5 quintals of feed units, which is considerably lower than in nonspecialized farms.

The specialized farms of the Ptitseprom Trust are increasing their meat and egg production at a high pace. Extensive reconstruction, mechanization of labor-intensive processes and improved organization of the work enabled it to triple poultry meat production and increase egg production by a factor of 2.6 over the past 10 years.

This is largely the result of the ahead of schedule completion and gradual development of large broiler farms such as the Russko-Vysotskaya and Lomonosovskaya, with a combined production capacity for 17 million broilers. This five-year plan poultry meat production will reach 65,000 tons per year following the completion of new poultry farms and the maximal utilization of operating ones. Egg production will be increased by nearly one-third, mainly through the reconstruction of existing enterprises and reaching full production capacity at the Sinyavinskiy Poultry Complex, the largest in the country, whose annual productivity is 360 million eggs; this will enable the oblast to sell as many as 1.5 billion eggs to the state in 1985.

One thing is clear: In order to obtain maximum output from areas in crops and the herds already owned by the agricultural enterprises, we must mainly ensure further production intensification, increased crop yields and livestock productivity, considerably lower labor and capital outlays per unit of output and increase the role of economic factors in farm planning and organization. On this basis, all practical work is subordinated to reaching the type of indicators which would be consistent with investments and the farms' production and technical potential.

III

The workers in virtually all Leningrad industrial and scientific sectors are faced with important tasks related to the implementation of the Food Program. The topics and area of participation of industrial enterprises and scientific research and design organizations in resolving the problems set by the party are being increased considerably. Efforts will be made in a great variety of areas, such as the accelerated technical retooling of the countryside, the development of economical technologies for processing and storing farm and livestock products, the development of progressive materials and designing enterprises and equipment. It is a question of increasing the scientific approach to the implementation of the Food Program, equipping agriculture with contemporary scientific and technical ideas and achievements, perfecting further the application of progressive developments in all sectors of the agro-industrial complex and increasing the skilled sponsorship aid of the cities to the villages.

The Kirovskiy Zavod Association, which will produce its 250,000th Kirovets tractor, will continue to make its contribution to further increases in power

equipment for the country's agriculture. Work on improving the model is continuing. A modernized tractor with a new engine developing 330 horsepower has been already created. It extends the useful life of the model to 9,000-10,000 motor hours, which is the equivalent of the additional production of 3,000 K-701 tractors. Furthermore, the new model will be used as a base for the production of an even more powerful tractor which will be unquestionably needed by agriculture in the future.

In accordance with the task set at the May Central Committee plenum of completing in its essential lines the comprehensive mechanization of agriculture by the end of the decade, the Kompleks and Gatchinsel'mash Associations will double their production of agricultural machinery and spare parts for them by 1985 and will master the production of hydrostatic transmission systems for feed harvesting combines.

The Lenprodmash Association, which has specialized in the production of equipment and spare parts for the food, meat-dairy and fish industries, will produce more than 600 automatic machines for packaging dairy and fish products annually. The plant for machine building for commercial enterprises will increase the production of a broad range of packaging equipment spare parts and machine units and equipment for assembly lines for the filling of carbonated mineral waters and cooling beverages. The plant will continue to produce a wide variety of goods for stores and mobile commercial centers.

During the next few years the Fosforit Association will commission capacities for the production of feed phosphates, which are a valuable supplement to livestock feed rations. A total of 1,000 tons of feed additives will be supplied to agriculture by the biochemical plants in Kirishi and Boksitogorsk on an annual basis.

One of the characteristics of the current five-year plan is that considerable investments will be made in crop growing, feed production and processing and storage of agricultural commodities. This will demand the efficient and well-organized work of the entire construction line.

The ahead of schedule completion of major enterprises such as the Luza Mixed Feeds Plant, whose output will exceed 300,000 tons of goods per year, the Sputnik Hog Breeding Complex for 108,000 hogs, the Severnaya Poultry Farm for 10 million broilers, the greenhouse combines of the Leto Association, covering 60 hectares, livestock breeding farms and milk production complexes for 43,000 head of cattle, a new mill with a capacity for 500 tons of high grade flour per 24 hours and a meat processing plant with a 60-ton daily output will enable us to increase substantially the availability of food products within a short time. The party obkom and the gorkoms and raykoms, which consider the construction of these and other enterprises shock construction projects, are directing the efforts of all participants in the construction system--designers, customers and construction workers--to joint and coordinated work and the strict observance of schedules for completing and reaching the production capacity of all projects within the agroindustrial complex.

The Food Program particularly emphasizes further improvements in transportation services to agriculture and related sectors. Despite the steady increase in the volume of freight hauled, the needs for such haulage are still not fully met, particularly by the railroad transportation system.

Possibilities are being currently studied to deliver some such freight by sea or river, taking into consideration the operational efficiency of each transport artery and the preparedness of shippers and port workers. This will relieve some of the high current pressure experienced by the railroads. The extensive dissemination of the initiative of the personnel of the Leningrad transportation center in organizing the efficient interaction among all transportation systems, approved by the CPSU Central Committee, will also help to ease this problem.

The local party and trade union organizations must take specific measures to reduce the idling of freight cars and trucks on the roadways leading to enterprises, sovkhoses and railroad stations, to upgrade the level of work mechanization and to lower losses of agricultural commodities in transportation. In other words, they must drastically improve overall transportation services to agroindustrial sectors.

The storing and processing of agricultural commodities is the subject of particular attention. During the last five-year plan the soviet and economic city and oblast organs increased their attention to problems of strengthening storage facilities and extensively using contemporary technological facilities to reduce losses and preserve the quality of vegetables and potatoes.

The result has been that storage areas with a capacity for more than 130,000 tons have been completed and that the amounts of fruits and vegetables stored in refrigerated premises have been increased. Sets of mechanized potato-loading facilities have been set up at big vegetable centers. More than one-third of the potatoes and vegetables grown in the oblast are shipped directly from the fields to the stores.

However, the possibilities of better organizing this work are still by far not being fully used. In particular, we must accelerate the development of processing facilities, particularly for potatoes and vegetables. The effort to mechanize the processes for the manufacturing of semifinished products and the packaging of foodstuffs is still inadequate. This is delaying the introduction of progressive servicing methods and results in production losses and additional labor outlays.

A scientific and technical target program for improving the storing of fruits and vegetables, upgrading the level of mechanization and automation of production processes and improving the management of enterprises of the Main Leningrad Fruit and Vegetables Administration has been elaborated and submitted to the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology. Its implementation will enable us drastically to reduce losses in production storage, lower the number of workers employed at the bases in sifting vegetables and

potatoes, guarantee the quality of farm goods reaching the consumer and, as a whole, upgrade the level of availability of food products for the population.

The new circumstances require a new approach to the organization of sponsorship of agriculture. We have long practical experience in assigning oblast rural rayons to city rayons from which they receive various types of technical and cultural aid. Now it is important to make more efficient use of this aid, particularly at peak agricultural periods.

The CPSU gorkoms and raykoms and the party committees at enterprises and organizations in all economic sectors are persistently eliminating existing shortcomings and trying to upgrade the contribution of each labor collective to the implementation of the Food Program. They are seeing to it that the experience and skills of our working class and engineering-technical and scientific cadres contribute to the implementation of its objectives with maximal usefulness and efficiency.

The implementation of the party's economic strategy for the development of Soviet society presumes the active participation of our entire political system in this work. The May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum particularly emphasized the growing role of the rural party members, primary party organizations and party gorkoms and raykoms which are the direct channels through which agrarian policy is implemented.

After the March 1965 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the number of party members directly employed in the oblast's agricultural production increased by one-half. Today the party stratum in the countryside exceeds 13 percent. One out of each eight workers in dairy farming and one out of six mechanizers are party members. Shop party organizations and party groups operate at most dairy farms and complexes. Temporary party groups in mechanized detachments and teams have yielded good results.

The practice of establishing councils of party organization secretaries has been justified in sovkhos associations operating on a cost effectiveness basis. New opportunities have opened now to strengthen the party's influence on all aspects of activities not only of sovkhoses but of related collectives. To this effect, the ways and means of party work must be made consistent with the tasks and requirements of the new agricultural development stage.

Addressing the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium which considered the tasks of the soviets of people's deputies on the implementation of the resolutions of the May CPSU Central Committee Plenum, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev emphasized that the soviets, which were granted the proper constitutional rights, are combining territorial with sectorial management and are assuming responsibility both for production results and for improving services to the Soviet people.

We have gained some experience in the elaboration and implementation of plans for economic and social development, as confirmed by the work of the soviets of people's deputies in Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast on improving comprehensive planning, relating the development of the production and nonproduction

areas and ensuring the thrifty utilization of material and manpower resources, which was recently approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Understandably, however, that following the approval of the Food Program the local soviets must continue to improve their activities.

The need for more active participation on the part of oblast, city and rayon soviet executive committees, their departments and administrations and their subordinate enterprises in the implementation of the Food Program and in improving the activities of rural and settlement soviets was pointed out at the initial sessions held by the local soviets of people's deputies of the latest convocation, in the course of which the tasks of the soviet organs on implementing the resolutions of the May CPSU Central Committee Plenum and Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's instructions were discussed profoundly and specifically.

The local soviets of people's deputies must adopt a more active position in the implementation of the stressed assignments included in the social parts of the plans for comprehensive development. They must make full use of their control functions and become increasingly stricter and exigent masters of the territories under their control.

While focusing its main attention to the development of public production, it is precisely through the soviets that the oblast party organization is encouraging the fuller utilization of other sources for increasing food resources, including the development of private auxiliary farms, truck gardening cooperatives and auxiliary enterprise farms.

To this effect, a substantial number of young cattle, pigs and poultry were sold to the population last year. The people are being helped in developing feed production and are benefiting from veterinary services. Dozens of additional reception-procurement centers for animal husbandry goods have been opened in the various rayons. An increasing number of industrial enterprises are following the example of the Optical-Machine Association imeni V. I. Lenin in creating their own "agricultural shops" from which they are already receiving tangible returns. The oblast party committee bureau passed a special decree stipulating measures for the further development of such farms.

The trade union organizations have made their participation in the implementation of the Food Program more specific. They are focusing their attention on the development of the socialist competition for the successful implementation of the assignments for this year and the 11th Five-Year Plan, the extensive adoption of brigade and team forms of labor organization and incentive in agriculture and in the agroindustrial sectors, strengthening the discipline and improving the working, living and recreation conditions of the rural working people.

Our Komsomol has well defined its methods of participation in implementing the decisions of the May CPSU Central Committee Plenum. This involves maintaining a shock pace in building rural projects, vocational guidance of young people with a view to keeping them in the countryside, and organizing student detachments and summer Komsomol-youth labor camps for secondary school senior grades.

Based on the plenum's requirements of further improving the management of agricultural production, and taking into consideration the fact that the sectorial management structure in Leningrad Oblast is based on cost effective sovkhoz associations, additional measures have been planned to ensure further improvements in this area. It is a question of developing within each rayon real opportunities for a more planned control of economic and organizational relations among all related sectors, including construction, transportation, procurement and trade organizations. It is important to extend now the system of material incentive for increasing the quantity and quality of output in crop growing and animal husbandry also to the partners of the rural workers.

The implementation of the Food Program depends to a decisive extent on the maturity of the cadres--managers, specialists and workers in mass skills. In recent years the level of skills of workers in agriculture and servicing sectors has improved substantially.

The oblast has more than 15,000 agrarian specialists. The average kolkhoz has more than 50 agronomists, zootechnicians, economists and engineers. Virtually all managers and 74 percent of the chief specialists are higher school graduates. This is greatly helped by the current system for training and retraining management cadres, which reacts promptly to current requirements.

Responding to the resolutions of the May CPSU Central Committee Plenum and displaying their high political maturity, many specialists have expressed the desire to be transferred from the party, soviet and economic apparatus to the decisive agricultural production sectors. The personnel of the administrations and departments of the executive committees of the Leningrad Oblast and city Soviets of People's Deputies and the agricultural organs have been strengthened.

As in the past, the oblast party organization remains concerned with the training, upbringing and retaining workers practicing mass skills in the countryside. During the past three five-year plans some 35,000 skilled workers have been trained by the vocational-technical education system and assigned to the various agricultural centers. In his greetings to the graduates of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast schools, who had decided to continue their training in vocational-technical schools, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev highly rated our experience and the organization of the sponsorship movement, and noted the successful work of the Michurin Rural Vocational-Technical School, where training is closely linked with agricultural production.

The future belongs to these schools. However, today we feel a certain gap between the training of specialists strictly for agriculture and for sectors servicing it. Thus, so far vocational-technical education has not been sufficiently developed in the areas of commodity procurement, storage and processing or the mixed feed industry. The party obkom is planning to increase the number of young workers graduating in these areas during the current five-year plan.

Specific tasks related to the organizational and political support of the development of agriculture and the entire agroindustrial complex and means of improving population supplies with foodstuffs were formulated at the plenums held by the CPSU obkom, gorkoms and raykoms. The results of the initial stage of this comprehensive work were considered last July in the course of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom Plenum, which heard reports on the course of the implementation of the decrees of the preceding obkom plenum, which had discussed the results of the May Central Committee Plenum.

The oblast party committee has already summed up the critical remarks voiced in the course of the party committee plenums, party and worker meetings and sessions of local soviets of people's deputies, and taken steps to eliminate exposed shortcomings. The Leningrad party members well understand that the party has entered a new stage in the implementation of its agrarian policy. This means that today one must work more creatively, show a truly statesman-like approach to the work and strengthen the party's support of problems being resolved on all levels of the oblast party organization.

The Food Program is a long-range document. However, it must yield its initial results this very year. The party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and the soviet and economic organs in the city and oblast realize that the successful implementation of this year's assignments and obligations by each labor collective will be the first major test of the implementation of the resolutions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and a test of the maturity of managers and specialists and the activeness of the toiling masses.

Despite the delayed spring and the abundant precipitation at the beginning of the summer, including snow and hail, and the unparalleled frost in June, displaying a truly concerned attitude for the land, the working people in the agrarian sector successfully completed their sowing campaign and took great care of the crops. Currently the harvesting season is entering its decisive stage. Many progressive farms have already stored adequate amounts of rough and fresh feeds. Locally produced fresh vegetables and early potatoes are reaching the stores.

The initiative of the people's deputies from Saratov Oblast on increasing the struggle for the total preservation and prompt processing of the crops of the second year of the five-year plan is meeting with widespread support. The productivity of dairy and meat animal husbandry is increasing. Problems related to preparations for the wintering of the cattle have not been forgotten.

Together with the rest of the country, the working people of Leningrad and its oblast are preparing to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR with new accomplishments in all economic, scientific and cultural fields and not only to fulfill but to overfulfill the plans formulated by the party. The oblast party organizations and all Leningraders will spare no efforts to increase their contribution to the nationwide and partywide project of implementing the country's Food Program and the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

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QUESTIONS OF PRESERVING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE

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[Text] The Food Program, which was adopted at the May CPSU Central Committee plenum, includes an extensive and comprehensive system of long-term, medium-term and urgent measures aimed at the further development of the agroindustrial complex. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev classified the struggle against agricultural production losses as one of the most urgent among them. Upgrading the level of preservation of produce and improving its utilization become important means of increasing the country's food stock. The 26th CPSU Congress noted that already now the volumes of output enable us substantially to improve population supplies with many types of foodstuffs. For example, the average annual consumption of vegetables and fruits is increasing more slowly than production. A peculiar gap has developed between agricultural production possibilities and the consumption level. Losses of agricultural produce are the main reason for this situation.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers Decree "On Increasing Work on Economizing and Rationally Utilizing Raw Material, Fuel-Energy and Other Material Resources" and the resolutions of the November 1981 CPSU Central Committee plenum direct us toward waging a decisive struggle against losses of agricultural and other commodities.

Today it is no longer sufficient to grow and harvest a good crop. It must be quickly moved to its consumption and storage areas where it must be properly stored and processed on time and without losses. Only then can we speak of the full and efficient utilization of the production potential of the entire agroindustrial complex and of directing its work toward the end result--the growth of the food stock.

The USSR is ahead of some developed countries in per capita production of food grain, sugar beets, potatoes and some other types of produce. Nevertheless, a comparison among end results shows that we use more agricultural raw materials per unit consumption fund compared with the best worldwide indicators. Here again shortcomings in taking agricultural produce to the consumer and losses greatly influence the situation. The May CPSU Central Committee plenum emphasized that "with increasing frequency we come across a situation in which not production but the storing and processing of the produce and taking it to the consumer become the bottlenecks."

For this reason we must more energetically mobilize available production reserves, the use of which is above all related to accelerating the development of the transportation, storage, trade and processing sectors--the entire production-marketing aspect of the agroindustrial complex. Existing studies and computations indicate that even at the present level of agricultural production the country's food and raw material resources can be substantially increased. Thus, improved use and better preservation would enable us to increase availability by 20-25 percent of grain, 30 percent of vegetables, fruits and potatoes, and 10-15 percent of meat and milk. These are major reserves, whose volumes exceed the absolute production growth earmarked in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The urgent need to eliminate losses is consistent with the basic line of economic development. Today priority is being increasingly given to the full and efficient use of the already existing tremendous potential. In the years to come the efficient and economical utilization of natural, material and manpower resources will be the decisive and most effective factor in increasing the country's national wealth and consumption resources. Here again improving the use of the produced agricultural commodities and eliminating their losses are of prime importance.

At present the study of losses in the national economy is particularly important. Until recently this problem was either underestimated or circumvented in scientific research and economic practice. This was sharply condemned at recent CPSU Central Committee plenums and the 26th party congress. The December 1977 plenum was particularly indicative in this respect. It focused on the struggle against losses of agricultural commodities and the formulation of measures to eliminate them. One of the key stipulations formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress--"the economy must be economical"--underscored the significance of this struggle.

The insufficient study of the problem of losses is not only causing major harm today but could lead to even greater losses in the future. The available works on this topic essentially deal with reasons for losses of a specific variety of agricultural commodities at a given stage of its progress toward the consumer, or consider specific reasons for losses without interrelating them with other factors, systematizing them or assessing their influence on the entire reproduction process in the national economy.

The reason for this situation is that the lagging of the infrastructure and the processing industry behind the needs of agriculture and the consumers is being underestimated. Essentially the studies cover merely the conditions under which the process of eliminating losses can be accelerated or slowed down. However, no truly scientific study has been made of losses as an economic phenomenon which confirms deeper, less obvious economic reasons related to the insufficient level of development of the sectors within the agroindustrial complex. The losses themselves are sometimes reduced to the level of annoying production faults and their elimination is related only to strengthening administrative management methods.

In the past as well the party and the government have repeatedly taken measures to fight losses of agricultural commodities. In particular, a most profound study of this problem was made in 1930. At that time we had an All-Union Headquarters for struggle against losses in the national economy under the USSR Gosplan. A comprehensive study was made of the movement of vegetables and potatoes in the course of harvesting, transportation and storage. A number of steps were formulated and taken, which improved population supplies with agricultural commodities.

Unfortunately, no such studies were made in the postwar years. The experience gained in the struggle against losses in the 1930s would be useful today too. Naturally, it is not a question of precisely duplicating all measures but of setting up an authority similar to the all-union staff (let us say under the USSR Gosplan) which, in my view, could be of substantial help in elaborating the long-term means to eliminate losses and conduct experimental studies to determine the size of the losses of the various agricultural commodities. Such studies conducted in the course of all stages of taking agricultural commodities to the consumers could yield tremendous economic results. In order to accelerate returns and to save time, it would be expedient to conduct them in areas of large-scale agricultural production, where disproportions between the development of agriculture and the production-marketing area are particularly significant.

Strengthening the material and technical base of the infrastructure and the processing industry (the production-marketing aspect of the agroindustrial complex) is of decisive importance in eliminating losses. Some progress has been made in this economic area in recent years. The length of public paved roads per 1,000 hectares of farmland has increased. Compared with 1965 it has doubled, averaging 5-6 kilometers in many republics and parts of the country.

Rolling stock in agriculture has a most essential influence on the preservation of the transported goods. During the 10th Five-Year Plan agriculture was supplied with more than 1 million trucks and specialized motor vehicles, which considerably expanded the automotive fleet of kolkhozes and sovkhoses and increased its holding capacity. Whereas 94,300 trucks and specialized motor vehicles were delivered to the farms in 1965, by 1980 the figure had nearly tripled. Today the motor vehicle fleet of ministries and departments servicing agriculture can haul more freight by a factor of 2.2 compared with 1965.

Storing conditions substantially influence the quality of agricultural commodities. The contemporary material and technical storing base is a complex system of a tremendous number of storage areas for the various types of produce. Some capacities have modern equipment and systems of mechanisms. They are equipped with fully automated facilities for storing, shifting, sorting and processing the produce.

Grain storage capacities are expanding essentially by increasing the share of mechanized storage bins--elevators and grain warehouses. During the past five-year plan the number of elevators built exceeded that between 1961 and

1965 by a factor of 5.3. The material and technical base for storing other agricultural commodities, such as fruits, vegetables, milk and meat, is developing steadily. During the 10th Five-Year Plan positive changes were noted in the development of other infrastructural and processing industry sectors.

Despite all of this, the production-marketing sectors are still lagging behind agricultural requirements. Furthermore, as was pointed out at the May plenum, the problem of preserving the produce has become aggravated. Because of poor roads alone, the kolkhozes and sovkhoses lose billions of rubles annually. At the present rate of construction of paved roads, several five-year plans will be required in order to reach even the minimal norm of saturation of agriculture with such roads. The damage will be expressed not only in terms of losses of agricultural commodities but unrhythmical supplies of commodities and goods needed by agriculture and the fast wear and tear of the rolling stock.

Today farm funds and withholdings from the income of the automotive transportation system are obviously insufficient for the development of a road network. For this reason, in addition to state capital investments, more extensive use should be made of the possibilities of industrial enterprises located in agricultural areas in terms of their participation in road construction.

Many problems exist in the area of storing agricultural commodities. The share of modern storing capacities is low, their structure is imperfect and there is a shortage of storage facilities for many products. For example, in the country's kolkhozes and sovkhoses only 12 percent of grain-storing capacities are mechanized. There is an acute shortage of storage areas for vegetables and fruits, the need for which today is met no more than 40-60 percent. This creates considerable transportation difficulties and results in partial losses of finished products.

The situation is worsened by the fact that the five-year plans for the construction of elevators, road construction and many other production-marketing projects were not fulfilled. Elevator capacities for no more than about 20 million tons were completed during the last five-year plan instead of for 30 million tons as planned.

The Food Program calls for the implementation of a broad system of measures to develop the infrastructure and the processing industry for the period through 1990. Reliable transportation is one of the important tasks included in the Food Program. During the decade the sectors within the agroindustrial complex will receive more than 3 million trucks, 3.2-3.3 million tractor trailers, 110,000-116,000 milk trucks, 50,000-53,000 cattle semi-trailers and 29,000-30,000 refrigerated and insulated railroad cars.

The construction of automotive roads in rural areas will be increased sharply. Public-use roads, which will link the central farmsteads with rayon centers, totaling 54,000 kilometers, and intrafarm paved roads totaling 57,000 kilometers will be completed during the 11th Five-Year Plan. The

volume of construction of such roads in the 12th Five-Year Plan will be increased, respectively, by a factor of 1.4 and 1.6. The quality of the road network and its repair and maintenance will be improved.

Capital investments totaling 15 billion rubles, or 60 percent more than during the 10th Five-Year Plan, will be made for the construction of storage areas between 1981 and 1985. Grain elevators with a 1 million-ton capacity alone will be built. A comprehensive development of the refrigeration industry is planned. The use of artificial cold for storing agricultural commodities will be increased. Effective steps are contemplated also in the development of other infrastructural facilities.

The food industry will be developed at a fast pace. Its output must increase by 23 percent during the five-year plan; the production of finished and semi-finished goods, fresh frozen fruits and vegetables, and so on, will be increased at a high rate.

However, even such high rates of development of production-marketing sectors will not allow us to resolve entirely the problem of losses. A substantial imbalance exists between agriculture and the production-marketing areas; the capital investments in sectors ensuring the preservation of agricultural commodities are insufficient as well.

In order to eliminate losses, the Food Program calls for accelerating the development of the infrastructure and the processing industry and for the implementation of a system of measures to improve planning, management and organization and carry out investment programs. The implementation of the program will enable us to resolve a number of most important socioeconomic problems such as upgrading the consumption level, improving social conditions and strengthening foreign economic positions.

A tremendous amount of work aimed at enhancing the well-being of the Soviet people was done since the March 1965 CPSU Central Committee plenum. The result was a considerable increase in food consumption. Substantial changes took place in meeting requirements for meat and meat products, the per capita consumption of which increased by 41 percent compared with 1965; egg consumption increased by 93 percent and that of fruits and vegetables by 35 percent. Today per capita consumption in the USSR of milk, fish and sugar is higher than in the United States.

Despite the positive changes which have taken place in the food supply area, a number of problems awaiting solution remain. The actual consumption norms for some valuable products are below the scientific norms. Thus, they do not exceed 74-78 percent of such norms for meat and dairy products and 42 and 75 percent, respectively, for fruits and vegetables. The existence of losses while demand remains unsatisfied is particularly intolerable. Merely by improving the use of available fruits and vegetables their consumption level could be increased by 30-40 percent.

Improving the use of animal husbandry products is of major importance in increasing meat consumption. Today not all kolkhozes and sovkhoses have

slaughtering facilities. Most such facilities were not built according to standardized blueprints, which hinders the use of contemporary technology in the production of meat and the utilization of meat byproducts. As a rule, the capacity of such centers is small, for which reason the cattle-raising population slaughter the animals themselves, which entails severe losses (today the private plots account for about one-third of all meat produced in the country). Such domestic slaughter leads to the loss of one-third of all valuable substances contained in animal meat. On a national scale this amounts to hundreds of millions of rubles annually. Such losses become even worse if we consider the inadequate availability of farm slaughterhouses.

Improving transportation between the farms and the procurement agencies is another major reserve for increasing animal husbandry output. Currently processing enterprises and reception centers are inadequately linked with the production areas. As a result, the farms are frequently forced to haul the cattle and milk on poor roads, in unsuitable trucks and over considerable distances. This results in traumas among the livestock, weight losses, a drop in the quality of the milk and the loss of other produce. Experimental studies have indicated that the elimination of such phenomena may increase meat and milk availability by as much as 10 percent.

Substantial increases in the consumption norms of some products as a result of higher agricultural production would be difficult over the next few years. For example, feed-related difficulties are slowing down the growth rates of animal husbandry output. Under such conditions, the more efficient distribution and fuller utilization of existing produce become particularly important.

Increasing the volume of output will require substantial capital investments in the productive capital sectors and the construction of new plants for the production of agricultural machinery and chemical fertilizers. All of this is being done but returns on capital will take years. Meanwhile, the preservation and taking the finished products to the consumer require less funds compared with the building of production facilities. All of this is an important argument in favor of drastically increasing capital investments in the infrastructure and the processing industry. This would enable us to increase the country's food stock by eliminating losses more rapidly.

The social aspect of the problem of losses is of prime importance. Currently the level of agricultural output exceeds available reception facilities. The artificial restraining of the further growth of agriculture by an underdeveloped infrastructure and processing industry adversely affects agricultural workers. This situation sometimes leads to loss of interest in the results of one's own labor and an indifferent attitude toward preserving the people's good.

This aspect of the problem was singled out by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the November 1978 CPSU Central Committee plenum: "... The problem of grain, vegetable, fruit and cotton losses is not merely economic. It is also a major political problem which directly affects the mood and labor activeness of the Soviet people." The fact that a considerable amount of produce

remains unsold in the farms leads to the fact that it becomes unprofitable to expand and improve production and to grow other types of crops in short supply.

Under such circumstances, losses are the other side of a paradoxical situation--"what to do with abundance?" Indicative in this respect is the view of the brothers Chistyakov, both of whom are Heroes of Socialist Labor: "One sadly thinks: Why sow, raise, and harvest the crops only to let them rot.... These are the roots of many negative phenomena! As some farmers would say, Why harvest when there is no place to store, there is no transportation and we cannot ship the crop out." That is the reason for unpicked fields with potatoes and vegetables which are then plowed under and for violations of optimal harvesting seasons.

Meanwhile, in many of their statements at meetings and conferences and in the press kolkhoz and sovkhos managers keep saying, "Give us transportation and containers and we will drown the consumer in all kinds of farm products."

The social harm affects not only the production stage. Particularly severe violations are committed in the procurement of agricultural commodities. The uneven situation of kolkhozes, sovkhos and procurement organizations prior to the resolutions of the May CPSU Central Committee plenum frequently created a situation in which the latter dictated the wrong conditions--lowering the grade, quality, volume and weight of the produce. The farms had few possibilities of fighting such phenomena. The conditions of the existing legal regulation of relations with procurers and the spoilable nature of most commodities forced the rural working people to agree with formulated stipulations.

This created grounds for a variety of violations of rules in the procurement system: writing off above-norm losses, concealment of negligence, theft and misuse. Random investigations indicated that substantial unrecorded surpluses of agricultural commodities were found in the procurement network throughout the country. This considerably hinders the problem of determining the real amount of losses caused by a lagging infrastructure and processing industry.

The elimination of losses is important in strengthening the foreign economic positions of our country as well. A certain decline in the potential level of consumption caused by losses leads to forced measures to stabilize the consumption fund, such as large-scale periodical purchasing of a number of agricultural commodities abroad. A considerable percentage of agricultural produce purchased from other countries must be paid in foreign exchange. This narrows the opportunity of purchasing modern machines, equipment, patents, technologies, and so on, abroad. The May CPSU Central Committee plenum indicated the need to lower food imports from the capitalist countries.

However, even at the contemporary level of agricultural development a considerable number of purchases abroad could be avoided. A comprehensive study of agricultural production reserves could bring to light the existence of

significantly greater amounts of produce compared with amounts currently purchased abroad. Since capital investments in the infrastructure and the processing industry yield quick returns, if the funds spent to import food are invested, within a short time the agroindustrial complex could provide the country with considerable amounts of produce accounting for a substantial share of currently made purchases. For example, a considerable amount of foreign currency could be saved merely by recovering the grain which does not reach our consumer.

The successful implementation of the comprehensive program for the development of the production-marketing area is largely dependent on planning. In order to increase the efficiency of the measures taken to fight losses substantial changes must be made in capital investment planning. The existing disproportions are largely the result of the insufficient orientation of the plans toward end results. Most harvesting losses can be largely explained by inertia in economic thinking and a type of tradition which calls for paying greater attention to increasing volumes of output rather than making efficient use of produced commodities. We must review the "plan values" the 26th CPSU Congress and the May Central Committee plenum pointed out.

Until recently increasing the volume of agricultural output and saturating agriculture with productive capital were considered the most important guidelines in developing agrarian production. Investments in sectors such as transportation and storage were paid far less attention. This largely explains their surface inefficiency. Officially, funds invested in the production-marketing area seem totally unable to improve the main indicator of agrarian production on which the plans were focused--gross production output. However, increased production is merely an intermediary result, and a necessary yet insufficient prerequisite for increasing consumption. Taking the produce to the consumer remains the main feature! Another reason for the seemingly low efficiency of the infrastructure, as we pointed out, is the inadequate information reaching the planning organs on the subject of losses. To this day this prevents us from taking into consideration the main result of the development of the infrastructure, as it appears in related sectors.

The situation which has developed at the RSFSR Ministry of Trade is an example of underestimating sectors which ensure the preservation of agricultural commodities. By the end of the 9th Five-Year Plan more than 6 million tons of fruits and vegetables and potatoes were being stored in Russia in facilities whose capacity did not exceed 5 million tons. Nevertheless, with a considerable increase in procurements during the 10th Five-Year Plan, as a result of planning shortcomings, the building of storage areas was reduced by more than 60 percent compared with the 1971-1975 level. This meant that in fact the increased shortage of capacities and, consequently, losses had been planned.

Currently it would be expedient to increase consumption by improving the utilization of produced agricultural commodities and eliminating its losses. This is the proper way consistent with the course of upgrading overall production efficiency. This calls for drastically increasing capital investments in transportation, storage, procurements, marketing and produce

processing and the planned stipulation of developing them faster than the pace of agricultural output. This would enable us to eliminate losses and achieve maximal results from increasing output for the benefit of the consumption area. The expediency of increasing the growth rates of many production-marketing sectors has been reflected in the Food Program.

This method represents a specific implementation of the course of utilization of intensive factors. The accelerated development of the infrastructure and the processing industry will enable us to increase consumption through the more efficient utilization of available resources of agricultural raw materials without necessitating additional agricultural production increases.

The implementation of the Food Program presumes not only increased grain gross output and greater capital investments in agriculture and in productive capital sectors but concern for improving the storage and utilization of the products.

There are essentially three main grain distribution channels: seeds, feeds and consumption.

In planning production increases we must know the use to which the increase will be put and the channel it will follow. Let us consider the current use of the grain and determine how it could be used in the future. Let us start with estimating the size of the stock from the average annual 1976-1980 crops --205 million tons. We shall assume that this amount is used in full and that exports, imports, stock changes, and so on, have no influence on its size.

Including the use of grain products per capita and the norm of grain seeds per unit of area, the sum total of the consumption and seed funds will account for 60-70 million tons. The feed stock will account for the balance--135-145 million tons. This stock will be based on concentrated feeds--grain and the products of its processing.

Increased grain processing into mixed feed is the most important reserve in grain use. Currently grain is used extremely inefficiently as feed: sometimes it is fed to the cattle as is, unbalanced with other important components and additives. The share of mixed feeds accounts for about one-half of the overall outlays of concentrated feeds, which results in grain overexpenditures.

Data supplied by scientific research organizations and progressive experience indicate that the effectiveness of a unit of mixed feed is 25-30 percent higher than that of pure grain. In other words, the use of unmixed grain as feed entails losses of up to 300 kilograms per ton.

The problem of the inefficient use of grain may become even further aggravated in the future if the mixed feed industry fails to develop at the necessary pace. This will be greatly affected by the stabilization of the consumption and seed stocks, which will result in increased amounts of feed grain.

The current needs for seed grain are being met. The country's seed stock is becoming stabilized. This is caused by the reduced possibility of involving more land in the crop rotation system. All more or less suitable areas have been already essentially developed and the areas under grain crops have been even reduced since 1965. Obviously, a reduction in the seed stock may be expected in the future. This will be the result of several circumstances. First of all, grain production intensification presumes the substantial increase in fallow lands which, under the conditions of a stabilized cultivated area, will inevitably reduce the areas under crops. Secondly, promising results have been achieved through technologies which call for reduced seed use.

The need for grain as raw material for food products has also been met. Furthermore, in our country the consumption of bread and grain-based products considerably exceeds the proper norm by approximately 20 percent and there is a trend of steadily declining use of grain-based products as food. Per capita consumption has dropped by 12 percent since 1965. At this rate, by 1990 the consumption of grain-based goods per capita will reach the proper norm. Under such conditions, the consumption stock will virtually remain on the present level. This means that two of the three main needs for grain--as seed and as a base for food products--are currently being met and will not substantially change in the future.

This leaves the last channel--the use of grain as feed. In the future up to 70-80 percent of the gross grain harvest will be used as feed. Should the present level of production and use of mixed feed remain grain overexpenditures may increase substantially. We must sharply increase capital investments in the mixed feed industry. This will enable us to reduce the shortage of grain as feed through its fuller utilization. This will considerably reduce the necessary level of grain production in the country and substantial material funds will be saved.

A considerable increase in the production of mixed feed is expected between 1981 and 1985. It will amount to 13-15 percent at state industrial enterprises alone. However, this rate should be considered minimal, for grain crops in the 11th Five-Year Plan are scheduled to increase by 16-19 percent. The gap in the absolute volumes of grain production and processing will become even wider. As the fodder stock grows a considerable share of the grain will remain unprocessed. This may result in animal husbandry losses estimated in the millions of tons of feed units.

Therefore, the use of grain must be intensified by increasing its end production per gross production unit. The current situation indicates that the simple solution of the grain problem by increasing grain production may prove not to be the most efficient in the years to come. In this connection, it is extremely important for planning purposes to determine the precise amounts of current losses and the growth of agricultural output which will result with their elimination. This requires greater statistical information on losses.

Determining the economic efficiency of capital investments in sectors engaged in preserving agricultural commodities is of great importance in the struggle

against losses. To this day the opinion still prevails of the low returns on investments in such sectors. One of the reasons for this view is the downgrading of the overall effect of conservation measures. Estimates indicate that the period of recovery of funds invested in the agricultural infrastructure averages 3-4 years, which is considerably lower than the corresponding norm in the national economy.

The actual return time on measures in the struggle against losses is even less as confirmed by the experience of the leading farms. Thus, the construction of modern storage facilities at the Rossiya Kolkhoz in Altay Kray led to a reduction in grain losses by a factor of approximately 30 (from 7-11 percent of the gross harvest to 0.3 percent) and the funds were recovered in 1 year.

The need to allocate rather substantial funds in the struggle against losses raises a number of new problems given the current stress in capital construction. This objectively limits the possibility of allocating substantial investments in the infrastructure and the processing industry. That is why we must establish existing capital investment possibilities within the framework of the overall investments in the agroindustrial complex and redistribute more extensively investments in sectors engaged in preserving agricultural commodities. For example, in areas in which the level of post-harvest losses is high it would be expedient to channel some capital investments into transportation, storage and processing.

Such a policy is currently pursued by many farms in the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR, Kazakhstan and others. An increasing number of farms are participating in financing the construction of paved roads. They are substantially helped by organizations engaged in developing the road network in the countryside, such as the Russian Kolkhoz Construction Association. The extensive construction of storage areas and centers for primary grain processing substantially helps to improve the economic indicators of kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the country's steppe zone.

Considerable possibilities of increasing the efficiency of capital investments and saving funds are found in the application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, which contributes to the preservation of agricultural commodities. Currently little use is being made of refrigerated trucks; the use of the nitrogen-based refrigeration systems in storage areas and vehicles is being slowly developed and modern types of packaging and containers are being insufficiently used.

Containers offer a clear example of the advantages of contemporary technology. The development of the container system is of great importance in improving the preservation of agricultural raw materials and preventing losses. The high quality of containerized goods is preserved as a result of the elimination of losses in loading and unloading operations, shortening transportation time and improving storing conditions. Experimental studies have indicated that the use of containers substantially reduces fruit, vegetable and potato losses. The use of containers enables us substantially

to lower production-marketing outlays by reducing the cost of packaging, labor and transportation and the need for refrigerated and other storage areas.

Improving the management and organization of the production-marketing area and strengthening its ties with agricultural production offer great possibilities. The progressive experience of many farms and enterprises confirms that considerable losses could be avoided without capital investment and solely through organizational factors. The existing material and technical base of the infrastructure and the processing industry could be used with considerably greater efficiency.

During harvest time the transportation problem becomes particularly aggravated. The shortage of trucks slows down the hauling of the harvested products and worsens their quality. However, the use of progressive hauling methods and computers enable us substantially to reduce the need for transportation facilities. For example, the experience in the use of combined trailer hauling in Kazakhstan and the use of hourly schedules in Saratov and other oblasts have indicated that the need for trucks during harvest time may be reduced by a factor of 3-5 while labor productivity may be doubled or tripled.

Direct contacts are another example of the efficiency of organizational restructuring. Direct ties between farms and enterprises in the production-marketing area (processing enterprises, stores, etc.) considerably shorten transportation time and length by eliminating unnecessary reloading and others, which preserves the quality of the goods. Thus, the use of direct ties between farms and meat combines in the Baltic area may be possible to reduce the time of preslaughter feeding of the animals by several hundred percent and losses in live weight tenfold.

A great deal remains to be done to improve management and organization in production-marketing and agriculture. Currently we still have cases of departmental exclusivity and organizational lack of coordination, which leads to unjustified losses. This was mentioned by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his Tbilisi 22 May 1981 speech: "We lose an excessive amount of produce because we have still not learned how to safeguard the people's property adequately. We lose ... because of the poor organization of produce hauling and storage. Great attention should be paid to organizing the prompt and full processing of the entire crop raised in kolkhozes and sovkhoses.... Matters must be organized in such a way that literally not even one kilogram of grain, fruits and vegetables is lost."

The decrees "On Improving Management in Agriculture and Other Sectors Within the Agroindustrial Complex" and "On Measures to Improve the Economic Mechanism and to Strengthen the Kolkhoz and Sovkhoz Economy," which were passed at the May CPSU Central Committee plenum, are of tremendous importance in the elimination of existing shortcomings. These decrees enable us to resolve a number of problems which have developed in relations between procurement workers and farms. Currently the functions of the procurement system include

the management and organization of virtually the entire technological process of taking agricultural commodities to the consumer: purchasing, transportation, storage, processing and marketing.

The lack of coordination between procurement workers and agricultural producers adversely affected the pace of agrarian production. This has been particularly characteristic of bountiful years. At such periods disparities between narrow departmental interests of procurement workers and the interests of the agroindustrial complex as a whole became starkly apparent. In bountiful years the task of delivering to the consumers the entire crop was replaced by the task of fulfilling the purchasing plan, which became the main objective in procurement activities. The activities of procurement workers were rated exclusively on the basis of the fulfillment of planned assignments. This frequently resulted in profitable work by the procurement system and losses suffered by agricultural enterprises and failure to deliver the entire crop. Changes in rating the activities of procurement workers and tying them more closely to agricultural production results, earmarked at the May CPSU Central Committee plenum, are of major importance in resolving contradictions between agricultural and procurement workers.

Management shortcomings lead to wasting funds and reducing capital investment efficiency. For example, grain growing today has virtually two parallel material and technical grain-processing bases: those of the farms and the procurement workers. The explanation for this situation is found in the different cost-effectiveness interests of the parties. The farms find it unprofitable to deliver unprocessed grain, for this costs them a substantial amount of profit from sales, loss of inexpensive grain waste, used in livestock feeding and unnecessary transportation outlays. All of this frequently leads to the fact that despite properly equipped grain reception centers at their disposal, the kolkhozes and sovkhoses are forced to develop their own system of thrashing floors. This entails the loss of a great deal of working time and funds and delays the delivery of the grain to storage areas.

Improvements in the structure of agricultural production management logically call for the creation of a unified system for the production and taking of agricultural commodities to the consumer. Within such a system contradictions between agriculture and procurement would be eliminated. The priority task of producers and procurement workers will be the end production in the necessary amount and variety. This will create objective prerequisites for the total elimination of agricultural production losses along the entire system. The process of vertical integration will obtain its definitive organizational aspect. The establishment of a unified management system may be helped by using the experience acquired domestically and in CEMA-member countries. In particular, unifying the management of production processes and bringing agricultural commodities to consumers in Moldavia, the Ukraine and Checheno-Ingushetiya has yielded excellent results. For example, the Checheno-Ingush Association includes sovkhoses, canneries, stores, storage areas for vegetables, fruits and potatoes and motor vehicle facilities. As a result of such unified management, vegetable production doubled while losses were reduced by one-half between 1970 and 1980. The need for unified management of the agroindustrial complex as an autonomous enterprise was emphasized

at the May CPSU Central Committee plenum and in its resolutions. The preservation of the produce and the elimination of losses can be substantially improved only on the basis of a comprehensive approach to the production and processing processes and taking agricultural commodities to the consumer. In this connection the creation of agroindustrial soviets and commissions on different regional levels, which must coordinate the work of all ministries and departments within the agroindustrial complex, assumes great importance.

Increasing the preservation of agricultural commodities and the struggle against losses will enable us to use its considerable reserves which have not been reaching the consumer so far and to increase the food stock of the country more quickly and efficiently. The implementation of the Food Program involves not only increasing the gross agricultural output but a most decisive and efficient struggle for the preservation of its results. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes, "In order to advance the solution of the food problem we must pay greater attention to all the links along the chain through which agricultural produce reaches the consumer."

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ON ONE'S OWN LAND; THREE ESSENTIAL PROBLEMS

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[Article by S. Yarmolyuk]

[Text] The great opportunities which the decisions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee plenum over the countryside are obvious. Equally obvious, however, is the fact that the effectiveness of the measures earmarked by the party will depend on the specific practical utilization of these opportunities, above all by the local party organs, on the real steps which will be taken in each rayon and farm and their accuracy.

That is why now, when the materials of the May plenum are being discussed everywhere, it seems useful to describe a trip to a southern Ukrainian village, based on a letter. It is not a question of bringing up for judgment a conflict situation, for which reason it would be hardly expedient to give names (the more so since specific measures were taken on the basis of the letter). It is a question of a specific approach to specific problems which are of more than local importance. It is precisely this, the type of approach, which is particularly important today.

The letter itself leaves a mixed impression. Its authors, sovkhos workers, described the activities of their farm and, apparently in the interest of the work, emphasized their known involvement in such matters. At the end of the letter they expressed their conclusion: "They are giving us such jobs only to get us out of the way, for they find us unsuitable."

Why "unsuitable?" And why "they?" ...

Here is the village. By today's scale it is small (only 60 able-bodied people) and quite distant, not only from the main roads and other villages but from the central mainstead of their sovkhos. To reach it, one must cross the fields of three or four neighboring farms and the rayon center, after which, on the other side of the rayon center, one comes across three more neighboring villages in which three sovkhos sections are located. The fourth is in the village from which the letter was sent. The initial impression is that it was "attached" to the farm. However, this is explained by economic considerations. The sovkhos's lands are in the estuary of a big river, amidst sand and sedge. The three suburban sections have livestock farms, greenhouses, and truck gardens, while it is only the remote fourth that has fields. The farm gets its grain, feed and straw from this section, which

serves as the sovkhos's "feed shop." It is for this reason that its population is engaged in crop growing only: the men run the tractors and combines and the women do other types of work.

It was the women who wrote the letter to the editors. Together with the party raykom personnel we waited in the small manager's office waiting for the authors who were at work in the fields. Showing no annoyance but rather mockingly the manager himself told us that he was aware of the letter, which had been written here, in the office, and that he had even been asked to read it but had refused. Seeing the approaching women through the window, he left "in order not to hamper their frankness."

The letter was signed by six people and we waited for all of them to come. All the field workers came, followed by people coming out of their homes, crowding the hall, standing under the windows, in an effort to join in the talk. Actually, it would be difficult to describe this as a talk. "No one will come," the letter read, "hold a meeting, tell us something, or ask us the reason for our discontent as it should be. We are never able to say what we would like to say." Now, however, they were talking--noisily, excitedly, trying not to omit any details, mixing essentials with petty matters....

This kind of talk could make many things clear or not clarify anything if one were to stop there. We met with the mechanizers (who, as they say here, "disapprove of this type of women's noise"). We tried to meet with the section's party members--all six of them. Let us point out that few of the views we heard differed from the general feeling. As a rule, the people came back to the same problems which, one could feel, were the ones which affected the most, citing similar reasons and examples.

What were they?

As I saw it, there were three basic interrelated problems related above all to the work.

Here is the first. A brigade of seasonal workers cultivating watermelons has been camping not far from the village since spring. The work is hard and painstaking but has its advantages: it is specific, stable and well-paid. The people ask: Why is it that this type of work, advantageous in all respects, is being done by outsiders?

Anticipating, let me say that the administration had its own reasons. It believes that if it assigns people to grow watermelons it would be short of manpower during the peak season. Furthermore, one year they grew watermelons themselves and yields were low. It is possible that the care for the crops was worse and, above all, supervision of the finished produce was weaker. As a result, the administration began to hire outside workers....

What about its own workers? Until the time to cultivate the corn and harvest the grain has arrived, the women are assigned to clear the ditch now covered with weeds, to weed the fields or to whitewash the small brigade house. This is minor low-paid work. Generally speaking, the women here have become

used to the fact that in winter they would have nothing to do. They particularly relied on summer earnings, for nearly every family has several children. Seeing that their hopes were not justified, they naturally consider that they were "deprived" of work.

This seemingly strictly material problem has another side. I heard the manager tell a woman, who was the only party member here:

"Do you remember, Maryana, the argument which broke out in the field on the subject of norms? The work was at a standstill while the people were arguing. Then you and I started working the rows. Others followed us. Once again now, prove yourself, lead!"

"Tell me where to prove myself," the woman asked.

We could understand her. Yes, people want to earn well but they also would like to see the real results of their work, such as watermelons, for example. A person must be proud that his experience, skill and ability helped him to raise a better crop than his neighbor. We speak of tons of harvested grain and produced milk and invariably relate such tons to the names of the best combine operators, drivers and milkmaids. Everyone can see their work, which earns deserved recognition. How can that same Maryana stand out today? Is it not a case that sometimes (in this case in particular), a woman with a chopper in her hand, is refused such social recognition? So far, it is not always possible to ease her labor. However, it would be even more important to organize it, to relate it more closely to the finished output, so that even those who are engaged in "various types of work" would be able to "stand out." If this is lacking a great deal of the work loses its meaning. The lofty spiritual content of labor which elevates man, earns the respect of those around him and develops his own self-respect, is lowered.

People may discuss such matters in different terms. Some of them do not discuss them at all but apparently assess them identically. The fact that interest in his job on the part of a modern worker, including one engaged in farmwork, is determined not merely by material interest is no random thought. In this sense the local population as well is no exception.

The villagers jealously watch events "behind the crops," where the "seasonals" work--the type of work they do and the materials and produce they receive. On one occasion, the outsiders sent their representative to the local population, offering to hire them for 5 rubles. Both men and women, equally hurt, spoke of this "fiver." I particularly remember the way the event was described by a young mechanizer:

"You dare, I told him, to try to hire me to work my own land?"

This was the first problem.

Second problem: actually, the problem was caused by the rudeness of the local mechanic. According to the letter, "The mechanic runs things more than the manager. He loves this type of work--he loves to command, just let him

command, while he himself is incompetent. He is always cursing us instead of doing his work, which is to repair and make the equipment ready." ... Even before reaching the village we had heard that the mechanic had been removed, precisely because of his rudeness. When nevertheless the conversation returned to him, we reminded the people of the decision not to discuss something obvious. There is no question that rudeness must be punished, the more so if displayed by the manager, a party member. To our amazement, some of the people smiled while others looked at us mistrustfully. Others again simply said:

"And you believed this? He will go right on doing what he has been doing!"

And once again the women started telling us how he tries to belittle a person in assigning jobs. The men cited examples from their own experience, describing "who grabbed whom by the collar"--the mechanic or the mechanizer. Subsequently, at a party meeting, we heard him speak. He showed no feeling of guilt whatever and spoke on how to organize relations within the collective.

On what did he base his conviction that he was right and, on the other hand, what led the people to believe that he may turn out to be right?

That same mechanic, entering someone's house, would hardly start shouting at the host. He would scrape off his shoes on the doormat and take off his cap. At work matters were different. In the course of daily farming work and against the background of extensive problems and rigid deadlines, many of the norms governing the life of a collective frequently seem petty and could be ignored. They are, indeed, ignored.

The party committee and the sovkhos management condemned the mechanic's behavior. The villagers found this out from us, accidental visitors. The mechanizers would like to know the rates and norms before starting to work. This, it seemed, was the rule. The blacksmith, who has worked in that village for many years and is known to all, went to the central farmstead on a private matter and found out that he was not listed among the sovkhos workers. They had forgotten to enter his name. A bonus was awarded to a young working woman but given to someone else. It was a misunderstanding but the insult was remembered and the money, as it were, was not given to her. However, asking for one's due is degrading.

A wise kolkhoz chairman has said that "one could punish a person but must not humiliate him." And, as we know, one can humiliate a person not merely through abuse and shouting.

"In the past, every year, we went as a group to the central section, for the 9 May meeting," the letter stated. "A monument to sovkhos members who died in the Great Patriotic War has been erected there, listing all the names. This is no longer practiced, although there are war veterans among us and two second-group disabled." It turns out, that they too were forgotten. Someone omitted something, and someone failed to check something.

However, when norms begin to be violated, norms on the basis of which a normal labor and moral atmosphere develops in the collective, unwittingly other norms begin to prevail and to define the nature of relations. Rumors replace objective information. Formalism triggers apathy. Mistrust creates mistrust.

One of the women said that apparently in the other sections bonuses were awarded along with badges to competition winners. She was shown proof that no such bonuses were paid and was promised that the respective order to this effect will be shown to her. The woman, however, did not believe this. The mechanizers tend to believe that the manager is issuing them arbitrary norms. "He sends us a piece of paper and from where did he get it?" In vain did the manager show them a thick book and the figures of the economists. The people simply dismissed them. Nor did they believe our report on the mechanic, obviously assuming that the news was reported for the sake of someone's benefit. It was as though a wall of alienation was erected, which could not be destroyed merely by putting an end to rudeness. The specific problem raised in the letter here, in the village, assumed a different shape: it was a question of respect for the norms governing the life of the collective, of respect for the individual.

This was directly related to the third problem which had become particularly grave here. The problem of discipline.

Several orders of dismissals and fines appeared simultaneously on the bulletin board in the office. The people were indignant. Typically, however, they were affected not by the nature of the punishment for apparently the reasons were proper and serious (absenteeism, drunkenness). The indignation was caused by the fact that the orders appeared suddenly, based on the manager's memorandum. A discussion developed to the effect that some people should have been punished more strictly and others not so strictly. However, the very fact of the punishment and its extent should have been discussed at brigade councils, the trade union organization or the comrade court. It turned out that for quite some time the section had neither a workers committee nor comrade court, and brigade councils had never been set up.

"It is as though everything here has been turned off," said a puzzled respected mechanizer.

As a result, everything was concentrated on the personality of the manager. He himself found this burdensome. In an effort to be objective, the manager assigned the chores according to the following principle: today priority will be given to those who were standing up against the left wall of the office; tomorrow will be the turn of those standing against the right wall. Whatever he did, however, he could hear that "this one got a good job while the other one did not, he gave a bonus to this one and fired the other because he did not like him."

I remember how heatedly the manager spoke at the party meeting, saying that he could not both represent everyone and be the judge. Turning to the sovkhos party organizer, he said: "If I'm right, support me. If I'm wrong, tell me! ..."

Obviously, tired of persuading, asking and maneuvering, he sat down and, without a warning, issued several memoranda followed by orders. The orders triggered a wave of indignation. The orders were canceled but he was unable to cancel the power of public opinion.

Naturally, no one, including the working people of this remote section, doubts that discipline is necessary. The situation which has developed is that more than half of the people employed in the sovkhos failed to work out the stipulated number of days during the year, for a variety of reasons. In the first three sections and outlying villages root crops and tomatoes are grown on the private plots and during the "season" many people simply do not go to work. In the remote village, which claims to be eager to work, there are other problems. A woman would show up to work once, twice and three times and then she would be sent home--no work; later, when personal matters she has to deal with pile up, she finds it necessary to stay home. Meanwhile, it is precisely then that her work is needed by the farm. The sovkhos has also a common "enemy:" some mechanizers are fond of the bottle. That is the reason for which some are absent while others have to be sent home. One way or another, in 1980 alone, the sovkhos lost for known legitimate reasons as many man/days as if 180 workers had been daily absent from work during the entire year. Naturally, this turns into losses and to the need for measures which would drastically improve the discipline. That same year more than 30 people were fired from the sovkhos for absenteeism, which is normal given this situation.

Nevertheless, one may question: are orders omnipotent in this case? Is it possible to ensure perfect job attendance through administrative methods? But is this the basic question?

From the very first days of the building of socialism the party has paid tremendous attention to the problem of labor discipline, developing its new principles which were based on entirely different grounds--the "discipline of trust ... comradely discipline, the discipline of comprehensive respect, the discipline of autonomy and initiative ..." (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 500). The task was to replace the old regimentation with conscious discipline, the self-discipline of the masses based on the coinciding interests of the individual, the collective and the public, based on a profound individual awareness that success and prosperity depend precisely on collective purposeful actions. Under present-day conditions, when economic life is becoming more complex and the role of man in the production process increasingly important, a conscious attitude toward labor becomes a major determining factor and adamantly emphasizes the need for meeting more completely the entire set of prerequisites related to the development of conscious discipline.

It is a question not merely of monetary rewards that leads to the better implementation of a specific cooperation by the mechanizers; it is not simply a question of increasing the output of the individual machine unit but of interest in the use of new technology, qualitative technological improvements and the creation of a permanent feeling of interest in production progress. Such an approach is noticed best precisely in agriculture, where the people

deal with the land and nature and where one must display not only knowledge but intuition as well, which can be developed only as a result of an informal, a thoughtful attitude toward the work.

The experienced combine operator knows the amount of grain which can be imperceptibly lost per hectare and no control, even the stricter one, can replace consciousness and self-control. However, how to see to it that the person does his best? This is a question which is considered today by many practical workers. Practical experience indicates that regardless of the possibilities of the farm, it can be resolved only on the basis of entirely defined relations within the collective. It is directly related to broadening the realm of labor independence, which is the foundation for developing a feeling of responsibility and democracy in production management. We know the extent to which all of this depends on the collective's managers, their views and their positions.

How do the sovkhos managers assess and resolve such problems? If such a grave conflicting situation has developed in the village, it is natural to assume that it reflects differences in views and approaches. However, what was somewhat unexpected was the fact that no such differences existed. The longer and more profound our talks became, the more obvious it became that essentially the director and the party organizer were concerned with the same problems and were looking for solutions in the same direction.

I read the director's report at an open party meeting of the collective. The main views he singled out were the following: "personal responsibility for assignments, and effective and constant work with the people.... extensive participation of the rank-and-file workers in planning. Each line of the plan must be felt personally by the performer. Only this will make the plan realistic, specific and unquestionably achievable.... Given the conditions of our farm, of late we have begun to take into consideration exclusively material incentives, totally forgetting the moral ones. This is wrong and the situation must be corrected immediately.... The ability to manage is determined not only by the fact that the plan has been fulfilled but how.... The formulation and adoption of a proper solution is merely the beginning of the work. The organization of its implementation is all."

These are not merely random statements.

A new chief agronomist was hired. In the past he had come here to gain practical experience. The director, himself an agronomist, knowing well that farming standards largely depend on the general standard of the agronomist, waited for 2 years until the boy was released from army service, keeping open for him the position of chief agronomist, for he felt that he was not only an efficient specialist but a thinking specialist. It was pleasing to see the enthusiasm and dedication with which the young agronomist went to work in an effort to justify this trust.

It was precisely on the director's initiative that the rather silent and thoughtful sovkhos chief engineer was elected party organizer. At that point he was still yearningly looking at the machine yard, where, as it seemed to

him, the work was specific and effective. However, his accomplishments already proved that the party organization is focusing its attention on the solution of most important problems such as reinforcing the party ranks with workers; managing the activities of public organizations; and exercising the right to control administrative activities.

The sovkhos director himself was relatively new on the job. It was in 1980 that for the first time in a long period of time the sovkhos became profitable. As we know, each new step forward is more difficult than the one preceding it. Better than anyone else the director realizes that maintaining and exceeding the pace means above all to create conditions under which the collective itself, the entire collective, would oppose manifestations of lack of discipline, slackness and waste.

It may have seemed that all the problems contained in the letter and subsequently so extensively discussed in the village had found a solution. No grounds for conflict seemed to exist. Nevertheless, why did a conflict arise? Why is it that, although trying to increase their own role in the production process, the workers obviously avoid the solution of their problems, shifting this responsibility to others? Why is it that the director himself, a soft-spoken and tactful person, with a sober understanding of real problems, occasionally resorts to measures inconsistent either with his principles or his character?

The director, who does not tend to refer to circumstances, considers this to be the result of both his and his specialists' omissions. However, looking at this person we seem to hear that "it is well and good to think in an abstract way but when one has to face such problems in practical work, day after day ..."

I remember being impressed by the fact that according to the Scientific Research Labor Institute, 250 scientific organizations and VUZs in our country are dealing with problems of the scientific organization of labor alone. Yet the entire pile of such problems, along with strictly economic ones, faces today above all the practical worker. It faces the manager, on the scale of the section, and the director, on the scale of the entire sovkhos. Economics is becoming increasingly interlinked with moral problems. The bulk of specific and frequently contradictory phenomena require a more profound interpretation and serious practical measures. Obviously, the economic manager has the right in this case to expect support--in terms of advice and action--on the part of the local party organs. It is precisely they who can bring science closer to production, so that the practical worker will not be left alone to face problems which go far beyond the range of his economic activities. Each economic problem must be considered above all through the lens of the interests of the person who must resolve current problems and for whose sake such problems are being resolved in the final account.

It was no accident that such complex problems and conclusions which had piled up in the village took us to the rayon and the party raykom. And virtually the first thing which we heard here was that this entire story is "not worth even a sucked egg."

"I have told you and I repeat: the letter is worth not even a sucked egg," the raykom first secretary said. "We too have received such letters from the same village. We know what they are worth. Two or three women there are muddying up the water. Without them everything would have been peaceful and quiet. You would not have even known that such a village exists. The thing is quite simple: an 'outsider' was appointed as manager while they wanted to have one of their own people who would shut his eyes at many things. Yes, yes, nothing else! (No possible objections were accepted). However, we shall not oblige them! ... So, let them write. As to that director, he was recently in the hospital and may even go back there. Such letters simply destroy one's health and nerves precisely among those who really work. You waste several days on this letter and waste the time of our comrade in charge of the department. I am sure that both you and he have other matters to attend to. How shall we find the time to deliver the grain, milk and meat?"

During our trip we thought that the rayon was lucky to have such a secretary, for he was a good manager. This may indeed be so. Perhaps he was simply annoyed: who likes it when people come to investigate critical reports? Perhaps anything dealing with that village was an isolated event which did not reflect the workstyle of the rayon, therefore the reaction. Meanwhile, the secretary talked on:

"Think! We are building them a road, we will build a club and public baths. What else do they want? All they need is land to farm it!"

He also added that, naturally, "tomorrow the director, the party organizer and the chairman of the workers committee will be here." The last thing he wanted was this to be followed by a wave of administrative measures, of which there were plenty already....

Actually, it was precisely this conversation or, rather, this monologue in the raykom that led me to describe this trip. At times it seemed that, as I considered the reason for the conflict, I returned to the common, to the familiar matters. Perhaps it was worth it.

Long ago, in the 1920s, work among rural women was initiated under the slogan "Awaken the mind!" The first step, which was taken in 1925, was to send to the villages more than 1 million primers. The task was to act in such a way that the peasant woman would rise to the level of social work along the steps of current practical interests. Our best farms mandatorily included, along with people with high technical skills, someone who deemed it his duty to explain each detail of the cooperative's plan not in each farmyard but literally "to every doubting brain" (as wrote at that time the writer Sergey Tretyakov in describing the Kommunisticheskiy Mayak Cooperative, in Stavropol).

Who will object to the fact that the amount of work in the contemporary village has increased, that there are more questions and more difficult problems? The people themselves have become different, for now their minds

have been awakened. It is obvious, however, that to this day, as was re-emphasized at the May plenum, the most important task remains on the agenda-- work with the people. This is the essence of party work.

We are used to saying that the way to bread begins with man. However, do we always bear in mind the real person who lives in a specific village, who has become accustomed and knows how to work, who has his own ideas about the work? Sometimes such ideas are not consistent with production conditions and requirements or even the spirit of the times. Several years ago, I had the occasion to observe the building of a most modern animal husbandry complex. While a flood of people wanted to work there, some wanted to quit. One of the reasons was their failure to understand the new production system: everything on schedule, one cannot leave the area, sit down or have a smoke; shower before you go to work and when you leave; and so on. The people went back to the old ways. Even a taste for what seems to be obviously for the better must be developed. Patience and skill are needed to make everyone realize the meaning and expediency of a decision.

Assuming that we agree that only two or three women, as the secretary said, are upsetting the whole village means to agree that their "work" still stands out. I remember a system mentioned by the head of a tractor brigade here: "I give them the assignment and abuse them if they fail to carry it out and that is all the educational work I do."

The very nature of contemporary problems requires a contemporary approach. As the people become more generally educated and acquire specialized training, their ability to analyze and criticize broaden. However, sometimes efforts are being made to reduce it.

Occasionally, one would say at the rayon center and the sovkhov that "well, look at the way they live!" This meant that they were complaining and writing, while there was plenty to eat at home and a car in the yard was not an infrequent sight. What else did they want? However, is this what matters to man the most, simply to have more? Is it more essential, as people think with increasing frequency, to determine one's position at work, in the collective, in society?

The village we are talking about is one of those in which problems traditionally related to farming difficulties remain unresolved. The documents approved at the May plenum stipulate their resolution. What is typical, however, is that the practice of many kolkhozes and sovkhovs, in which people no longer speak about roads and clubs, and whose children go to their own music school along paved sidewalks, indicates that it is precisely when ordinary concerns are eliminated one after the other, when a good school, hospital or sports ground appears in the village, it is precisely then that we realize particularly clearly the development of one the most important needs of the working person: the aspiration not simply to obtain more goods but actively to influence the production and distribution process. This means that this aspiration will become stronger as the plenum's resolutions are carried out.

I do not know what the raykom secretary had in mind by saying indignantly, "All that is left ... is for them to farm...." However, when a worker says indignantly, "Are you hiring me to work my own land?" this reveals the true owner. The development of a feeling of ownership, as we know, is helped not only by nationwide steps to improve the economic mechanism and social relations. It is precisely in the production collective that they are either developed in the people, which creates a real foundation for the development of conscious discipline, or else it goes to seed. In this case any "petty matter" could reduce to naught major efforts.

Here is an example given by a young mechanizer: when sowing begins you ask about the harvesting. And you are told that others will think about this and you will be told when the time comes. Your job is to work....

However, this is as though some people are given the right to think, plan and decide while others, naturally, have the sole obligation of obeying such decisions. A person, however, is always sensitive to the role he has been assigned.

"Indeed, what more do I need? I do my 7 hours and go home," says the same mechanizer.

With a feeling of puzzlement the manager told us that during the peak season a temporary cafeteria was opened in the section. The work was done hastily and not everything was according to regulations; one of the women rang up the health authorities, summoned them to the village and they drew up an indictment. "And then she went around pleased, saying that 'I closed down the cafeteria!'" emphasizing the "I," and thus emphasizing the entire absurdity of this kind of self-assertion. Could it be, however, that this was also a way to feel that she, a rank-and-file worker, had made a decision? Furthermore, the decision was not made because things were good!

"We built for them!" says the raykom secretary. "They find us unsuitable," the women write. Unwittingly, this comparison leads to the thought that the letter itself was the result of the sound heard in the rayon. The practice according to which the worker is frequently presented with a ready-made decision, while a difficult question is given a formal answer.

Naturally, the people in the village are different. The reasons for their words and actions are also different (possibly also among those who wrote the letter). It is unquestionable however that the workers expressed a definite view; if it is erroneous it is important to prove that; if it is accurate, one must accept it; however, one cannot simply ignore it.

... This clearly did not happen in the course of our discussion at the raykom. The secretary brought forth the main and rather widespread argument that we have no time to philosophize. We have work to do--to deliver grain, milk and meat. He had procured for himself a book on the proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress and, returning to the immediate occasion for our meeting, began to read out loud the part on work with letters sent by the working people, the part which discussed anonymous letters which could only do harm. It was as though he would go no further.

I too wanted to quote from the materials of the congress: "The problems of economic management are not simply economic but political, party problems. It has long been known that party slogans and programs live in the activities of the masses. The deeper the reorganization we wish to achieve, V. I. Lenin said, 'the more we must increase the interest in and conscious attitude toward it, to convince of the need for it more and more millions and dozens of millions of people'."

The May plenum ascribed a special role to the rayon level, the party raykoms above all, in the implementation of the Food Program, directly linking the growth of output to the need to enhance the level of ideological and educational work among the masses. Today grain and meat are also an analysis of human relations at work and the development of discipline refracted in the mind of the individual as well as simple attention to the individual--matters which have always been considered a direct, most important but also a most difficult party matter.

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IMPORTANT DIRECTION IN IDEOLOGICAL WORK

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

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee accountability reports to the 26th party congress, presented by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, raised topical problems of the further internationalization of Soviet society and its economic, social and spiritual life. It provided a profound study of the processes taking place in the field of national relations at the mature socialist stage and formulated specific tasks related to the patriotic and internationalist upbringing of the working people.

The CPSU Central Committee Decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work," which is of a long-term nature and is based on the vital needs of the current stage in the development of Soviet society, the characteristics of the confrontation between the two global systems and the role which has been objectively assigned to party ideological activities today, was a major event in the ideological and political life of the party and the entire people.

The CPSU Central Committee decree on further improving ideological and political-educational work, the CPSU Central Committee decree on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, the materials and resolutions of the May 1982 Central Committee plenum, the outstanding speech by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at the 19th Komsomol Congress, full of revolutionary enthusiasm and other recent programmatic party documents are invaluable contributions to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism and the theory and practice of implementation of the party's wise Leninist national policy.

These documents represent a profound theoretical substantiation and practical guide for the entire party and our ideological aktiv in resolving the complex problems of building communism. Their importance was clearly revealed at the all-union practical science conference on "The Development of National Relations Under Mature Socialist Conditions. Experience and Problems in Patriotic and International Upbringing," which was held in Riga recently. The tremendous activities of the CPSU in implementing the Leninist principles governing the creation and strengthening of the Soviet multinational state

was thoroughly described in the profound speech by Comrade B. N. Ponomarev and speeches of the participants, which included important theoretical and practical stipulations and conclusions.

I

In guiding the building of the new society in the USSR and promoting the industrialization of the country and agricultural collectivization and making the cultural revolution, the communist party successfully resolved the national problem as well--one of the most sensitive and dramatic problems in mankind's history. The beneficial influence of the historical gain was clearly manifested in the fate of the Latvian working people, who celebrated this year the 42nd anniversary of the restoration of the Soviet system and the republic's voluntary unification with the USSR.

In slightly more than 40 years Soviet Latvia became a highly developed industrial agrarian republic, equal to the other fraternal republics.

Mentally reviewing the path we have covered, we are bound to see that the sources of our socioeconomic achievements lie not only in the dedicated work of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia in the republic, but in the great friendship among the peoples of our country and the selfless and comprehensive aid and support of all Soviet peoples, the Russian people above all.

Under the Soviet system, as throughout our multinational country, a new Soviet person grew up in the Latvian SSR--a conscientious worker, a person with high political standards, a patriot and an internationalist raised by the party, the heroic history of the homeland and our entire system, living the rich life of the builders of the new world.

The developed socialist stage marks a new level of international maturity of our society and Soviet people. Today patriotism and internationalism are the realized norm of activity of the Soviet people and most essential features of the socialist way of life. However, the solution of the national problem does not mean in the least that all problems related to relations among nations have disappeared under mature socialist conditions. In this connection, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that in the mature socialist society as well national relations are a reality which is steadily developing and raising new questions and problems. The party is always aware of such problems which it resolves promptly in the interest of the entire country, the individual republic and the building of communism (see L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim Kursom. Rechi i Stat'i" [The Leninist Course. Speeches and Articles]. Vol 4, Moscow, 1974, p 63).

National relations are a complex sociopolitical category. As we know, under socialist conditions they follow two interrelated and interdependent trends, one of which is the increased blossoming of each nation and union republic, while the second is the steady rapprochement among them.

Practical experience indicates that the manifestation of these two trends would be inconceivable without the conscious and purposeful activities of the communist party, the Soviet state, the public organizations and all workers on the ideological front. The patriotic and international upbringing of the working people holds one of the main positions in this area. It is precisely the most important means, a kind of "regulator" of the interrelationship between the national self-awareness of the individual and the socialist and internationalist awareness as a whole.

It was no accident that even before the victory of the Great October Revolution, V. I. Lenin wrote that "if we want to be loyal to socialism we must already now engage in the internationalist education of the masses" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 30, p 51).

This instruction remains relevant. The party calls upon us not to reduce our attention to problems of patriotic and internationalist education. It calls for persistently "shaping in every Soviet person belief in the justice and invincibility of socialism ..., tirelessly strengthening the unity and cohesion within the Soviet people, and developing in the working people a feeling of pride in the socialist fatherland and the fraternal friendship among the peoples of the USSR" (CPSU Central Committee Decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics").

Guided by the party's instructions and aware of the exceptional importance of raising the working people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, gorkoms, raykoms, state and public organizations and the republic's ideological aktiv are always focusing their attention on this important sector of ideological work.

During the last 5 years alone the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee repeatedly considered problems related to further improvements in patriotic and internationalist upbringing. In defining the criteria of our approach and assessing the local situation, we tried to make extensive use of the recommendations formulated at the all-union practical science conferences, which were held in Tbilisi and Baku, and the experience acquired by the party organizations in Moscow and Leningrad and the fraternal union republics.

The all-union practical science conference which was held in Riga also helped us tremendously. In the course of the preparations for the conference the party committees carried out a number of measures related to improving the patriotic and internationalist upbringing of the working people. These problems were considered at plenums and bureau meetings of gorkoms and raykoms and by all republic primary party and Komsomol organizations. They were discussed at practical science and theoretical conferences which were held in many rayons in the republic, the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee Institute of Party History, a number of production associations and some VUZs and creative associations.

Internationalist and patriotic education is an inseparable part of communist education as a whole. It is ideologically effective only if it is

organically linked with its other aspects such as shaping the scientific outlook and political consciousness and labor, moral and aesthetic upbringing promoted everywhere--at home, at school and at work. The ideological commissions set up at party gorkoms and raykoms and party committees, councils, sections, and staffs in charge of patriotic and internationalist upbringing greatly contribute to improving this work in the local areas. The party organizations see to it that each ideological or economic unit perform a specific educational function.

The internationalist outlook of the working people is strengthened as they profoundly master Marxism-Leninism and the historical experience of the CPSU.

Within the system of party, economic and Komsomol training and lectures we try to explain to the working people more profoundly the foundations of Marxist-Leninist theory and the party's programmatic concepts regarding the national problem.

In assessing the positive changes which have taken place in ideological work after the 26th CPSU Congress, we can confidently say that the Latvian party organizations have begun to resolve educational problems more thoughtfully. Greater attention is being paid to the profound interpretation of the content of the Soviet way of life, socialist democracy and the Leninist national policy pursued by our party, as well as to exposing the reactionary nature of bourgeois propaganda.

The party organizations are trying to develop in the working people, in the growing generation in particular, a feeling of being part of the Soviet people as a new historical community, as well as a feeling of national pride. They try to instill in the daily life of labor collectives truly internationalist norms of community life and to mold a high standard of international relations.

II

The great revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the communist party, the Soviet state and the heroic working class are powerful and always modern means for educating the people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism.

The Latvian people are proud of the fact that the chronicles of the Great October Socialist Revolution, its preparations, making and armed defense of its gains include many outstanding pages which carry, inscribed in gold letters, the names of many of its great sons and daughters. This year we celebrated the 65th anniversary of that memorable day in May 1917, when the Latvian red infantrymen--our national pride--proclaimed at their congress that they would follow the Bolshevik flags. The Latvian proletariat raised from its ranks and educated many outstanding internationalist-Leninists, such as Petr Stuchka, Yan Berzin-Ziyemelis, Yan Rudzutak, Robert Eykhe, Karl Danishevskiy, Ioakim Vatsiyetis, Yan Fabritsius, Eyzhen Berg and others, who considered as the highest principle governing their lives the strengthening of the international revolutionary fraternity of the working class and its unification regardless of nationality.

Many among those who marched under the Leninist flags of the October Revolution, who forged the victory of the socialist revolution in Latvian bourgeois clandestinity, and who laid the first bricks in the foundations of socialism on Latvian soil are still in the ranks. The heroic accomplishments of the internationalists of the senior generations are our national pride, organically linked with the great and sacred feeling of belonging to the great international fraternity--the Soviet people.

The experience of many labor collectives and party, Komsomol and trade union organizations in the republic indicates that upbringing in the course of labor activities is taking place under the influence of the international nature of labor itself under socialism.

In his 24 March 1982 Tashkent speech, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that under the conditions of our multinational country today internationalism means above all the honest, conscientious and totally dedicated labor of all peoples in the country for the common good. It means the ability to place national interests above departmental and parochial interests and to ensure the efficient work of the single national economic complex of the USSR.

The Latvian SSR has been assigned within the unionwide division of labor the important task of meeting the needs of the country for many types of items of the machine-building, radio and electronic, instrument, chemical, light, food, meat-dairy and timber-processing industries. In order to produce such commodities the republic imports from the other parts of the country fuel, electric power and a variety of raw materials and complementing items.

As an inseparable component of the single national economic complex, the Latvian economy is closely tied to the economies of the other fraternal republics. Such ties are being steadily expanded and becoming increasingly varied. The normal work of any sector or large modern enterprise would be inconceivable without them. This again is a manifestation of the economic laws of mature socialism and a specific embodiment of the internationalism of the country's economic organism and the friendship and mutual aid among the peoples of the USSR.

The Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee is steadily guiding the efforts of gorkoms, raykoms and party committees in production associations toward ensuring the uninterrupted work of this mechanism. The beginning and middle of the second year of the 11th Five-Year Plan were marked by a stable trend toward lowering the number of enterprises which fail to cope with their procurement obligations. An increasing number of enterprises in the republic are proving to be reliable partners in interrepublic economic relations. Unfortunately, however, many enterprises remain which fail to fulfill their obligations, thus occasionally creating a difficult situation for their colleagues in terms of specialization and cooperation.

The Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee and the republic's government do not ignore such facts, for they not only hinder the implementation of general national economic plans but have a rather adverse effect on shaping the internationalist awareness of labor collectives.

The industrial commodities produced by the Latvian SSR, shipped to more than 100 foreign countries, enter the export market with the stamp "Made in the USSR." The quality of domestic output is not only an economic but a political category. It influences the development of the international and foreign economic relations of the Soviet state and the strengthening of its international prestige. The Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee believes that ensuring the high quality of output is the patriotic and international duty of each labor collective.

The republic's quality system began to be developed as early as the 9th Five-Year Plan. During that time it made use of the experience of many sectors, ministries and production associations, acquired a specific content as a comprehensive-target program and was highly rated by the 26th CPSU Congress. Its implementation made it possible substantially to increase the share of goods bearing the Emblem of Quality in the overall volume of certifiable output; in 1981 Emblem of Quality goods accounted for more than 40 percent of the total.

A radical elimination of obsolete moral and psychological concepts takes place in the course of the application of this system by labor collectives; new criteria are developed in assessing activities, along with new value orientations in which patriotic and internationalist principles play an important role.

The various aspects of the labor process exert an educational influence on molding the outlook and civic positions. That is why it is exceptionally important to combine labor with the process of molding the individual, something which we are steadily promoting among our party and economic cadres. In this area socialist competition has been assigned a major role. As an essential feature of the Soviet way of life, it has a profound influence not only on economic life but on the entire moral and political atmosphere in production collectives. It is a real school for the labor, political and internationalist tempering of the working people.

The ties between Latvian cities, rayons and labor collectives and the working people in the other fraternal republics, the Russian Federation in particular, play a special role in the system of patriotic and internationalist upbringing. The Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee pays constant attention to the broadening of such ties. Our achievements in this area have been substantial. We are not the only ones to take credit for this. Our enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhoses have ties with many labor collectives in union republics, in Moscow Oblast above all.

As early as 1967, during the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, the Moscow Oblast party committee organized the fraternal reception of delegations from the Latvian party aktiv. The party members in the Moscow area generously shared with the envoys of our republic their rich experience in resolving economic and social problems. It was precisely then that the foundations were laid and the parameters determined of competition and of sponsorship and cultural relations.

Each Latvian rayon maintains close business and cultural contacts with a rayon in Moscow Oblast. Such contacts are strengthening with every passing year. An intensive exchange of experience and new technology takes place. A search for the best possible methods of labor organization and management is conducted jointly. The area covered by our friendly relations is broadening steadily. Today it includes the Leningrad, Pskov and Kaliningrad Oblasts in the RSFSR, Belorussia, Estonia, and other republics.

The competition between labor collectives of different republics is the best possible contribution to strengthening the friendship between the Latvian working people and the other fraternal peoples in the Soviet Union. The socialist competition related to preparations for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR gained a major patriotic and internationalist content. The nationwide initiative "60 Years of the Founding of the USSR--60 Shock Labor Weeks," was taken up by the collectives of industrial enterprises, construction projects, sovkhoses, kolkhozes, and transportation, communications, trade and consumer service enterprises and all working people in Latvia. Shock works dedicated to the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Moldavia and Armenia were held in a state of high labor and political upsurge in the republic. They developed into true labor holidays, holidays celebrating the great friendship and fraternity among Soviet peoples.

In the course of their work in promoting the patriotic and internationalist upbringing of the working people, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and the party's gorkoms and raykoms ascribe great importance to the corresponding steps taken in labor collectives. As a rule, today such collectives are multinational. Members of 10 or more nationalities may be found in the majority of large Latvian enterprises. Need we mention the fact that such collectives have great educational opportunities. The joint solution of common economic and social problems, creative labor and training and participation in the management of production affairs, social development and upbringing promote the internationalist features of the Soviet people, contribute to their moral and spiritual enrichment and shape new progressive national traditions and customs.

The multinational labor collective promotes the best features in the moral aspect of the Soviet person--collectivism, mutual support and comradeship. Metaphorically speaking, it is that cell in our society in which the dialectics between the individual and the social, and the national and the international, is born. The processes of internationalization, which are so typical of mature socialism, are practically refracted in the multinational collective.

It is entirely understandable that all of this does not take place automatically but only under the influence of the objective aspects of the labor collective or the socialist way of life as a whole. The harmonious combination of the national with the international is the result of the systematic and purposeful ideological-educational and organizational work of the entire party, economic and ideological aktiv.

III

In our many-faceted work on raising the working people in a spirit of patriotism and proletarian internationalism, we direct the party organizations always to remember in the course of their activities the familiar Leninist advice to the effect that it is only tremendous attention paid to the interests of the various nations that eliminates grounds for conflicts and creates firm trust, particularly among workers and peasants who speak in different languages (see V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, p 240).

The party committees are guided by the requirement of the CPSU Central Committee to the effect that high standards must be maintained in international contacts. In organizing mass political measures we always try to observe the principle of bilingualism--all such measures are either simultaneously or consecutively implemented in the Latvian and Russian languages, for most of the members of the labor collectives master both languages. The working people are informed in advance on the language which will be used in a specific undertaking. A simultaneous translation is provided in cases involving technical equipment. Linguistic differences are taken into consideration in staffing schools and seminars within the party, Komsomol and economic training systems, in training and instructing propaganda cadres and in drafting texts used in visual agitation.

The same principle is observed in organizing the work of the press, television and radio. Newspapers are published in the two languages in rayons, cities and big enterprises in which, in addition to Latvians, substantial numbers of people belong to other ethnic groups.

Almost one-third of all radio and television transmissions in the republic are in Russian (not counting relays of all-union programs). As a rule, the names of streets, state and public organizations and trade, cultural and consumer enterprises are given in both languages. All this substantially influences the standard of relations among national groups.

Organizing the comprehensive study of the Russian language, as the language of international communication, is the most important prerequisite for the successful functioning of a multinational collective and surmounting the linguistic barrier among peoples of different nationalities. As we pointed out, most of our labor collectives are multinational and so are, naturally, students attending schools, vocational-technical schools and VUZs. Every year millions of people change their place of residence, frequently crossing the borders of union and autonomous republics. The common problem of communicating is ubiquitous. It is precisely knowledge of the Russian language, of the conditions of our multinational country, that broadens such contacts considerably. Any person of non-Russian nationality, who has mastered the Russian language, acquires the possibility of freely communicating with more than four-fifths of the country's population. He acquires a far greater possibility of mastering the achievements of science and technology and the culture of other nations as well as sociopolitical information. It is equally important to remember the public interest, the need to defend the

gains of socialism and properly serve in our armed forces. The army is also a multinational collective which requires particular discipline and cohesion.

As everywhere else, the desire to master the Russian language is quite strong in our republic. The party committees are always concerned with providing all the necessary conditions for meeting this requirement which is the result of the objective logic of building communism. In Latvia, as in the other republics, the system of reciprocal linguistic training begins in children's preschool institutions and is continuing at school. The Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee ascribes great importance to the work of schools with parallel grades which offer training in Russian and Latvian. The experience of such schools indicates that they offer favorable conditions and opportunities for the purposeful development of united collectives in the course of the training and education process. As a rule, here problems of training and ideological-political and internationalist upbringing of children are resolved successfully. The adolescents master the ideas and concepts of friendship among peoples through their own experience, in the course of active international contacts.

We believe that the need has come to increase the number of combined language schools in accordance with population requirements. It is also important for members of the Russian and other ethnic groups, which have received their education in one republic or another, to be familiar with the language of the native nationality. This would help them to make better use of their abilities in the fields of economics and culture.

Problems related to further improving the teaching and study of the Russian language in republic schools were considered on two separate occasions by the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee in the 1970s. The decisions which were made helped to improve curriculae, textbooks and training-method aids used in the study of the Russian language, which were accepted by the all-union organizations as well. A number of steps are being taken to upgrade the skills of Russian language teachers: in many schools language workshops have been organized and specialized publications have been provided. A more profound study was undertaken of Russian-Latvian literary contacts.

All of this played a major role in the fact that today the overwhelming majority of the republic's population has mastered the Russian language. This particularly applies to the Latvian youth serving in the ranks of the Soviet armed forces. Every draftee realizes that today a person of non-Russian nationality can successfully master the modern complex military ordnance only with a proper knowledge of the Russian language in which most technical works are published.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in his Tashkent speech that under conditions in which the structure of the population of Soviet republics is multinational, we should see to it that the nations and ethnic groups of each republic are properly represented in its party and state organs. The Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee demands of the party gorkoms and raykoms and the heads of ministries and departments strictly to observe the

principle of equal national representation in cadre selection and placement, so that all main and largest ethnic groups residing on the territory of the Latvian SSR are extensively represented in the republic's supreme soviet and the local power organs.

Among the steps taken to enhance the patriotic and internationalist upbringing of the working people we ascribe great importance to propaganda through lectures, carried out by groups of party gorkom and raykom speakers and lecturers from the Knowledge republic society. As in the other republics, we sponsor joint political days, in the course of which leading officials meet with working people in labor collectives and interpret for their benefit our party's domestic and foreign policy. Open-day letters enjoy great popularity. Anyone can obtain a specific answer to questions from officials who are in charge of resolving such problems by virtue of the nature of their work.

The number of public speeches sponsored by the Knowledge society on topics such as friendship among the peoples of the USSR and patriotic and international education has increased significantly over the past 5 years. Some 62,000 lectures on such topics are delivered every year. Naturally, however, this is not a matter of quantity. What matters is the steady enhancement of the ideological standard, the enriched content and improved quality of the lectures.

The Knowledge society has an active scientific-method commission in charge of internationalist upbringing. It sums up and disseminates positive experience, exposes shortcomings and drafts recommendations for their elimination. Sociological studies have indicated that occasionally audiences remain unsatisfied with the quality of lectures on problems of the struggle against nationalism and chauvinism and criticism of bourgeois misrepresentations. Furthermore, as it became clear, few lectures are being delivered on such topics. The lecturers are still insufficiently taking into consideration the characteristics of their audiences and the need of the people to listen to lectures in their native language. The commission has taken the necessary steps in these matters.

The republic's Knowledge society is actively engaged in cadre training. Courses for lecturers have been organized in a number of Latvian rayons and more than 100 people have attended them over the past 5 years. The publication of pamphlets on "Ideological Confrontation Between Proletarian Internationalism and Bourgeois Nationalism" has been undertaken.

In promoting the patriotic and internationalist upbringing of the working people we are concerned with the ideological saturation and emotional impact of measures dedicated to noteworthy anniversaries. The party committees try to create and to develop new socialist rituals and traditions which are national in form and international in nature and content.

The Communist Party of Latvia' Central Committee and the party gorkoms and raykoms direct the cadres to see to it that all of this contributes in the best possible manner to the patriotic and internationalist upbringing of the

working people. Ceremonious meetings among representatives of the three republics in Ludzenskiy Rayon, at the point where the RSFSR, Belorussia and Latvia meet, have become traditional. A friendship burial mound has been erected here as a symbol of the remembrance of the courage and heroism of the partisans--Russians, Belorussians and Latvians--who fought side by side the Hitlerite occupation forces in this area.

We are also collecting materials related to folk creativity, on the organization of folklore and ethnographic ensembles and the restoration of ancient monuments. However, such antiquities are carefully preserved and restored not for the sake of emphasizing any kind of exclusivity of the Latvian nation but in order to interpret the present more profoundly through its links with the past and to make use of the best features of customs and traditions sanctified by the centuries.

IV

A differentiated approach to educational work presumes strict consideration of the characteristics of the subject: national and social affiliation, profession and age group characteristics. It is particularly important to take into consideration the specific nature of the internationalist upbringing of the youth.

In addressing the 19th Komsomol Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "Youth is the morning of life. It is a time when a person develops as an individual, as a citizen. That is why the young people must always study. They must not only master knowledge but learn how to work honestly and the ability to see life with all its complexities from the standpoint of Soviet patriotism and communist convictions."

Schools, vocational-technical schools, technicums and VUZs in the republic have gained substantial experience in making use of the lessons of history and the social sciences, language, literature and other sociopolitical and humanitarian subjects in shaping in the growing generation an internationalist and patriotic outlook. Extensive use is being made of the various forms of extracurricular work, sociopolitical practice and international sponsorship relations. The 367 school international friendship clubs are engaged in carrying out a variety of projects.

Student construction detachments working at shock Komsomol construction projects in the fraternal republics have become an efficient form of internationalist upbringing. In 1981 alone about 2,000 Latvian university students worked in Kaliningrad and Irkutsk Oblasts, Karelia, Tyumen, Ulyanovsk and the Kabardino-Balkar ASSR. Hundreds of young men and women were members of international construction detachments working side by side with young people from the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria.

The sponsorship by schools and production collectives of places where Soviet soldiers, who lost their lives in the battles for the liberation of Soviet Latvia from the fascist aggressors, are a good tradition in the republic. The republic regularly sponsors visits by young people of sites of

revolutionary, combat and labor glory, Zarnitsa and Orlenok defense-mass sports games, months of mass defense work, republic spartakiades and youth games involving technical and military-applied sports, and Ready for Labor and Defense multidisciplinary sports competitions; sponsorship relations are organized with military units.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee directs our cadres toward rearing ideologically convinced, politically mature and staunch young men and women and asserting in the consciousness of the young generation the feelings of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, pride in our multinational Soviet motherland and readiness to defend socialist gains.

It is well known that this is not the first year that a slanderous fuss has been made over the so-called "Baltic question" and the supposedly ... forcible annexation of the Soviet Baltic republics by the USSR. Reactionary U.S. circles, and the Reagan administration above all, are particularly zealous in this. American imperialists actively support and generously finance various anti-Soviet emigre committees, organizations and sections, make extensive use of them to prepare ideological provocations and diversions of a nationalist nature and seek to poison the Soviet people's consciousness with slander against our reality and to vilify socialism with the help of the most refined methods and modern technical means.

The republic's party organization considers it one of its most important tasks to help working people, particularly the young generation, to recognize the entire falsity of this slanderous propaganda, to expose its insidious methods and consistently to foster implacability toward bourgeois ideology and the readiness and ability to countervail alien influences and bourgeois, Beijing and other hostile propaganda. We seek to ensure that everyone has a clear understanding of the fact that developed socialism's great achievements must be augmented and, where necessary, also defended--this is the fundamental line of our ideological and political educational work.

A great deal is being done in the sphere of the military-patriotic education of youth, and the return on this is palpable. Sometimes, however, this work takes on an outwardly ostentatious and, I would say, dramatized nature. Certain Komsomol members, Pioneers and schoolchildren participate in particular measures passively, observing the heroic past of older generations from the wings, as it were. Knowing of these shortcomings, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee directs party organizations, the ideological aktiv and pedagogic cadres toward enhancing the activeness of participants in such measure.

The comprehensive approach to the educational process presupposes the use of the entire multiplicity of the forms and means at the ideological aktiv's disposal today. It is a question of improving the efficiency of the mass news media--the press, television and radio--and making better use of the potential of the cinema, literature, art, verbal political and visual agitation and cultural enlightenment establishments.

The republic's scientists are making a significant contribution to the process of patriotic and internationalist education and to the elaboration of its theoretical and scientific bases. Over the past 10 years alone they have prepared and defended more than 30 doctors' and candidates' dissertations devoted to resolving urgent problems of national relations and of educating working people in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Party History Institute is realizing a broad program of in-depth comprehensive research--"Questions of Working People's International-Patriotic Education in the Work of Party Organizations." A number of collective and individual monographs have been published on various problems of holding internationalist convictions. The scientists' recommendations have served party gorkoms and raykoms as a good theoretical basis for holding scientific and practical conferences, training propagandist cadres and improving the effectiveness of ideological and political educational work. I believe that the collective work "Historical Experience of the CPSU in Building Socialism in the Soviet Baltic Republics" will be a great aid to the ideological aktiv in this sphere. Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian scientists are concluding this major joint investigation.

V

We certainly do not believe that we have already fulfilled all tasks in the sphere of patriotic and internationalist education. Unfortunately, there are many complexities, difficulties and unresolved problems. This work is not always as effective as we would like. We encounter both survivals of nationalism and phenomena of parochialism.

The need to improve patriotic and internationalist education is dictated by the increasingly complex tasks of communist building, by the content of national relations at the stage of mature socialism and also by the intensified ideological struggle between the two systems. In our work we have to take account of the special features of the region of the Baltic republics. These include their relative youth by comparison with other fraternal republics, their proximity to the West's ideological centers, the existence of frenzied anti-Soviet Lettish reactionary emigres and other factors. There has recently been a sharp intensification of the activeness of subversive ideological centers. The volume of hostile foreign broadcasting to Latvia has trebled, and commercial, scientific, cultural and even kinship ties have begun to be used more extensively for ideological sabotage. Our ideological opponents are gambling on stirring up nationalism and reviving nationalist survivals and prejudices and are seeking to embroil the Lettish people with the fraternal Soviet peoples, and above all the Great Russian people.

There is and can be no social or class base for the manifestation of nationalism in Soviet Latvia, as in our multinational country as a whole. But it would be a mistake not to point out that bourgeois nationalist propaganda exerts a definite influence on a certain section of youth, intelligentsia and other social groups. Nationalist survivals manifest themselves primarily

where ideological education work is weak and where insufficient attention is devoted to the struggle against bourgeois ideology and to fostering the working people's high political maturity and vigilance. Party and Komsomol workers and propagandists do not always know how to wage a well-reasoned, offensive struggle against nationalist prejudices and sometimes prove to be theoretically impotent before falsifications of the CPSU's Leninist nationalities policy.

To eliminate the shortcomings that have come to light in ideological work a system of counterpropaganda and struggle against bourgeois ideology is being set up in the republic. A republic council has been formed, lecturer cadres have been selected and republic seminars have been held.

Great assistance in manning this system is being given by scientists of the Academy of Sciences and by instructors in the republic's VUZs and, above all the Latvian State University, where counterpropaganda groups are already operating, formulating the theoretical and methodological principles of waging the struggle against bourgeois ideology and preparing propaganda materials to assist the ideological aktiv. I believe that this work must yield positive results.

Sometimes we chiefly devote attention to multinational labor collectives, to relations between individuals in them and to the formation of a culture of international intercourse. But attention to single-nation collectives is no less important. In Latvia, as, obviously in other republics, there are cities and rayons where the population of the indigenous nationality stands at 80-90 percent. Consequently the labor collectives there, too, are more or less homogenous in terms of national composition. This advances its own specific tasks.

The processes of the internationalization of all spheres of life in the republic requires further in-depth study and interpretation with a view to resolving opportunely and correctly the practical questions which arise. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee constantly reminds gorkoms, raykoms and everyone called upon to make a contribution to the cause of the working people's patriotic and internationalist education that any errors whatsoever in these questions are particularly intolerable. Any shortcomings revealed must be immediately eliminated. For life has repeatedly shown that ideological opponents immediately endeavor to take advantage of our every omission; they do their utmost to exaggerate and inflate our shortcomings and seek to make "political capital" out of this in their unbridled anti-Soviet, anticommunist propaganda.

This article has touched on just a few questions of further strengthening the working people's patriotic and internationalist education and on the main directions, forms, means and methods of this work. The everyday life and practical activity of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and the ideological aktiv in this sphere are considerably richer and more multifaceted, and sometimes we do not study the accumulated experience enough.

Genuine patriotism and internationalism, the Soviet people's ardent love for their motherland and loyalty to the friendship of the USSR's peoples invariably fuse into concrete deeds and into the desire of everyone to make every possible contribution to implementing the great plans for communist building through selfless labor. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's communists deem it their urgent task to turn the CPSU Central Committee decisions into a militant action program for every labor collective and to do everything to ensure that the struggle to fulfill the Food Program elaborated by the party yields tangible results already this year, the second year of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

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IN THE FRATERNAL FAMILY

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[Article by S. Grossu, CP of Moldavia Central Committee first secretary]

[Text] Our homeland is nearing the 60th anniversary of the birth of the united family of equal republics--the USSR--the founding of which was a direct continuation of the October Revolution and the practical embodiment of the Leninist ideas and the great historical accomplishments of socialism, filled with great strength and aspirations for the future.

The concept of "backward national outlying area" has disappeared from our vocabulary forever. Today the highly developed Soviet republics, after combining their economic possibilities and resources within a single entity, are making a substantial contribution to the implementation of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and laying the material and technical foundations for communism.

I

The Moldavian people consider their affiliation with the fraternal family of nations within the powerful USSR their greatest value. The historical path which led to their unification with the other peoples in our fatherland was saturated with the joint courageous struggle waged against enslavers and foreign aggressors and for social and national freedom.

The process of shaping the Moldavian nationality, the development of its literacy and culture and the creation of its statehood took place under the beneficial influence of the Slavic peoples. In the words of F. Engels, the Moldavians saw in Russia "their only support, their liberator, their messiah" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 9, p 32). "The light from Moscow is coming our way, with its shining long rays and good reputation under the sun," wrote an ancient Moldavian chronicler.

The liberation of the territory between the Dneestr and the Prut (which subsequently acquired the name of Bessarabia) from the Turkish High Porte and its unification with Russia was an outstanding page in the history of cooperation between the Moldavian and Russian peoples and their struggle for unification. This event, the 170th anniversary of which is being extensively noted in our republic, was consistent with the vital interests and

expectations of the Moldavian people and had tremendous progressive consequences in terms of its destiny. Saved from the oppression of the Turkish feudal lords, which had been wrecking the area for 3 centuries, the Moldavian people merged within the more progressive socioeconomic environment of the Russian state where, starting with the second half of the 19th century, capitalist relations began to develop tempestuously. The development of agriculture, crafts and trade was accelerated in Bessarabia. Railroads were built, material and spiritual life was quickly renovated, cities grew and a working class was established.

The class solidarity among the deprived and oppressed workers and peasants strengthened and the revolutionary movement spread in the struggle against czarist autocracy in Bessarabia. The involvement of the people's masses with the all-Russian revolutionary movement at the earliest possible stage in its development was the most important consequence of the unification of this area with Russia. Here the Decembrists and revolutionary narodniks engaged in active efforts. Under the influence of the Petersburg "Alliance for the Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class," which was created by V. I. Lenin, and with the direct participation of political exiles, which had come here from the industrial centers of Russia, the first social democratic circles and groups were created and the Kishinev RSDWP Committee was organized at the end of 1902.

The party members in our republic and the entire Moldavian people are proud of the fact that the first clandestine printing press in Russia for the newspaper ISKRA was established in Kishinev under the initiative and guidance of Vladimir Il'ich. It was here that Lenin's works "The New Slaughter," "The Beginning of Demonstrations," and "The Fight Against the Hungry," pamphlets by G. V. Plekhanov and N. K. Krupskaya and other revolutionary publications were printed and were subsequently distributed throughout many cities.

The fraternal friendship between the Moldavian people and the other peoples in the country particularly strengthened in the course of the preparations for and making of the socialist revolution. The Moldavian working people enthusiastically welcomed the victory of the October armed uprising in Petrograd. The Soviet system was established in the entire area between the end of 1917 and the beginning of 1918. For the first time, following many years of struggle and suffering, our people gained the right to build a truly free and happy life together with the other peoples of the land of the soviets. However, the process of establishment of Moldavian Soviet national statehood was interrupted as a result of the seizure of Bessarabia by monarchic Romania. In their effort to justify the occupation of the territory between the Dneestr and the Prut, the modern falsifiers of these events cite the stupid argument that the Soviet system was imposed on the Moldavian people by an outside force. This false claim was refuted by history long ago. The Moldavian people proved their attachment to the Soviet system through its heroic struggle both when the system was being established in the area as well as during the dark years of Romanian occupation when, despite most cruel terrorism, they courageously fought to expel the aggressors from their native land and for reunification with the homeland--the Soviet Union.

The dream of the Moldavian people of acquiring national statehood within the USSR was fulfilled on 12 October 1924, when the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was established on the left bank part of Moldavia. Following the liberation of Bessarabia and its unification with the USSR, the creation of the Moldavian SSR was proclaimed on 2 August 1940.

The establishment of Soviet statehood for the Moldavian people was a powerful factor in the growth of their material and spiritual forces. It was thanks to this factor that the development of Moldavia as a socialist republic, the revolutionary renovation of the entire way of life of the working people and the area's economic and social development took place at an unparalleled pace. Like all the peoples of our country, the Moldavian people experienced severe trials during the period of mortal clash with fascism. However, the process of resolving the most important problem of socialism--the elimination of social inequality and the economic and cultural backwardness inherited from the old system--continued to develop steadfastly. At the beginning of the 1950s, thanks to the concern of the communist party and the all-round fraternal aid of the peoples of the Soviet Union, socialism had won on the entire territory of the Moldavian SSR.

The appointment of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, a person with rich experience in party and soviet work, to the position of CP of Moldavia Central Committee first secretary, was of tremendous importance to the further development of the republic's party organization, the complete and definitive building of socialism in Moldavia and the strengthening of the fraternal friendship between our people and all the peoples of the USSR. On his initiative and with his personal participation, the republic began to develop a powerful energy base. The existing machine-building and construction industry enterprises were reconstructed and new ones were built. Steps were taken for the further political and organizational-economic strengthening of kolkhozes, a plan was drafted for the more efficient utilization of natural and manpower resources and restoration work in Kichinev was speeded up.

The name of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev is inseparably linked with radical improvements in the management style of the entire organizational-party and party-political work in the republic. By profoundly penetrating into the essence of social phenomena, displaying political perspicacity, consistency and daring in achieving collectively defined targets, restrain in difficult situations and ability to lean on the masses, he set an example of efficiency and responsibility and practical application of the Leninist methods of party leadership of economic and cultural construction for the cadres. These and other qualities displayed by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev during his fruitful activities in Moldavia earned him high prestige and the deep respect of the party members and all working people in the republic. The period during which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev worked in Moldavia was saturated with the dedicated struggle of the party members and all working people for the elimination of the consequences of the 3 years of fascist occupation of the republic's territory and the most severe drought of 1946.

The Moldavian people will never forget the labor and military exploits of its sons, of those who, side by side with the sons of the fraternal peoples,

fought for the Soviet system, defended the gains of the revolution in the battlefields, and built socialism during the first five-year plans, those who, surmounting incredible difficulties, revealed the dislocated economy after the war. Their great traditions in revolutionary zeal, Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism are being splendidly followed by today's builders of communism, whose labor accomplishments are worthy of the exploits of the senior generations.

II

For each one of the Soviet peoples, large or small, the historically short 60-year period since the founding of the USSR has been a period of gigantic accomplishments in all fields of social development. The most important result of this development was the building of mature socialism in our country, which has become a real triumph of friendship, fraternity and internationalism for all nations.

Despite its generous land and industrious people, prerevolutionary Moldavia was an economically poor and culturally backward area. As to the areas on the other side of the Dnestr, which were occupied by royalist Romania, over a 20-year period they have declined even compared with the 1913 level and their economic situation was truly pitiful. The fraternal aid of all the peoples of the Soviet Union enabled the Moldavian people to put an end to age-old backwardness. Soviet Moldavia today is a materially and spiritually highly developed republic.

Under socialist conditions all republics are systematically developing their natural resources and rationally locating production forces in accordance with local resources and in the interest of the successful development of the overall national economic complex. It was precisely thanks to the fact that the Moldavian economy is an organic component of the single interrelated economic potential of the Soviet state that within a short time the republic was able to reach a level of prosperity which, had circumstances been different, would have taken centuries.

Moldavia has developed a large-scale industry equipped with up-to-date facilities, a strong power industry, a well-advanced construction industry and a broad transportation network. Hundreds of plants and factories were built and equipped in the republic according to the latest achievements with the fraternal aid of the peoples of the USSR. During the postwar period alone more than 270 new large industrial enterprises have been commissioned. Each one of them, from the stage of designing to commissioning and reaching full capacity, is linked with a thousand ties to the system of the all-union cooperation of labor. For example, more than 4,000 experienced construction and installation workers from 35 nations and ethnic groups within the country participated in the building of the Moldavian GRES imeni 50 Letiya Velikoy Oktyabr'skoy Sotsialisticheskoy Revolyutsii. More than 500 enterprises supplied machines, equipment and materials for the project. In turn, our republic's industrial enterprises are actively participating in the construction of power industry complexes, railroads, factories and plants in other parts of the country. Hundreds of Moldavian young men and women have

joined the army of construction workers working along the Baykal-Amur Mainline, the virgin lands of Kazakhstan and on the Altay, and are contributing to the development of Siberia, the Far East and the Nonchernozem.

The ancient wisdom says that one becomes richer only by giving. Under the conditions of our multinational socialist state this saying has assumed a deep social meaning. It reflects the unquestionable fact that within the large united family of Soviet peoples each nation becomes richer thanks to its own dedicated work and the efforts and aid of the fraternal peoples. Today the Moldavian SSR receives from the other union republics goods produced by 93 sectors and ships to them goods produced by 72 sectors.

Within a 7-day period the republic's industrial enterprises produce more goods than during all of 1940. In prerevolutionary Bessarabia the share of industry in the overall social product did not exceed 3 percent; in Moldavia today it accounts for approximately 60 percent. In accordance with the all-union division of labor and cooperation (taking into consideration the actual conditions of the area and the requirements of its economic and social development), a most expedient industrial structure has been developed and is continuing to improve in the republic. Machine building and metal processing, including the electrical equipment industry and instrument manufacturing, which constitutes today the industrial heart of the republic, are developing at a high pace. This area, which had to import in the past even sickles and nails, today produces one-of-a-kind power transformers, large electrical machines, measuring instruments, computer systems, tractors, tomato-picking combines, lifting equipment, casting machines, production automation and mechanization facilities and others.

The consumer goods sectors are developing successfully. Compared with 1940 light industry output has increased by a factor of 315. More than 60 percent of the consumer goods produced by the Moldavian SSR Ministry of Light Industry bears the state Emblem of Quality. The achievements of the largest enterprises in this sector--the Tiraspol Clothing Production Association imeni 40 Letiya VLKSM, the Bender Silk Combine imeni V. I. Lenin, and the Kichinev Styaua Roshie Knitted Goods Production Association are well known beyond the republic's borders. Many items produced by the furniture and local industries, furniture frames, rugs and lightweight shoes in particular, have acquired a good reputation.

The consolidation of enterprises and the creation of production associations enable us to make fuller use of their possibilities in resolving organizational and technical problems and to achieve stable growth in the pace of output and all-round intensification on the basis of scientific and technical progress, improved production specialization and organization and rational utilization of capital investments and all resources. By the end of 1981 the share of goods marketed by 118 production and scientific-production associations and combines was in excess of 40 percent.

During the 8th and 9th Five-Year Plans the republic's industry applied at a faster pace the latest scientific and technical achievements and implemented a number of measures to ensure production mechanization and automation and

its conversion to a more progressive technology. Within that period the number of comprehensively mechanized and automated enterprises, production lines, shops and sectors increased by a factor of approximately 11.

In the past Moldavia was marked as a blank spot on the energy map of the country. Today electric power production here has reached 16.7 billion kilowatt hours, or almost 1,000 times more than in 1940. The development of such a powerful energy base in a republic which does not have its own fuel resources became possible only thanks to socialist production cooperation among all parts of the country and the existence of a single national economic potential.

A powerful construction industry has been developed in Moldavia. Compared with 1940 the overall volume of output of the construction materials industry has increased by a factor of 287. Very big enterprises producing cement, slate, prestressed reinforced concrete structures, bricks, and wall materials and modern house-building combines were created and are successfully operating. During the 10th Five-Year Plan the overall volume of capital investments was higher by a factor of 3.1 compared with the 7th, totaling 7.4 billion rubles. During the last decade alone extremely large production and sociocultural projects have been completed, such as the new capacities at the Moldavian GRES, the Tiraspol Cotton Fabric Production Association, the Ungeny Rug and the Aleksandrenskiy Sugar Combines, the Kishinev Food Equipment Plant, the opera, the Oktombriye Palace, the circus building and many others were commissioned over the past decade.

The construction of the Moldavian Metallurgical Plant in Rybnitse and plants for the production of machines for the comprehensive mechanization of the growing of vegetables, tobacco, fruits and grapes in Bel'tsy and Kishinev was initiated in the 11th Five-Year Plan. The construction of the cement plant in Rezina and the color televisions plant in Kishinev is continuing. We are planning the construction of a large machine-building complex in Tiraspol. After its reconstruction, the Tiraspol plant of the Ministry of Motor Industry will undertake the production of refrigerated truck trailers. The capacities of enterprises producing consumer goods will be increased substantially. Additional capacities will be installed for the production of poultry meat. Egg production farms, animal husbandry premises, primary wine-making plants and other enterprises will be constructed.

The radical changes which took place under the influence of the industrialization of the national economy affected the socioclass structure of the republic's population. Its share of workers with their families increased from 22.2 percent in 1959 to 52.6 percent in 1979. The general educational standards and professional skills of the workers have improved. In industry alone the share of workers who have higher and secondary education (full and partial) increased from 70.2 percent in 1970 to 85.4 percent in 1979.

The tempestuous development of industry, capital construction and transportation and the increased number of workers and the entire industrial-production personnel led to a considerable expansion and renovation of the old cities and the building of new ones and the conversion of many rural settlements

into urban-type settlements. During the postwar period the number of cities increased from 13 to 21 and the urban population increased from 11 to 42 percent.

III

The agroindustrial food complex is the nucleus of the economy of Soviet Moldavia. It accounts for 57 percent of the productive capital in the national economy and 60 percent of the gross social product. Agriculture is the basis of the complex. Before the revolution the Moldavian countryside was dominated by small land parcels, primitive production facilities, backward agrotechnology and low yields. All of this led to the impoverishment and ruination of the peasantry which was forced to lead a semi-hungry life.

Thanks to the conversion of agriculture to collectivization, the sector was reorganized within an incredibly short time. Its level of mechanization and farming standards improved. Gross crop harvests increased significantly and so did animal husbandry output. At the beginning of the 1960s the republic's agriculture began to convert from multisectorial to intensive specialized production based on interfarm cooperation, agroindustrial integration and technological industrialization.

The March 1965 CPSU Central Committee plenum formulated a new agrarian policy which was developed in the subsequent party congresses and Central Committee plenums. Important steps were taken to strengthen the material and technical base of kolkhozes and sovkhoses, the development of agricultural machine building, land reclamation, chemization, and improved planning, economic relations and production organization in accordance with the party's contemporary agrarian policy. Profound changes were made in the working and living conditions of the Soviet peasantry.

As in the other union republics, Moldavia substantially increased technical agricultural facilities, renovated the machine-tractor fleet and upgraded the level of mechanization in crop growing and animal husbandry. Compared with 1965, by 1980 power facilities in agriculture had increased by a factor of 3.5, totaling 10.5 million horsepower. The size of the irrigated land tripled and the use of chemical fertilizers increased considerably.

The strengthening of the material and technical base brought about a substantial increase in the volumes of agricultural output. Compared with the 7th Five-Year Plan, during the 10th Five-Year Plan the average annual gross agricultural output had increased by a factor of 1.75. During the 10th Five-Year Plan output per 100 hectares of farmland averaged 106,500 rubles. Compared with the 7th Five-Year Plan, average annual production increased as follows: grain, by a factor of 35; sugar beets, by 72 percent; tobacco, by a factor of 2.5; vegetables, by a factor of 2.8; fruits, by a factor of 3.3; grapes, by 61 percent; meat in live weight by 88 percent; milk, by 86 percent; and eggs by a factor of 2.1. Production labor outlays dropped considerably.

The new organizational and economic structures, which include the production and industrial processing of agricultural commodities, became a structural component in the republic's food complex. They include the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers Union-Republic Agroindustrial Association for Viticulture and Wine Making (Moldvinprom), the Moldavian SSR Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry System, the Tobacco Agroindustrial Association (Moldtabakprom) and the Volatile Oils and Perfume-Cosmetic Goods Association. Their creation increased the efficiency in the production of a number of important foodstuffs, reduced their transportation and delivery losses, increased the interest of the workers in the sectors in obtaining high quality end products and improved the social development of the collectives.

The sectors processing agricultural raw materials are developing at a rapid pace. Let us take as an example the food industry, which is traditional in the republic and is the most important link in the agroindustrial production complex. Compared with prewar times its 1981 output was higher by a factor of 30. The Moldavian SSR is the third highest among all-union republics in the production of canned goods, granulated sugar and grape wine and fourth in the production of vegetal oil.

Long practical experience has proved that the economic and production structure which has developed within the agroindustrial complex makes it possible rationally to deploy production forces, to strengthen and develop cooperative relations, to make better use of capital investments and material-technical and manpower resources, and to ensure unity between the sectorial and territorial management principles and centralized planning and the autonomy of farms and enterprises. Extensive opportunities have been made available for the accelerated growth of output and collective responsibility for its quality has been enhanced.

On the basis of such achievements the republic's party organization is promoting the strengthening of agricultural production intensification and is taking measures to ensure stable and higher rates of development of crop growing and animal husbandry. We pay particular attention to the development of a stable structure of agricultural managers and specialists and upgrading their responsibility. All of them must be approved by the Central Committee bureau or the party raykoms. The deployment of party members has been improved. New shop party organizations and party groups have been organized in many farms and associations.

The party committees encourage the cadres to improve the farming structure in order to make farming economically better substantiated and agrotechnically more expedient. This year virtually the entire grain corn, more than one-half of the sunflower, more than one-third of the sugar beets and one-fifth of the vegetable crops are being cultivated on the basis of industrial technologies. A course has been charted toward basing the harvesting on more favorable weather conditions through the selection of strains and hybrids of early and medium ripening times and expanding the areas in transplanted crops. This will enable us to ensure rhythmical supplies of goods to the working people and to processing enterprises. Steps are being taken to

improve yields from capital investments, the use of existing production facilities, the further growth of labor productivity, reduction in production costs and eliminating negligence and waste.

The USSR Food Program for the period through 1990, which was formulated in accordance with the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and adopted at the May 1982 Central Committee plenum, marks an important stage in the further development of CPSU agrarian policy. Its main characteristic is to relate, to unify the work of agriculture and its servicing sectors in industry, transportation and trade, and to subordinate their entire work to the overall final objective--the production of high quality foodstuffs and their delivery to the consumer.

Like the entire Soviet people, the Moldavian working people welcomed with warm approval and are fully supporting the party's program for improving food supplies in the country. They are profoundly grateful to the CPSU Central Committee, Central Committee Politburo and Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev for their constant concern for the good of the people and the satisfaction of the growing needs of the population. They are fully resolved to do shock work so that all the levels earmarked in the Food Program for increasing food resources may be reached.

What must Moldavia accomplish in order to reach the objectives? During the 11th Five-Year Plan we must reach a gross grain harvest of 3.6-3.8 million tons; grapes--1.5-1.6 million; and fruits and soft fruits--1.4-1.6 million tons. More sugar beets, sunflower and vegetables will be produced. Annual meat production in slaughtered weight will reach 300,000-310,000 tons and milk, 1,250,000-1,350,000. During the decade the production of sugar from sugar beets will be increased by a factor of 1.7; meat production from state raw material resources, by a factor of 1.7-1.8; canned fruits and vegetables, by a factor of 2; vegetal oil, by a factor of 1.2, etc.

The Food Program is a document of tremendous historical importance. For the first time within the overall national economic structure the agroindustrial complex becomes a separate object of planning on all levels, facing specific tasks related to increasing volumes of output and improving the quality of food products.

The new organizational food production structures are successfully functioning in Moldavia. They are consistent with the new management organs which were created. For the past 9 years the largest public production system in the republic--the kolkhoz-cooperative--is headed by kolkhoz councils which have extensive rights in the areas of economic control and in managing farm production activities. Firmly pursuing a large-scale cooperation course, they have developed a number of interfarm enterprises, organizations and associations, whose productive capital today accounts for 47 percent of the entire productive capital of the kolkhoz-cooperative sector. Thanks to the kolkhoz councils the concentration of the production of hog growing and cattle breeding products, the fattening of calves, feed production and processing and the use of material and technical facilities has been essentially completed. A large interkolkhoz construction association has

been set up and is in charge of virtually the entire amount of production and sociocultural construction in the kolkhoz villages; interfarm irrigation systems are being built and intensive interkolkhoz industrial-type truck gardens are being laid out.

The union-republic and republic agroindustrial associations also have corresponding management organs (from top to bottom). They control their basic material-technical, financial and manpower resources, ensure strong intersectorial and interfarm relations and bear the entire responsibility for planning and implementing plans for the production of agricultural raw materials and their procurement, industrial processing and delivery of the finished products to the trade network. We try to improve existing organizational structures and management units and the cost-effectiveness principles governing their activities and to strengthen the democratic foundations and efficiency of economic management and its responsibility for achieving high end results.

The councils of rayon agroindustrial complexes which are being created in Moldavia and the republic commission on problems of the agroindustrial complex will become the coordinating organs which will ensure total unity between the sectorial and territorial management principles and the harmonious development of interrelated production sectors.

IV

Our social system has made it possible for all nations which have taken the path of socialism to surmount their former backwardness within a short historical period and to reach the peaks of progressive culture. In the course of the cultural revolution socialist ideology became part of the consciousness of the people. A new truly national culture, socialist in nature and content, with its inherent high level of morality, revolutionary humanism and internationalism, was created. In the past Moldavia had no VUZs or clubs. The population illiteracy (within the 9-49-year age group) had reached nearly 80 percent. The creative intelligentsia was extremely small. The Soviet system opened to the Moldavian people broad opportunities for exposure to the cultural values accumulated by mankind. With the help of the fraternal peoples, the Moldavian people made tremendous changes in their cultural life. Illiteracy has long ceased to exist. Today one-half of the republic's population is engaged in some type of study. There is general mandatory secondary education for young people. In 1981 778 of each thousand people employed in the national economy had higher and secondary (complete and incomplete) education.

The republic has eight VUZs and 51 secondary specialized schools. The development of higher and secondary specialized training led to the creation of a national intelligentsia. The number of specialists with higher and secondary specialized training employed in the national economy increased by a factor of 4.3 over the past 20 years.

Science is successfully developing in Moldavia. The republic's academy of sciences, higher educational institutions and 21 scientific-production

trade networks, whose volumes of sale increased by a factor of 25 between 1940 and 1981 or a factor of 15 on a per capita basis.

Major steps were taken to ensure better food supplies for the republic's population. In terms of caloric content the consumption structure is already consistent with recommended physiological norms. However, the share of animal husbandry products in the food rations remains below the norm, although compared with 1965, in 1981 sales in the republic increased by a factor of 2.7 for meat and meat products, 3.6 for milk and dairy products, 2.4 for fish and fish products and 14 for eggs.

Availability of durable and household goods has been improved substantially. Today there are 73 television sets, 89 refrigerators and 60 washing machines per 100 families.

The republic's state and cooperative trade and public catering have a large material and technical base which is being steadily expanded and strengthened. The construction of specialized stores, large general stores, general self-service stores and trade complexes, cafeterias and coffee shops is being conducted at a high pace. Their technical facilities are being improved and new and more progressive population service methods are being introduced. Particular attention is being paid of late to organizing commercial centers in the countryside. Consumer services have become a separate sector with a strengthened material and technical base and population demand is being satisfied better.

Over the past 20 years payments and benefits from social consumption funds have increased by a factor of almost 7. Increased social consumption funds have led to increased minimal old-age pensions for workers and employes and kolkhoz members. Additional benefits have been extended to Great Patriotic War veterans; food outlay norms in hospitals, Pioneer camps and vocational-technical schools have been raised and so have scholarships to VUZ students and students attending secondary specialized schools; the number of paid days for child care has been increased. Students in the first through the seventh grades of general educational schools receive textbooks free of charge.

More housing units per 1,000 population are being built in the Moldavian SSR compared with England, Italy and some other developed capitalist countries. Apartment layouts are being steadily improved. The housing facilities of the local soviets are almost totally provided with running water and sewer, central heating and natural gas. All housing in the republic has electricity. Rents have not been raised ever since the Moldavian SSR was founded.

Since 1966 the republic has allocated 2.6 billion rubles' worth of capital investments for housing construction and a housing area in excess of 23 million square meters, including 12 million in rural areas, has been built. Many villages have developed into comfortable and modern settlements whose level of communal and sociocultural services is close to that of the cities.

There have been considerable achievements in health care. Moldavia, where the mortality rate in the prerevolutionary period was among the highest in Europe, has a wide network of general hospitals and polyclinics, outpatient clinics, sanatoriums, rest homes and sports grounds. Under the Soviet system hospital bed availability per 10,000 population quintupled while the number of physicians increased by a factor of 8.

The dynamic development of material production during the 11th Five-Year Plan will create new opportunities for enhancing further the living standard of the population, increasing its income and consumption, improving housing and living conditions and achieving new successes in health care and culture. The average monthly wage of workers and employees will be increased by 10.9 percent and kolkhoz wages by 25 percent. Retail trade will increase by 27 percent and consumer services by 46.2 percent. Housing totaling 7.4 million square meters will be completed.

The successes achieved by the Moldavian working people in the development of the economy, culture and other areas of life within the fraternal family of peoples of the USSR convincingly prove the triumph of the ideas of the Great October Revolution and the Leninist national policy of the communist party and the ideas of fraternity and friendship among peoples. In his speech at the ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Moldavian SSR and Moldavian communist party, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, in noting the successes of the republic in building socialism, emphasized that within a short historical period the republic "was able to catch up with the other Soviet republics and assume its place in their ranks. This was largely made possible thanks to the fact that the Moldavian people were able to rely on the support of all fraternal peoples in our country and on the existing industrial and scientific and technical potential created in the USSR and the full use of the experience acquired in building socialism in our country."

All nations in the land of the soviets are a single family, united in the struggle for communism and in their love for the fatherland, the great Lenin and the party which hammered out the alliance among Soviet peoples and is leading them along the path of progress and prosperity.

The Moldavian people know that they owe all their victories and accomplishments, the happiness and joy of free toil and the peaceful skies over them to the communist party whose gigantic and comprehensive activities are aimed at ensuring the forward socioeconomic development of the homeland. Led by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the loyal follower of the great Leninist cause, it is drafting specific plans for the development of the country, consistent with its main objective--upgrading the well-being of the people, scientifically substantiating the tasks facing our state and equipping the party members and all Soviet people with a powerful arsenal of means needed for reaching the planned landmarks.

The member of the developed socialist society is the creator and builder of a new world. He is a patriot and a humanist and has the lofty feelings of duty and responsibility to the homeland, the fraternal nations and the party. His thinking goes beyond the framework of national concepts and limited interests

and reflects the increased awareness of his involvement in all actions and accomplishments, regardless of where they may be taking place--in his collective or republic or anywhere else in the country.

Unparalleled high labor activeness is a vivid manifestation of the moral and ideological growth of the Soviet people. Virtually all Moldavian working people are taking part in the socialist competition in honor of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR.

The party is pursuing the Leninist national policy systematically and steadfastly--a policy whose essence is truly revolutionary, humanistic and democratic. From the very first days of the Soviet system it has shown steady concern for strengthening the economic foundations and political prerequisites for the development of national relations in the USSR and has comprehensively encouraged the development of national statehood in the Soviet peoples, their well-being and their rapprochement within the framework of the single socialist state of the whole people.

The entire historical experience of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic convincingly proves the successful solution of the national problem and the viability and social effectiveness of the creation of an international comity in our country. Resting on the economic base of the USSR and the advantages of the all-union division of labor, and properly using its own resources, our republic has made tremendous progress in the development of its material and spiritual forces. Life confirmed the accuracy of Lenin's assertion to the effect that under socialism the toiling masses themselves will never agree to exclusivity for political, economic and cultural reasons.

The 26th CPSU Congress stressed that the party will continue to be concerned with increasing the material and spiritual potential of each republic and its maximal utilization in ensuring the harmonious development of the entire country.

The fraternal friendship among the peoples of the USSR, the wise Leninist national policy of the CPSU and the real successes achieved in building socialism and communism are a reliable compass in charting the further prospects in the development of the country in each republic and a reliable guarantee for new and even greater accomplishments.

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SOVIET CINEMATOGRAPHY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 82 pp 83-91

[Article by USSR Goskino Chairman F. Yermash]

[Text] The mature socialist stage faced Soviet cinematography with new major tasks. They were formulated exhaustively and scientifically in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Measures for the Further Development of Soviet Cinematography" (1972). To the Soviet cinematographers the 10 years which have passed since the promulgation of the decree have been a period of active and purposeful creative and organizational work on the implementation of the party's policy in the field of ideological and educational activities.

Based on the fundamental ideas of Lenin's concept of culture, the Central Committee decree defined the place and role of the mass art of the cinema in the spiritual life of our people. It indicated the ways and means which could make the ideological and artistic potential of cinematography consistent with the scale of the social and cultural problems currently being resolved by society. Furthermore, all stipulations and directives in this document are based on the internal laws governing the motion picture art itself, taking accurately into consideration the experience and traditions of Soviet cinematography.

While earmarking future prospects, the decree also reminds us of the unbroken continuity in the development of cinematography which has innovatively reflected the dynamic processes of the socialist reorganization of society and the labor and military heroism of the Soviet people during the first five-year plans and the difficult period of the Great Patriotic War.

The scientific analysis of the functions of artistic culture and the creative application of the Leninist principles governing cultural policy enabled the party to draw the essential conclusion regarding the increasing importance of literature and art in building communism, the shaping of a Marxist-Leninist outlook, the highly moral convictions and the exacting esthetic tastes of the Soviet people.

The increased role of the entire realm of culture, science and art is an objective necessity of the time, for the increased ideological, moral and cultural potential of the entire society and its individual members is one of the most important aspects in building communism.

The last 10 years have proved that the influence of party thinking has been a decisive factor in accelerating the progressive movement of the multinational Soviet cinematography.

The resolutions of party congresses, the Central Committee decrees on ideological problems and the speeches of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman provide an integral program for the development of artistic culture, the motion picture in particular. They define its socioesthetic functions and indicate its essential objectives and means for the implementation of creative and socio-cultural tasks.

The party considers the steady strengthening of the ties linking the motion picture with the life of the people the main prerequisite for the ideological and artistic enrichment of the cinema. It directs the movie workers toward the all-round depiction of reality in its development, emphasizes the need to depict the country's economic, social and cultural changes more vividly and calls for depicting more profoundly the variety of characters and typical features of our contemporary and his "socialist individuality" (M. Gorkiy).

The implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decree called for the formulation of respective measures on absolutely all cinematographic levels, for the effective influence of the motion picture on the mass audience could be increased only by adopting a comprehensive approach to problems related to the making, distribution and social functioning of cinematography.

A variety of steps have been taken over the past decade to improve the work of all main motion picture areas -- the creative process, production and distribution.

Long-term topic studio planning has been introduced. This enables the creative workers to concentrate on the most topical problems of social life and to achieve a proportional correlation among different topics and genres.

Films which triggered a reaction of gratitude on the part of millions of people were the overall result of the efforts of party, state and public organizations to implement the CPSU Central Committee decree. The country's 19 studios made more than 2,000 feature films for the screen and television. This is a tremendous wealth and an active movie stock which offer the viewers a wide choice based on their tastes and interests.

The main proof of the growth of Soviet cinematography is its best works which, in the words of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "enrich the social thinking of the people and their historical memory, effectively contribute to the development of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, and actively oppose imperialist ideology and bourgeois morality."

In the recently passed CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Creative Ties Linking Literary-Artistic Journals to the Practice of Building Communism," which is of essential significance in all areas of artistic culture, the party reemphasized that strengthening the ties with the life of the people is

the main prerequisite for the ideological and creative enrichment of literature and the arts.

Let us note in this context the decisive turn taken by Soviet cinematography toward topical modern problems, the need for which was indicated in the CPSU Central Committee decree on the cinema. This is an essential accomplishment of our cinematographers. Their talent, feeling of contemporaneity, civic enthusiasm and high artistic skill have made successful not only individual motion pictures but cinematography as a whole, enhancing its prestige in the eyes of its public.

Topic planning made it possible not only to focus the attention on the making of major films but also noticeably to enliven and enrich the making of films on international and publicistic topics and in a variety of genres ranging from comedy to adventure.

Documentaries on the military and labor exploits of the people have played an important role in exposing the young generation to the great traditions of our state and the unforgettable pages of its history. The artistic and publicistic treatment of key historical aspects presented the public with epic works such as "The Great Patriotic War" and "Most Precious of All," in which the exciting truth of the document is organically combined with the profound ideological interpretation of the distance covered by the country.

Motion pictures dealing with moral problems achieved a qualitatively new level. The motion pictures present human relations and work and at home and the complex inner world of the individual and his moral problems against the broad social background of Soviet social life. The idea that morality is a social category directly related to man's conceptual stance has been presented with increasing clarity on the screen in recent years. The social scale of artistic thinking displayed by the true master will always make itself apparent regardless of how narrow a topic may appear to be initially.

The party documents enabled the motion picture to enrich its range of ideas and topics, to utilize inner reserves and to train a large group of young directors, script writers and actors. Young artists always bring into art a sharply contemporary perception of life. They are well familiar with and have a feeling for the character of their contemporaries and the nature of their demands and interests. The common task of the cinematographers is to show to the new generations of the Soviet public the positive character close to them in terms of spirit and time, a character who could actively influence the people's actions and reflect the profound links between the individual destiny and that of the people. In order to resolve the problem creatively the motion picture workers practicing socialist realism need the armament of ideas and a broad practical outlook, the ability to project the building of communism and, naturally, high artistic skill.

Today the creative search of directors and script writers has become more daring. They study the life and accomplishments of the Soviet person more profoundly and with greater artistic variety. The distinguishing feature of the cinematographic process in recent years has been the enhanced artistic

and professional standards of Soviet films. This has made our cinematography more popular at home and abroad.

The high rating of the role of artistic culture in the spiritual life of the people, which was given at the 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses, gave a new impetus to the ideological and creative efforts of the masters of feature and popular science films and documentaries.

The party supports the leading ideological-topic trends of the artistic process and welcomes its growing strength which is like a tidal wave. This is the main guideline in further search and progress in the area of film making.

The 4th Congress of USSR Cinematographers, which was held soon after the 26th party congress, made a comprehensive study of the situation in this most popular of all arts and confirmed the high civic maturity and artistic responsibility of the masters of the motion picture, who deem it their duty and honor consistently to defend the purity of our ideological principles and comprehensively to contribute to the ideological and artistic enrichment of the motion picture through true national- and communist party- mindedness.

However, it would be mistaken to assume that cinematography has resolved all the problems mentioned in the CPSU Central Committee decree, for this would mean underestimating the sense of the party document itself, which faced the cinematographers with long-term problems related to the systematic search for ever new ways leading to the ideological and creative enrichment of the art of the socialist cinema in accordance with the dynamics of time, social progress and the shaping of the new type of individual. Mature socialism formulates ever new tasks related to the labor and social activities of the people and sets examples of historically unparalleled social dynamics.

The country's last decade was punctuated by tremendous gains in economics and culture and the truly innovative creativity of millions of people building a classless society. The political and social processes which determine the spirit of our reality, its essence and its meaning provide the movie makers with inexhaustible sources of creative inspiration and determine the main direction of artistic searching.

However, the Soviet motion picture still owes a debt to the people. It has still not been able fully to reflect decisive historical development trends such as the rapprochement among all classes and social groups and the outstanding role of the working class, whose revolutionary ideology, morality, collectivistic mentality, ideals and heroic labor activity are open today to all social strata. The strengthening of the fraternal friendship among the peoples of our country and the establishment of a new social and international community -- the Soviet people -- have still not been depicted full scale.

The variety of motion picture forms and ability to present the world through the images of daily events and artistically summarized characters make it possible to depict extensively and comprehensively the new features which the practice of communist construction creates with every passing hour.

The solution to the problems facing the cinema, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "lie in the increasingly firm struggle for upgrading the ideological and artistic standards of the motion picture and achieving high-level individual works." This, precisely, is the nature of the inexhaustible ideological and esthetic reserves of cinematography. Their utilizations means above all to broaden the horizons of the social outlook of directors, script writers and actors, to enrich their creative world through the historical experience of the party and the people and to enhance artistic exigency.

The daily solution of these problems is the essence of the activities of state and public cinematography organs and studio artistic councils and party organizations. As stipulated in the CPSU Central Committee decree, the attention of the creative workers is focused on the efficiency of the social functioning of the cinema under contemporary conditions and the enhancement of the power of its influence on the millions of working people.

A wide interest in problems facing the Soviet way of life is a distinguishing feature of our time. This interest is based mainly on the need to interpret the real place and possibilities of man in today's world and to determine the ties which link our individual lives to the life of the country in the light of the new historical experience.

On this level, it is quite significant that a drop in motion picture, mainly Soviet, attendance noticed in recent years has come to an end, and that our motion pictures as a whole have gained high prestige: Whereas in 1977 Soviet films were viewed by 54 percent of the total audience, the figure rose to 72 percent in 1981.

The fact that the mass audiences today prefer to see films dealing with our present and the people of the land of the soviets is proof of the improved quality of the motion pictures themselves and the increased consciousness and esthetic exigency and ideological and artistic demands of the Soviet motion picture public.

Such a clearly higher level of public demand faces the motion picture workers with major obligations. We can clearly state that cinematography has entered a qualitatively new area of relations with its public. Taking this aspect into consideration, ensuring its comprehensive interpretation and active progress means implementing the tasks formulated in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Measures for the Further Development of Soviet Cinematography." Its relevance and sagacity are becoming increasingly clear today.

The party proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist concept of democratization of artistic creativity and the importance of art as a major factor in the development of social culture in resolving problems related to the social functioning of cinematography today.

We are quite familiar with the statements of Marx and Engels on the growing role of the spiritual, the creative principle in the life of the people in the course of building communism. Lenin's words that "Art belongs to the people. It must have its deepest roots in the very thick of the broad toiling masses. It must be understood and loved by these masses. It must

combine the feelings, thoughts and will of these masses and enhance them" are programmatic ("V. I. Lenin o Literature i Iskusstve" [V. I. Lenin on Literature and Art], Moscow, 1979, p 657). This is a scientific platform which increases the role of literature and art in the mature socialist society.

The motion picture -- the most popular and most important of all arts -- makes a decisive contribution to this process. Today the motion picture theater and television audiences number in the tens of millions. Currently per-capita viewing of motion pictures in the USSR averages 16 per year. This is a very high indicator which surpasses that in the capitalist countries with a developed motion-picture industry by a factor of 2, 3 or even 10.

The social functioning of cinematography and its relationship with the mass audiences are a complex dialectical process in which not only qualitative indicators but mainly ideological and esthetic factors matter.

Without entering into details requiring special studies let us consider the basic laws governing the development of art as aspects of social consciousness and, in particular, the specific characteristics of the motion picture as a type of art.

In their study and practical solution of such problems the cinematographers proceed from the sum total of tasks facing socialist culture. As a form of artistic creativity the motion picture must make its contribution to the spiritual culture of mature socialism and the raising of a harmonious and comprehensively developed individual loyal to the communist ideals. The solution of this main problem requires tireless ideological and artistic research aimed at strengthening the links between the motion picture and Soviet social life and the further broadening of its artistic possibilities.

As it systematically implements the Leninist principles of cultural policy the party invariably emphasizes that "the art of socialist realism has no more important task than the assertion of the Soviet way of life, the norms of communist morality and the beauty and greatness of our moral values, such as honest labor for the good of the people, internationalism and faith in the historical justice of our cause."

Ideological, moral and esthetic upbringing is achieved through the overall impact of artistic cinematography and the specialized types of motion pictures -- documentaries, newsreels, popular-science and training. However, we must not forget the importance of the entertainment function i.e. the one which provides the person with meaningful recreation.

Being an industrial sector, cinematography must be developed on a planned basis and take the economic aspect of its activities strictly into consideration. Here again the economy must be economical.

Considering the many functions of the cinematographer, his role can be upgraded only by meeting the various spiritual needs of the Soviet people. Hence the essential conclusion that films must vary in nature in order to reflect the entire variety of reality and to respond to the spiritual requirements of the audience.

Long experience has confirmed that domestic motion pictures of high ideological and artistic standards, instead of amateurish surrogates which are sometimes wrongly considered a source of easy box-office success, are the most popular. In accordance with the noble tradition which has developed in our country, preference is given to films on historical-revolutionary subjects and the heroic period of the Great Patriotic War. The public warmly reacted to pictures such as "Karl Marx. The Young Years," "Lenin in Paris," "The Dawns Here Are Quiet...", "They Fought for the Motherland," "Ascent," "A Particularly Important Assignment," and many others.

Contemporary topics are depicted in a variety of genres. The public is interested in problems related to production activities and in moral and ethical topics. The public response to films such as "Red Kalina," "Prize," "The Taste of Bread," "Your Son, Land," "Choice of Target," "Earthly Love," "Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears," "The Crew," "Five Evenings," "Autumn Marathon," "Some Interviews on Private Matters," "The Dzhamal Tree," and others was gauged not only in terms of quantity -- size of theater and television audiences -- but the depth and durability of impact. The public reputation of a motion picture also largely depends on the critics and the attention and objectivity of our press.

The Soviet cinematographers are profoundly interested in ensuring a suitable audience for each ideologically and artistically significant film and in making it spiritually accessible to the largest possible number of people. However, we must also calmly accept the fact that not every motion picture can be accepted by and satisfy the entire audience, for this is the fate only of isolated works, the aspiration of whose makers proved to be most profoundly consistent with the mood of the mass public.

The complexity and differences in the requirements and interests of the public are reflected in the variety of motion picture themes and plots, genres and styles. This variety, which has acquired new boundaries and has included new discoveries, is the basic feature of socialist artistic culture, for the concept of the strictly commercial orientation of bourgeois film making which leads even in the most advanced motion picture industries to an inevitable standardization and the striving to capitalize on formulas with proven mass popularity, is alien to us. Under such a system nontraditional creative efforts are supported only to the extent to which they are profitable.

With the growth of socialist culture increased attention is being paid to the differentiated approach to the public and to the satisfaction of specific requirements of individual audience groups.

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On Improving the Making and Showing of Motion Pictures for Children and Adolescents" is particularly important in resolving problems of the social functioning of cinematography today. Although children and, even more so, adolescents largely watch general-type films, which play an important role in the development of their character and convictions, the task of making and promoting specialized motion pictures was not formulated without a purpose.

The decree notes the need to use the power of the motion picture and its esthetic and educational influence consistently and purposefully in developing in children and adolescents the noble features of the Soviet person. The party has called upon cinematography to help in the education of generations of politically active people, who are knowledgeable, educated, industrious and skillful at work, and always ready to defend their homeland.

It is equally important to bear in mind that when we expose children and adolescents to the motion picture we are educating the future adult audiences, whose esthetic taste will largely influence cinematography itself.

The CPSU Central Committee decree on movies for children is, therefore, of broad and essential importance to cinematography, for it affects its basic development problems.

The movie theater repertory must take into consideration the requirements of the different population strata. Town and country have audiences with specific requirements. The Union of USSR Cinematographers, the critics and the local public-educational organizations play a great role in properly guiding the film-oriented public and in developing a truly highly artistic taste.

The Food Program, which was adopted at the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee plenum, faces the cinematographers with important tasks and a number of requirements. This means that rural life and the dynamic social, psychological and cultural processes must be vividly and profoundly reflected in feature films; the historical scale of the tasks set by the party and the actual process of their implementation must be depicted in documentaries and popular science films.

A great deal remains to be done to improve motion picture services to the villages. Specific steps must be taken as of now in order to enable the rural population to see better films at the same time as the urban residents.

The purposeful showing of specialized popular science and commissioned films which describe the experience of agricultural innovators and scientific recommendations and the lives and works of noted rural people are becoming increasingly important.

Contemporary life and the growing cultural requirements of the Soviet people make it incumbent upon the movie makers to react more sensitively to audience demand. The Soviet motion picture is consistently engaged in fruitful research in a great variety of artistic directions with the support of state and public organizations.

Today the makers of many films do not conceal contradictions and occasionally painful conflicts. However, the audience would like to see not only contradictions but solutions to them as well. The most successful pictures meet this constructive and optimistic social target.

Whereas many bourgeois films instill in the public utopian dreams of happiness as an individual success which takes place outside the struggle for the good of the entire people, in our motion pictures the activeness of the

the individual is a law governing the assertion of new social relations. The common feature of the films, regardless of their topics and problems, is the truthful depiction of reality and a profound analysis of historical processes and achievements, and the labor and social practices of the people.

It would be no exaggeration to say that no other single cinematography in the world would have been able to make within a relatively short period of time works of different styles and genres such as "The Wishing Tree," "The White Steamer," "Through Hardships to the Stars," "The Dog Walked on the Piano," "Peter's Youth," "Wild Violets," "Yaroslav the Wise," "Swamp People," "The Investigation," "Naapet," "Fact," "Oh Sport -- You Are Peace," and the documentaries "The Wick" and "Yeralash," to which we should add the pictures we already named. It is quite clear that the variety and wealth of the Soviet motion picture is an accomplished fact which, as such, must be interpreted and which, as a phenomenon, must be strengthened through further progress.

However, many unresolved problems remain in this area. For example, we are still short of outstanding adventure films. There are few highly artistic musicals involving the participation of popular performers. Occasionally, both Soviet and foreign films of rather mediocre quality become popular. In this case we should blame not the audiences, which have failed to show "good taste," than the film makers who failed to make films with artistic standards and popularity to match our musical and comedy movie classics. The greater attention which the public pays to the "light" genres (which, incidentally, sometimes prove to be more complex than some psychological dramas from the artistic viewpoint) mirrors objective social requirements. Total rest is a necessary prerequisite for highly productive labor and the harmonious development of the individual. That is why we must not denigrate "entertainment" as such but try to enhance the esthetic level of such films and give them true glamor, high standards and the spirituality of the truth of life.

Strengthening the public's "feedback" is a highly contributive factor in the development of the motion picture. The positive results of the increasingly close interaction between the creative and commercial areas and the influence of the motion picture on the social mentality and overall development of society are manifested most clearly in the multinational nature of the Soviet cinema and its public.

The results of the Leninist national and cultural policy in cinematography which, within a historically short time, enabled us to create the unique splendid example of free, equal and purposeful development of the cinematographies of the peoples of our country, are particularly clear during the year of the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR. The headlong progress achieved by the republics' cinematographies, many among which were given the opportunity to develop fully only in the postwar period, was determined by the historical process of internationalization of Soviet artistic culture.

The Soviet cinema welcomes the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR as an ideologically and artistically integral motion picture culture of a developed socialist society, consisting of the cinematographies of all union republics, which are socialist in content and internationalist in spirit.

Today we can speak of the equalized level of all republic cinematographies. This equally applies to the creative and the production areas. In turn, this offers extensive opportunities for interstudio cooperation and tremendously intensifies the exchange of creative experience and the process of further reciprocal enrichment. The numerous films made with the joint participation of different studios proves that such work methods can and must be developed further.

Another feature in the process of reciprocal enrichment of national cultures is no less important: the international nature of the dissemination of works. On this level it would be difficult to overestimate the role and significance of the unionwide film distribution system, which enables the people in virtually all parts of the country to become familiar with the works of movie masters in the various republics.

In the interest of cultural cooperation we must also improve the system of international relations of the Soviet motion picture. During the last decade joint film production has increased, involving the participation of noted motion picture makers from all over the world. Several jointly produced films ("Red Bells," "Warning," "Tehran-43," "Across Gobi and Khingan," "Alexander Minor," and others) have become significant artistic phenomena and have triggered political reactions. A systematic search is under way for the most effective means of promotion of our films which today enjoy a very broad following virtually throughout the earth. However, the desire to engage in full and equal cooperation meets with the opposition of bourgeois reactionary circles, the discriminatory behaviour of the organizers of many Western European festivals and censorship and economic barriers. Artificial obstacles are sometimes erected also in the course of preparations for the Moscow and Tashkent movie festivals or in purchasing films to be shown in the USSR. Progressive cinematographers are denied the possibility of coming to our country and the path through which their works can reach the Soviet public is made exceptionally difficult. This can only complicate the exercise of a cultural policy aimed at broadening cinematographic relations in the interest of peace and reciprocal understanding among nations. In his greetings to the participants and guests attending the 7th International Film Festival of Asian, African and Latin American countries in Tashkent, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted that "The great ideals of peace, freedom and social progress are consistent with the aspirations of all peoples. They offer a splendid base for the unification of mankind for the sake of safety and a happy future." Loyal service to these ideals is a prerequisite for the further enhancement of the international prestige of the Soviet motion picture.

Soviet multinational cinematography is today a most important component of the global motion picture process. It is not the mathematical total of republic cinematographies or individual works but a complex and internally dynamic entity, a single motion picture culture of a new historical community -- the Soviet people. All of this entrusts the motion picture workers with high responsibility in the implementation of their main task, which is to be and to remain the party's active assistants in the ideological, moral and esthetic upbringing of the working people.

Cinematography must look for the most expressive means which can penetrate deep within phenomena, going beyond their ordinary appearance, in order convincingly to depict to the viewers, including the youth, the unbreakable link between the party's daily work and the historical traditions of the October Revolution, artistically to depict the gigantic work of the party and the people in implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, and to ensure the steady progress of Soviet society on the way to peace, progress and communism.

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UNITY OF ACTION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND WORK

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[Article by Herbert Mies, German Communist Party chairman; based on Mies' speech delivered at the fourth plenum of the GCP Board]

[Text] Never since 1945 has the threat to peace been so grave. The cause is the arms race and the confrontation course charted by the aggressive imperialist circles, the United States above all. Also responsible however, are those West German political leaders who are following in the fairway of its policy. This policy is inhumane, for it threatens the very existence of mankind. It is reactionary and antidemocratic, for it leads to the curtailment of democratic rights. It is deeply antisocial, for it means reduced state allocations for social needs, a lowering of real wages and loss of jobs.

The working class and labor movement in the FRG have a special mission. It is precisely the working people who must prevent a new war from ever breaking out on German soil. This mission is realized by those of their representatives -- be they communists, social democrats, nonparty people or Christians -- who deem it their personal duty actively to support the defense of peace and the revocation of NATO's nuclear decision. The task today is to turn concern for peace into a concern by the entire working class.

"Work and wages instead of missiles!" Such is the slogan proclaimed by the communists in the struggle for peace and social rights. "Jobs for all under conditions of peace and social insurance" was the demand formulated by the German Trade Union Federation (DGB) during the Mayday 1982 celebrations. "Provide jobs, secure peace and guarantee freedom," was the appeal heard at the April 1982 SPD [Social Democratic Party] Congress in Munich.

Briefly stated, the various detachments of the workers movement are formulating their current policies in similar terms. In such a case, unity of action by the working class and interaction among its various currents and organizations -- political and trade union -- become possible.

Today unity of action by the working people is needed in order to avoid the greatest horror which could befall on the Federal Republic, and which could occur if as a result of the deployment of new American nuclear missiles the country becomes involved even more deeply in the whirlpool of an insane arms race with all its consequences, including nuclear catastrophe.

The Working Class Opposes Military Adventures

Israel's savage aggression against Lebanon and the armed conflict in the Falkland Islands (the Malvinas) proved yet once again that the military threat to the world comes from imperialism and not at all from socialism. In an effort to conserve the fruits of its expansionism and in pursuit of its Zionist objectives, Israeli imperialism did not stop at aggression, genocide, the use of barbaric weapons, and war on the civilian Lebanese and Palestinian populations. The case of British imperialism as well confirmed the old truth that it will resort to war should it become a question of strategic military bases, raw material sources, colonial privileges or distracting the attention of the masses away from the consequences of the capitalist crisis. Working people solidarity is needed wherever imperialist wars are being waged.

The Lebanese and Palestinian peoples and the PLO, who are demanding an end to aggression, the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanese territory and the exercise of the right of the Palestinian people to have their own state, need active solidarity. The solidarity and sympathies of the West German communists are on the side of the anti-imperialist and anticolonial movements in Argentina. The GCP supports the call for the restoration of democratic rights, the release of political prisoners and the restoration of the constitutional order in the country. The Israeli aggression in Lebanon and the military adventure of British imperialism in the South Atlantic enjoyed the full support of the aggressive U. S. ruling circles. These two wars seem to have sharpened the hearing, sight and consciousness of the peoples. The fact that by the fault of imperialism the Middle East and the almost-Antarctic can become arenas of combat operations confirms one more time the terrible danger which could threaten the world should the new American missiles be deployed on West German territory, for even without them the country already has the highest concentration of troops and armaments in the world.

Those who have been following the events in the Middle East and the Falklands should look at their own country as well. Under the cover of gunfire the United States and the FRG signed a treaty which stipulates that should a "crisis situation" develop six more American divisions will be transferred to the FRG and 93,000 West German reservists will be put at the disposal of the U. S. armed forces. The first of six navy frigates, costing half a billion marks, under construction at the Bremen wharfs has already been launched; plans for expanding the geographic area of action of the NATO bloc were drafted at the latest NATO Council meeting, and the FRG has decided to sell weapons produced in West Germany to an increasing number of states. Under these circumstances the FRG communists are explaining to the working people the need to oppose the threat of involving the country in various military adventures concocted abroad. The prime task however, is to prevent the deployment of new American nuclear missiles on the territory of the Federal Republic.

Notwithstanding the assurances of the political leaders of the parties represented in the Bundestag and bourgeois propaganda to the effect that the American administration wants peace and disarmament the facts say otherwise: As in the past the United States would like to turn the Federal Republic into a kind of nuclear launching pad aimed at the USSR. This is also the purpose of the lie that peace is threatened by the Soviet Union.

However, every working person in the FRG can determine for himself what is consistent with his interests: The deployment of new American missiles, as the United States wants, or an agreement on a moratorium on the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Eastern and Western Europe and their subsequent reduction, as the Soviet Union suggests. The economic and trade-political "sanctions" adopted toward the socialist countries (which the U. S. President is also asking of the federal government), entailing the loss of no less than half a million jobs, or profitable economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, which guarantees more jobs? Submissive obedience to the diktat of Wall Street, with its high interest rates and aggressive economic and financial policy directed against the Western European countries and job losses in them or pursuit of an economic and foreign trade policy oriented toward peaceful cooperation with all countries west, east, north and south? Further increase in war production or the conversion of such facilities to a peace track which, incidentally, would double the number of jobs? Increasing expenditures for armaments and further elimination of gains in the social sphere, as demanded by Weinberger, the U. S. secretary of defense, or reducing armament costs and using the funds thus made available on social and cultural needs and aid to the peoples of the developing countries? The list of such questions could be extended further.

The readiness expressed by the U. S. President, after a more than 1 year delay, to engage in talks on limiting strategic weapons does not prove in the least any basic change in his way of thinking. The point is that, faced with the growing peace movement in the United States and Europe, including West Germany, the U. S. government is forced to maneuver. The offers of talks made by the American administration are mainly aimed at misleading the people and paralyzing the peace movement in the Federal Republic and the United States itself. The peace-loving forces should not let themselves be misled by this maneuver. They must rely exclusively on their own strength. The peace movement has become a real political factor, which the ruling circles of these countries cannot ignore, not only in most Western European states but in the United States as well. The effect would become even more tangible if the worker and trade union movements were to join the powerful peace movement. Life itself makes such an alliance the prime task of all revolutionary and progressive forces at the present stage of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The peace movement became a widespread mass movement in our country starting with 1979. No one can say that it has had no influence on the country's social and political circles. However, its real effect on the policies of the mighty in this world could be greatly enhanced if the implementation of NATO's fatal decision regarding Euromissiles is to be prevented. Although the majority of working people support many of the demands of the peace movement, let us admit that they have still not truly joined the active struggle. The task of the most conscientious fighters in the worker and youth movements now is to help the working people to realize the truth and necessity of the fact that "Peace may not be all but without peace there is nothing."

By pointing out the fact that the rights to peace and to work and to social insurance -- i.e., the most important human rights -- are closely interrelated, the communists also state quite openly that preventing the deployment of missiles does not in itself guarantee more jobs or better social insurance.

Nothing is automatic in this case. One thing however is clear: A continuing arms race will harm social gains. The struggle for preventing the deployment of new American missiles, which is gathering strength, is above all a struggle for the survival of mankind. However, it is also an inseparable prerequisite for success in preventing mass unemployment and the loss of social gains. Today the question of jobs is based precisely on resolving the disarmament problem, nuclear disarmament above all.

Not only the necessity but the real possibility of action on the part of an increasing segment of the working class in favor of peace and disarmament stems from the fact that the problems of work and peace are closely interrelated. However, this too is insufficient. The task is broader: The labor movement and peace movements must act jointly and jointly demonstrate their strength. How can this be achieved? The answer lies in the very practice of the political struggle. The active participation of the German Communist Party and the movement of the Socialist German Working Youth in the peace movement already represent the unification of separate detachments of the labor with the peace movement. The participation of noted social democrats and entire organizations in measures promoted by the peace movement means that the social democratic labor movement is uniting with the peace movement. The participation of trade union leaders and organizations in the campaign for collecting signatures under the ONP [Association of German Trade Unions] appeal for "Peace Through Disarmament" and the Krefeld appeal means the unification of the trade union and peace movements. The speeches of worker representatives at peace meetings also mean the unification of the worker and peace movements. The organization of initiative groups at work, including in war-industry enterprises, with a view to drafting proposals on the reorganization of the defense industry to produce nonmilitary items (which provides more jobs) also represents the unification of the labor and peace movements.

Here is a specific example: In Munich 400 representatives of production councils and trade union leaders have already expressed their weighty considerations. In their appeal, which was timed for 10 June -- the day of the huge protest demonstration on the occasion of the NATO summit meeting held in the FRG capital (about one quarter of a million people took part in the demonstration) -- they voiced their opposition to the arms race on the basis, among others, of the following considerations: The purchase of 320 Hurricane aircraft by the Federal Republic would cost the taxpayers 25 billion marks. This sum would be sufficient, the appeal stated, to undertake the immediate "financing of ONP projects for the implementation of a broad jobs program." The trade union activists justifiably pointed out that "A mark can be spent only once: For the armed forces or for social needs." Similar activities were organized in other places as well.

The close connection between the arms race and the reduction to naught of social gains and between the struggle for peace and labor was clearly manifested in appeals, slogans and specific activities carried out by trade union groups, social democrats and communists. One may say that a further step was taken in involving the majority of the working class in the active struggle for peace.

The Working People Are not Indifferent to Who Rules the Country

The situation regarding the Social Democratic Party is not a matter of indifference to the communists or the other peace-loving forces in the Federal Republic. They are concerned about the present government and its possible replacement by a new government headed by the CDU/CSU. Every day there is talk about a change in government. Furthermore, the CDU/CSU and some of the FDP leadership are concentrating all their efforts on this objective.

If this were to take place the serious danger of a sharp swing to the right in domestic policy would arise. However, it would be a grave error not to realize that this is already taking place. It is manifested in the fact that the government is firmly supporting NATO's decision on Euromissiles, that a retreat has been sounded in the area of social reforms, that new concessions are being granted to big capital at the expense of the working people, and that an offensive has been mounted against democratic rights and freedoms. It is precisely this course that is being supported by the social democratic leadership and has led to the erosion of the government coalition and a decline in the influence of the social democrats among the voters. This, naturally, has played in the hand of the CDU/CSU.

Such a course instills courage in the zealous defender of the interests of big capital, such as Count Lambsdorf, Genscher, who is exchanging increasingly deeper bows with the United States, and Scheel, who is thinking of regaining the seat of federal president, increasingly encouraging them to "build bridges" with the CDU/CSU. They would like to shift the entire blame for a possible breakdown in the government coalition to the SDP, thus making it the "scapegoat." However, a change in government is not the result of "pressing a button" in the power center of big capital or the ruling boards of the CDU and FDP. This is a matter of serious differences among the various bourgeois groups themselves. Nevertheless, it is the toiling masses which could have the final say in a possible change in government. It would benefit the social democrats to remember 1972, when the CDU/CSU failed to carry out its plan of replacing the social democratic cabinet precisely because the working class took to the streets. At that time the working people voiced their firm objection to the political machinations of the Christian democrats and expressed their support for the policy of detente.

The federal government and the influential forces within the SDP as well as, unfortunately, some trade union leaders are doing everything possible to avoid explaining to the working people the nature of CDU/CSU policy and to mobilize them in the struggle against a further move to the right in politics. The SDP leadership appeals to members and supporters of the Social Democratic Party to rise like one in support of the government headed by Schmidt and to reject the neoconservatism expressed by the chancellor in his address to the ONP congress cannot take the place of an aggressive and meaningful political struggle against the Christian parties. Those who themselves abet the implementation of NATO's missile decision cannot convincingly expose an antidetente policy. Those who themselves engage in a policy of dismantling social gains and shift the entire burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the working people are obviously not in a position to oppose the social demagoguery of the CDU/CSU.

Therefore, the SDP leadership proves itself incapable of directing the party masses toward a decisive and efficient confrontation with the parties of monopoly capital. In the final account, its policy is contributing to the fact that many social democrats and voters are turning away from the party and looking not toward the leftist forces but in the direction of the Christian democrats. Many of them were disappointed by the policy of the SDP, for they expected something more of it. Furthermore, the party's leadership has steadily introduced elements of political and ideological disorientation among the working class. All of this combined allows the CDU/CSU to expand their influence among the masses, successfully to encourage nationalism, blabber about an imaginary "threat" from the East, fan hostile feelings toward foreign workers and demagogically claim that the CDU/CSU are allegedly the best defenders of the interests of the simple people.

The number of social democrats, who are perplexed by the dilemma created as a result of losing part of the electorate, is growing. The communists understand them well, but also believe that, as is the case currently, when many social democrats stay idle and no longer struggle to make the social democratic governmental policy stand out in sharp contrast to the CDU/CSU course, it is indeed difficult to mobilize the masses in support of the social democratic state governments. Actually, such people abandon their support of the political and parliamentary positions which were gained by the Social Democratic Party in 1969 with the help of the working people and the youth. Those who, as though hypnotized, indifferently observe the course of the preparations for Landstag elections, in Hesse for example, in the hope that the SDP/FDP will be able to escape defeat, forgetting the need to strengthen democratic and extraparliamentary movements against CDU/CSU attacks, are also refusing to prepare the people to defend the state governments headed by social democrats against CDU/CSU attacks. Furthermore, those who become carried away by meaningless parliamentarianism or who, like Hesse's Prime Minister Borner, believe that the pressure of "the street" on parliament must be opposed, dig themselves the grave of the social democratic governments not only in Wiesbaden but in Bonn.

In order to prevent the assumption of power in the Federal Republic by the CDU/CSU the policy to be followed must mainly serve the interests of the working people. The SDP government must be induced to put an end to the "crusade" against the communists and the unity of action among the working people. The social democrats should not be satisfied with nicely sounding resolutions; they should not attack the left wing forces and even less so allow them to be expelled from the SDP or else again to refuse the position of mayor, as was the case in Marburg, on the grounds that a social democratic nominee could win only with GCP support. What is needed is the implementation of an effective program for the employment of the working people financed out of the profits of the big concerns, and the revocation of NATO's decision on Euromissiles. The social democrats must work harder to unite the labor with the peace movement.

The situation is serious and today the question of the need actively to defend the policy of detente and the social and democratic gains of the working people and the struggle against the arms race arises in its full urgency. With this in mind, the communists are defending ever more consistently the

demands and reforms which were formulated in their time by the social democrats themselves, under the pressure of the working class and its trade unions and democratic movements, and which subsequently were forgotten, amended or questioned by the representatives of the SDP in the government. The communists are firm supporters of these demands, as seen in their extraparliamentary activities and their efforts to gain parliamentary seats.

To create conditions for effectively countering the CDU/CSU bloc's aspirations to seize the central power in the republic means to expand the peace movement, to support the initiative and activities of the unemployed and to encourage the trade union struggle. In the course of this struggle the blue and white collar workers will be able to identify the interests supported by the CDU/CSU bloc. This will result in the appearance of the type of political and spiritual atmosphere in the country in which the forces gravitating toward the CDU/CSU will find it difficult to implement their plans and which will have a generally positive influence on the FDP. It is precisely thus that more successful efforts can be made in countering neoconservatism and fascism which is rearing its head.

Postscriptum to the 1982 SDP Congress

The Munich SDP Congress revealed the wide gap between the hopes and expectations of the rank-and-file party membership, on the one hand, and the policy of the party's leadership and the federal government, on the other. The expectations and requirements of many social democrats notwithstanding, the congress said "yes" to NATO's missile resolution and to undertaking practical preparations for the deployment of such missiles, and "no" to the suggestions of the Soviet Union aimed at reducing and even totally eliminating the nuclear confrontation in Europe.

Nevertheless, we cannot judge the SDP merely on the basis of the fact that its leadership succeeded once again in having its policy of nuclear arms race approved. The Munich congress proved something else as well.

Let us point out that the peace movement is having a significant influence on the SDP. This is already apparent in the support of detente on the part of leading SDP politicians and in the rejection of the policy of economic "sanctions" against the socialist countries. Even if their behavior was frequently based on tactical considerations, it should be recognized that the peace movement is restricting the freedom of action of the supporters of the deployment of missiles within the SDP leadership.

What is even more important is the fact that most of the draft resolution of the Munich congress called for revoking NATO's notorious decision and approving the Soviet proposals on a missile deployment moratorium. Indicative in this respect was the draft resolution submitted by the Nurnberg social democrats, which stipulates that in pursuing its missile policy the U. S. government is bringing to Europe a climate of "fear, military hysteria and intolerance," which could wreck all the positive results of detente achieved so far. Judging by the draft resolutions and the debates in the course of the discussions and by numerous practical examples in waging the struggle, the self-evident conclusion is that cooperation between communists and social

democrats and their joint actions in defense of peace and preventing nuclear death are both necessary and possible. The joint defense of the rights of the working people to jobs and social insurance is equally possible.

Officially, the task of fighting unemployment was proclaimed as the second most important, the first being the defense of peace. However, the congress failed to indicate specific means to this effect. Furthermore, the party's leadership let it be understood that the resolutions on employment passed at the Munich congress would have no practical influence on the policy of the government. The federal chancellor clearly hinted that it is the working people who would have to pay for the policy of arms race and confrontation. Turning to the hundreds of delegates and, through them, to all working people, he said: "To speak of 'blood, sweat and tears' would be an exaggeration. Nevertheless, we state that further efforts and substantial material sacrifices will be needed."

However, many of the delegates were of the opposite opinion. "It is an insurmountable fact," they openly proclaimed, "that the huge expenditures for the production of armaments" lead to "increased mass unemployment," and that "it is more necessary to seek funds for programs which provide jobs than to engage in insane armament expenditures." It was precisely such statements that revealed the signs of growing coincidence between the positions held by social democrats and communists on the interrelationship between the arms race and unemployment.

What prevents such a coincidence? Mainly feelings of confusion, depression and passiveness, which are widespread among most of the working class which follows the SDP. The sad fact is that during the congress' debates on the deployment of the missiles the voice of the trade unions remain almost silent. How to explain this? By the influence of the propaganda aimed at separating the labor from the peace movement and preserving the "class partnership" and "social peace," so heatedly supported by Helmut Schmidt at the ONP congress which took place soon after that of the SDP. In other words, it was due to the low level of political consciousness of the masses.

One more reason, although secondary, is that the leading social democratic politicians are still holding on to the decision they made at the 1971 SDP Congress, which banned cooperation between social democrats and communists and rejected the idea of unity of action between them, a decision which Helmut Schmidt made even more intransigent in his theses for the SDP congress. "Today," he said, "it is even more important" than ever before to honor this obligation. "The SDP has no place for anyone who favors unity of action with the communists," said he, repeating the statement which Willi Brandt made in April 1974. Conversely, the communists believe that the time has come to review this fatal decision and to shelve it. This is demanded by the urgent need to wage a common struggle for peace and work and against the further offensive mounted by the country's right.

The Munich congress also proved that the powers in the SDP leadership not only failed to meet the expectations of many rank-and-file social democrats but also that their policy clashes with that of many parties within the Socialist International, which oppose the deployment of new American

medium-range missiles in Western Europe and who support a moratorium on the deployment of new nuclear weapons in Central Europe.

Unification Congress of German Trade Unions

The 12th ONP Congress, which followed the SDP's was an important event in the life of the West German working people. In its greetings to the congress, the GCP stated that "In the forthcoming actions in the exercise of the right to peace and work the communists will dedicate all their efforts to strengthen the cohesion among the working people and the militancy of the ONP as a unified trade union." As to the results of the congress, let us say that some of its decisions were positive in their spirit while others were depressing and questionable.

It was pleasing to hear the loud voices of a trade union representatives most consistently supporting active social efforts, the struggle against new nuclear missiles and the formulation of a clear strategy in the struggle for preserving jobs under the changed circumstances. The speeches and resolutions stated that the trade unions will help to safeguard the peace, and in the struggle for preserving jobs and for a 35-hour work week. They intend to mount a new campaign for qualified, equal and democratic participation in enterprise management, to demand higher real wages and firmly to oppose the persecution of foreign workers.

However, the congress did not feel strong enough to formulate an efficient combat strategy aimed at safeguarding peace and social gains. It is sad to note that, judging by its documents, trade union policy and practice will continue to be guided by "social partnership" between labor and capital. The created impression is that the trade union leadership intends to answer demands for a new quality of trade union unity and solidarity, voiced from below, only with meaningless appeals to the government and to entrepreneurial associations. Equally questionable was the expediency of inviting Karstens, Straus, Kohl and Verheugen to attend and even to address the congress. This can be interpreted as a sign of conciliation with the declared enemies of the trade unions and to emphasize the fact that the CDU/CSU will be justified in relying on the workers' vote in the forthcoming elections.

The idea is occasionally mentioned in verbal and printed comments on the results of the congress that the election of the new ONP board will mean some sort of "new start" in trade union activities. The GCP viewpoint is that the trade union organizations, which are the most consistent supporters of preserving peace, the right to work, the securing of real wages and production democracy, need far greater cohesion and support on the part of the entire trade union movement than some kind of new start. In general, the nature of such a "new start" and its meaning and purpose are not very clear. As to the communists, they will continue to perform their trade union duty whatever the case, and ask that the positive statements made at the ONP Congress on safeguarding peace and protecting jobs do not remain on paper only but are implemented in practice.

As we pointed out, the question of war and peace was extensively discussed at the congress. Let me discuss this in somewhat greater detail. Twenty-nine

speeches were made on the subject. A lengthy discussion took place mainly on the demand of the metallurgical workers union to condemn "the resolution of NATO's Council to equip Western Europe with medium range missiles." What does this prove? It proves that thousands upon thousands of trade union activities are not simply talking about peace but have already taken real steps toward this humane objective and are expecting the same on the part of the ONP leadership.

It is precisely on the basis of such positions that the communists tend to assess the significance, proceedings and results of the congress. It turns out that many similarities and coincidental points exist on an entire range of central problems of peace and disarmament in the views between the supporters of the peace movement and large trade union groups. Many of the draft resolutions submitted at the congress and delegate speeches proved that the line followed by some social democrats and communists in the ranks of the peace movement significantly coincides with the course charted by the trade union movement.

Some of these viewpoints were reflected in the compromise resolution passed by the 12th ONP Congress "Detente, Disarmament and Peace Throughout the World." They include the demand of freezing armament expenditures, abandoning new plans for armaments, and the international legal banning of the neutron bomb and all types of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons. Naturally, the communists support this resolution. However, the active and consistent struggle waged by the trade unions for peace should have required the approval of the mentioned resolution of the metallurgical workers union. The demand of the trade, banking and insurance company workers on "dismantling the Soviet missiles aimed at Europe and European medium range missiles aimed at the Soviet Union, including comparable air- and sea-based systems" should have been accepted too, for any unprejudiced person clearly realizes that the talks initiated in Geneva can be successful only by taking the safety of both sides into consideration.

The draft resolution submitted by the Baden-Wurttemberg ONP organization contained specific proposals too: The establishment of trade union information stands and the holding of peace conferences and trade union demonstrations, peace weeks and peace demonstrations. In our view, it is precisely this that would make it possible for the working class to manifest its desire for peace and to express its attitude toward the fatal course of increasing military and reducing social expenditures. Such actions would send an effective signal to the the ruling and dominating circles.

Conversely, the speech which Hauenschild, the president of the trade union of chemical industry workers, who stated at the ONP Congress that if the trade union membership assumes that it could achieve more in the area of global politics than the SDP congress it was "overestimating itself," was no contribution to the cause of peace.

Therefore, a great deal of what was discussed on the struggle for peace and social rights and, even more so, the processes which are taking place within the trade unions give renewed hope and guidelines for active efforts on the part of the trade unions in favor of peace. This is an appeal to them and to

all trade union members, regardless of party affiliation and outlook, actively to help in making the great ideas of peace and disarmament familiar to the broad strata of the working class. Naturally, this is also an appeal to the communists to increase their efforts in involving an increasing number of working people in direct participation in the struggle for peace.

As active trade union members the communists have the right to say openly that the widening gap within the SDP between the interests of the workers, on the one hand, and the government's course, on the other, will not be narrowed unless the trade unions demand a reduction in armament costs and job protection. Naturally, it would be unrealistic to consider trade union policy as separate from the political parties supported by the membership. However, the principle of united trade unions, which developed in the postwar period and was a major achievement of the labor movement, includes the obligation to reject the policy of any party or government, which may conflict with the basic interests of the trade unions. It is precisely these interests of blue and white collar workers which are concentrated in the "peace and work" formula and which take a central place today in trade union policy. "Peace and work" is a slogan which will become an even greater unifying principle of the trade union membership in the future. The communists will do everything possible to make the trade union masses aware of this truth.

The struggle for peace and work is not exclusively the task of the workers in the Federal Republic but an international one. Of late new initiatives have been formulated by the large trade unions which have traditionally played an important role in the struggle for detente and disarmament, such as the CGT in France, the British Trade Union Congress and the Finnish Central Organization of Trade Unions. Thus, in September 1981 the British Trade Union Congress demanded of the government to take steps leading to unilateral nuclear disarmament and closing down of military bases armed with nuclear weapons on British soil. The trade unions in Belgium, The Netherlands, Portugal, Greece, Japan and other countries are actively participating in and frequently initiating peace movements.

The 10th World Trade Unions Congress, which was held in Havana in February 1982, called upon the working people and the trade unions of all countries to block the aggressive intentions of imperialist reaction, save the world from nuclear catastrophe and use the funds thus made available to meet the most urgent social and economic needs, the creation of new jobs and the resolution of the unemployment problem.

The Fourth European Trade Union Conference (Geneva, November 1981), in which almost 50 trade union associations from 27 European countries, including the ONP, participated, called upon the governments to stop the waste of human and material resources on military objectives and to use them to resolve the social problems which face many countries, developing ones above all.

In the AUCCTU greetings to the ONP Congress the Soviet trade unions suggested that joint mass meetings in favor of peace and disarmament, putting an end to the arms race and removing from Europe all nuclear weapons be held on 1 September 1982 by the international trade union and peace movements.

These are among the most important events in recent trade union international activities in which the ONP should not act merely as an observer.

Class contradiction are intensifying in the FRG, and the old truth is confirmed: Whenever big capital faces the growing discontent of the working people it intensifies its attacks on their class organizations. Such was the case this time as well. It began with the higher courts' legalizing mass lockouts. Now the authorities would like to restrict the right to strike by using the same method. The intrigues of secret services and spies and provocateurs against labor organizations and activities have increased. What is the result? The ruling class is throwing thousands of working people on the street while putting into action its governmental machinery -- the courts, police, secret services, etc. And despite all this, North Rhine-Westphalia Minister Varman hypocritically complains that "An increasing number of young people tend to consider the use of force against social institutions and violations of the law a means for settling political arguments." He does not hide the fact that "the tendency to engage in violent acts" substantially rises with the rise in unemployment. This is the familiar ploy of the thief who is the first to shout "catch the thief!" The authorities do not shy at slandering and discriminating against those who are brave enough to exercise their democratic rights in opposing the reaction.

Exposing such tactics is not enough. What is by far more important is to prevent them. One must not let oneself be frightened by scandalous court decisions and the threat of policemen's sticks or by secret agents from departments in charge of protecting the constitution. This is only half the work. The working class must militantly defend its rights and interests.

As to the German Communist Party and the communists, they remain loyal to the combat traditions of the working class and the democratic popular movements. They remain loyal to the democratic stipulations of the Fundamental Law and to their party program. They have neither invented nor are preaching violence. However, nor will they allow such attacks to make them deviate from the decisive and persistent struggle for peace and work and for democratic participation in the solution of social problems. Their answer must lie in making new efforts to strengthen the positions of the workers movement, new efforts which increase the militancy of the GCP. The communists will not deviate from their path.

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AFGHAN NOTES

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[Article by V. Sevruk]

[Text] The Living Revolution

I recall two contrasting events. A scorching Afghan summer in the inner courtyard of Hotel Kabul, in a rose-lined alley, a wiry European in safari clothing, his bare feet on a folding stool, having a cold drink, with two Afghan waiters standing respectfully nearby. We were sitting not far from him, handing over letters to a compatriot of ours, who was returning home. Hearing Russian spoken, the European rose and sauntered in our direction.

"Comrades, comrades, may I join you?"

"Sure, if you pay for the drinks."

He extracted a few creased bank notes from his pocket, motioned to the waiters and brought his folding stool.

"You are Soviets, I gather," our new interlocutor said in rather good Russian.

"Soviets, my dear, Soviets."

"I am a journalist. No, I am not with the 'mercenary press.' I want to understand this revolution. I am on my second trip here, and let me tell you," he raised an admonishing finger, like a minister preaching a sermon, "as they say in your country, the egg did not wait for Easter. Too soon, you know. Oh, I am for socialism, and it is horrible to see these bandits set fire to schools. But..."

He waved his finger and admonished:

"They should have started by educating the people. They should have won the elections, at which point the law and the power would go to the winners. This would have been a legitimate revolution. But, you know, the Afghan friends were too hasty. So, there is war."

He nodded in the direction of a frail Afghan adolescent with a lean undernourished face standing by the hotel's entrance holding a PPSH submachine gun.

"Should children hold weapons instead of books?"

I recognized the youngster. On the previous evening Boris Pastukhov, Komso-mol Central Committee first secretary and I had met him at the entrance to the premises of the Democratic Organization of Afghan Youth Central Committee. He had grabbed Boris Nikolayevich by the wrist and, carefully choosing his words, had asked in Russian:

"Are you Soviet? Are you the chief comrade? I saw you at the meeting. Tell our secretary to give me an automatic to fight the bandits. I am Pushtu. The Pushtu are brave people. The bandits killed my mother, my father, my grandfather and my small sisters. I am learning Russian at night. I pray to Allah and learn Russian. I'll come to your country to study to become a mechanic. Give me an automatic, comrade."

Our collocutor settled comfortably in the shadow of the roses. His entire appearance seemed to indicate that revolutions must be made according to rules: elections on Sunday and a revolution on Monday. Some depart and others take over. The main thing is to keep the cold beer coming.

But what if the revolution finds itself surrounded by a ring of fire, during which the fate of the nation is decided in terms of literally days and hours? A counterrevolutionary victory would mark the start of a merciless bloody slaughter. Should the power fall in the hands of the imperialist agents the political and strategic fate of the entire area would become unpredictable. Should then one defend himself or not? Should one ask for help or not?

Some foreign collocutors settle such problems quite simply: Why is a revolution necessary if it must be defended?... However, enemy fire cannot be met with doctrinary statements alone.

The April 1978 revolution had taken many years to ripen in the midst of Afghan society. Afghanistan was frequently shaken up by powerful popular upheavals, such as peasant troubles, workers' and artisans' strikes, and student demonstrations.

Hunger, poverty, ignorance and disease reigned here as they had for the past century or two. In 1972 the per-capita national income was no more than \$162 and about one-third of all peasant families were landless. Two-thirds of school-age children had never seen a pencil, note book or primer. There were only about 4,000 hospital beds and slightly more than 1,000 physicians for a population of 16 million.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, founded in 1965, headed the struggle of the toiling masses. It rallied within its ranks members of the toiling people, the progressive intelligentsia and the democratic elements in the armed forces. A revolutionary situation was ripening. The reaction became aware of this, for which reason, at the end of April 1978, the Daud dictatorship struck a fierce preventive blow at the PDPA. The virtually

entire party leadership was detained. It was literally a question of days. The problem was the following: either immediate revolutionary action or the physical destruction of the entire party. As we know, bourgeois-feudal dictatorships show no hesitation in the fight against their political enemies.

Answering the party's signal, PDPA-supported officers and soldiers rose on 27 April 1978. The party's slogans, which expressed the interests of the impoverished toiling masses and all national progressive strata, ensured the revolution's victory. Virtually no major military unit stood up in defense of the antipeople's regime. A revolutionary system had been established by 29 April 1978 in all provinces.

The subsequent development of the April revolution was difficult. The treasonable activities of the adventurer Amin, who managed to assume the leadership of the party and the people, caused tremendous harm to the revolutionary process. The healthy forces within the PDPA, headed by Babrak Karmal, overthrew Amin's regime on 27 December 1979.

A new stage began for the April revolution. The PDPA, which now numbers more than 62,000 members and candidate members, strengthened organizationally and ideologically. Revolutionary trade unions were organized and the Democratic Organization of Afghan Youth is growing. A National Patriotic Front was founded in June 1981, which united all progressive forces in Afghan society. The initial steps were taken to improve the material situation of the working people. Hospitals, schools, irrigation systems and housing are being built, all under enemy fire, the fire of imperialist mercenaries and convinced enemies of the new system, who lost their fabulous privileges.

The path of the April revolution is hard, but could such a tremendous change in the age-old way of life in a country previously suppressed by exploitation, backwardness and political rightlessness of the masses read like a textbook idyll? However, as part of the world revolutionary process, in the final account, the Afghan national democratic revolution is as invincible as is this main social process of our time.

Following are a few pages from my Afghan diary and the description of a few people whom I consider as close to me as my friends and relatives. This is a story of primarily hard days during which some destinies were mercilessly ended by a bandit's bullet. To me, however, they remain alive.

Let me stipulate first that for a variety of reasons I have changed the names of some of the comrades I describe.

Kabul, February 1980.

Dust and snow were falling on Kabul. Along the streets the wind raised tornadoes of dust, while a blinding sun shone through pale violet-colored snow storms. It was noon, 20 February 1980. A prosperous looking citizen dressed in a thick overcoat, lambskin cap and shiny rubber galoshes strolled importantly across the Kabul Hotel. He was followed by three women wearing multicolored veils. The city was calm and happy. A militia patrol was sunning itself on Pushtinistan Square. Carrying trays laden with cigarettes,

youngsters were hawking their wares on the Spinzar, in all languages. Suddenly one of them turned to me:

"Hello, how are you? Fit as a fiddle, you are!. Buy, comrade!." All of this was said in a single breath. He looked like a little animal, with his feet wrapped in rags stuck in worn-out galoshes. One already knows that such "merchants" manage to eat no more than once daily: a flat cake with a cup of green tea.

While buying cigarettes we also parted with a few of our own "Rossiskiye" packs. In just one second we were surrounded by a small crowd. But Kabul children are proud: no one held out his hand, but saw to it that every one received something. We parted with our badges and calendars, after which I and Fayzulla, my fellow-traveller and interpreter, entered a shoe store. Sharp smell of leather, hot coal and dry wood. Music coming from a small transistor set. Ahmad, a popular Kabul singer killed by Amin's secret police was singing. We sat on trestle seats made of leather strips polished as though they had been steadily used since the time of the Baltic navy seamen who guarded the first Soviet political mission in Kabul.

The host served tea, and nuts in powdered sugar. An old man was lying on a wooden bed, covered by a piece of felt. Wiping his eyes, he sat up and quietly said:

"It is good that Amin, the bloody dog, was kicked out. He tortured my grandson and put my son in jail."

The shoemaker shuddered. The kettle fell on the dirt floor, and it was only then that I noticed his toenails -- they were blue-black.

The old man suddenly began to whisper quickly, waiving his arms.

"There are many foreigners in the city. There are bad people with evil thoughts."

The noon sun was hitting against the window. Donkeys loaded with tangerines trotted down the street. There was goodness and peace on the streets of Kabul, or so it seemed to us. We bought leather purses, bags and belts. The owner bowed while the old man went on talking worriedly. He must have suffered a lot under Amin. He was frightened....

We seem somehow to have forgotten that in the last third of January 1980 the Carter administration threateningly demanded of the Afghan government to surrender its authority to the bandit chiefs who had dug in in Pakistan, to reject the international aid provided by the Soviet Union and to restore the old order. In February the hirelings of American imperialism decided to test the will of the revolutionary Afghan government.

A course in journalism was offered one evening in one of the halls of Kabul Polytechnical Institute. It was cold and the students had kept on their jackets and overcoats, their Kalashnikov submachine guns on their laps. A boy wrapped in a long scarf was summarizing the first lecture delivered by

Professor Karen Khachaturov, pushing aside from his notebook on the desk his Spanish-made pistol. To anticipate, let me say that this was to be his last lecture, for Mahmud Zaki died on the following day defending a bakery from raiders.

It was as though we were in a different world when we woke up the following cloudy grey morning. Thick clouds were hanging over the city. Then colors began to appear along with the smell of coal, broiled meat, warm bread, greens and tangerines. The entire length of Spinzar lined with closed stalls. The Green market was deserted and all stores were locked up. The grey shutters of the stores next to the Soviet embassy were pulled down.

Therefore, the first step of the counterrevolution was to strangle the million-strong city by hunger. Meanwhile, its staffs were gathering at the Park Hotel, the Spinzar Hotel and the adobe huts on Mayvand Boulevard. Radio communications were being established, the locations of snipers were being determined and broadcasting equipment for cassettes with the roar of crowds chanting "Allah is great" was being laid out. The counterrevolutionaries relied on the fact that the new Afghan government had not yet mastered the situation, the security organs, the army and the police had been bled white by Amin's "purges," and some of the soldiers were confused.

We were writing letters in the Kabul Hotel when someone knocked at the door. It was the correspondent for NEPSZABADSAG.

"Go look from the balcony into the window of the room next door."

The room was occupied by an American working for the International Red Cross. A white flag with a red cross was hanging from his window. We knew that the American was an "art expert in mufti."

"Listen!"

An unidentifiable din coming from various parts of the city was growing, after which we could distinguish the words "Allah is great!" The high tone of women's and children's voices could be singled out.

We later found out that children followed by women had been placed at the head of the crowds. Marching behind them were thugs armed with nail-covered sticks and steel pipes -- armed raiders. The explosion of hand grenades was heard in the distance and the sound of submachine guns echoed.

In the hall I came across Sergeant Dzhafar, one of the two hotel guards. Every day, in his off-duty time he could be found in the hall studying from a Russian-language textbook.

He was holding his PPSH horizontally. He said briefly, "I am one of yours, Comrade!" and walked toward the back entrance, where he spent the entire February night in his thin uniform, the PPSH on the ready. When he returned he refused vodka but drank lots of tea with condensed milk. He kept smiling and repeating through numbed lips, "Good, comrade, good comrade."

He was no longer around in July 1980. The Kabul city party committee secretary sadly informed us that "He died at Farah. He was a secondary school graduate and wanted to study painting in Leningrad."...

One sometimes wonders at the power of a revolutionary idea which, even before its entire greatness has become apparent, can urge such a youngster to face bandit bullets, a youngster raised in a Muslim environment, who has not read a single Marxist book but who believes with his entire being in fighting for the poor, the deprived brothers and a new life worthy of man.

That is the way I remember this frail person, barely visible against the background of the bright hotel wall but inspired with confidence by the weight of the submachine gun.

On the 22nd of the month the bandits came out of the bakery and set fire along the Mayvand. Patrols from the DOAY -- Democratic Organization of Afghan Youth protected the stores.

The propaganda, agitation and training department of the PDPA Central Committee was located in a one-story wing in the courtyard of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Comrade Dekhnishin, its chief, was writing from right to left on a piece of paper the following appeal to the city population:

"Dear compatriots:

"Of late bandits armed with American and Chinese weapons, connected with subversive elements, have tried to stir up trouble in Kabul. These armed criminals include a large number of Pakistani subversives and CIA agent Robert Lee.

"May all external and internal enemies, disturbers of the peace and enemies of Islam, Allah and the honest people in our country meet their deserved punishment for their base crimes.

"Your revolutionary government will bring order in the capital and throughout the country with a firm hand. Let no one doubt this.

"Dear compatriots! Pious Muslims! Rally around the PDPA and Babrak Karmal. The dark times of the bloody Amin's rule are gone forever. However, in order to prevent their recurrence every honest Afghan citizen and orthodox Muslim must stand up to defend the honor of his homeland.

"Peasants, workers, patriotic clergy, great soldiers in the armed forces, merchants, teachers, physicians, and all intellectuals!

"Let us all defend the peaceful life of our suffering people! Let us all join in the fight against the enemies of the homeland and the interventionists! It is only thus that you will praise Allah and serve Him faithfully."

That same evening party activists plastered the leaflet along Kabul's winding streets.

The stands began to reopen, one after another, on the 24th. A merchant, looking hurt but unafraid, gesticulating, was talking into a microphone in his shop, surrounded by a crowd. The microphone was being held by Ira Sveshnikov, a Moscow newsreel director, while Sasha Minayev, who had already been her cameraman and fellow traveller in Angola, was filming.

Here is another vignette from the revolution. How much courage and faith were necessary for this man to pour his heart out to Soviets, to unbelievers, with the knowledge that the enemy as well was listening to every word and that the retribution for this confession may be death?

After that, gathering her Afghan team, Irina climbed on an ancient open troop carrier, No 714, and drove to Mayvand to film the mopping up of bandit holdouts. The same day, in the embassy yard, hungry and frozen, she received her first fee for the film which was to be shown under the title "Conspiracy against the Republic," from the hands of Soviet Ambassador Fikryat Akhmedzhanovich Tabeyev. It was like at the front: a stick of butter, a loaf of bread and a couple of cans of pike in tomato sauce. He hugged her like a baby sister and loudly whispered, "No more trips." But no, off she was again, for otherwise there would be no film.

On the evening of 25 February Babrak Karmal met with the secretaries of the provincial PDPA committees in one of the small rooms of the Palace of the Republic. He spoke slowly, clearly and calmly. It was only when he wanted to emphasize something he considered important that he would express himself quietly, stop and then break the silence with an emphatic abrupt sentence.

Before that he carefully listened to the statements and took notes on thick sheets of paper. The pile of requests and questions swelled: Trouble with food deliveries to remote villages, bandits burning down schools, truck owners striking, here and there factionalism in party cells had not calmed down, there was no printed matter and the radio was using a language little of which was understood by the masses. Every one insisted that his problem be resolved immediately, amazed that so little had been accomplished, sincerely believing that all one had to do was to speak out and the next day an order would be issued and everything would start moving.

Karmal began simply:

"You must understand, comrades, that the revolution is developing in a backward semifeudal country. The new government and the Central Committee have been on the job for less than 2 months. One should not demand the impossible." He then firmly added that the party members have no right to roam amidst clouds of revolutionary phraseology. "You must come down to earth, comrades!"

He spoke of party unity with particular enthusiasm:

"Let us not swear oaths of loyalty to the revolution, comrades! We are under enemy fire. It is together in the trenches that we must hammer out the party's iron unity! There is no force today," he ended, "capable of throwing us off our chosen path!"

My impressions from those 3 days became the basis of three small stories with which I shall end my Afghan diary.

Sasha and Farid

I came across Sasha in Minsk, on Pobeda Square, as he was coming out of the grocery store, chewing on a piece of processed cheese curd. I was startled but did not approach him, for the event had taken place later, during the summer, after Sasha's discharge. I did not wish to tell him about Farid. I had met him in February in the small Ministry of Foreign Affairs wing, when Sasha was teaching Farid, aide to one of the PDPS Central Committee leaders, the Russian language. Teacher and pupil were giggling like little boys when Farid, loudly, confusing his accents, was enunciating: "Ma-sha ba-shed her hands with so-ap."

"Not 'bashed' but 'washed. Masha bashed no one! You are a pain, student of mine."

Farid was summoned, leaving Sasha by himself. I sat down next to him and asked him how was life only to hear the customary answer: everything OK, the service also OK. I then asked him to tell me about his acquaintanceship with Farid. Sasha lit up a cigarette, loosened up the collar of his jacket and cautioned:

"Don't give my last name. Mother will read and worry. The way I met Farid was as follows: Our squad was deployed at Jalalabad. I was on patrol with my buddy. Fire broke out suddenly at the school. Some 10 Afghans started running. The one with the pistol was Farid. "Come on, comrade," he shouted. All he knew in Russian was "Hellow, comrade," and "come on, comrade." Submachine guns on the ready we advanced. They started shooting at us from the school and we dropped down. Suddenly I heard a shout, a frightening inhuman shriek as if some one was being slaughtered live. We jumped and ran toward the school. Something froze inside me. The fire was not heavy. It was terrifying and dark, with bullets whizzing by. We killed the three bandits. We reached the courtyard. A woman, a teacher, was laying there. She had lived at the school. She was lying on her back with her stomach ripped open and her throat sliced. A textbook had been stuffed in her mouth. Things started to turn around me. I had lost my cap running. Yurka, my buddy told me to shake the snow off my head in order not to catch cold. I brushed my hair with the palm of my hand. It was dry. Later, in the tent, I looked at myself in the hand mirror and saw the grey.

"Naturally, a battle is a terrifying thing. But it is awful to see the way these animals commit atrocities on women and children. I react every time. How come we were late in coming? Fascists are fascists, whatever their nationality.... As to Farid, we met in Kabul. He recognized me by the grey hair. We do not live far from each other. Whenever I am free from guard duty the lieutenant lets me go see Farid. I have become his teacher."

"Yurka used to write poetry..." Sasha swallowed hard and concentrated on his cigarette. For an instant his eyes became dull. "We sing it." Quietly he hummed, marking the beat with his knuckles:

Thundering battle near Kabul
And fire lights up the night.
Nothing defeated or drove us off.
Clearly, people are stronger than armor...

Someone should collect such songs and poems and publish them. Honestly, they would become very popular....

...Farid was killed during the summer at Kandahar on his way to celebrate the end of Ramadan with his father. A gang intercepted the bus. He jumped out of the bus firing until he ran out of ammunition, after which he grabbed a rock and threw himself at the raiders. Realizing that the likes of him do not surrender they riddled his body with bullets and desecrated it. All this was witnessed by his younger brother Mahmud, who returned to Kabul, went to the PDPA Central Committee and asked to be given a weapon.

Aysha

She lifted her veil and the room lit up. She had a beautiful smile. Afghan women are generally beautiful but Aysha was particularly so. A dark-complextioned face and skin, huge almond-shaped eyes, and the gracious bearing of a proud and strong woman. She spoke Russian freely, almost without an accent. She had studied in Moscow and had returned to Kabul in the autumn of 1979. She hid from Amin's bloodhounds in a remote village, but there someone denounced her to the bandits as being "pro-Soviet." This was at the end of December. She was savagely tortured for 3 days. They asked her to join the gang, to cross into Pakistan and then work in one of the CIA propaganda centers. In a dry broken tone of voice she said:

"They tied my hands to two blocks and hit me on the fingers with the butts of heavy English rifles."

I looked at her hands. The delicate phalanges at the tips of her fingers were flattened out.

"They threw me into some kind of store-room. During the night I pushed against the door. It was open. They probably thought I would have no strength enough to open it. It was still dark when I reached a highway. I heard noise and then lights blinded me. I thought this was the end. Amin's people, probably. I was too weak to move. I saw an armored personnel carrier and the number 112, I remember. Then I heard a Russian voice: "Serezhka, why did you stop?" Ours, I whispered, ours have come. I rushed to the carrier, leaned against the cold armor and started crying. The boys picked me up and lowered me down the hatch. I was clutching the edge when Serezhka turned clumsily and hit my fingers. He even started crying. I quietly told him, "Don't cry, comrade, I'm not hurt, our people have come."

"I went to Kabul and straight to the Central Committee, to see Comrade Karmal. I thought I would teach French at the university, having studied in Moscow at the Thorez Institute. Instead, I had to put on the veil and go behind the bandits' lines. Tomorrow will be my third trip."

In the summer of 1981 we learned that Aysha as well had died... Her friends were able to identify her body only by her maimed fingers. There is no way to describe the way she died. The Basmach have made killing an art.

Last July it was her younger sister who went behind enemy lines. The DOAY Central Committee secretary tried to talk her into becoming a battalion medic. She refused.

"How could I look into Aysha's eyes when I dream of her? She was beautiful. I often dream of her..."

The Pioneers' 'Katyusha'

The first Afghan Pioneer camp was celebrating its last day in the yard of Kabul Polytechnical Institute. The children in their tricolored ties were performing their first concert. It was also the very first concert for of the public -- parents and middle-aged grandparents in their turbans.

The choir was singing a song about the heroes of the revolution, the fallen and the living and the brave and the proud who had not quavered in battle. The song, solemn and sad, blended the small singers with their audience. Party members and hardened DOAY youngsters quietly sang along. A gray-haired old man was crying. Then a young boy with an accordion approached the microphone and, marking the beat with his foot, broke out into 'Katyusha.' The choir dispersed and began a rhythmical Afghan dance to our native song. The small singer stopped and, after a pause began to sing in Russian: "Apples and pears blossomed..."

When the celebration ended it was decided that it was safer for the Pioneers to take off their ties and caps before starting for home, just in case some bandit might wish to harm them. Informed of the decision, the children became upset, started crying, and their mothers' hands began to tremble as they removed the ties. At that point a lean, upright old man approached the group of Afghan political workers. He bowed slightly, put a hand on his chest and, turning not only to the party members but to the entire assembly, launched into a speech. Totally unflustered by the audience he spoke as though he wanted every one to hear him:

"Do not deprive my grandchildren of their joy, respected and honorable chiefs. They were blind and mute, for they could not read and write; they did not smile because they were hungry every single day; they knew no happiness, for they saw the landlord, the policeman and the tax collector beat their grandfather. Today, respected and honored chiefs, my grandsons are singing, their clothes are clean and they can write a letter to their father, to my brave Anwar, who is in the army, when I dictate it to them. The new system brought my grandsons joy. Do not take away from them those symbols of the new system." He pointed at the heap of ties and caps.

"You, respected and honored chiefs, see to it that nothing bad happens to our grandsons. We shall protect them. I, the oldest member of the Wakil family, son of Muhammad, tell you this."

Before the order could be given the children ran to their ties and caps, and stood in formation. The drummer raised his sticks and the small player of 'Katyusha' unfolded his accordion. Under the beat of the precise Afghan military march the column of Pioneers left the camp. Marching in step was old Said, son of Muhammad, of the Vakil family. He noticed the happy smile on the face of his grandson, the submachine guns of the Afghan soldiers on guard at the entrance of the Politechnical Institute, the smiling helmeted youngster by the armored troop carrier, and marched with light and confident steps. These were his land, his skies, his system, his sons and grandsons and his friends.

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'THE HAND OF MOSCOW' OR LIES HAVE SHORT WINGS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 82 pp 112-115

[Article by Manfred Banashak, editor in chief of EINHEIT, SED Central Committee journal of theory and practice of scientific socialism]

[Text] The growth of the peace movement in Western Europe alarmed official Washington, President Ronald Reagan and his stooges on our continent. Although they have given different names to the movement, such as "neutralist," "romantic" and "anti-American," in all cases it is considered "Moscow-inspired." The same applies in discussing the liberation struggle waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. To listen to those who are plagued by this struggle, for it affects their profoundly selfish interests, it too is "the work of the hand of Moscow." They dare to claim that it is allegedly precisely in Moscow that the ways of the inspirers of the "terrorist organizations," the left-wing and right-wing extremists and the kidnapers of hostages converge. They would like to see "the hand of Moscow" as the symbol of all evils in anything which does not suit the fighters against "contemporary terrorism" for political considerations or even in any criminal act which causes universal anger and indignation. "John Foster Dulles has moved once again into the White House," are the words with which George Ball, former U.S. assistant secretary of state, describes the political feature of Reagan's administration: "We can hear once again his hysterical wailing to the effect that the Soviet Union is the antichrist who threatens civilization with his fatal doctrine. The Soviet Union, President Reagan declares, is guilty of anything which worsens global policy--disturbances in small Latin American countries, clashes in the Middle East, tribal discord in Africa and terrorism throughout the world."

We could say that this is not a lie which could take someone a long way. Naturally, the saying that "lies have short wings" makes a great deal of sense. However, even with short wings one could crush tender sprouts such as, for example, the actual results achieved in the development of detente, which is of vital importance to all mankind, and all the hopes of millions of people related to its development. One can fly with short wings as well, although with greater difficulty, and destroy along the way anything which needs concerned care such as, in particular, the offshoots of a peaceful future, which are so necessary in terms of life on earth itself and the happiness of nations.

The myth of the "hand of Moscow" was born in the same "chamber of horrors" which created the threadbare ghost of the "Soviet threat." Today this fabrication of the supporters of confrontation has become the starting point of imperialist demagoguery, the objective of which is to promote sinister political activities through fear and to encourage in the minds of the Western petit bourgeois anticommunist prejudices by frightening and horrifying them. The myth of the "hand of Moscow" is a kind of multipurpose ideological weapon. First of all, it is used as a foundation for the main propaganda thesis promoted by Western reaction regarding the imaginary "military threat" presented by the Soviet Union. Secondly, by referring to "the hand of Moscow" its purpose is to conceal Western intervention in the internal affairs of other countries and nations or, at least, morally to justify it in the eyes of world public opinion.

Let us recall Chile. In order to hinder the activities of the "red cabinet," as the Popular Unity government was known in the West, the American ITT, Anaconda and Kennecott concerns spent millions of dollars. They financed the CIA- and U.S. Department of State-inspired counterrevolutionary coup in Chile. In order to "defend" the freedom (meaning capital!) from the conspiracy of the "communist global revolution" (one can easily guess that this naturally is presented as the notorious "hand of Moscow"), imperialism strangled the young democracy in the Andes.

Another example is the savage terrorist regime in El Salvador. In order to put an end to the Farabundo Marti liberation movement and retain this country as a bridgehead in the struggle against political progress in Latin America, the United States is pouring millions of dollars into the state treasury of the dictatorial regime, supplying it with weapons and giving it increasing military support. What is the value of human life here? How much do the hypocrites who speak of human rights care about the fact that punitive detachments are decapitating with machetes or "simply" shooting down thousands of Salvadoran old people, children, men and women, or are beating them to death with sticks? Imperialism has "vital interests" in Latin America and state-monopoly capital does not intend in the least to be deprived of the fabulous profits it has been earning and, in order to protect them, does not stop at anything but uses all possible means. Nevertheless, in order not to lose their prestige, wherever it still exists, and morally to justify their shameful support of a terrorist regime in the eyes of world public opinion, again and again the imperialists circulate the clumsy fabrications of "the hand of Moscow" and its imaginary "accomplice"--Cuba.

Various propaganda slogans are being fabricated with a view to promoting anti-communist ideology. One of them was the invention of the revolutionary "Castro triangle," which allegedly extends from Cuba to Nicaragua in Central America and to Grenada in the Lesser Antilles. It is claimed that within it hotbeds of tension break out which Havana allegedly would like to encourage by "exporting revolution." Newspaper, radio and television commentators shamelessly encourage political hysteria by reporting that for quite some time Washington has been in a state of panic. Why? Because the young people's regime in Grenada, while strengthening the economic base for the independence of its country, is building an airfield on which (God forbid!) "Cuban and Russian

aircraft could land. The threat is obvious, the television commentators proclaim in panic, for "equipment for the implementation of this important project came...from the Soviet Union." But matters become even worse: "The GDR is currently setting up a telephone system in Granada;" "Czechoslovakia is supplying generators for a new electric power station." Therefore, even the help of friends who support new Granada is presented as an argument in support of the worn-out thesis of the "export of revolution." The purpose of all of this is to legitimize the imperialist policy of threats and blackmail practiced against the former "Spice Island," as Grenada, which is not far from the United States, is known, or, at least, morally to justify the freezing of crediting of important economic projects in Grenada and the training of counterrevolutionaries for mounting an intervention.

"If the saying 'birds of a feather flock together' applies," wrote the West German FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, "the U.S. public should be ashamed of its political representatives. All sensibly thinking people realize that conflicts in Central America can no longer be suppressed by military force, for they are based on sociopolitical reasons. The resistance is a consequence of aggravated domestic political relations rather than the subversive influence of the Soviet Union or Cuba."

Ask the fearless fighter in the camp of the Central American revolutionaries the reason for which he has actively joined the liberation struggle--was he forced by Moscow or Havana or was it because his life under the conditions of a regime of arbitrariness and terror has become unbearable and it is his own dignity that leads him to take up arms? Ask the African or the American Indian why he is struggling--is it because he is following communist leaders behind the scenes or because he is no longer willing to tolerate a system of apartheid or any kind or form of discrimination, is unwilling to be fed meaningless promises but wants to have human dignity and true rights? Ask the worker or the intellectual, the young peasant, the social democrat or the communist in the FRG why he joins the others in demonstrations calling for disarmament, an end to the arms race and the rejection of nuclear madness--is it in order to "give a hand" to the Soviet Union or because he wishes good for himself and all mankind, realizing that today every conscious person must actively participate in the effort to eliminate the threat stemming from the imperialist course of an arms race and confrontation?

It is a great honor for the Soviet Union and all communists that their activities are associated by the nations with the struggle for peace, the national and social liberation of the peoples and their well-being and happiness. What could be better than the awareness that one dedicates himself entirely to such a struggle? The communists indeed consider it the meaning of their life. However, it is absurd to assume, despite the efforts of Reagan and like-thinking people to convince millions of people, that any revolutionary process or, in general, any progressive movement, which includes today's peace movement, is "the work of the hand of Moscow" and is organized by Moscow or at least is carried out on its instructions. The viewpoint of the Soviet Union on the complex problems of our time is clear and supported by specific actions. The Soviet Union does not impose on anyone its own way of building socialism. It does not intervene in the domestic affairs of other countries and nations.

Respect for the inviolable right of each nation and country to choose its own way of development is an inviolable principle of Leninist foreign policy. Lenin most firmly opposed the erroneous view that the interests of the international revolution require that it be urged on. "Such a 'theory,'" he emphasized, "is in complete contradiction with Marxism, which has always rejected the 'urging on' of revolutions, which develop as the gravity of class contradictions, which create the revolution, ripen" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 35, p 403). The socialist revolution cannot be exported. It legitimately stems from the internal contradictions within capitalism itself. The aggravation of such shrieking contradictions intensifies social conflicts, creates social forces which nurture the socialist revolution and, in the final account, brings about a revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalist power.

The effective support which the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity are giving to the revolutionary forces in this struggle is an example of the respective laws of historical development in resolving social problems in the course of building a new society. The increased power and influence of real socialism and the radical changes in the ratio of forces in the international arena based on it, as a result of the effect of objective laws of social development, enabled many nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America to take their destinies into their own hands and successfully carry out tasks of a national and social nature.

Imperialism is doing everything possible to hinder progress, stop the global revolutionary process and regain its lost positions. Since the policy of detente, which the ruling imperialist circles were forced to adopt as a result of the changed ratio of forces in the world, substantially hindered their counterrevolutionary plans, their most aggressive representatives are now hoping to defame it and to reduce results to naught. The purpose of total confrontation and the threat of a "nuclear hell" is to suppress the liberation struggle of the peoples, paralyze the forces of socialism and restore the deceitful hopes of its surrender.

"We oppose the export of revolution," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said. "However, neither can we agree with the export of counterrevolution." The fact that the socialist countries reject the export of revolution as profoundly alien to Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and the practice of socialist policy does not mean that they will not defend themselves and their positions, that they will tolerate the export of counterrevolution or will abandon their solidarity with the peoples and movements which are struggling for peace and freedom.

Concerned strictly with the interests of their monopolies, the strategists of confrontation are trying to mount an offensive against the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. "The Soviet Union is acting in the eyes of all mankind as a powerful bastion in this struggle, a guarantee for its victorious future," noted Comrade Erich Honecker in this connection. "...The CPSU and the Soviet Union deserve the decisive credit for the fact that during the second half of our century the fatal chain of world wars has been broken and that for more than 35 years Europe has lived in peace." Any person with

a sober view of matters cannot deny this merit which also proves the inexhaustible vital strength of the socialist regime born of the October Revolution. For example, who if not the Vietnamese people, who went through the crucible of the trials of three liberation wars and who won, could be a better judge of the internationalism of the Soviet Union. NAN TAN, the organ of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee, wrote in its analysis of the attacks on the Soviet Union: "Who made the greatest sacrifices on the altar of mankind and must carry on its shoulders the tremendous obligation of defending the peace throughout the world, hindering the aggressive militaristic plans of American imperialism and opposing the NATO bloc? Naturally, not the preachers of meaningless theories but the Soviet people whose sacrifices no one could match."

Therefore, the answer to the question of what is the "work of Moscow" should be clear: it represents above all the tremendous contribution which the land of the soviets has made in safeguarding peace for all mankind and ensuring the possibility of its social progress. While comprehensively helping the peoples fighting for their national and social liberation, the Soviet Union is helping to accelerate social progress in the world not with the help of the mythical "hand of Moscow" but through the example it sets of internationalism, solidarity with the oppressed and love of peace.

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FROM THE SCHOOL OF LIFE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 82 pp 116-117

[Review by B. Arkhipov, candidate of historical sciences, of the book "Dalekoye-Blizkoye" [Distant and Close]. Memoirs. Politizdat, Moscow, 1982, 223 pp]

[Text] The great epoch of the struggle waged by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Leninist party for the implementation of the plans for the building of socialism and communism is being studied and interpreted by the social scientists. It has also been recorded in the characters of the creators of the new world in fiction, motion pictures, art and music. Documents of the heroic years and testimony of contemporaries--direct participants in events--are of particular interest and enjoy great popularity.

Some important aspects of the way partywide decisions were implemented under the specific circumstances of one kray or oblast or another or the way individual approaches to the implementation of assignments affected their course may be found in memoirs by party workers. The particulars and details they include, which describe the real circumstances and the characteristics of party-political work in the various parts of our huge homeland, help us to recreate the multidimensional, vivid and visible view of the truly gigantic creative work done by the party. Unquestionably, the book by N. M. Pegov "Dalekoye-Blizkoye" will find its place among such memoirs published in recent years.

In 1938, by decree of the VKP(b) Central Committee, the Far Eastern Kray was divided into Khabarov Kray (with Khabarovsk as its center) and Maritime Kray (with Vladivostok as its seat). N. M. Pegov was appointed first secretary of the newly created Maritime Kray Party Committee.

The author analyzes the activities of the kray's party organization covering a relatively small period of time (about 8 years). This was a difficult period. The accelerated development of the kray and the rapid pace of industrial and agricultural development were dictated during the prewar years by the rising threat of aggression on the part of German fascism and Japanese militarism. The struggle of the Maritime bolsheviks to resolve these problems is described in the book against the wide background of the building of socialism and preparations for repelling an imperialist attack, conducted throughout our great multinational country: "The Primor'ye reflected, like a mirror, the general atmosphere which prevailed in the country, the rhythm of life, and the thoughts,

expectations, hopes and accomplishments of the people" (p 6). In this connection, answering the charge that the country was not preparing itself adequately to resist aggression, the author points out that "this charge is false and a total distortion of historical truth. The activities of the Maritime party organization and of all working people in the kray during that time are among the many proofs to this effect" (p 89).

The entire presentation in the book is such that the reader can compare the past with the present, feel the unbreakable link of time and draw from the past lessons applicable to the present and the future.

In describing the development of the kray in the prewar period, and particularly providing the Maritime Kray with stable cadres, N. M. Pegov goes into the history of the settlement of these lands by our forefathers. He describes what had to be accomplished in the course of the migration of individual citizens and entire families from the European part of the USSR in order to settle them firmly and forever in this bountiful corner of our homeland. The author himself, as is frequently and convincingly mentioned in the book, was given object lessons in reality, which were important in determining the ways leading to the solution of complex problems.

The problems of the accelerated development of industry and agriculture in the Maritime Kray were resolved alongside preparations for defense by the population under the conditions of the rising threat of war. The author, recalling the history of the aggressive actions of Japanese invaders in the Far East during the intervention and the civil war, describes the experience in organizing the guerrilla movement in the Maritime area and shows the way the kray's party organization used this extremely rich experience in promoting the patriotic education of the population under conditions of constant armed provocations on the part of the Japanese militarists and later during the difficult period of the Great Patriotic War.

The author uses the method of comparative analysis in describing ways to resolve problems of ensuring the drastic upsurge in the kray's industry and agriculture, increasing coal extraction, fishing, crop yields, sales by kolkhozes and sovkhoses of grain and other produce to the state, organizing the party's guidance of economic construction, socialist competition, improving work with cadres, educating workers in factories and plants and people working at sea and in fields and on livestock farms, thoughtfully selecting from the experience of the past the efficient means which could be used in resolving the new problems.

In the course of his conversation with the readers, the author shares with them his profound thoughts and views. We are touched by the sincere and confidential tone of this conversation and the absence of any desire to embellish his own individual role and merits. Talking to the readers is a superior party leader as well as a living person, rather than someone who allegedly knows everything, can do everything and has predicted everything, a type which, why conceal it, is sometimes encountered in publications.

A party, Komsomol, trade union or economic manager or anyone who is involved in education to one extent or another would find it very useful to read the

section which deals especially with party work and with the qualities which characterize the party leader. The author proves convincingly and persuasively that party work cannot be learned at school only. In order to become a true party worker and to develop in oneself the qualities which a party worker must possess, one must attend the school of life itself and engage in active party work.

The memoirs create the image of precisely such a leader. His main feature is a responsible attitude toward assignments, strict implementation of obligations, ability to act with initiative, without awaiting at all times instructions "from above," and lack of desire to erect around himself a fence of "objective reasons" with which to justify work shortcomings.

The ability to interpret past experience and to draw the necessary lessons from it and all-round consideration of previous experience play an important role in determining the accurate and reliable way to the future. The generation to which the author belongs had the difficult task of covering all stages in the struggle for building a developed socialist society in our country, passing through the trials of the civil war and surmounting the dislocation it created, experiencing the first five-year plans and the Great Patriotic War, the period of restoration of the national economy destroyed by the war and the unparalleled scope of creation during the postwar five-year plans. "Each one of these stages was noteworthy and significant in itself," the author writes, "and it would be difficult, if not impossible, to avoid any one of them or to interpret past experience" (p 5).

A strict requirement concerning the personality of the party leader is his ability to work with people. The features of the party leader, as the author describes them, are the ability to select and place people in the sectors where they could be most useful, to inspire and lead them into creative and dedicated work, the ability to listen to their opinions and to rely on their talents, knowledge and experience in decision making, and the understanding that authority does not come with the position but must be earned through active action in the common cause and the aspiration to develop an atmosphere of united collective efforts.

The ability to engage in educational work among the masses, to select its most efficient forms, to abandon promptly old methods which have become obsolete under new circumstances, always to seek the advice of the people, to seek the solution of complex problems not inside offices but among labor collectives, promptly to detect new features born of the creativity of the masses and carefully support their growth, and comprehensively to contribute to the dissemination of initiatives, carefully collecting bits of the best features in the experience of leading and enthusiastic workers are manifestations of wise party leadership. This is the secret of success in resolving even most complex problems.

"...We faced incalculable difficulties. We were still short of skilled cadres, people, equipment and materials," N. M. Pegov recalls. "However, the historical merit of our party was found precisely in the fact that it was able to mobilize the broad toiling masses and to develop in the country an atmosphere of inspired

labor and general enthusiasm, which brought to light the type of forces in our people which could challenge the old methods and to undertake the building of the new life at an unparalleled pace.

"Inspiration, optimism, faith in one's own forces and dedicated toil were the characteristics of the atmosphere then. Such an atmosphere was most fully reflected by the militant, happy, passionate, optimistic songs of that period, which challenged us to go forth. They truly 'helped us to build and to live'" (p 88).

What is noteworthy is that the book comes out during the year of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR and of the liberation of the Soviet Maritime Kray from interventionists and White Guards. Dedicated to the veterans of the Far East, it is written with a feeling of warm love for this severe and beautiful part of our homeland and its people, who are talented, warm, industrious, enthusiastic and dedicated.

The lessons of life and our great past, as described in the book, will be read with interest and benefit by both gray-haired veterans and young people who, answering the call of the party, are developing Siberia and the Far East, and party, Komsomol, trade union and economic managers--anyone who is involved in resolving the new and complex problems of building communism as earmarked in the resolutions of the 26th party congress and the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

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PROBLEMS OF MOTION PICTURE THEORY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 82 pp 118-120

[Review by N. Sibiryakov, candidate of art studies, of the book "Kniga Filmov" [A Book on Films] by R. Yurenev. Articles and reviews from different periods. Iskusstvo, Moscow, 1981, 336 pp]

[Text] The young motion picture critique, based on the rich experience of literature, theater, music and the graphic arts, is assuming an increasingly important role in the developing system of Soviet aesthetics and artistic criticism. The synthetic nature of the motion picture is the basis for such interrelationships and makes movie criticism a particularly difficult yet popular field of publicism. The maturity of our motion picture criticism is confirmed by the book "Kniga Filmov," published by Izdatel'stvo Iskusstvo. The name of the author is well known to Soviet and foreign readers. Rostislav Nikolayevich Yurenev is among the leading Soviet critics and theoreticians who have been working long and fruitfully in the area of motion pictures. Yurenev's articles and books are distinguished by high professionalism, clarity of ideological assessments, sharpness of vision and deep understanding of the graphic nature of the motion picture.

The book is a collection of articles written over a period of more than 40 years--from 1938 to 1980--covering more than half a century of the history of Soviet cinema, ranging from "The Battleship Potemkin" to the present. The selection of the articles is related primarily to the study of the most significant works which are the pride of the Soviet cinema. This enables us to consider the book as a kind of short chronological history of our cinematography. The author does not limit himself to the local study of motion pictures but continually introduces in the text specific historical data. He offers creative portraits of the artists who created one motion picture or another, cites documentary sources and discusses the popular theoretical problems of the period in which the picture was made.

A long article or a short review is essentially a profound study of a screen work, covering many aspects of the creative process (characterization and rating of the actors, playwrights and cameramen, the work of the director, the style of the artist and the composer, etc). Naturally, however, the focus is on the directors. It is precisely they, as the critic points out, who are the main authors of the pictures and who determine their artistic features, putting

together the work of all the other, sometimes numerous, vivid and dissimilar participants in the filming process. The author covers the works of Eyzenshteyn, Pudovkin, Dovzhenko, Kuleshov, Petrov, Savchenko, Ermler, Yutkevich, Kalatozov, Donskiy, Rayzman, Kulidzhanov, Chukray, Tarkovskiy, Ioselian, Shukshin and many other masters. He analyzes the films featuring noted foreigners such as Carnet, Fernandes, De Sica, Fellini, Bergman, Kurosawa and other French, Italian, Japanese, American and German motion picture directors.

In each one of the articles the author tries to penetrate into the nature of the creative individuality of the artist, which is a difficult matter: the contribution of the various participants in the creation of a film is not always the same; the range of graphic motion picture facilities, playwright principles and social relations is rapidly expanding, for unlike the other arts the art of cinematography is not even a century old.

The collection contains interesting observations on the development of graphic-expressive qualities in this youngest and most important of all arts--the power of sound and music, organically blending with the image on the screen, stereoscopic experiments and mastering the problems of dimensions and color. Such observations are particularly valuable, for they are made under the fresh impressions created by very recent developments.

Naturally, the films discussed by the author are different in terms of significance, as are the articles which discuss them: from a brief two-three page review to a long article offering an expanded and profound analysis. However, the book perfectly fits the style of motion picture publications. Along with collective works on the history of the Soviet motion picture, in which Yurenev was an active participant, and his "Short History of the Soviet Motion Picture," he describes the stages in the development of our cinematography and the conditions which favored its creative successes. Combined with such historiographic works, the articles discussing individual films seem to illustrate and to present on a broad scale the most typical phenomena in cinematography.

The author justifiably considers realism in cinematography a creative method which opposes naturalistic sluggishness and formalistic refinement. Let us note his ability to compare the artistic situation in the film with the life, the character of the hero--a possible real prototype. Soviet cinematography is presented in the collection as highly idea-minded and purposeful, inseparably linked with the ideals of communism and the accomplishments of our people. Multinational in nature, it reflects the rapprochement and reciprocal enrichment among the cultures of the fraternal peoples, to which it actively contributes. The innovative nature of the Soviet motion picture determines its tremendous international significance and influence on the global cinematographic process, which can be traced particularly clearly through the fate of motion pictures such as "The Battleship Potemkin," "Valeriy Chkalov," "Michurin," "The Cranes are Flying," "Ballad of the Soldier" and "Andrey Rublev."

The motion picture provides an interesting solution to the problem of translating works of art into the language of cinematography. For example, in filming "Mother" after M. Gorkiy's novel, Vs. Pudovkin accurately evaluated the

correlation between the expressive opportunities of literature and the silent motion picture. The director deliberately rejected the simple illustration of the novel and tried to present Gorkiy's idea in a visible expression on the screen. This called for focusing the main attention on acting skills. He took a daring step for that time by casting in main roles Vera Baranovskaya and Nikolay Batalov, stage actors at the Moscow Art Theater. Despite the quarrels which were taking place at that time between the motion picture and the theater, Pudovkin realized that Stanislavskiy's realistic method and school of acting based on the deep penetration into the psychology of the characters made it possible even in silent pictures to depict human destinies and the establishment of characters and the spiritual world of the revolutionary proletariat. As Yurenev rightly points out, world cinema was unfamiliar with such a complex, lofty and truthful depiction of the world of the working person, something which is not frequently achieved even today.

Today as well the artists face the complex task of accurately assessing the literary source in transferring the intent of the theme to the screen. The study of the film by I. Pyr'yev, who directed the first part of the novel "The Idiot," and A. Stolper's motion picture "Story of a True Man," based on B. Polevoy's similarly entitled book, contains just critical remarks regarding the principles of the screening of books. Theoretical considerations, which show the nature of the motion picture as an art, make Yurenev's articles written in the past currently relevant and of interest to professional workers in contemporary cinematography and not only to them alone.

The general feature of many of the reviews included in the book is the development of the various problems of the theory of the motion picture.

Thus, the author provides interesting views on the genre in general and the genre of the motion picture epic, taking in particular as an example the movie "Bogdan Khmelnitskiy," directed by I. Savchenko. The Soviet motion picture epic was a banner of the new revolutionary art. The customary forms developed even before the revolution acquired a new content. World War I, the Great October Revolution, the victory of the Russian proletariat and the unusual and grandiose nature of events penetrated the awareness of the young artists--contemporaries of the revolution. Eyzenshteyn shook up the public with his frames of the indignant crowd of striking workers. The revolutionary masses became the stars of the motion picture. The new poetry created a new leading genre--the revolutionary epic--the author justifiably concludes. Equally accurate and profound is his study of the specific features of historical and biographic films ("Peter the Great," "Chapayev," "Michurin," "Glinka," and others).

True art gives birth to great works which, being inseparably linked with their age and with specific generations, go beyond the borders of the age during which they were created, retaining their permanent significance. Indeed, almost half a century separates us from the day or, rather, the evening when "Chapayev," the film directed by the brothers Vasilyev, had its premiere. This was on 7 November 1934, on the 17th anniversary of the October Revolution. How many truly tremendous events have taken place since that time! The great motion picture survived its time, remaining young, touching, clutching the soul. These, Yurenev writes, are the characteristics of immortality. We can only

agree with this. "Chapayev" also identified an entire age in the development of Soviet cinematography. It was a time not only of realization of the new possibilities of expression related to sound: the mastery of the word, music and the sounds of life. It was an age of new upsurge in playwriting and acting. And, naturally, it was also a victory for the method of socialist realism, which blossomed in artistic practice and was given a theoretical interpretation.

What makes the author's thoughts particularly convincing is the fact that problems of theory seem to derive from the specific material of the movies and are confirmed in the course of the analysis. Yurenev's judgments are critical. In my view, his uncompromising attitude can only increase our respects for artists whose work is the subject of his sympathetic and scrupulous consideration.

It is as though the critic takes part in the process of the creative re-creation of the film, sharing with its author the difficulties which arise from imperfections in the material, the poverty of the dialogue, schematism or the psychological lack of justification of actions and moods in the depiction of one character or another.

The author enters the creative laboratory of the artist with interest, always properly and very tactfully, helping him to understand the reasons for failures and omissions. He does not put himself above the artist or the film but puts himself on their level. The dynamics of his critical thinking also represents an evolution of his own views and judgments and refinements in the mastery of his analysis.

The first part of the book deals exclusively with Soviet cinematography. It includes articles on the masterpieces of the silent motion pictures and descriptions of noteworthy works produced in the 1930's. The critic focuses his attention on Russian films. However, the multinational nature of our cinematography is reflected in his articles on Ukrainian, Armenian, Belorussian, Lithuanian and Georgian films.

The second section, which deals with foreign films, is unfortunately much scantier. It discusses essentially pictures which have been shown on our screens. As in the first section, in discussing a specific film, the author provides a short retrospective analysis of the work of the specific director. The reader thus becomes familiar with the creative portrait of the artist and his outlook. Sometimes the critic enters into a heated principled discussion with the foreign masters. While admiring Fellini's talent, he does not agree with his view of the creative process and role of the artist in society. While sharing Bergman's spirit of humanism and enthusiastically describing impressive parts of his films, the critic rejects the pessimistic conclusions and painful mysticism of this outstanding master. He is profoundly and sincerely touched by the tragic conflicts in Kurosawa's fate and he angrily rebuffs the speculative efforts of American director Michael Cimino to slander the Vietnamese people. In this case the reviewer turns into a pamphleteer.

The foreign part of the book as well defines the critic's artistic predilections. Here we clearly sense his personal position in assessing the films. True,

on some occasions it may not coincide with the popular one, but it is invariably supported by substantial arguments, thus drawing our attention.

We find praise in a number of articles and reviews. However, as the author himself wittily writes, "this is not merely one of the qualities (I am almost tempted to say one of the weaknesses) of our critics. It is pleasant and fruitful to write about what you love, what pleases you, what enriches you" (p 6).

The book "Kniga Filmov" reveals love for the motion picture with its infinite possibility of influencing the public. This love is a typical and widespread phenomenon in our country.

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SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND REORGANIZATION OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 82 pp 120-122

[Review by Prof M. Volkov of the book "Sotsializm i Perestroyka Mezhdunarodnykh Ekonomicheskikh Otnosheniy" [Socialism and the Reorganization of International Economic Relations]. Academician O. T. Bogomolov, editor. Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya, Moscow, 1982, 304 pp]

[Text] The current course of aggravating the international situation, pursued by the aggressive imperialist forces, adversely affected economic relations among countries affiliated with different socioeconomic systems. Politically motivated embargoes and artificial restrictions and bans and attempts to intervene in the domestic affairs of other countries with the help of economic blackmail conflict with the positive trends which developed in the global economy under the conditions of detente during the 1970's. The attempts of the U.S. administration to hinder the development of the socialist countries by disturbing trade with them are being combined with the adoption of increasingly intransigent positions regarding the aspiration of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America to establish equitable international economic relations. That is why the problem of their reorganization on a democratic basis is becoming increasingly more relevant and urgent, while the discussion of such problems is becoming an increasingly more important sector in the contemporary ideological struggle.

The joint study conducted by Bulgarian, Hungarian, GDR, Cuban, Mongolian, Polish, Soviet and Czechoslovak scientists, within the framework of the World Socialist System Problem Commission on Multilateral Scientific Cooperation Among Academies of Sciences of the Socialist Countries, under the aegis of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System, is a substantial contribution to strengthening the positions of the progressive forces in this struggle.

The transformation of the system of the socialist states into a decisive factor in global development determined the progressive changes in the structure of the global economy. The socialist countries surmounted the economic isolation imposed upon them during the cold war. They enhanced the level of involvement of their national economies in the international division of labor. Their share in the global production of important industrial commodities increased considerably.

The role of the liberated countries in the global economy is growing. It was under their influence, for example, that raw material and fuel prices were increased, described by the authors as a partial restoration of the disturbed balance among the individual economic sectors and categories of owners in the global capitalist economy (see p 28). The socialist states are giving extensive varied aid to the developing countries in their struggle to surmount the backwardness inherited from the colonial past and to rescue themselves from imperialist exploitation.

On the basis of the new circumstances prevailing in the global economy, determined by the increased share of the socialist states and the greater influence of the developing countries on the world capitalist market, the monograph authors analyze the economic relations existing between the socialist comity and the liberated and developed capitalist countries. They consider international economic relations in their organic link with the development of the domestic life of the individual countries and the problems of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. This creates a broad panoramic view of the contemporary status of the struggle for the reorganization of international economic relations in its entire complexity and contradictoriness.

The authors provide a Marxist analysis of the nature of the new international economic order. They expose imperialist concepts on resolving global economic problems and realistically assess the role of the United Nations, within the framework of which the struggle for the reorganization of the existing system of global economic relations is developing.

As a whole, the principles laid by the developing countries as the basis of the program for a new international economic order are characterized by their anti-imperialist and general democratic direction. "This implies the sovereign equality of countries, peaceful coexistence, the right of nations to self-determination, and international cooperation with a view to helping the developing countries to surmount backwardness and enhance population living standards, the right of freedom from colonial and racial domination and foreign occupation, and the total and indivisible sovereignty of each country over its natural resources and overall economic activities" (p 73). However, the program does not differentiate between the socialist countries, ruled by the working people, headed by the working class, and the capitalist countries, ruled by the monopoly oligarchy. Changes in the status of the developing countries in the global economy are not related to the need for profound progressive socioeconomic changes within them. The program does not call for the total elimination of discriminatory restrictions in the entire system of international economic relations, including those imposed by imperialism and aimed against the legitimate interests of the socialist states, without which no viable global economic system is possible, but limits the task of reorganization of international economic relations merely to improving the situation of the developing countries. Despite the contradictory and limited nature of this program, loyal to the principles of internationalism, the members of the socialist comity are supporting the just demands of the developing countries for a new international economic order.

The imperialist countries, their multinational corporations above all, are trying to integrate the liberated countries within a modernized global capitalist economic system as a somewhat more developed yet still dependent component. On the one hand, they apply the tactics of procrastination and maneuvering in an effort to delay the solution of the problem of restructuring international economic relations, while dividing the ranks of the developing countries and eliminating the anti-imperialist content of their program. On the other, they are actively promoting the further linking of the economy of the developing countries to that of the West. They are expanding the positions of foreign private capital in those countries and developing within them their own social base, represented by influential circles who cooperate with them, against which they receive some of the profits extracted with the help of this capital.

In tracing the differentiated Western positions on problems related to the new international economic order, the authors prove why it is precisely the United States which has assumed the most intransigent stand regarding the demands of the developing countries, while the Western European states are forced to react to them more flexibly. In particular, the authors thoroughly analyze the concept of the reorganization of global economic relations formulated by the "independent international commission" chaired by W. Brandt, contained in the "North-South. A Survival Program" report, which came out in 1980. Noting the most progressive nature of this concept compared with the official positions held by the Western countries, the authors interpret it as a maneuver aimed at abating the conflicts and contradictions between capitalist and developing countries. The main idea of the report is the existence of global interdependence and global responsibility, on the basis of which the unequal status of the developing countries could be eliminated. Work on the book was complete before the autumn of 1981 when, in accordance with the recommendations of the Brandt commission, a meeting of heads of states and governments of 22 capitalist and developing countries was held in the Mexican city of Cancun. The skepticism shown by the authors regarding the positive results of such meetings has been entirely justified: at Cancun Reagan cynically and coarsely rejected the legitimate demands of the developing countries and confirmed the U.S. administration's support of the neocolonialist course.

The authors discuss the economic cooperation between socialist and developing countries as an essentially new area of international economic relations, based on true equality, mutual benefits, nonintervention in reciprocal domestic affairs and respect of sovereignty. They describe the essentially new approach adopted by the socialist countries toward economic cooperation with the young countries, in the course of which trade, economic and technical aid, scientific cooperation and help in training cadres operate as interlinked units within a single system aimed at helping to create national economic complexes as the foundation for the progressive socioeconomic development of the liberated countries and thus helping them to achieve economic independence. The socialist countries are helping in the construction of key projects which in a number of developing countries are the foundations of a contemporary industrial sector. As a result of such cooperation, the authors conclude, "a new division of labor takes place among countries with different levels of development and social systems" (p 201), countering the system of imperialist exploitation. This is consistent with the spirit of the new international economic order and, in a number of cases, is a real practical embodiment of the principles governing this order.

The active participation of the socialist countries in the economic construction of the young states strengthens their noncapitalist development trends and helps to look for the type of alternate ways which, if followed, will enable these countries not to be forced to imitate the development of the industrial capitalist countries.

In addressing itself to the problem of peaceful coexistence and economic cooperation, the collective monograph also describes the manner in which the most reactionary imperialist forces are sacrificing the real interests of their peoples for the sake of the impossible objective of holding back the insurmountable economic progress of socialism. They consider in detail the types of restrictions and discriminations with the help of which the U.S. government is trying to hinder economic progress in the socialist countries and the naked pressure it is applying on Western European countries to hinder the broadening of their mutually profitable trade and economic exchanges with the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity. However, the objective need for expanded economic cooperation with socialism is leading to the fact that the governments of the Western countries are concluding long-term agreements for economic, industrial and scientific and technical cooperation with CEMA-member countries.

The prospects for enhancing the role of socialism in the global economy depend on making the economy of the socialist countries more efficient. The authors treat in a separate section the problems of optimizing the foreign economic activities of CEMA-member countries under the new global economic conditions. Growing participation in the global economy not only offers additional opportunities of economic growth and technical progress for the socialist states but imposes on them additional responsibilities and stricter requirements governing their economic mechanism. The authors point out that the increased negative consequences of cyclical and circumstantial fluctuations in the global capitalist economy can influence to one extent or another the economic development of the socialist countries as well. This, in their view, calls for taking steps to protect the economic interests of the socialist countries and to prevent the adverse influence of the disorder which has been increasing in the capitalist world of late. It is important to block losses in national income as a result of changes in foreign exchange rates, the appearance of tight spots in the national economy as a result of such changes, shortages of materials needed for production purposes and a great stress on material balances.

Under contemporary conditions the coordinated policy of the socialist countries and their close cooperation in foreign economic relations become even more important. The book itself is a clear example of the fruitfulness of their mutual cooperation, in the course of the writing of which the group of scientists in the fraternal countries developed a unified approach in assessing a number of complex problems of contemporary international economic relations affecting the vital interests of the entire socialist comity.

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CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF IMPERIALIST PROPAGANDA

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 12, Aug 82 pp 123-125

[Review by Prof Yu. Voronstov, doctor of philosophical sciences, of the books "Zhurnalistika v Burzhuaznom Obshchestve" [Journalism in the Bourgeois Society]. Mysl, Moscow, 1976, 261 pp; "Na Sluzhbe Monopoliy. Informatsionno-Propagandistskiy Kompleks Stran Kapitala" [On the Service of the Monopolies. The Information-Propaganda Complex of the Capitalist Countries]. Mysl, Moscow, 1977, 335 pp; "Tekhnika Dezinformatsii i Obmana" [The Technique of Disinformation and Deception]. Mysl, Moscow, 1978, 246 pp; "Mify Burzhuaznoy Zhurnalistiki" [The Myths of Bourgeois Journalism]. Mysl, Moscow, 1979, 288 pp; "Burzhuaznyye Teorii Zhurnalistiki" [Bourgeois Theories of Journalism]. (A critical study.) Mysl, Moscow, 1980, 253 pp (these books were written by a group of scientific associates from the Chair of Foreign Press History and Literature, Moscow State University Department of Journalism. Edited by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Prof Ya. N. Zasurskiy); "Burzhuaznaya Ideologiya i Massovoye Soznaniye" [Bourgeois Ideology and Mass Consciousness] by P. S. Gurevich. Nauka, Moscow, 1980, 367 pp; "V Poiskakh Dukhovnoy Opory" [In Search of Spiritual Support] by V. D. Granov, P. S. Gurevich and A. T. Semchenko. General political and international aspects of the bourgeois concept of "reideologization." Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya, Moscow, 1981, 207 pp]

[Text] The critical Marxist-Leninist analysis of the theory and practice of bourgeois propaganda and the role of journalism in capitalist society is assuming an increasing importance under the conditions of the aggravated ideological struggle in the world arena. The topical nature of this study is obvious for, as was noted in the CPSU Central Committee accountability report to the 26th party congress, "the activeness of the propaganda means of the class enemy has increased and its efforts to corrupt the consciousness of the Soviet people have intensified."

The Soviet scientists and the Marxist scientists in foreign countries have written a number of works in recent years on the various types of concepts governing the functioning of mass information media in bourgeois society and their role in anticommunist propaganda. It could be said that an entire direction has developed in analyzing the methodological problems of bourgeois propaganda, its content, political aims and specific means and methods. This makes that more urgent the need to assess the work done in this respect and to earmark problems requiring their further intensified study.

The books under review expose quite completely and substantiatedly the direct and indirect dependence of imperialist mass information and propaganda media on big capital and the bourgeois state apparatus, the various ways and means of controlling them by the legislative, executive and judicial authorities, and the influence of political parties on their functioning. They clearly indicate the three basic interrelated aspects of current studies of bourgeois propaganda. The first is the determination of the actual status of the propaganda machinery (press, radio and television in the ideological activities of the bourgeois state). The second is the study of the mechanism of action of imperialist propaganda (content and direction, myths and stereotypes used and ways and means for manipulating public consciousness as a whole). The third is the study of the conceptual and methodological foundations of imperialist propaganda. In assessing the propaganda activities of the monopoly bourgeoisie, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said that imperialism cannot hope for any success by openly proclaiming its true objectives. It is forced to create an entire system of ideological myths which conceal the true meaning of its intentions and dull the vigilance of the nations. To this effect it has now created a huge propaganda machinery, which is using all available contemporary means of ideological influence. The hired ideologues of imperialism have developed a special pseudoculture aimed at stupefying the masses and dulling their social consciousness.

The books note the extensive scale on which the imperialist propaganda machinery operates. The authors describe the tremendous propaganda apparatus, working for big business, in action. This apparatus spares no efforts to indoctrinate the mass of the population in its own and foreign countries at which foreign policy propaganda is aimed with the idea of the "above-class" nature of the bourgeois mass information media. Their large number and external contradictoriness in resolving and interpreting the same problems are presented by the imperialist ideologues and bourgeois propaganda theoreticians as proof of the "pluralism" of mass information media under the conditions of contemporary capitalist society.

The books published by Izdatel'stvo Mysl prove that the "above-class" and "above-party" nature of the bourgeois press, radio and television are mirages which Western propaganda depicts as reality. The book "Zhurnalistika v Burzhnaznom Obshchestve" considers the variety of imperialist propaganda organs. Their external dissimilarity is determined by the class nature and tasks of the capitalist press, and the need, on the one hand, to provide accurate and objective information and properly to formulate the problems for those who rule and make decisions and, on the other, to shape public opinion on a broad scale in accordance with the interests of the ruling circles.

The book "Na Sluzhbe Monopoliy" provides not only critical analysis of the ideological purpose of the mass press in the largest capitalist countries but also includes a sociopsychological explanation of the reasons for which it is read by millions of people. The authors expose the bourgeois journalistic thesis to the effect that the newspaper informs the readers about what they want to know, answering the demands of the mass audience. As to the contradiction between psychological and class interests, they expose the manipulation with emotions and human "needs" the "single cluster" in which "economic,

ideological and psychological factors" are interwoven. They prove that "the very existence of popular bourgeois newspapers for the ruled and their widespread circulation among the exploiting class are determined by the entire socioeconomic nature of the capitalist system" (p 171).

Having put at the service of the monopolies means such as radio and television, the scientific and technical revolution not only expanded the mass audience but considerably enhanced the efficiency with which social consciousness is manipulated. Today the radio and television complex in the capitalist countries is one of the most important means in their foreign policy propaganda.

The exposé of the clever variety of means used to mold public opinion in a direction needed by the monopolies is the theme of the collective monograph "Tekhnika Dezinformatsii i Obmana." The authors use extensive data to prove the way actual data are selected and processed and the way a variety of sensations and fabricated arguments are used to develop in the minds of the readers and the radio and television audiences certain propaganda stereotypes with a view to weakening revolutionary and democratic movements and discrediting mass anti-imperialist and antiwar actions. In its struggle against the progressive forces, imperialist propaganda does not shy from using means such as slander and even terrorist threats.

The authors of the monograph "Mify Burzhuaznoy Zhurnalistikii" single out an entire system of stereotypes aimed against peace and progress and in support of private ownership and dehumanization of the individual. It is a question of preaching not only force and militarism but individualism and philistinism, money-grubbing, consumerism, the cult of objects and immorality, which are preached by the bourgeois mass information media in order to impose on the working people private ownership and individualistic ideals.

Anticommunism is ascribed the most important role in the arsenal of bourgeois mass disinformation media. The authors prove that under the conditions of the intensifying economic, political and ideological crisis in capitalism, our class enemy is resorting on an increasingly broader scale to ideological subversion and psychological warfare methods, being unable to formulate alternatives to scientific socialism and trying to weaken its influence on the peoples in the capitalist and developing countries and to undermine real socialism from within with the help of "erosion," "dilution" and other subversive methods.

The so-called "wave of reideologization" plays a special role in this connection. It has removed from the foreground of bourgeois propaganda the theory of "deideologization," which had become quite popular in the 1950's and 1960's and which claimed an alleged decline in the role of the ideological factor in social development and even the end of the "age of ideology." The book "V Poiskakh Dukhovnoy Opory" notes that the intensification of the ideological struggle at the present stage forces the bourgeois ideologues to look for new reserves for the ideological expansion of imperialism through the even more energetic utilization of the mechanism of propaganda indoctrination of the masses. Along with the open defense of capitalism, bourgeois propaganda is mounting with increasing frequency its ideological attacks on the real

socialist system, allegedly from the position of defending "democratic socialism," false concern for "improving" socialism, and so on. The close coordination among subversive propaganda campaigns against the socialist countries is a major component of imperialist propaganda. Therefore, actually "reideologization" means the all-round energizing of psychological warfare against the socialist comity and the communist and the entire liberation movement.

The bourgeois philosophers and sociologists are trying to combine the various doctrines opposing socialism into something integral, and to put them, so to say, on a single skewer, in order to mobilize all available forces in the struggle against the Marxist-Leninist outlook. It is no accident that at the beginning of the 1980's a political mythology was put in circulation, aimed at proving the "aggressiveness" of the socialist and democratic movements, the "destructiveness" of social revolutions and the "coercive nature" of progressive social change. Imperialist propaganda makes extensive use of this method in the interest of the ruling class in the capitalist countries.

The class limitations and methodological groundlessness of the efforts of bourgeois ideologues to elaborate the "theoretical foundations" of imperialist propaganda are especially covered in the books "Burzhuaznyye Teorii Zhurnalistsiki" and "Burzhuaznaya Ideologiya i Massovoye Soznaniye" by P. S. Gurevich. The books subject to a critical analysis the contemporary concepts of imperialist propaganda. They prove the way contemporary scientific data in the areas of philosophy, psychology, logic and cybernetics are extensively used and the way the bourgeoisie is doing everything possible to improve and strengthen its propaganda apparatus and to renovate its subversive arsenal. The book by P. S. Gurevich analyzes the concepts of a number of representatives of contemporary bourgeois philosophy and sociology (T. Adorno, M. McLuhan, H. Enzensberger, J. Ellul and E. Fromm); the author traces the origins, specifics and social functions of bourgeois ideology and its appearance and dissemination in capitalist society. He draws attention to the need for a more thorough study of the various ideological concepts within which the political recommendations for imperialist propaganda are created.

Both books deserve credit for their comprehensive critical analysis of bourgeois propaganda, particularly its functioning as a single mechanism aimed at indoctrinating and changing social consciousness.

As the books under review justifiably point out, in recent years the bourgeois propaganda theories have included with increasing frequency conceptual problems. For this reason the struggle against imperialist propaganda cannot be reduced merely to exposing its specific means and methods. It is necessary to expose its reactionary roots and the actual face of bourgeois "propaganda philosophy" --the ideology of spiritual coercion. One must not only catch red-handed the various slanderers and fabricators of forgeries but substantively refute imperialist propaganda as a whole. It is important for our propaganda, which is profoundly scientific in content and outstanding in form, and irreconcilable and aggressive in its struggle against anyone who distorts Marxism-Leninism, to provide substantiated answers to the acute problems of our time and be an efficient means for molding communist social consciousness.

Let us point out some actual inaccuracies or some insufficiently clear views and a number of omissions allowed in the critical study of imperialist propaganda as a whole, found in the works under review. Changes which are occurring in the ideological struggle in the international arena are still not being studied with adequate efficiency. Closer attention should be paid to questions related to the functioning of the mass information media in the developing countries and their legitimate aspiration to be free from "information imperialism." There is still a shortage of works in which the method of influence of bourgeois propaganda is subject to a thorough study.

Generally speaking, these are useful books which show the theory and practice of imperialist propaganda. Unquestionably, we shall be expecting with interest a continuation of this serious discussion in more works dealing with this exceptionally topical subject.

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SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 82 pp 125-128

[Text] I. I. Kozlov. "V. I. Lenin i Razvitiye Sanatorno-Kurortnogo Dela v SSSR" [V. I. Lenin and the Development of Sanatorium-Resort Work in the USSR]. Profizdat, Moscow, 1982, 236 pp. Reviewed by V. Ivanovskiy.

The book by I. I. Kozlov is a publication the need for which was pointed out in the 1982 CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree "On Measures Related to Further Improving Sanatorium-Resort Treatment and Rest of the Working People and the Development of a Network of Trade Union Sanatoriums."

Along with measures to strengthen the material base for the treatment and rest of the Soviet people and improvements in the organization of sanatorium-resort work, the decree calls for strengthening the ideological and political upbringing of sanatorium cadres. The present book may be considered a base for this work. Lenin's and Soviet decrees on problems of organizing resorts, which are included in the book, are the foundation of all party and state activities related to the creation of a system of sanatorium-resort treatment and rest for the working people in our country. It was precisely V. I. Lenin who formulated the principles governing the use of resorts in the interest of the people.

These principles were fully implemented during the Soviet five-year plans and are being implemented today ever more extensively and consistently.

The Great October Socialist Revolution gave the wealth created through the toil of the people to the working people themselves. Putting at the service of the people everything which could contribute to the restoration, preservation and strengthening of the health of the working people, as Lenin pointed out, was the most important national obligation of the Soviet system to the working people in the individual republics. The documents included in the book prove that the Soviet system began to fulfill this obligation from the very first month of its existence.

It was important that the working people, regardless of all the difficulties experienced by the country at that time, should immediately feel that the sanatoriums and resorts, which had been the privilege of the big bourgeoisie only

yesterday, and the beautiful dachas and individual houses previously inhabited by big landowners and capitalists and the palaces of the czar and the nobility be used to improve the health of workers and peasants. The documents included in the book are an exciting story of the social changes which took place during the first years of the revolution.

The individual parts of the book trace the story of the implementation of Lenin's ideas on the development of sanatorium-resort work in the USSR. The tremendous constructive activities of the people in industry, agriculture and culture were paralleled by a tempestuous increase in the number of sanatoriums and the number of people they accommodated. On the eve of the Great Patriotic War the country already had 3,600 sanatoriums of different types. In addition to the traditional ones, resorts created in the Ukraine, Siberia and the Far East were developed extensively.

The restoration of sanatoriums, rest homes and resorts, which had been destroyed by the enemy, was undertaken immediately after the end of the war. Thanks to the concern of the communist party and the Soviet state for the treatment and rest of the working people, the network of sanatoriums was rapidly rebuilt and began to grow at a headlong pace. The author traces in detail the stages of this growth and extensively depicts its impressive result: at the beginning of the 1980's the country had more than 3,000 resorts and more than 13,000 sanatoriums and rest homes with facilities for 2.1 million people. They were visited by more than 40 million people in 1980.

The author describes not only the quantitative but the qualitative growth of our sanatoriums. He describes in detail improvements in the organization of medical treatment, the development of a system of preventive sanatoriums and sanatoriums for the treatment of parents with their children, Pioneer camp sanatoriums, recovery systems in sanatoriums for people who have suffered from myocardial infarction, and the treatment and rest of the disabled and Great Patriotic War veterans.

Each step along this qualitative growth represented a major contribution to strengthening the health of the people. Following is a single example: according to data supplied by the Institute of Cardiology imeni A. L. Myasnikov, USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, 70 percent of patients from myocardial infarction and who need sanatorium recovery have restored their ability to function 4 months later. Within the same period of time only 26 percent of those who recover under polyclinical conditions or at home return to work.

The author earmarks the prospects for the further improvement of sanatorium-resort work, as stipulated by the 26th CPSU Congress. He describes what was accomplished during the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. The work is enriched by data supplied by the author on the economic aspect of sanatorium work. Thus, currently the trade union sanatoriums already have about 400 auxiliary farms which provide the patients and visitors with valuable nutritional products worth more than 16 million rubles. During the 11th and 12th Five-Year Plans each sanatorium will have its greenhouse or cold frame facility for growing early vegetables.

The economic aspect of the work of sanatoriums is a topical problem. In pointing out the need for a thrifty attitude toward products, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum that "we must be frank, waste in public catering, sanatoriums and rest homes is excessively high. As we know, all of these institutions are supplied with produce on a priority basis. That is the way it should be. However, due to the poor quality of the preparation of the food, the lack of prepackaged semifinished goods and, frequently, the unconscientiousness of the workers, large quantities of valuable food products are wasted or misdirected."

A discussion of problems of economic management in publications dealing with sanatorium-resort work is quite timely. Such problems deserve perhaps even greater attention than the one paid by the author.

The book traces the most important stages in the implementation of Lenin's ideas on protecting the health of the working people under the guidance of the CPSU. Using extensive actual data the author proves our achievements in resort work and depicts its development prospects. One of the merits of the book is its presentation, which is careful and tasteful.

L. A. Nechiporenko. "Burzhuaznaya 'Sotsiologiya Konflikta'" [The Bourgeois 'Conflict Sociology'] ("Social Progress and Bourgeois Philosophy" series). Politizdat, Moscow, 1982, 142 pp. Reviewed by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. Golobokov.

By virtue of its social nature, as we know, bourgeois ideology rejects the Marxist theory of the class struggle and disseminates the illusion of social harmony. However, the grave sociopolitical conflicts of our time, and the increased class antagonisms in the capitalist countries force with increasing urgency the bourgeois theoreticians properly to update their ideological arsenal. It is precisely this that explains, among other things, the increased attention which the West has begun to pay to problems of social conflicts.

The book by L. A. Nechiporenko deals with this trend in bourgeois sociological research. It provides a critical analysis of the methodological foundation, theoretical content and ideological-political nature of the most influential conflict concepts in Western sociology. They include the concept of the "positive-functional conflict" developed by L. (Kozer) (United States), R. Darendorf's (FRG) "conflict model of society" and C. Boulding's (United States) "general conflict theory." Although these concepts were developed essentially at the end of the 1960's, it is precisely they that constitute to this day a kind of theoretical base of bourgeois research in the field of social contradictions. Specialists in this area include G. Bernard, A. Rapoport, T. Schelling, R. Mack, R. Snider, G. Duke (United States); T. Bottomor and G. Rex (England); H. Chrismanski (FRG); G. Haltung (Norway); and others.

According to the author, the rejection of the traditionally dominating negative assessment of social conflicts and the formulation of the question of their positive role in society, as well as the substantiation of research dealing with the social conflict as a major and important theoretical and practical-political problem, mean nothing other than an attempt on the part of bourgeois

sociology to surmount its one-sidedness and come closer to the actual realities of contemporary life. It is also obvious that the very acknowledgment of the existence of social conflicts and the introduction of the concepts of the "conflict approach" and "conflict prospects" in sociology open additional channels for the penetration within sociology of actual data on the antagonisms within the capitalist world. This broadens the possibility of their public discussion, including discussions in the press. Understandably, all of this is relevant and draws the attention of the broad population strata in the capitalist countries. The very fact of acknowledging the existence of social conflicts and their significance in social life seems to bring the conflict concepts closer to the Marxist theory, while the elimination of the revolutionary nature of the class struggle makes such concepts a convenient medium for opposing scientific communism. American sociologist H. Roemer has even proclaimed the "conflict model of society" an apt model in the struggle against Marxism from its own theoretical positions (see p 82).

However, such a "sociology of conflict" realism does not go beyond acknowledging the fact of antagonistic conflicts within bourgeois society and the study of more effective means for controlling the specific manifestations of sociopolitical and class conflicts. Actually, this is the apologetic nature of bourgeois ideology, as convincingly proved by the study of its most influential concepts made by the author.

Thus, the very name of the concept given by L. (Kozler) quite simply describe the type of collisions which agree with the class positions of the ideological defenders of capitalism and are sanctioned as acceptable and "legitimate." This applies to the "positive-functional conflict," the nature and social consequences of which are entirely consistent with the requirements of integration, stabilization and consolidation of the capitalist system. Conversely, social conflicts which undermine the foundations of its existence are proclaimed by the American sociologist as dysfunctional and as lying outside the range of his sociological theory (see p 59).

The updating of the bourgeois ideological and theoretical baggage is aimed also at renovating the familiar means used in defense of capitalism and at giving a "second wind" to the traditional ideological myths and illusions. A noteworthy position among them has been assigned to the notorious "class cooperation" theory. The author justifiably considers the idea of "institutionalization of the class conflict" as the latest effort to revive it. This idea is actively promoted by, among others, the noted West German sociologist R. Darendorf. His fellow countryman T. Geiger has formulated the essence of this idea quite clearly: "Methods, tools and techniques of the class struggle have been officially acknowledged and legislatively codified by society, thanks to which they are under control. The struggle is being waged according to the defined rules of the game. Therefore, the class struggle has lost its wedge. It has become a legitimized stress of balancing forces. Capital and labor...engage in reciprocal compromises, discuss the resolution of disputes and thus determine the level of wages, length of working day and other labor conditions" (p 87).

The monograph convincingly proves that the "institutionalization" idea is no more than the ideological manifestation of bourgeois-reformist practices of preventing, regulating and smoothing over current labor conflicts in capitalist enterprises. This applies to the respective social institutions existing in the FRG, the United States and other Western countries: industrial arbitration, mediation and "conciliation" institutions. The entire history of the activities of this tremendous bureaucratic apparatus exposes it as a means of subordinating the trade unions to the bourgeois state and as a weapon of the monopolies against strikes. The "institutionalization of the class conflict" between labor and capital actually expresses the aspiration of the latter to direct the proletarian movement into a channel which is calm and safe to the exploiting system and to convert it into a functionally operating element of the capitalist system. The "institutionalized conflict," Darendorf claims, "has very little in common with the merciless and absolute struggle as conceived by Marx" (p 88).

This is the essence of the bourgeois concept of the "institutionalization of the class conflict," which fears looking into the basic reasons for the class struggle.

The class limitation of the bourgeois concepts of social conflict and their apologetic nature are closely related, as the monograph convincingly proves, to the subjective-idealistic and abstract-formal approaches to the study of social life, which dominate bourgeois social science. The rejection of the socioeconomic and class nature of social contradictions is paralleled by the tendency of the bourgeois theoreticians to seek the reasons in the fields of juridical categories, human mentality, geographic factors, abstractly conceived relations between the rulers and the ruled, and so on. Thus, C. Boulding, in comparing the various "interpersonality and interorganizational" conflicts, and abstracting himself from the specific nature of each one of them, creates an "abstract model of the conflict process." Proceeding from the conviction that "all conflicts have common elements and identical ways of development," the American sociologist designs his "model" on the basis of the principles of behaviorism. "If the nature of the social conflict," states L. A. Nechiporenko in describing the ideological underlining of the concept, "can be seen in some stereotyped human reactions, it would be possible to surmount and resolve all conflicts by properly manipulating the irritating agents with the help of changing individual reactions, values and inclinations, without resorting to a radical change in the social system itself" (p 11). Subjectivistic and formal, superficial interpretations of social conflicts are systematically and quite convincingly pitted by the author against the Marxist understanding of social conflicts and their role in history.

Unlike existing publications, in which individual bourgeois conflict theories are considered, this book contains a summed-up analysis of the leading concepts of "conflict sociology." Although such an approach occasionally leads to a fragmentary presentation or merely to no more than mentioning some important problems, as a whole the work provides a general idea of this trend in sociological research, which has become popular in the West of late.

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