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2 August 1983

USSR REPORT  
TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 8, May 1983

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

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YU. V. ANDROPOV'S ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS BY REPRESENTATIVES OF SEVERAL FINNISH PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 83 pp 3-5

[PRAVDA, 11 May 1983]

[Text] Question: What are your proposals on nuclear disarmament and elimination of the dangerous situation in Europe and on the creation of a nuclear-free Europe?

Answer: The elimination of the nuclear threat is the most important direction in the policy pursued by the Soviet state. Ever since the first atom bombs appeared we have persistently struggled to ban and eliminate nuclear weapons. As early as 1946 we proposed the conclusion of an international convention according to which nuclear armaments would be banned and nuclear energy would be directed exclusively toward peaceful purposes. We were unable to achieve this at that time by the fault of those who wanted to maintain their nuclear monopoly.

Subsequently as well the Soviet Union persistently formulated and is continuing to formulate proposals aimed at stopping the growth of nuclear arsenals, reducing the risk of nuclear conflict and, in the final account, making it impossible in general.

Let us recall just a few of them.

We are calling for terminating the production of nuclear weapons and subsequently gradually eliminating their stockpiles. In order to organize this matter on a practical basis, we have called for the formulation of a program for gradual nuclear disarmament and submitted to the disarmament committee in Geneva corresponding documents to this effect.

In an effort to facilitate the reaching of agreements on limiting nuclear armaments and taking a first step toward their reduction, the USSR proclaimed its readiness to reach an agreement on the reciprocal freezing of nuclear arsenals by all nuclear powers or, as a start, by the Soviet Union and the United States only. We have also proposed that medium-range and strategic armaments of both sides be frozen for the duration of the Soviet-American talks.

In the strategic armament talks with the United States we have proposed a substantial, more than 25 percent, reduction in the overall number of strategic carriers, which would mean the removal from the arsenals of either side of more than 1,000 units of such carriers. The number of nuclear warheads would be reduced as well to an equal level below the present one.

We call for the immediate and comprehensive ban of all nuclear weapon tests, which would hinder the possibility of developing new types and varieties. Until an agreement has been reached on this point, we are ready, together with all other nuclear powers, to impose a moratorium on all nuclear explosions, including those triggered for peaceful purposes.

Finally, the Soviet Union has unilaterally pledged not to be first in the use of nuclear weapons and has called upon the other nuclear powers to follow its example.

Now as to Europe. The best solution of the problem of nuclear armaments would be total removal of medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons from the European continent. This is the real way to a nuclear-free Europe. Naturally, this must be accepted by all countries with nuclear weapons in this area. So far, unfortunately, those to whom our proposal was addressed act as though it was never made.

In the talks with the United States in Geneva we suggested the following variant as well: to reach an agreement on a radical reduction in the number of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe from roughly 1,000 to 300 units for each side. The Soviet Union is willing to accept that as a result of such reductions it would have no more than 162 missiles left, i.e., the same number of British and French missiles which are on NATO's side. Equally low levels--138 units each--would also apply to nuclear missile-carrying aircraft.

We are being told that this would leave the Soviet Union with a larger number of nuclear warheads per missile. Well, we are ready to reach an agreement on an equal nuclear potential in Europe both in terms of carriers and warheads, naturally, taking into consideration the respective British and French armaments.

In other words, we are in favor for the USSR to have no more missiles or warheads than NATO within any given period. If the number of warheads carried on British and French missiles is reduced, the number of warheads on our medium-range missiles would be reduced by an equal number. The same approach would be extended to missile-carrying aircraft in Europe. This would mean approximate parity between the USSR and NATO both in terms of medium-range nuclear missile carriers, i.e., missiles and aircraft, as well as the number of warheads they carry, a parity which would be set on a considerably lower level than it is currently.

Let me particularly emphasize that the adoption of this proposal would bring Europe substantially closer to total freedom from both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons. This proposal can be rejected only by those who would like to place new American missiles in Western Europe at all cost and thus to



disturb the existing balance of forces in Europe and throughout the world. Were this to happen, the threat of war would come even closer to the European threshold. We cannot allow this to happen and we shall take the necessary measures to maintain parity.

Question: Do you support the creation of a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe, for example, and are you willing to guarantee the security of such zones?

Answer: Yes, we support the creation of zones free from nuclear weapons in northern Europe and in other parts of the European continent, considering them an important means for strengthening the security of European nations.

We have unilaterally supported the Finnish proposal of making northern Europe a nuclear-free zone. Naturally, it is important that this zone be fully free from nuclear weapons and that any loopholes which would result in their appearance be blocked.

In turn, the Soviet Union is prepared to assume the obligation not to use nuclear weapons against northern European countries within the zone. This could be achieved either by concluding a multilateral agreement or bilateral agreements with each individual country within the zone. Understandably, the security of these countries would be ensured more reliably if corresponding guarantees would be given also by the nuclear powers within NATO. However, we do not make this a condition for such an obligation on our part.

Bearing in mind the wishes expressed in a number of Scandinavian countries, the USSR would also be prepared to consider the question of some essential measures related to its own territory adjacent to such a zone, measures which would contribute to strengthening the nuclear-free status of northern Europe.

In supporting the proposal of a nuclear-free zone in the northern part of Europe, the Soviet Union has also declared its essentially positive attitude toward the idea formulated by the Swedish government of creating a nuclear-free battlefield zone in Central Europe. I am convinced that the implementation of such proposals on nuclear-free zones would contribute to the removal of nuclear weapons throughout Europe in the future.

Question: What would be the importance of a pledge by the nuclear powers not to be the first to use nuclear weapons in terms of reducing the threat of nuclear war?

Answer: It is our deeply felt conviction that such declarations would contribute to the prevention of nuclear war by creating an atmosphere of great trust in relations between countries. Considering the present international situation, this is particularly important.

As I already pointed out, the Soviet Union has pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. If the other nuclear powers were to follow the Soviet example, in practical terms this would be the equivalent of a general refusal to use nuclear weapons, for if no one is the first to use such weapons, there

would be no second or third nuclear strikes. Making such a pledge would not require lengthy talks and agreements. All that is necessary is the good will and the sincere desire for peace. However, the United States and its NATO allies, who are continuing to rely on being the first to use nuclear weapons, are declining to follow the Soviet example.

Question: Does a broad and efficient peace movement strengthen the security of the peoples and is it an encouragement in the disarmament talks between the USSR and the United States?

Answer: I am convinced that this is the case. Mass antiwar movements are an important factor in favor of peace. State leaders and governments cannot ignore them if they care for the opinion of their nations. In this sense as well the movement for peace unquestionably influences arms limitations talks.

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MOST VALUABLE SPIRITUAL ASSET OF MANKIND

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 83 pp 6-23

[Text] The "Karl Marx and Contemporaneity--Struggle for Peace and Social Progress" conference was held solemnly in the capital of the GDR for almost an entire week (from 11 to 16 April). One hundred and forty-five delegations from 111 countries--representatives of communist and worker parties, revolutionary-democratic parties, national liberation movements, and socialist and social democratic parties from all continents--gathered to honor the memory of the founder of scientific communism and the brilliant teacher and leader of the global proletariat.

By decision of the SED Central Committee Plenum, 1983 was proclaimed the year of Karl Marx in the GDR. It is also the year of Karl Marx for the working people throughout the globe. The event was commemorated by said conference. The attending representatives of many parties and movements were united by their unanimous acknowledgment of the greatness and permanent viability of Marx's ideological legacy.

Erich Honecker, SED general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, who opened the conference, said:

"The citizens of the GDR and the members of our Socialist Unity Party of Germany are proud of the fact that it is here, on German soil, in the homeland of Karl Marx, that they have had the honor of resolving the great problem of the implementation of his doctrine and the ideals of a society free from exploitation of man by man, the task of building socialism. We, the communists, consider this also to be our high international duty and the entire meaning of our life.

"The socialist German state carefully preserves everything great, noble, humanistic and revolutionary of previous decades and centuries. A memorial plaque on the house on Luisenstrasse 60, in Berlin, reads that it was here that Karl Marx, the greatest son of the German people, lived. Berliners are proud of the fact that future philosopher and revolutionary attended lectures in their university located on a most beautiful street. It was here that he experienced the 'thirst for a daring flight' and that his mind, eager for knowledge, absorbed the nutritive juices of world culture eagerly, like a spring bud.

"Friedrich Engels as well audited courses at Berlin University. V. I. Lenin visited Berlin 10 times....

"Today the full-blooded heart of the country, of the new historical system the inevitable advent of which was scientifically announced by the founders of Marxism, beats in the GDR capital."

Those attending the conference listened with great interest to Erich Honecker's profound and vivid speech which clearly described the invincible power of Marxist ideas, their revolutionary-transforming nature and their consistency with our time.

The speaker stated that Marx dedicated all his work and his entire life not simply to an interpretation of the world but to its decisive change. Marx scientifically proved the historical mission of the working class, which was confirmed by life. All of us can note that this class has become a decisive historical factor.

Led by the Bolshevik Party, headed by Lenin, the Russian proletariat overthrew autocracy and the capitalist power in its country. The victory of the Great October Revolution marked the beginning of a new era--the era of universal transition from capitalism to socialism, the era of grandiose accomplishments and historical gains of the working class and the people's masses. It profoundly shook up the bourgeois world and awakened in mankind the hope for a happy future. Capitalism began to lose its former positions. Its inherent contradictions became inordinately aggravated and peoples which had borne the yoke of colonialism for a long time rose to the struggle for freedom and independence. The world socialist system and the international communist and worker movements became the main bearers of social progress and democratic renewal.

"Karl Marx deserves the historical credit for the fact that mankind realized that its fate does not depend on some kind of mystical forces.... The production method and the structure of each historical period necessarily stemming from it are the foundation of the political and intellectual history of each epoch.... The history of all existing societies has been a history of class struggles, of struggles between exploited and exploiting, oppressed and dominating classes on different levels of social development. In the final account, a level is reached when the proletariat emerges in the historical arena, at a point when, as it frees itself from the exploiting and oppressing class, it cannot also fail to free once and for all all of society from exploitation and oppression. This main thought belongs exclusively to Marx and the labor movement has always followed it, for neither today nor in the future could progressive development exist if it is not adopted as a manual for action.... This is the conclusion on which the policy of alliances practiced by the revolutionary parties of the working class is built. In the socialist countries, this is expressed in a variety of forms based on their national circumstances."

Erich Honecker emphasized that Marx never considered his doctrine as something completed once and for all or not subject to any changes, a

"prescription" for everything in life. On the contrary, he always believed that practice was the experimental field of theory and, through personal participation in the revolutionary struggle, drew new ideas from it. In summing up acquired experience, he reached more profound theoretical conclusions on the basis of which he continued to affect the course of history. Lenin protected Marxism from all distortions and developed it further under the conditions of imperialism, the highest and final stage of capitalism, and in the epoch of transition to socialism. Now, when the basic truths of Marxism and the founding conclusions of scientific communism have been confirmed through practical experience, new historical data prove their significance as a manual for action and their further enrichment takes place.

In presenting their views on the future, the present and the future of mankind, the noted bourgeois philosophers and economists cannot ignore Marx today. Political leaders who claim that Marx cannot contribute anything to them, for he lived and worked under different circumstances, are forced to acknowledge that our age puts on the agenda questions which cannot be satisfactorily answered without turning to Marx. Let us take as an example the political, economic and cultural crises which the West likes so much to describe as the "crises of civilization." Marx, Engels and Lenin gave a clear answer to the question of the nature of this evil. It lies in the production method itself, which is oriented toward the extraction of maximal profit.

In describing the contemporary situation in industrially developed capitalist countries, Erich Honecker noted that the ruling classes, which own the most advanced production forces, are unable to resolve vital problems in the interest of mankind. The negative consequences of the capitalist economic system cannot be surmounted without eliminating its very root--private ownership of productive capital.

"Marxism has always linked the liberation of the peoples from social and class oppression with freedom from the scourge of war.

"We are well familiar with Marx's thought that socialism represents a society 'the international principle of which will be peace, for all nations will have the same ruler--labor!' (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 17, p 5).

Under socialism there truly is no class or social group which could profit from armaments and war or would threaten other nations. The working class does not need war to reach its objectives."

Today, however, the threat of a nuclear conflagration hangs over the nations. Its outbreak would mean the self-destruction of mankind. To prevent it and to ensure a lasting peace is the task of tasks of our time. The fate of further social progress and the solution of other social problems are directly related to it.

"In pursuing their policy of confrontation and superarmaments, to which they are trying firmly to tie their NATO partners, the influential circles in the United States are pursuing openly imperial objectives. To start with, they

would like to achieve military-strategic superiority over the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity (which, however, is absolutely unrealistic), and to acquire the possibility of ruling unchallenged in the international arena...."

The heating of political tension in many parts of the world by imperialist circles poisons the international atmosphere. Ever new rounds in the arms race are a heavy burden borne by the working people. They affect the developing countries as well, substantially hindering their efforts to surmount the colonial legacy.

The Soviet Union, the GDR and the other members of the socialist comity spare no efforts for the sake of safeguarding and strengthening peace. They are formulating more and more new initiatives. One of them is the familiar program drafted at the Prague conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, which takes into consideration the interests of all parties and suggests constructive means for limiting and reducing armaments.

"We consider a step of universal historical significance the solemn proclamation by the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and are in favor of the other nuclear powers assuming a similar obligation. The Warsaw Pact members are ready to take far-reaching steps for disarmaments, based on the principles of equality and identical security."

Since the communist and worker parties in the various countries operate under specific conditions, their views on the ways, means and methods of the struggle for peace and social progress may sometimes differ," Erich Honecker noted. However, securing and stabilizing peace on earth is the prime objective in the struggle waged by the entire international workers movement, regardless of the views which one party and organization or another may hold on the problems of the further development of its country.

Erich Honecker defined as the imperative of the time the interaction among all social forces sincerely interested in peace, regardless of differences in their political programs, conceptual positions or religious faiths, and regardless of class obstacles or anything else which could divide them, for the sake of protecting the nations from the catastrophe of a nuclear war.

Today the defense of peace is the universal, the uniting interest of mankind. It also offers a broad scope for mutual cooperation in a variety of areas.

"Our party proceeds in its activities from the responsibility which it carries for the life and well-being not only of the present but future generations. We are particularly profoundly aware of this responsibility due to the fact that our country is located right on the watershed between socialism and capitalism, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The effect of the lessons of history and the fact that two devastating world wars were started on German soil are not the least important factors in this feeling of responsibility. Peace, again and again peace, is the supreme principle governing our policy!"

Erich Honecker then described in detail the way the ideas of Karl Marx, which showed the working class the way to a radical reorganization of social relations, became a social fact in the GDR. The SED has acted on the basis of the CPSU experience, using everything instructive from the practical experience of the fraternal parties and applying the universal laws of socialist construction in accordance with specific national conditions, in turn, gaining personal experience which has become part of the international stock of revolutionary experience.

"Freedom and democracy, these great ideals of the workers movement, became accessible to the working people on German soil as well for the first time with the development of socialism. They are defined, as Marx proved, by the nature of the economic and political power of a specific ruling class. In the state of workers and peasants the working people themselves are the masters of their destiny and control their own social affairs. No other way leading to the successful implementation of the great socialist cause is possible."

The GDR today is a modern socialist state with a highly developed industry and agriculture, a developed educational system and a powerful scientific potential. In pursuing a course of unified economic and social policy, the SED acts in accordance with objective requirements. To a large extent the results of production growth are channeled into the systematic improvement of the working and living conditions of the working people.

The economic strategy for the 1980s, which was adopted at the 10th SED Congress, is based on the fundamental theoretical stipulations which were formulated for the first time by Marx. It is interesting to note that the relevance of many of them increases with the progress achieved by the GDR national economy along the main way of intensively developed reproduction.

The necessary rates of progress of the socialist economy presume the increasing combination of the advantages of socialism with those of the scientific and technical revolution.

Social progress also means stressed efforts and the solution of many complex problems which cannot be always anticipated promptly. Despite all the advantages offered by socialism, we must take into consideration that it is being built under a real situation full of contradictions and dynamic phenomena. A great deal has been achieved but even greater tasks lie ahead.

"We are pleased to acknowledge," Erich Honecker concluded, "that the GDR is following its path in a state of fraternal unity with the Soviet Union and the other members of our comity. Its successes and reliable prospects are based on this unbreakable alliance. Anything we do for the good of our people also contributes to strengthening the great family of socialist countries. In this case one cannot be separated from the other.... A century after Marx's death, the historical changes which have taken and are taking place in the life of mankind under the influence of his brilliant ideas are the most outstanding monuments to this great theoretician and revolutionary. The cause of socialism and national liberation and the struggle for a peaceful future of the nations is living and winning."

M. V. Zimyanin, CPSU Central Committee secretary, spoke on behalf of the CPSU delegation. It would be difficult, he said, to describe an area in human culture which has not been covered by Marx's thoughts. The imprint of his genius marks all the sectors of knowledge he discussed. However, he was least of all a scholastic scientist. Marx was a philosopher-revolutionary, who drew his inspiration from the struggle of the working class, to the liberation of which he dedicated his entire life.

"Marx stood at the cradle of the first class proletarian organization--the Association of Communists. Together with Engels he founded the First International, which embodied the fraternal solidarity of workers from all countries. We, Soviet communists, find it particularly touching that in the General Council of the International Association of Workers Marx represented two countries: Germany, his homeland and the homeland of Marxism, and our own country, Russia, the future homeland of Leninism and of the Great October Revolution."

The history of social thought is familiar with thousands of theories and doctrines. The overwhelming majority of them have vanished forever. The names of their authors have been forgotten as well. However, Marxism passed the test of life and became firmly established in the conscience of mankind as its highest spiritual accomplishment. The historical meaning of the change accomplished by Marx in social consciousness lies in the creation of an essentially new, a dialectical materialistic outlook, which showed the proletariat and all oppressed classes a way out of spiritual and socioeconomic slavery.

"Thanks to the titanic activities of Marx and Engels, from utopia socialism became a strictly scientific theory and the working class was armed with an understanding of its universal historical mission."

The "Communist Party Manifesto" was a programmatic document for revolutionaries in all countries. In it the founders of Marxism provided a brilliant outline of the fundamental ideas and principles of their theory and the key stipulations of scientific socialism and the revolutionary policy of the proletariat. It includes the foundations of the Marxist theory of the party through which the proletariat, united and rallied around it, acquires its political independence and strength.

Marx's "Das Kapital" stands above the great rank of classical Marxist works, like Mount Everest. In this work, as Lenin said, the theory of Marxism obtained its deepest, most comprehensive and most detailed confirmation and application. It is here that Marx's economic theory is given in its expanded form. Both of his most outstanding discoveries, which became the foundations of scientific socialism--the materialistic understanding of history and the theory of added value--are presented here with unsurpassable depth and brilliance. It is here, in the living fabric of scientific research, that the power of Marx's dialectical methods, which prove the dialectical doom of capitalism, is revealed comprehensively.

The new stage in the development of Marxist theory and practice and the great victory in the struggle for communist ideals are related to Lenin.



"After defending and protecting Marxism in the struggle against all varieties of revisionists and opportunists, on its basis Lenin formulated answers to the new questions facing the labor movement, the toiling masses and all mankind under the new historical conditions. This is Lenin's permanent merit. This merit is so great that we are fully justified in seeing in Leninism the Marxism of today and can describe our revolutionary doctrine as Marxism-Leninism."

Marx's theory of the universal historical role of the proletariat, developed by Lenin in accordance with the new conditions, is the starting point in resolving all problems related to achieving the hegemony of the working class in the course of the struggle for democracy and socialism, the elaboration of a strategy of class alliances, the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry above all, and ensuring the leading role of the working class in building socialism. One of the main features in Lenin's doctrine is the conclusion that the national liberation struggle of the peoples of colonies and semicolonies is a powerful trend in the global revolutionary process.

"Today, as we sum up the results of the distance covered, we are fully entitled to repeat after Lenin that we built socialism as Marxism taught us, based on Marx's conclusions on the nature and basic principles governing the organization of the new society.... In the USSR socialism won fully and definitively. Naturally, the distance we have covered was not free of errors and shortcomings which were frankly mentioned by the CPSU."

The ideological opponents of socialism speculate on a certain lack of coincidence between some socialist practices and the socialist ideal, blabbering about some kind of "waning" of the new society which, allegedly, should be "humanized," and of the "obsolescence" of Marx's theoretical concepts.

"What could we say on this subject? The very course of historical development proves all essential conclusions of the theory of scientific communism. The abolishment of private ownership of productive capital, the elimination of exploitation, unemployment and crises, the planned development of production and its subordination to the interests of the well-being of the people, the birth of the state of dictatorship of the proletariat which, as practical experience indicates, gradually develops into a state of the whole people, and ensuring true democracy are all inseparable features of real socialism. These are all vivid confirmations of the great vital force, historical accuracy and invincibility of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

The stage of developed socialism is the highest level of social progress reached today. In Marx's words, it is here that socialism reaches its integrity. Its elaboration does not mean in the least that all "tight spots" have been already eliminated and that some adverse phenomena inherent in the first stage of the new society have been removed entirely. The CPSU clearly speaks of existing difficulties, unresolved problems and the new tasks which face the Soviet people in the final decades of the 20th century.

M. V. Zimyanin briefly discussed the current tasks of our country's socio-economic development. In particular, he reminded us of Marx's thought to the

effect that in the future society the people will organize the production process so efficiently that it will be carried out with the least possible labor outlays and under conditions most worthy of and consistent with human nature. Today this combination of efficiency and humanism is acquiring an increasingly full manifestation in the USSR.

"We cannot imagine the successful solution of the problems facing us without the steady intensification of socialist democracy. Our objective is to ensure the increasingly active participation of the toiling masses in the administration of governmental and social affairs and the development of their creative initiative and independence in all realms of life.

"Naturally, this does not mean that the mechanism for the exercise of socialist democracy has reached its perfection in our country. There still exist many cases of bureaucracy or lack of attention to the people's demands. Formalism in the work of representative organs and public organizations has hardly been eliminated everywhere. The party is aware of this and is persistently fighting such phenomena."

"In practice," Marx and Engels emphasized, "the communists...are the most decisive segment of the worker parties in all countries, acting most firmly and always inspiring others to move..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 4, p 437). Our Leninist party, the party of a new type, which is called upon to merge the mass labor movement with scientific socialism, has always tried to be precisely such. Lenin created this type of party and the party members in our country faithfully reserve its principles and revolutionary traditions. As the tried vanguard of the working class and the entire people, inflexibly united ideologically-politically and organizationally, the CPSU acts, according to Lenin's definition, as the collective teacher, guide and leader of the people's masses (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 33, p 26). The unity between party and people is a reliable guarantee to the effect that the broad and rather complex problems involved in improving the development of socialism will be resolved successfully.

M. V. Zimyanin further discussed the role of Marxism-Leninism in today's global developments. We are witnessing the greatest possible revolutionary changes in the history of mankind, as predicted by Marx, Engels and Lenin. They include the establishment and strengthening of the world socialist system, the breakdown of the imperialist colonial system and the appearance of socialist-oriented countries, the steady intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, the increased historical offensive mounted by the working class and its allies against the positions of monopoly capital and, finally, a manifestation of anti-imperialist aspirations of the nations, such as the struggle for peace and for eradicating global wars from the life of society.

Loyal to the behest of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the CPSU deems it its duty comprehensively to contribute to the struggle waged by the various detachments of the global revolutionary movement and of all those who oppose imperialism and are for peace and social progress. The principle of proletarian internationalism has been and remains, today as always, a reliable principle which enables us to rally all of these forces.

"The Soviet communists have never considered this concept as frozen, permanent. We see that under contemporary conditions, as the share of tasks in the anti-imperialist struggle increases, so does the significance of the general democratic aspects of proletarian internationalism. It is our conviction, however, that this does not mean any reduction in its class and anticapitalist content."

In its Marxist-Leninist understanding, proletarian internationalism means comprehensive assistance to the unification among fraternal communist, worker and revolutionary-democratic parties in the struggle for common objectives. It presumes an uncompromising struggle against any efforts to divide the revolutionary forces and communist parties, regardless of the labels--nationalistic or opportunistic--applied to conceal them. Finally, it means readiness to do everything for the sake of resolving the problems which affect the future of all mankind and, above all, the main one--the problem of preventing a nuclear catastrophe.

Proletarian internationalism is consistent with the interests of social progress, the interests of all nations, of all mankind. To be guided by it is the sacred duty of the true communist, of anyone who is loyal to the great behests of our teachers in deed rather than in words.

"Like our comrades and like-minded people in other countries, we, Soviet communists, are boldly looking at the future. Our epoch brought Marxism unparalleled victories and the ideas of Marxism-Leninism have become a powerful revolutionary-transforming force. That is why today we can repeat with full justification the words of Friedrich Engels concerning his brilliant friend and fellow worker, voiced 100 years ago: "His name and cause will survive the centuries!" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 19, p 352).

A modest handful of friends and relatives accompanied the greatest of philosophers to his final rest at the Highgate Cemetery. "Rest, living friend!" said Wilhelm Liebknecht, speaking for the vanguard of the German proletariat. "We shall follow your way until we reach our objective. We swear to it at your grave!" (ibid., p 354).

Today, in the capital of socialist Germany, in the glittering lights of the central hall of the Palace of the Republic, envoys from literally the entire world spoke of the triumphant historical march of Marxism and the fact that all mankind, despite tremendous difficulties and contradictions in social development, which trigger not only flows but temporary ebbs, zigzags, declines and losses, mankind is steadfastly advancing along the way pointed by Marx. The alliance of communists, which consisted of a few hundred members the year the famous "Manifesto" came out, grew into a multimillion-strong army of the global communist movement. Today its combat call, "workers of the world, unite!"--which was an appeal for peace, social justice and freedom and struggle against exploitation and oppression and for true humanism--may be heard in all languages on earth. Having overthrown the yoke of capitalism, one-third of the earth's population is building its life on the basis of new, socialist, laws. Marx predicted this through the curtain of the decades. Regardless of how capitalism is trying to postpone its inevitable

doom, it is becoming increasingly clear that it is unable to deal with its inherent internal antagonisms. Furthermore, this system is reproducing them in increasingly cruel and painful forms. Whatever our opponents may say, history is developing according to Marx. Such was the leitmotif of the conference.

The global system of real socialism is growing and strengthening. The heads of the delegations from the various countries described its achievements and topical tasks, relating all their achievements to the Marx-Engels-Lenin doctrine: Milko Balev, BCP Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; Istvan Sarlos, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic; Kim (Dyun Rin), Korean Labor Party Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; Demchigin Molomzhants, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; Kazimierz Barchikowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, and others. Nguyen Dic Tam, Communist Party of Vietnam Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, said that the history of the victorious Vietnamese revolution convincingly proved the transforming power of Marxism-Leninism and emphasized the following:

"The solidarity, cooperation and mutual aid among fraternal socialist countries in the spirit of socialist internationalism create favorable prerequisites and conditions for the fast development and strengthening of each country separately and the comity as a whole."

The delegates addressing the conference said that the solution of all problems which arise in the course of building the new society depends to a tremendous extent on the ability of the ruling communist party to listen sensitively to the voice of the masses, persistently fight manifestations of dogmatism and voluntarism, intensify socialist democracy, pursue a weighed realistic policy, strengthen unity and cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries and provide a firm and prompt rebuff to all imperialist intrigues.

The Marxist-Leninist classics point out that the theoretical conclusions of the social science and even the most attractive related slogans are worth little unless they become merged with revolutionary practice and are supported by ideological and organizational work among the masses. Lenin comprehensively revealed the growing role of the subjective factor in the struggle for socialism after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

The true peak of Leninism is the proletarian leaders' doctrine of the ways of building socialism. The guarantee for strengthening the ties between the party and the masses and for achieving the moral and political unity within the society lies in the strict observance of the basic norms of party and state activities which, after their creator, are described as Leninist, and the Leninist workstyle which organically combines scientific foresight with realism, high organization with initiative, and practicality with a critical attitude toward shortcomings.

During the conference its participants and guests were able to see for themselves how under the leadership of the working class and its party--the SED-- a new socialist Germany is being built. Everything reached here and the plans and objectives for the future clearly prove the accomplishments of which socialism is capable.

"The best proof of the veracity of Marxism is real socialism, the most important achievement of the international working class...", said Roberto de Almeida, Politburo candidate member and secretary of the MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee.

Real socialism is the implementation of the ideas of Marx and Engels. The building of a developed socialist society in a number of countries proves the great potential of the new socioeconomic system, its ability to achieve further progress and make profound qualitative, quantitative, economic, social, spiritual and cultural changes in the course of which the advantages of socialism and its inherent motive forces are revealed. More than ever before history puts today on the agenda the implementation of Lenin's requirement according to which "labor productivity is, in the final account, the most important, the main prerequisite for the victory of the new social system" (op. cit., vol 39, p 21).

Today, when socialism has become the specific content of the life of hundreds of millions of people in many countries, it is proper to compare the theoretical picture painted by Marx with reality. One can easily understand comrades who ask what has already been accomplished among the predictions of the founders of the revolutionary doctrine, and what has not as yet been fully accomplished, and why?

The inevitable difficulties which socialism encounters in the course of its establishment and development were discussed by Vasil Biljak, presidium member and CPCZ Central Committee secretary.

"We recommend to the critics who accuse us so frequently of the fact that our socialism is not the one Marx conceived, regardless of how much they distort Marx's views on socialism, to become acquainted with our reality, the experience of real socialism and our problems rather than take the stand of people who, although they know how to raise the neighbor's child are unable to cope with their own children if they have them."

Marx never set as his objective dogmatically to "anticipate" the future and to "design" it in all its details. He focused his attention on the study of the objective trends and social relations which legitimately lead to communism, for which reason he limited himself to general basic discussions on the fundamental features of the future society.

In their practical activities the communist parties must proceed from the fact that any ossification and schematism is alien to Marxism-Leninism. Dialectical materialism, the living soul of Marxism, as Lenin defined it, not only makes possible but demands a constant comparison between one's means and the changing circumstances, a consideration of specific conditions, a correction of one's conclusions, testing them in practice, and enriching one's

ideas and concepts on the basis of latest data. Without this socialism could not win in the struggle which it has been forced to wage from the very beginning against domestic and foreign reaction. Without this, it would not have become today the most dynamic social system in the world.

"However, its development is not free from problems and contradictions," Vasil Biljak said. "Nor is it free from mistakes and human errors. To believe that this could be otherwise would mean to promote idealism, to deny the very foundations of life and objective dialectics. It is important to be able to resolve and surmount such problems and contradictions. Many of our difficulties stem from the new problems we are resolving, from the search for means of further progress, along which we frequently face new and unforeseen obstacles. However, many difficulties arise also as a result of the hostile activities of our class enemies. What a large number of interventions, various embargoes, blockades and diversionary actions we have had to surmount! What have not our opponents organized or undertaken only to prove that the working class is unable to manage and lead the socialist state, or for the sake of ensuring the failure of our cause!"

The historical experience of Czechoslovakia, as that of the other socialist countries, confirms the fruitfulness of the way indicated by Marxism-Leninism.

"The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the founding of the world socialist system after World War II, and the successes of the international worker and liberation movements are irrefutable proofs of the vital force of Marx's doctrine," said Franz Muri, chairman of the Austrian Communist Party.

He emphasized that against the background of the comprehensive aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism the superiority of socialism is becoming increasingly clear. The fate of Austria clearly proves the falseness of the claims about the "Soviet threat," for without the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union today Austria would not have been neutral and independent.

William Kashtan, secretary general of the Communist Party of Canada, who noted that the building of socialism in the USSR and other countries, and the social progress achieved in the course of it, mean a qualitatively new stage in the historical fate of Marx's doctrine, condemned attempts to belittle the achievements of socialism in the Soviet Union and the attractiveness of real socialism:

"It is precisely the socialist countries, the Soviet Union above all, who are the main force in the struggle for peace and social progress. This force was able to achieve a military strategic balance with capitalism, which is of such great importance in preserving peace."

In discussing the creative nature of scientific communism, which is incompatible with sluggishness and stagnation of the mind, the delegates clearly stated that no single social, political or philosophical doctrine in the world can compare with Marxism-Leninism in terms of depth and accuracy of analysis, style and extent of influence on the broadest possible popular

masses. This is realized by our ideological opponents as well. It is not astounding that anyone who tries to hinder the socialist reorganization of the world tries to deprive the revolutionary forces of their spiritual weapon. The arsenal of means used in this case is quite extensive, ranging from efforts openly to defame Marxism-Leninism to more treacherous and refined means. This includes the pitting of "Western" or "European" Marxism against "Russian" or "Eastern" Leninism, the promotion of the concept of Marxist "pluralism" and, finally, the efforts of obvious anti-Marxists to promote something "new," which contradicts the truth of Marx's theory, under the screen of "communist" phraseology, manipulating demagogic formulas and pouring compliments on Marx the philosopher while deliberately ignoring Marx the revolutionary. Something similar was sounded here as well in some of the statements.

However, Marxism-Leninism teaches us how to detect the line beyond which views on changed circumstances could turn into ideological lack of principle and opportunistic slackness. History proves that the creative development of Marxism-Leninism is possible only on the basis of loyalty to its basic principles. Individual assessments and concepts based on the study of one specific historical event or another, may become obsolete. However, the arbitrary and thoughtless rejection of the scientific concepts of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine inevitably leads to theoretical betrayal and political retreat, which turns into serious and sometimes bloody casualties for the working class. The principles of the Marx-Engels-Lenin doctrine were tested through international practice. They are a powerful and efficient weapon of knowledge and revolutionary creativity of millions of people.

"After Marx's death and even during his lifetime numerous efforts were made to slander him and scientific socialism," said Chiaka Anozie, chairman of the Nigerian Socialist Working People's Party Central Committee. "Efforts were made to revise and reject the nature of Marxism. However, a look at the history of imperialism and the condition of contemporary capitalism, its crises, situation and decay is sufficient to convince us of the accuracy of Marx's theory."

It was stated at the conference that the ideological battle surrounding Marxism-Leninism is developing in the world under the sign of the historical accuracy of this doctrine. However, the struggle is neither easy nor simple. We cannot fail to see that the ideas of bourgeois ideologues, reformists and revisionists of various kinds are exerting a certain influence on some strata, including in the worker and national liberation movements.

In order to distinguish between true and fictitious revolutionism, scientific socialism and various forgeries, a tried Marxist-Leninist class criterion exists. It includes the attitude of one or another leader, group or trend not only toward the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism but its living embodiment--real socialism.

Under circumstances in which the working class, fighting the warmongers and for peace and social progress, must ally itself with the other population strata, we cannot ignore the danger of the influence which bourgeois and

petit bourgeois ideology may have on the toiling masses and their vanguard detachments. As we know, Marx considered this influence a factor which weakens the political struggle of the proletariat.

Unwittingly we recall lines from the "Communist Party Manifesto" to the effect that a certain segment of the bourgeoisie would like to heal the social ills but only in such a way as to strengthen the existence of bourgeois society. The bourgeois socialists would like to preserve contemporary society without, however, the elements which revolutionize and break it down.... Actually, all that bourgeois socialism asks is "for the proletariat to remain within the present society while rejecting its concept of this society as something hateful. Another less systematic but more practical form of this socialism has been to instill in the working class a negative attitude toward any revolutionary movement, proving that it is not any given political change but only a change in material living conditions and economic relations that could benefit it.... Bourgeois socialism finds its most suitable manifestation only when it becomes a simple oratorical turn of speech" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 4, p 454).

Gus Hall, U.S. Communist Party secretary general, especially discussed in part of his speech opportunism, the shoots of which are twisting themselves around the healthy Marxist tree and which is penetrating the various vanguard detachments of the labor movement and is extracting its vital juices. Both right-wing and "left-wing" opportunism are a negation of the Marxist doctrine of the laws of social development and the scientific truth that as long as capitalism exists the class struggle, and the working class within it, will play the main role in political clashes. Yes, Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma. However, regardless of our wishes, sympathies and antipathies, and various types of value-subjective relations and ideas, there are objective truths established by Marxism, which cannot be questioned without questioning the very tie between theory and reality. The avoidance or ignorance of objective laws leads to a dead end. It also means the trial of the working class and all working people. The process of revolutionary changes is inevitable. However, its pace is determined by the people, the working class, the level of their political consciousness and their readiness for action. The efficiency of actions is determined by the extent to which the vanguard understands the meaning of the objective laws and accurately assesses the situation, i.e., the extent to which it has mastered the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

"Opportunism," Gus Hall said, "rejects the Marxist concept of legitimate processes, replacing it with subjectively motivated actions and steps. Opportunism rejects the party-mindedness of the working class, replacing it with concepts of cooperation and partnership among classes. Opportunism rejects the objective laws which determine the class struggle and the leading role of the working class, i.e., the decisive questions."

Other speakers as well discussed Marx's warnings against the penetration of petit bourgeois ideology in the labor movement and the need to rebuff efficiently opportunism in the labor movement and to struggle against anticommunism and anti-Sovietism and attempts to slander socialism. The continuity



of the global revolutionary process, the course of which is irreversible, was made possible only as a result of the uncompromising attitude toward matters of principle, maintained throughout the entire history of the communist movement.

"Attacks on Marxism aimed at restraining its victory in backward countries and the stupid pitting of Marxism against the development of real socialism, Leninism above all, are senseless, said Herbert Mies, German Communist Party chairman. "All of this is stupid and groundless. Marxism and Leninism, Marxism and real socialism are one and the same. To believe otherwise means to approach the problem like a non-Marxist. The non-Marxists also pit the views of Karl Marx on democracy and his theory of dictatorship of the proletariat against socialist democracy in the Soviet Union and other countries. The non-Marxists drag out Marx whenever they want to argue against the socialist countries, and tuck him into a closet whenever the class struggle in their own country becomes aggravated. They praise bourgeois democracy in a non-Marxist and dogmatic way, while preventing the working class from creating its own system, its own state, and thus establishing a truly popular democracy."

Samora Machel, Frelimo Party chairman and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, said that the working people on four continents have taken their faith in their own hands and are building their happy future. The 'ghost of communism,' which was frightening the bourgeoisie more than a century ago, is now instilling fear in the entire capitalist system. The revolutionary experience of each nation, however specific it may be, confirms the accuracy of Marxism-Leninism. The history of Mozambique proves the accuracy of Marx's conclusions to the effect that the class struggle is the motive spring of history and that the working class plays a decisive role in resolving the basic social contradictions of our time. It also confirms the accuracy of Lenin's thesis of the possibility of the victory of socialism in a country with a weak economic base.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is as relevant today as in the time of the Paris Commune. It defines the role of the state in the complex and lengthy process of reorganization of social relations, the building of the material and scientific foundations of society and the education of the people. This role required the creation of a Marxist party armed with the scientific ideology of the proletariat."

With the spreading of Marxism, and thanks to the purposeful activities of the revolutionary worker parties armed with it, this struggle acquired a new quality. The proletariat became the conscious creator of social progress and we can see from the growing experience of its historical creativity the intensified overall influence of the ideas of scientific communism, particularly in recent decades.

"The final triumph of socialism the world over is unquestionable. There is no power on earth which could stop the march of history in that direction!" Such was the conclusion of Rajeshvar Rao, secretary general of the National Council of the Indian Communist Party.

The increased contradictions in the capitalist countries and the intensification of crisis phenomena in all fields of life, mass unemployment, the policy of "social breakup," the insane race in the production of mass destruction weapons, and the increased fierceness of political violence are all causing a growing concern among the working people, inspiring them to engage in increasingly active efforts against capitalism and for their rights and improved living conditions. No single bourgeois theory can offer a sensible answer to the question of finding a radical solution to the existing and worsening situation. However, such an answer is found in Marxism-Leninism. Rising to the struggle for social justice and peace, it was natural that the people would turn to it, for it gives them faith in the future. Marxism-Leninism is drawing over to its side an increasingly large mass of active factors.

In this connection, Jesus Montan, Politburo candidate member and Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee secretary, gave a high rating to the conference which offered a desired opportunity jointly to discuss the political situation and the most urgent problems of our time. He drew attention to the vital significance of the discoveries made by Marx and Engels in terms of the struggle waged by colonial and dependent nations for national sovereignty and freedom from all forms of exploitation, a struggle which is becoming increasingly refined. Egerion Camara, national administrative secretary of the Sierra Leone National Congress Party, also spoke on the timeliness of the conference on Marx's legacy, for "the political, social and economic situation in the world demands this urgently." He noted that the national liberation movement in Africa, Asia and Latin America is turning today some former colonies into socialist-oriented societies, guided by Marxism-Leninism.

Victor Tirado Lopez, member of the national leadership of the Nicaraguan Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), Carlos Alberto Calderon Rodriguez, member of the joint leadership of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, Ruben Dario Sousa Batista, secretary general of the People's Party of Panama Central Committee, David Merero, chairman of the Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia, and others pointed out that they draw support for their practical activities from the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and the rich and valuable experiences gained as a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the revolutions in Vietnam, Cuba and elsewhere.

"Marx perspicaciously predicted that the struggle waged by backward countries for their national liberation, development and progress will eventually receive the support of the working class which has seized the power," said Abdal Aziz Utta, Communist Party of Jordan Politburo member.

Khaled Bagdash, secretary general of the Syrian Communist Party, emphasized that the revolutionary ideology of Marxism has changed and is continuing to change the world.

The profound revolutionary changes which are taking place in the world prove the accuracy of Marx's theoretical conclusions. They are an objective testimony of the veracity of scientific socialism. The working people have won a

number of historical victories along the way which was opened, substantiated and initiated by Marxism. On this subject, Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Portuguese Communist Party, cited the experience of his country as an example.

"The Portuguese revolution contributed a new, rich and original experience and confirmed the accuracy of the basic Marxist-Leninist stipulations in a state of both upsurge and decline, the latter caused by a counterrevolutionary offensive.... The reaction was unable to surmount the opposition of the people and to eliminate the achievements of the revolution...."

Marxism appeared and is developing as an optimistic outlook imbued with deep faith in man's creative possibilities and in the power of the mind and construction. However, in order to create and advance, mankind must live. The right to life is the inalienable and supreme right of man. "The first prerequisite for human history," Marx and Engels pointed out, "naturally means the existence of living human beings" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 3, p 19). This simple and seemingly obvious truth has become particularly important today, when bellicose imperialist groups have become energized, groups whose class hatred for socialism is gaining the upper hand over the sense of reality. The very existence of world civilization is being threatened.

Along with problems of social progress, the participants in the conference focused their attention on problems of safeguarding peace and removing the threat of a global nuclear conflagration fanned by imperialism. Marx himself proved that the social roots of war may be found in the antagonism which is organically inherent in a class-oriented society based on the exploitation of man by man. Under capitalism, the reason for wars is the bourgeois pursuit of profits. For the sake of profits the bourgeoisie is "using national prejudices and shedding the blood and wasting the wealth of the people in predatory wars" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 16, p 11).

The thought that socialism and peace are as one ran throughout the debates. Thus, Hans (Kleven), chairman of the Communist Party of Norway, said:

"To Marx the struggle for peace was an inseparable component of the struggle waged by the working class for social progress and socialism; already then he saw in the struggle for disarmament the main problem in the practical policy of the labor movement. The labor movement is also a movement for peace. Marx proved the class nature of foreign policy, wars and the arms race. This view is more relevant than ever before.... Today we cannot honor Marx better than by waging an even more decisive and energetic struggle for peace. To us, communists and Marxists-Leninists, this means above all exposing the class nature of the policies of Reagan and the Pentagon."

The Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries are doing everything possible to lower the level of military confrontation and secure real disarmament based on the quality and equal safety, and to free the people from the threat of nuclear war. The speakers at the conference noted that the report by Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, "Sixty

Years of USSR," and the Prague Political Declaration of Warsaw Pact Members formulate new most important constructive initiatives aimed at achieving these historical objectives. They were positively accepted by those who are against a nuclear threat and in favor of the development of extensive and equal international cooperation.

Today powerful social forces are opposing the adventuristic militaristic policy of imperialism. This applies most of all to the socialist countries--the main bulwark in the struggle for peace and social progress, the international working class and the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who have rallied in the nonaligned movement. This applies to anyone concerned with the fate of mankind. The antiwar and antinuclear movement has become the broadest possible democratic movement of our time.

"The imperialist circles who support the export of counterrevolution," said Roberto de Almeida, "cannot or are unwilling to realize that in each country the revolution is the result of its internal development and the accumulation and desire to eliminate contradictions.... The people's democratic revolution...is a reality of all-embracing importance to the area. It supports the idea expressed by Marx and Engels and, subsequently, theoretically developed by Lenin, of the possibility of a transition of independent and undeveloped countries to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development."

Alfred Nio, secretary general of the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, Gisele Rabesahala, secretary general of the Independence Congress Party of Madagascar, Egerion Camara, national administrative secretary of the National Congress Party in Sierra Leone, Ali Yatta, secretary general of the Moroccan Progress and Socialism Party, Pierre Nze, member of the Congolese Labor Party Central Committee Politburo, and others spoke of the tremendous role which Marxism-Leninism plays as a true compass guiding the struggle of the peoples on the African continent against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism.

Moses Abida, secretary general of the South African Communist Party, described the inhumanity of the racist regime in his country and the criminal manifestations of neocolonialist policy throughout Africa.

"We," he said, "are particularly interested in easing international tension. Aggressive imperialist policy is delaying the liberation of the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia and threatening the independence of bordering states and peace in the entire region. Now, after the Botha regime has acquired a nuclear potential, the southern part of Africa is threatened by nuclear catastrophe.... The widening of a "small border war may set aflame the entire continent. This threat exists, for imperialism is supporting every step taken by the regime as a structural component of its global strategy. The successful outcome of the struggle for preventing war in the southern part of Africa and a world nuclear catastrophe depends on the unification of all democratic forces in the struggle for peace and social progress."

The growing resistance to U.S. hegemonistic aspirations on the part of countries in Central and South America was the topic of the statements by Manuel Mora Valverde, secretary general of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica Central Committee, Yorg Colle, first secretary of the Communist Party of Bolivia Central Committee, Atos Fava, secretary general of the Communist Party of Argentina Central Committee, Asuncion Mendez, member of the Political Commission and Peruvian Communist Party Central Committee secretary, Clodomiro Almeida, secretary general of the Chilean Socialist Party, Rodrigo Gutierrez, chairman of the Costa Rican Movement of the United People, Ignacio Uget, Socialist Party of Uruguay Central Committee member, Eduardo Mansera, Politburo member and secretary of the Communist Party of Venezuela Central Committee, Jiocondo Dias, secretary general of the Brazilian Communist Party Central Committee, Shafik Handal, secretary general of the Communist Party of El Salvador Central Committee, Enrique Bernales, secretary general of the Socialist Party of Peru, and others.

"The greatness of Marx and Marxism is manifested in the heroic creativity of the contemporary revolution," said Rodney Arismendi, Communist Party of Uruguay Central Committee first secretary. "Marx's relevance lies in the identical nature of the struggle in all of its forms--for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. This means the merger of the three basic movements of our age as predicted by Lenin.... Today our planet requires unity in order to save the peace, intensify democracy, develop a new global economic system, and combine socialism with scientific and technical progress. Our Latin America is following this universal course."

Volodya Teytelboym, member of the Political Commission of the Communist Party of Chile Central Committee, indicated the need for joint action by the peoples and for a more active unity among Latin American countries against U.S. imperialism which divides them in the interest of its rule. Marxism must become the base for the answer to the question which has been torturing the continent for the past 200 years: how to break the vicious circle in which civil governments are being replaced by reactionary juntas regularly, like clockwork, by force and military putsches. These putsches reveal the fury of international imperialism and the local oligarchy in the face of the growing democratic forces. What is unquestionable is that the vicious circle must and will be broken.

Jorge Cruickshank Garcia, secretary general of the Mexican Socialist People's Party, emphasized the following:

"The experience of the victorious socialist revolutions in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America unanimously confirms the Marxist thesis that no social class will voluntarily surrender the state power but that the proletariat must gain it.... The contemporary historical stage of social development is characterized by the existence of two social systems--socialism and capitalism. The contradiction between them is the main contradiction of our age. All other contradictions are secondary.... The general crisis of capitalism is assuming increasing aggravated forms.... Many young national countries, freed from capitalist slavery, have chosen a noncapitalist way of development and are on the side of the anti-imperialist movement and socialism.... Imperialism cannot invent anything other than attempts to restore

its rule over such countries. It is using all aggressive forces at its disposal, from the refined tactics of destabilization to armed invasion.... The Socialist People's Party of Mexico firmly opposes all imperialist attempts to pit the nonaligned movement against the socialist comity, the Soviet Union in particular...."

Many of the speakers condemned the threat of the extensive Israeli aggression in the Middle East, which is based on a strategic alliance between Washington and Tel Aviv. Georges Haoui, secretary general of the Lebanese Communist Party Central Committee, said that within the framework of its global confrontation course, U.S. imperialism has chosen the Middle East as an arena for one of its offensives. The patriotic firmness of Syria and its defense capability are the main obstacle to the American plan for enslaving the area. The support of the international progressive forces, the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union in particular, is the bulwark of opposition to the aggressor.

"We are guided in our activities by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which taught us that the first duty of the working class and its revolutionary vanguard is to head the national anti-imperialist struggle. Through its class position, revolutionary ideology and vanguard organization, the working class was faced with the need to formulate its own program for resolving the national problem.... The programs of the bourgeoisie and all chauvinistic, nationalistic, bourgeois and petit bourgeois ideologies are incapable of fulfilling the legitimate national aspirations of our peoples and are responsible for the failures and crises experienced by the national liberation movement in our countries."

Abu Khatem, member of the Palestine National Council, spoke on the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine against Zionism and U.S. imperialism. The need for a just solution of the Middle East problem was the topic of the statements by Mehdi Shehade, member of the leadership of the Lebanese Progressive Socialist Party, Suleiman Nayaba, member of the Communist Party of Palestine Central Committee Politburo, Saada Hammudi, head of the International Relations Department of the Regional Leadership of the Arab Socialist Baath Party (Iraq), Michel Kamel, member of the Egyptian Communist Party Politburo, Abdel Otte, member of the Jordanian Communist Party Politburo, Rifaat Said, deputy secretary general of the United National Progressive Party of Egypt, Abdallah Al-Ahmar, deputy secretary general of the Arab Socialist Baath Party (Syria) and others. Meir Wilner, secretary general of the Communist Party of Israel Central Committee, emphasized that the mounting of a new Israeli-American aggressive war against Syria could trigger a conflagration in the entire area and even threaten world peace.

"The consistently peace-loving forces in Israel are aware of the connection between the threat of war with Syria and the global strategy of U.S. imperialism, which is loyally served by the Israeli government in accordance with the strategic U.S.-Israeli treaty aimed against the independent countries within and outside our area and against the USSR. The peace-loving forces draw moral support for their actions from the Soviet warning to Israel (and actually to the U.S. as well) not to play with fire, for the Syrian people

will not be alone in defending its homeland.... As Marxists we consider the problems of Israel and our entire Middle Eastern area in connection with the global struggle between imperialism and reaction, on the one hand, and socialism and progress, on the other, between the forces of war and the forces of peace.... We know from personal example how just and topical is the Marxist viewpoint to the effect that a people which enslaves another people cannot be free or, in Marx's words, 'a people which enslaves another people hammers out its own chains'" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 16, p 407).

The speakers stated that U.S. imperialism is laying a claim today on the broadest possible areas on earth, in Europe, Asia or Latin America, proclaiming them spheres of its vital interests. Such a policy violates the independence, sovereignty and rights of the peoples as is confirmed, incidentally, by the creation of the so-called "rapid deployment forces," the announced purpose of which is to suppress progressive developments in any part of the globe. At the same time, NATO is broadening its radius of action beyond the boundaries of the pact, by extending its influence on areas which imperialism would like to subordinate to its global interests. The recently adopted U.S. plans to turn outer space into another area for the deployment of missiles offer a scope for a new escalation in the arms race and increases the likelihood of the outbreak of a world war.

Could anyone fail to realize that the more weapons are stockpiled on the planet the less safe becomes the entire political situation. Preventing the placing of new American first strike nuclear weapons in Western Europe, planned by NATO, is of the greatest possible importance in eliminating the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

As we know, the Swedish suggestion of creating a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe met with broad support. The creation of such a zone would be a valuable contribution to reducing the threat of war and continuing the process of detente and further development of international cooperation.

The speakers at the conference said that peoples and governments in many countries in Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America favor the creation of zones free from nuclear weapons in their areas and limiting the hotbeds of tension and conflict. Firm support was given to the respective initiatives of India, Mexico, Venezuela and Nicaragua and of Arab and African states.

The nonaligned movement was described as a powerful force which can express the common interest in a lasting peace on all continents. Its weight in the struggle for establishing equal international, political and economic relations is increasing steadily. The seventh conference of heads of state within the movement, which was held in Delhi, made an important contribution to rebuffing the imperialist policy of confrontation and to defending the cause of peace and the rights of nations.

"The peoples of the world have the right to economic, social and cultural progress," said Erich Honecker in his concluding speech. "They need peace above all. We must not allow the nightmare of a nuclear war, which would mean the self-extinction of mankind. Regardless of differences in views on one problem or another, our conference was imbued with this conclusion which

rallies our wills to act most energetically for the sake of the lofty objective--peace."

G. V. Romanov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and head of the CPSU delegation, spoke at the reception which the SED Central Committee gave in honor of the participants in the conference.

"The participation of the delegations of numerous communist and worker parties, revolutionary democratic parties, national liberation movements and socialist and social democratic parties from all continents in this conference confirms the tremendous influence which Marx's ideas have on contemporary global life," he said.

The conference convincingly proved that Marx's theory, developed by V. I. Lenin and confirmed with the experience of the Great October Revolution and the world socialist system, has a profoundly creative and truly international and revolutionary-transforming nature.

The entire course of history unanimously confirms the accuracy of the Marxist-Leninist conclusion regarding the objective inevitable replacement of the capitalist with a socialist system.

An extensive exchange of views took place at the conference which triggered a great international response. They did not coincide in everything. However, one thought prevailed unanimously: the ideas of Marx live and are active. They have helped and are helping to understand properly and to interpret the main trends in global developments and the complex and contradictory problems of our time. They are an irreplaceable weapon in the struggle for changing the world and for social progress.

Naturally, however, the question of the forms which the development of this struggle will take is of tremendous importance to the fate of mankind, particularly in our nuclear century--as a catastrophic armed conflict, encouraged by the most militant leaders in the capitalist world, or peaceful competition among countries with different social systems. The second way is the only one supported by socialism.

The peculiarity of the current situation is that the forces which want peace are incomparably superior to the forces which are fanning military hysteria and proclaiming "crusades" against socialism. Today there is no task more important than to unite and energize all forces which oppose war. The present conference is a major step in this, the only accurate direction.

The international conference on Karl Marx in Berlin was an event of major historical significance. It gave a new impetus to the struggle for peace and social progress. Such was the unanimous view of its participants. The conference proved yet once again that Marxism-Leninism is exerting a profound and comprehensive influence on our age and is contributing to making positive changes in the social organization of the planet.

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## FULFILLING A CHALLENGING PLAN

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[Article by N. Chikirev, general director of the Stankostroitel'nyy Zavod imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze Production Association, laureate of USSR State Prize]

[Text] During this year, which is the core of the 11th Five-Year Plan, the country's national economy faces complex and broad problems related to the resolutions of the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. We must complete what we failed to do during the first 2 years, delegates to the plenum said, and try to catch up and to create conditions for normal work during the last 2 years of the five-year plan.

Our national economy has substantial reserves. They are found above all in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the extensive and rapid utilization of the achievements of science, technology and progress experience. One of the most important reserves which does not require capital outlays but yields tremendous results is strengthening the discipline--labor, planning and state. During his meeting with the collective of our plant during his visit, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee secretary, pointed out that "we need conscious labor discipline, the type of discipline which would move production ahead. We must fill the struggle for discipline with a great meaning and link it directly to the implementation of production assignments...."

We are proud of the high trust in our collective expressed by Yuriy Vladimirovich, speaking on behalf of the Central Committee, who said that the people of Ordzhonikidze could be relied on totally. We are seeking internal reserves to fulfill and overfulfill the stressed planned assignments for 1983 and the entire five-year plan. Yuriy Vladimirovich spoke on amending the plans, usually downwards, which is one of the reasons for disproportions in the national economy. In recent years, our association has not allowed the correction of even a single item in the plan and assignments are being fulfilled strictly according to contract. Combined with the principles of centralism, initiative from below enables us to make fuller use of the advantages of the socialist economic management system and the democratic foundations of economic management. Competition among collectives, based on challenging plans, is becoming an increasingly efficient form of mass movement for overfulfilling the five-year plan. The socialist obligations adopted on initiative from below help us to utilize internal reserves and to combine the interests

of the individual workers, the entire collective and the socialist society at large. The implementation of the stressed plan requires production, technological and procurement discipline and order in everything which ensures efficient work during the work day.

## I

Machine tool building and the instruments-manufacturing industry play a significant role among the industrial sectors which determine technical progress in the national economy. They largely determine the efficient work of our plants, the quality of their output and their technical and economic indicators. The machine tool-building industry contributes to enhancing the efficiency of machine-building output and, in the final account, of the entire national economy. It is only on the basis of the use of advanced machine tools, hammer-press and casting machines, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Significantly Upgrading the Technical Standard and Competitiveness of Metal Processing, Casting and Timber Processing Equipment and Instruments" pointed out, that we will be able to increase the growth of labor productivity, conserve metal, upgrade the quality of output, apply energy-saving technology and achieve comprehensive conservation of resources. At the present stage this is of tremendous national importance.

We must pay particular attention to applying more advanced and highly productive equipment and progressive technology. Priority in the development of new equipment was assigned to the demand for its high-level automation and faster increase in the production of special aggregate, high-precision, heavy-duty and one-of-a-kind machine tools, automated and semiautomated equipment and automated lines, and machine tools with digital programming (ChPU). For example, the production of ChPU machine tools was more than double by the end of the five-year plan.

The collective of the Stankostroitel'nyy Zavod imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze Production Association in Moscow, which was awarded the Labor Red Banner and the Orders of Lenin and the October Revolution, on the occasion of its 50th birthday, faces major and responsible tasks in supplying the country's machine building enterprises with high-efficiency automated metal-cutting equipment.

The association's head enterprise--the Machine Tool Plant imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze, which is the offspring of the 1st Five-Year Plan, was created in 1932. Since then it has become one of the largest machine tool-building plants in the country, producing a wide variety of metal-cutting equipment, such as automated lathes, hydraulic duplication semi-automated lathes and a range of ChPU lathes. The plant's main output includes automated metal-processing lines and aggregate and special machine tools. The plant's annual production exceeds 850 machine tools and 40 automated lines which are automated equipment of unique complexity, precision and productivity. The plant has currently undertaken the production of aggregate machine tools with a new range of standardized assemblies. The production of a new generation of ChPU machine tools has been organized as well as automated sections consisting of ChPU machine tools interfacing with robots. In the not-so-distant future the plant will master the production of retunable automated lines which will include robots and will be controlled by computers. The enterprise's output

enjoys widespread and stable demand. Several thousand machine tools and 870 automated lines manufactured by the plant are used at the AvtoZIL Association, the KamAZ, the automotive giants in Gorkiy and Togliatti, the tractor plants in Minsk, Kharkov, Chelyabinsk, Volgograd and Barnaul, the combines plant in Taganrog and at many other large machine-building enterprises in the country.

Most of the automated lines and aggregate machine tools are created in the course of close creative cooperation with the specialized design bureau for automated lines and aggregate machine tools. The bureau and plant designers are paying constant attention to enhancing the technical standard of produced machine tools and automated lines which match the equipment produced by the best foreign companies. Orientation toward promising equipment has become the inviolable rule in the activities of our collective and the SKB [Specialized Design Bureau]. The machine tools and automated lines produced by the plant are reliable and ensure the stable implementation of assignments. Thus, a large set of automated lines has been in operation at the ZIL for more than 20 years; successful work is being done by the sets installed at the Altay and Minsk engines plants, the Volgograd Tractor Plant and many others.

The automated lines produced by the association help to resolve major social problems related to the elimination of hard and unskilled labor. Suffice it to mention the set of automated assembly lines produced for the Minsk Motors Plant. The purpose of the system is to mechanize and automate the assembling of internal combustion engines. In addition to the fact that the lines released more than 80 workers, they eased heavy manual labor, for today all basic cumbersome parts and assemblies of the engine--crankshafts, cylinders with pistons, and gearboxes--are assembled mechanically. The automation of extrusion operations has eliminated the need for hammering. Mechanized mounting has replaced the screwing of bolts, nuts and studs by hand and the use of hand-operated screwdrivers, the vibrations of which were transmitted to the workers and caused a variety of illnesses.

The filling of orders for the delivery of machine tools and lines for the automotive giants--the VAZ and the KamAZ, was a major test of the technical maturity and ability to manufacture equipment whose technical standards match those of the best foreign firms. This called for designing and manufacturing machine tools and automated lines on a parallel basis with foreign firms, involving the same type of parts and matching them in terms of productivity and accuracy. All of this equipment was assembled within a short time at the VAZ and delivered for production at full planned capacity. Domestically produced equipment matches the level of similar imported equipment and, in some cases, is even more productive. Furthermore, on the request of the VAZ collective, the SKB designers made a study of our production lines, identified bottlenecks and formulated suggestions which, with minor outlays, made it possible to increase their productivity by 10 percent above planned figures.

The Ordzhonikidze workers are implementing the 11th Five-Year Plan under special conditions: we have been assigned to equip highly efficient automated plants which will manufacture the Don-1500 combine, which was referred to

Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov in his meeting with us, as a very necessary machine awaited by the entire country. The plant is currently installing automated lines for assembling the combine's engines at the Serp i Molot plant in Kharkov. About 90 lines have been assembled from the start of the five-year plan for processing various body parts. Their design reflects the best domestic and global accomplishments of modern science and technology.

By supplying enterprises with highly productive equipment, the plant's collective fulfilled its assignments ahead of schedule during the 10th and the first 2 years of the 11th five-year plans in terms of growth rates of output and labor productivity. The collective fulfilled its plan for the first 2 years on 18 December 1982. On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, more than 350 workers and 25 brigades fulfilled their individual assignments for the first half of the five-year plan.

Since the start of the five-year plan the association has produced more than 1,000 machine tools and about 100 automated lines, which will save the national economy 25 million rubles and the labor of 11,000 machine tool workers. Production of ChPU machine tools has increased by more than a third.

The plant's collective is trying to work most efficiently and economically. This has enabled it considerably to overfulfill the profit plan for the first 2 years: profits increased by a factor of 2.4 rather than 1.8 as planned. The steady perfecting and improving of the quality of machine tools and automated lines is an important direction in its work.

In implementing the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Increasing the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Efficiency and Work Quality," which is aimed at achieving the highest possible end national economic results, along with the quantitative growth of output the collective pays particular attention to quality indicators. Today up to 80 percent of the output bears the state Emblem of Quality, the volume of which has increased by a factor of 6 compared with 1975. As a result of the steady enhancement of technical standards, the efficiency of its utilization by the consumers is improving. Thus, whereas an automated line produced in 1971 saved the national economy 53,000 rubles on an annual average, the 1982 lines saved 189,000. A line produced in 1971 released an average of 40 workers; a 1982 line doubled that number. This was achieved as a result of a drastic increase in the speed of the workers in terms of auxiliary equipment moving operations, increased comprehensiveness and precision of machining, as stipulated in the designs of machine tools and lines, stricter quality requirements and extended guaranteed service life.

During the 9th and 10th five-year plans the association and its head plant steadily held leading positions in the sectorial socialist competition. The collective of the Stankostroitel'nyy Zavod imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze association earned the Red Challenge Banners of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee for results achieved in the socialist competition over the past 5 years and in honor of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR. The results were achieved

thanks to the creative initiatives of the collective in assuming socialist obligations, formulating challenging plans, which help above all to improve quality work indicators, increased labor productivity, fuller use of equipment and working time, extensive application of mechanization and automation facilities, ahead-of-schedule mastery of installed capacities, conservation of raw and other materials and energy, and strengthening labor and production discipline.

## II

The association's collective realizes that no assignments, even those supported by computations, can fully identify all production reserves and possibilities of the individual work place unless based on initiative from below. The plan is the law. Our plan is stressed. The entire collective is dedicating all its efforts to ensure its implementation. The machine tool builders responded with profound understanding to Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's words during his visit to the plant to the effect that today we must do everything possible for every one of us to cover his norm. We are creating all the necessary conditions to this effect. After finding internal reserves, the machine tool builders adopt more challenging assignments. As the creative effort of the individual working person, such challenging plans broaden his direct participation in the drafting of various technological programs and production management, which is one of the most important directions in strengthening the democratic foundations of planning. Success in steadily improving the production process and ensuring its high pace of development lies in the unity between such planning and the socialist competition.

The extent to which the plans of the current five-year plan are stressed and their comprehensive characterization and qualitative features may be judged by the 1983 plan. The plan was born from below, in the external assembly shop. This shop maintains direct ties with the consumers and is well-familiar with their requirements regarding assembling, adjusting and delivering the equipment.

We pledged to earn, in addition to the basic plan figure, 300,000 rubles worth of normative net output, to overfulfill the annual assignment for the growth rate of labor productivity by 13 percent, to increase capital returns by no less than 3 percent, to overfulfill the plan for lowering labor intensiveness by a factor of 1.3, to conserve large quantities of metal, energy and fuel above the planned assignments, to earn 250,000 rubles in above-plan profit and to manufacture an additional automatic line.

The high level of conscientiousness, efficiency and specific approach to the formulation of challenging plans were manifested in the other shops as well. The 1983 plan reflects the great potential opportunities for upgrading production efficiency.

With an approved five-year plan, with an annual breakdown, we can shunt resources, define the specific assignments of individual shops, and find reserves at each workplace. A stricter control has been established on

production preparations based on a single schedule. This is a prerequisite for upgrading the stability and rhythmical work of all shops and central plant services. We intend to organize matters in such a way that labor and material norms for all machine tools and automated lines are issued by no later than one quarter. This is very important in organizing the systematic work of the collective. In the past we considered it an achievement if the quarterly and monthly plans and technical-economic indicators were issued to the shops and the departments by no later than the 26th or 27th of the preceding month, while the shift assignments of sectors, brigades and individual workers, one day before the beginning of the shift. Now we issue 10-day assignments for the preparation of the sets and delivery of finished machine tools.

In order to ensure a sharp increase in the efficiency of all members of the collective, this year we intend to introduce a set of standards for a system of fault-free work. We are planning to set up a reserve of instruments and technological equipment in a variety and quantity which will ensure the uninterrupted work at each sector. We are currently applying general-purpose-assembly retunable equipment, which will save a substantial amount of time in organizing the production process. The share of technically substantiated output norms has reached the 92 percent level.

The plant is engaged in the further specialization of machine shops and closed sectors for a complete technological cycle. This will enable us to improve the organization of the production process and return per machine tool and reduce losses which remain high in moving the parts among shops and sectors. We are also planning to expand the inventory of ChPU machine tools. The association has set new landmarks for 1983 in such a way as to increase production efficiency even higher. We have considered means for finding and utilizing new reserves and giving a new impetus to the mass socialist competition in order successfully to implement the 1983 challenging plan.

The draft plan was extensively discussed at party and worker shop meetings; suggestions aimed at comprehensively upgrading labor efficiency and quality and the conservation of metal, fuels, electric power and other material and technical resources were collected. The study and consideration of all suggestions submitted by individual workers, brigades, sections and shops enabled us to formulate a comprehensive project for quality and quantity plan indicators for the entire association, which included a number of very important items. Thus, the collective suggested that the volume of output be increased by 22.3 percent over the next 3 years of the five-year plan, compared with 1980, rather than 19 percent as planned, to overfulfill it by 3 million rubles worth, and fulfill its plan on 27 December 1983. The annual assignment on the growth rates of labor productivity will be overfulfilled by 5-6 percent. In terms of the development of technical progress, it was suggested that work documentation be drafted for a new automated line of ChPU machine tools 1 month ahead of schedule, to build the first retunable ChPU twin-chucking frontal and quickly retunable lathe, and to organize an electrophysical processing section in the instruments shop.

In developing the basic directions of the 11th Five-Year Plan on increasing the production of ChPU machine tools and automated lines, the engineering and technical personnel and the highly skilled workers decided to master the industrial production of new modern chuck centering semiautomated ChPU machine tools and fast retunable automated ChPU lines handled with the help of industrial robots.

Based on the consideration that a system of savings and reducing raw material and metal outlays and, on this basis, upgrading social production efficiency is a most important national economic task, the decision was made to overfulfill the assignment on lowering labor-intensiveness in output by 5 percent, and save 120 tons of metal, about 8,000 kilowatt hours of electric power and 34 tons of conventional fuel.

One of the principal merits in planning at the present stage in the development of the association is the mass participation of the enterprise's workers. The search for reserves is under way at each workplace, sector, shop, laboratory and department. Plant specialists, economists and technologists above all are actively participating in the formulation of individual and brigade plans. The formulation of the general plan is not the simple addition of the individual plans but a qualitatively new level in upgrading production efficiency, for an additional planned assignment requires efficient engineering, technical and economic support and comprehensive preparations involving the entire technological process.

### III

Socialist competition is an objective law in the development of our society and one of the most outstanding manifestations of the nature of socialist production relations, manifested in mass labor activeness and the creative initiative of the workers. It is precisely the role of the individual worker and the collective as a whole which is manifested particularly clearly in the circumstances of a labor and political upsurge triggered by the movement for a communist attitude toward labor. Highly skilled cadres have developed in the course of the socialist competition, systematically overfulfilling their production assignments. They include milling operator V. Ledovskikh, laureate of USSR State Prize, tuner V. Bogoslovskiy, Hero of Socialist Labor assemblyman-fitter V. Komarov, turner Ye. Kop'yev, delegate to the 26th CPSU Congress and USSR State Prize laureate, drilling machine operator V. Chayka, M. Golovchanskaya, head of a house-painting brigade, planing machine tool operator S. Korolev, senior foremen V. Yemel'yanov and V. Voydalovskiy, T. Komarova, chief of the finishing shop, and many others.

As it improves the production process year after year, the association's collective invariably acts as the initiator of the movement for progressive labor methods, ahead-of-schedule implementation of state plans, application of the achievements of science and technology and conservation of materials and energy. The extensive application of the brigade form of labor organization and incentive, which is becoming basic in our association, is an effective means for improving the production process. For example, taking into consideration that the brigade labor method offers considerable advantages

compared to the individual method, the comprehensive machine shop brigade converted to work based on a single order. This improved the organization of labor in the brigade and upgraded its productivity and production quality. Interestingly enough, after following the system for a while, the brigade requested that its plan be increased by 35 percent.

Today the organization of the work based on a single order has become widespread at the plant. For example, after reviewing its possibilities, the collective of the assembly shop assembled and tested automatic lines for the Moscow Automotive Plant imeni I. A. Likhachev ahead of schedule.

The most important thing in the competition is the obligation to accomplish, achieve, reach something more than was contemplated in the initial formulation of the plans. To some this means additional output; to others, the use of saved resources, lowered labor-intensiveness and increased delivery of the output without corrections. Thus, the machine shop for body parts, which determines the plant's production capacity, included in its 1983 plan the production of additional items totalling 16,000 norm/hours and increase its plan for the growth of labor productivity by 0.5 percent. The machine shop for serially produced machine tools pledged to increase by 1 percent the delivery of goods without further work from 83 to 91 percent and the number of machine tool workers stamping their own seal to a total of 17. On the basis of efficient cutting, the collective of the welding-stamping shop pledged to save sheet metal for the manufacturing of additional sets of sleeves for aggregate machine tools. The personnel of the electrical assembly shop called for including in the plan the production of an additional 200 electric panels from saved wire. These and other suggestions were extensively discussed and adopted at meetings of brigades, sections and shops, setting the example of a practical and creative approach to the socialist competition.

The consideration and utilization of all opportunities and unused resources makes it possible to improve the balancing and proportionality of production and to eliminate disproportions which appear both as a result of underfulfillment and, occasionally, overfulfillment of the plan for some parts and complementing items. The development of the initiative on the conservation of material resources and work and production of output from saved raw materials is equally important.

Therefore, the implementation of the plan assumes a new meaning and becomes more closely linked to long-term planning. New opportunities for upgrading the pace of output appear in the course of the implementation of the five-year plan. Using progressive methods in the organization of the competition, like other Moscow enterprises our association works under the slogan "all reserves must be included in the plan!" In our view, this is the essence of the viability and specific nature of the competition during the 11th Five-Year Plan. Strictest possible conservation of metal and complementing goods, elimination of rejects and conservation of energy are the material foundations on which a challenging plan can be based. It is necessary above all to use available internal reserves. The main force which brings them into action is the competition raised on a higher organizational level.



Engineering support is a no less relevant task in the formulation and implementation of challenging plans. Incidentally, this too is one of the means for finding internal reserves. As we know, high quality can be obtained only when progressive scientific and technical achievements in the project, in the designs.

Already at the design stage the SKB designers and the plant include in the blueprints technical solutions coordinated with customers and tried through practical experience, supported with the necessary equipment for manufacturing and control; this helps to achieve the necessary quality in the manufacturing of a machine tool or automated line. It helps but does not guarantee, for the quality of good technical documentation can be guaranteed only with a high and steadily maintained level of organization of the production process.

The comprehensive quality control system, which was developed by plant and SKB specialists within the framework of scientific and technical cooperation between production workers and design and engineering organizations, and standardization and metrology specialists, is the foundation for high-level production organization. This system enabled us to establish the necessary organizational and functional relations within the production process, aimed at upgrading the quality of goods and labor efficiency, interconnecting technical and organizational problems and assign them to specific plant services and subdivisions. The quality control system enables us to define, plan and take into consideration the following indicators: the technical standard of the goods, maintaining stable quality in the course of the production, testing and utilization processes, and the qualitative and efficient work of shops and technical and production services and individual plant workers.

The creation of a comprehensive cluster system based on the Machine Tool Plant imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze, involving the participation of Moscow enterprises and organizations such as the Spetsstanok, Stankonormal' and ZIL, was a step ahead in the development of quality control. This cluster was established in accordance with the resolution of the Moscow City Party Committee and a decree of the USSR Gosstandart, and was given the name of Moscow City Quality Control System. A contract for socialist cooperation among the enterprises was initialed and legal-technical documents were drafted regulating quality control at all stages in the production cycle on the basis of specific interconnections among related enterprises and organizations participating in this process.

The final objective of the system is to ensure the high quality and efficiency of manufacturing processes at the consumer plant (the ZIL) as a result of highly productive equipment created at the manufacturing plant (imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze) and the proper use of the equipment. The entire work related to the creation of this system is the implementation of the initiative of Moscow enterprises entitled "Quality Guarantee From Design to Product."

At the very beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan the plant's and SKB engineering-technical services formulated a comprehensive quality plan for 1976-1982, the implementation of which involved annual plans for organizational and technical measures. A new comprehensive plan has been currently

approved, which includes a program for sociopolitical and engineering-technical measures. The plan also includes projects related to the plant's reconstruction and the replacement of morally and physically obsolete machine tools. The latter is based on the plan for establishing an optimal structure of metal-cutting equipment. Along with the "rejuvenation" of the metal-cutting machine tool inventory, the store of finishing equipment and precision machine tools is rising. In turn, this ensures the increased quality of procurements and reduced allowances for machining and turning metal into shavings. In this case the role of the new equipment, both created and applied, is particularly tangible, when considered with the framework of a single enterprise. Its main task is to upgrade the technical standard of output and, consequently, to contribute to the growth of labor productivity, reduced production costs and increased intraindustrial accumulations. One of the most important social tasks is to contribute to the all-round reduction of hard manual labor.

The installation of new equipment in a plant is a firm foundation for the implementation of challenging plans and socialist obligations. Thus, the engineering support given to the competition among machine tool workers is yielding good results. With their help highly productive mechanized fittings were designed, manufactured and are being successfully applied. The quality and, particularly, the durability of produced goods require the use of high-alloy steels and a high level heat processing. Let us note among the new heat-processing processes the use of ion nitriding of bushings, pinions and bearings. This process reduces the processing cycle by a factor of 3, deformation by a factor of 1.5 and electric power outlays by a factor of 2-3.

Great attention is paid to turning assembled items into finished products, which largely determines the future quality of the item. The plant is the first in domestic machine tool building to apply the method of machine tool quality control based on dynamic characteristics.

However, the result would have been even better had the plant had additional space for completing its reconstruction. The lack of space has prevented locating the machine shops and sections according to the freight flow, to equip them with transportation-warehousing systems and to develop auxiliary services consistent with the level of basic production and contemporary requirements. In this connection, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Significantly Upgrading the Technical Standard and Competitiveness of Metal Processing, Casting and Timber-Processing Equipment and Instruments" was particularly timely in our case. This decree defined the further reconstruction of the plant.

#### IV

The interest of many collectives like hours in adopting challenging plans and their unquestionably merits in terms of upgrading social production efficiency are once again drawing the attention to the foundations of the plan, i.e., to problems of planning and economic incentive in producing highly efficient items. On the basis of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving the economic mechanism, the end results of the

activities of production collectives and the results they create and are used by the consumers, become particularly important, considering the direct balanced interconnection between the efforts of manufacturers and consumers.

For this reason, along with concern for the efficiency of our own output, the association's and the head plant's collectives pay particular attention to ensuring the highest possible satisfaction of "consumer" requirements and, on this basis, upgrading national economic efficiency. In creating new equipment with higher technical standards we must bear in mind that the economic results of its utilization are manifested mainly in its utilization. That is precisely why the economic results of such utilization encompass both outlays and savings related to their manufacturing and utilization in the consumption area.

In creating custom-made specialized machine tools and automated lines according to the technical specifications of consumers which, naturally, makes their production more difficult, the association invariably bears in mind that one of the main requirements which determine their quality is their highest possible consistency with the purposes of the consumer, albeit on the level of the test worldwide models. That is why the speed and duration with which the consumer will be able to apply advantages obtained as a result of their use are very important.

Taking all this into consideration, the party and trade union organizations, the plant's economic management and the SKB adopted joint socialist obligations and challenging plans for the all-round utilization of the latest achievements of science and technology and, on this basis, enhancing the technical standards of the produced equipment and ensuring the further growth of economic efficiency in its industrial utilization. These plans include a large number of measures, some of which are creating highly productive automated lines expanding the variety of ChPU machine tools. Preliminary estimates indicate that, in the final account, the solution of these problems will enable us to achieve an annual increase in savings of no less than 10 percent. As a whole, during the 11th Five-Year Plan this will enable us to release no less than 40,000 workers and achieve overall savings of 85 million rubles.

Nevertheless, even greater successes are possible. What hinders the fuller use of all reserves and opportunities for the implementation of an even more challenging plan by the association? Our plant produces a variety of metal-processing equipment, including a relatively inexpensive general-purpose multiple-spindle machine tool, ChPU machine tools starting at 100,000 rubles, special hydroduplicating machine tools costing 30,000 to 40,000 rubles, aggregate machine tools and, finally, large complex automated lines costing several million rubles. Therefore, we cannot compare in terms of dynamics the number of machine tools produced without taking thoroughly into consideration their structure. Naturally, in principle machine tool production could be increased both in terms of value and numbers. However, the possibility is not excluded that the desire to increase the number of pieces may lead the enterprise to the manufacturing above all of items which, for one reason or another, such as price, are "profitable" from the viewpoint of

increasing the overall number of such machine tools. It may thus fail to produce more labor-intensive items which, however, could yield major international economic results. Thus, for example, the labor-intensiveness of some complex multipositional specialized machine tools is higher than that of ordinary machine tools by a factor of 1.5-2; their efficiency, however, is higher by a factor of 4-5. The currently produced ChPU and 12-instrument turret lathes are more than twice as labor-intensive compared with ordinary hydroduplicating machine tools; however, their efficiency is much higher, by a factor of 5-6.

Naturally, the plant's volume of output is largely determined by the superior planning organs. However, the objective conditions in which the enterprises find themselves as a result of the fact that their production programs do not single out the most important items to be produced from the viewpoint of achieving maximal economic results lead to the waste of forces and funds. The orientation of industrial enterprises primarily toward quantitative indicators leads to the fact that problems related to upgrading the efficiency of produced items are resolved too slowly although they should be given priority.

Another aspect of the problem directly related to the planning system exists as well. We know the importance of reducing the time which it takes for the economic results potentially included in the produced goods become apparent. Under our circumstances, one of the major reserves is the more thorough tuning of the automated lines, and the aggregate, specialized and ChPU machine tools at the plant itself, before shipping them to the consumers. This requires a great amount of time and assembly areas. However, this considerably reduces the overall cycle for the installation of productive capital at the consuming plants and drastically shortens the time needed in reaching planned capacity. Thus, the ahead-of-schedule mastery of new assembly areas enabled us in the past not only to increase the production of automated lines by more than 25 percent but to improve the quality of their tuning at the place of their manufacturing. This reduced the starting time of the lines at customer enterprises by almost one-half.

The need to increase national economic efficiency every year demands a certain restructuring of the existing specialization in plants such as the machine tools-building plant imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze engaged in the production of individual items. This applies first of all to their gradual reorientation toward the production of the most complex and labor-intensive yet also most efficient lines, machine tools and individual machines. In terms of the plant imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze, this includes ChPU machine tools, specialized aggregate machine tools of increased complexity, computerized automated lines, and others. This would not ease the implementation of the production program in the least. On the contrary, this will even increase production variety.

However, this variety of items would be strictly specialized and consistent with the plant's line of work. Consequently, it will make extensive standardization and specialization of jobs, equipment, sectors and shops possible. All of this combined would enable us to increase the production of highly efficient machine tools and automated lines. In this connection, we believe,

the overall efficiency indicator becomes important. The combined efficiency indicator, in our view, should be considered as important as the other technical-economic indicators. It would encompass computations and plan indicators currently used such as production cost, labor productivity, release of workers, conservation of materials, capital returns, specific capital investments, and others. By combining said indicators it would express the overall efficacy of current and capital outlays. It would aim at end national economic results and would combine producer cost-effectiveness with the efficiency of the equipment used by the consumer. The efficiency indicator may become such a comprehensive indicator by introducing the normative net output indicator and improving the price-setting system. It would express the combination of profit, labor productivity, capital returns and production quality.

During the 11th Five-Year Plan the association must produce a large number of exceptionally complex automated lines and aggregate machine tools for many enterprises in the tractor industry, agricultural machine building and the automotive and other sectors. The volume of output will be increased by more than 50 percent. This will be entirely secured through higher labor productivity, i.e., without increasing personnel size. All lines currently created go to large automated complexes used for performing technological operations for the production of finished parts. They enable us to meet the growing requirements of customers and manufacture equipment on the level of the best worldwide models in terms of all technical and economic indicators. The task is for the newly created equipment to meet fully the contemporary achievements in science and best worldwide practice and be competitive on the foreign markets. The production of all aggregate and specialized machine tools and automated lines will be organized on the basis of unified technical conditions for the domestic and foreign markets. All aggregate, specialized and ChPU machine tools and automated lines, i.e., all metal-cutting equipment will have the state Emblem of Quality by the end of the five-year plan.

The socialist competition at the Stankostroitel'nyy Zavod imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze is gathering strength for the implementation of all of these plans. Directing the competition toward quality indicators and the struggle for the implementation of the challenging plan will enable us successfully to complete the plan for the central year and the entire 11th Five-Year Plan.

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## DEVELOPING THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES IN MANAGING PRODUCTION

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[Text] The implementation of the goals of the party's socioeconomic policy and the consistent movement along the road of intensification depend to a decisive degree on the effectiveness of the economic mechanism and on the extent to which it corresponds to the increased scale of production. In the last few years a number of fundamental party decisions have been made whose implementation must substantially raise the level of management. In the system of measures envisaged by these decisions the task of activating the creative initiative of the masses and developing the democratic principles in production management is formulated as one of the central tasks. The communist party proceeds from the fact that democracy is an empty word if it fails to take into consideration the conditions of man's everyday work. That is why the party considers it necessary to consolidate the democratic principles directly in production and to ensure that the masses participate in management on all levels of the production hierarchy. Comrade Yu. V. Andropov writes that the CPSU "devotes daily attention to creating conditions which unleash the creative independent activity of the working people and their social activeness and extend the limits of independence of industrial enterprises, sovkhozes and kolkhozes. This activeness and initiative is a matter of the feasibility of party plans, of the growth of its strength, and, in the final analysis, a guarantee for implementing the program of communist building." Consequently, developing the democratic principles in production management is a strategic direction of the economic policy of the party and one of the most important ways of utilizing the advantages of the socialist economic system.

Under the condition of socialism the maximum involvement of the working people in the process of managing production corresponds both to the objective laws of development of production forces and to the nature of production relations based on public ownership of the means of production. The participation of the working people in management is one of the most important social forms in which public ownership is achieved and one of the facets of appropriation by the whole people. Accordingly, under socialism ownership relations are impossible to implement without the active participation of the associated producers. This means that the participation of the working people in production management is an objective prerequisite of the normal functioning and perfection of ownership relations and an inalienable characteristic of the socialist economic system.

The expanded and intensified participation of production personnel in management can and, in our opinion, must be regarded as one of the criteria of maturity of the system of production relations and the development of the socioeconomic content of ownership by the whole people. Such participation is of crucial significance in the reproduction of the socialist economic system and an indispensable condition for creating the material and technical base of communism and educating comprehensively developed individuals. Taking part in managing a brigade, sector, workshop, enterprise, or the national economy as a whole, the worker is not confined to displaying his creative initiative only in harnessing his own resources (which is usually called labor activeness). Social production and the achievement of high final results become the object of his creative activity. This is not only an important factor in raising the effectiveness of production but also the implementation of an owner's attitude toward people's property and of the interest in public affairs (managing activity).

The participation of the masses in managing production is an inherent element of all the stages of development of the communist system, as an inalienable characteristic of ownership by the whole people. However, this participation is not frozen as regards its functions and organizational forms. The democratic principles of production management develop alongside ownership relation and are determined by the system of social relations characteristic of the given stage of historical development.

The preamble of the draft USSR Law on Labor Collectives and on Enhancing Their Role in the Administration of Enterprises, Institutions and Organizations notes that in the developed socialist society the role of labor collectives in production, society and government is enhanced and the possibilities for the active participation of workers, kolkhoz members and intelligentsia in managing the enterprises, institutions, and organizations are expanded. At this stage of social development the participation of the masses in management acquires new features and qualities attesting to the emergence and formation of qualitative characteristics which distinguish communist self-management. It is precisely in these signs that the natural development of the democratic principles of production management characteristic of the given historical stage is reflected. In this connection it is possible to note the main direction in which the above-mentioned process develops.

A substantial increase in the number of working people directly participating in management has been noted, i.e., the mass nature of this participation has been enhanced.

The entire history of mankind prior to socialism has not known a society where so many of its members were involved in production management. The majority of the working people are involved in various forms of public self-management. Thus, at present there are about 142,000 standing plant and shop production conferences (PDPS) in our country, totaling more than 6.2 million elected members. If we include all those who participate in their work, the figure would reach 40 million. The scientific and technical societies formed on the sectorial basis and the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers total 22.7 million members. Numerous creative associations, design and

technological bureaus, councils of innovators, bureaus and groups for economic analysis, technical information bureaus, public scientific research institutes, laboratories and councils for the scientific organization of labor numbering 4.7 million people work under the guidance of the scientific and technical societies and the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers. There are also other very important and much needed forms of participation in production management. For example, over 4 million working people participate in the work of commissions for labor protection, legal consultancies, and voluntary legal and technical labor inspection commissions.

Among the diverse forms of involving the working people in production management the organization of socialist competition should be given special mention. According to the AUCCTU in 1982 the number of competitors "exceeded" the 110-million mark.

Such data attest that under the conditions of mature socialism the mass involvement of working people in production management, which is characteristic of all the stages of the socialist society, acquires a new quality--the activation of the above-mentioned process and a clearly manifested tendency to involve all working people in it. Therefore, it is possible to speak of the nationwide nature of mass participation in production management as one of the specific features characterizing the production relations in specific features characterizing production relations in developed socialism.

However, the fact should not be ignored that these figures do not stand for equal management activities of individuals. Quite a few members of labor collectives still fail to take direct part in management. This means that only part of the collective--frontrank production workers--participate in the most diverse forms of management. The same people are also members of different organizations or independent social bodies and have several tasks at once. According to statistics, more than 100 percent of the members of the labor collective participate in management although a certain number of them turn out to be unencompassed by the organizational forms. We are faced with inertia: one and the same frontranking worker is elected both to the leading party, trade union, or Komsomol organs and to the council of the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers or a scientific-technical organization and is also elected a member of the PDPS, of various commissions and so forth. Although this shortcoming is not new, this does not make it any less tenacious. Even if they show extreme conscientiousness, activists who are given several tasks at once cannot accomplish them. In spite of their high individual involvement in the process of management, the general level and effectiveness in solving economic problems with the participation of the labor collective turns out to be insufficient.

However, it is not only a matter of the activists' being overloaded. A negative influence on the degree of involvement of the labor collective in management is also exerted by the rather broad strata of the "passive ones." This does not apply to violators of labor discipline, self-seekers, drunkards or other individuals who undermine the foundations of the socialist way of life. We are talking about quite "satisfactory" members of the collective who work well enough, fulfill their norms, do not indulge in immoral behavior



and attend public functions properly. However, they do not come forward with any initiatives, calmly ignore shortcomings in the organization of production and labor and keep silent during meetings. This, for example, on a national average workers make up 63.4 percent of all PDPS members. However, according to records considerably fewer attend the meetings and actively participate in the work of this production management organ.

Of course, any participation in the performance at public functions proves an interest in the life of the collective and carries with it an "educational charge." However, nowadays such passive involvement in management is no longer sufficient. Conditions should be created such as to make each initiative and enterprise as necessary to the labor process as labor activeness. Let us note, by the way, that these are closely related concepts. A worker who is inert in the management activity is very often inert in the individual production process.

At present we are faced with the task not so much of increasing the numbers of those participating in production management (although this task has not been rendered obsolete) as with that of improving the qualitative characteristic of this participation and enhancing the social activeness of workers. In other words, the problem of real involvement in the process of management becomes of paramount importance.

A formal instead of real involvement in the management process is largely a consequence of the inability and at times unwillingness on the part of economic leaders and specialists to secure conditions such as to contribute to the creative activity of all the members of the labor collective. Experience shows that the members of the labor collective are often poorly informed of the economic situation and lack a clear understanding of the problems which must be solved during the given period. This usually happens in places where problems are not openly discussed at worker meetings and PDPS sessions, and difficulties are hushed up.

It happens that the suggestions and wishes of workers and the engineering and technical personnel not only fail without sufficient grounds to be implemented by the administration but even provoke its negative reaction. Clearly, it would be advisable for the Law on Labor Collectives to hold liable workers who "wave aside" initiative from below and to guarantee that they will inevitably be held responsible.

The participation of the working people in management does not happen by itself. It must be implemented through the economic mechanism. This is why at a number of enterprises measures aimed at involving the working people in production management are an element of planning. The Volgograd Tractor Plant can be cited as an example. Its economic and social development plan envisages measures for increasing the participation of the working people in management and enhancing their socioeconomic activeness. The development of the public forms of management and intensification of the effectiveness in organizing socialist competition are among the standards adopted at some enterprises.

The educational aspect of the task under consideration is for every worker to realize his real interests and consciously meet the requirement that each member of the socialist society participate in management. This is why it is important not only to avail the worker of the proper conditions for involving him in production management but also to educate him as an individual aware of his significance to his collective and to society as a whole. Participation in management and social self-awareness are divisible. Thus, participating in management which is a necessary condition for enhancing production efficiency is a very important component of the educational process for shaping the new individual. Education through work turns the individual into a producer of material values and organizer of the labor process and into a political figure.

In this connection it is necessary to emphasize the following. Active participation in production management must be a substantial component of the movement for a communist attitude toward labor, for working according to one's abilities means not only having a conscientious and creative attitude to one's own work process but also an interest in the affairs of one's brigade, sector, shop, and enterprise. Therefore, the evaluation of the achievement of participants in this movement should also include that of their efforts in production management.

The nature of the participation of the whole people in production management generates a variety of organizational forms. In recent years the number of both representative and direct forms of such participation has increased. Along with general units which handle the entire set of production problems (workers' meetings, PDPS), there are also specialized organs at enterprises and associations dealing with specific aspects of production work (public patent bureaus, public personnel departments, and so forth).

The process of creating new forms of participation of individuals and entire collectives in management is natural and legitimate. We can even say that it is one of the important trends in developing democracy in the production sphere. However, the task is not to increase the number of forms but to make each one of them more efficient and to eliminate the duplication of functions, formalism, and bureaucracy in their use. It is also important to secure the unity of action of the corresponding functional departments of enterprises and production associations with the activity of public organizations. This makes it necessary to establish at every enterprise and under the leadership of the party organization a unified production self-management system which would form an organic part of the general system of planned socialist production management. It is necessary to distinguish clearly among the functions, rights and responsibilities of each unit in the system for a particular work sector and to establish a procedure for relations between the public and economic organizations.

The first steps in this direction have already been taken. Thus, at the Saransk Elektrovypryamitel Plant the provisions governing the work of the enterprise's functional departments include two additional new chapters. One of them covers the relations between departments in the course of the work, while the other defines and consolidates their relations with public

organizations and creative associations. The latter specifically indicates which public organization cooperates with which departments in the course of solving specific production problems and who carries the responsibility to provide the necessary assistance and create suitable working conditions. The jointly adopted unified coordination plan for the party and the trade union committee defines the main lines of the activity of all public organizations at the plant.

Under the socialist conditions the participation of the working people in management extends to all the stages of the reproduction cycle, which is one of the basic features which separate socialist from capitalist production relations. In particular, at the mature socialist stage the role of the working people in the management of distribution relations becomes greatly enhanced. This fact is usually regarded as the implementation of the "protective functions" of the trade unions and other public organizations standing guard over the rights and interests of the labor collective and its members. This is manifested first and foremost in the social sphere. At present, for example, the problem of controlling the distribution of the part of the overall social product which is directly aimed at satisfying the material and spiritual requirements of the working people has become particularly urgent. The 17th USSR Trade Unions Congress pointed out that "control, particularly in the areas directly related to the everyday needs of the people, must be made more effective, informal and impartial," while the 19th Komsomol Congress appealed to Komsomol members to get actively involved in this work.

At the same time, distribution under socialism must be considered in connection with the entire set of production relations. Only that which has been produced can be distributed and in the best possible way at that. The more material and intellectual goods are produced, the higher the well-being of society as a whole and of its every member in particular becomes. In this connection the economic interest of the producer is related not only to distribution but chiefly to production.

A considerable transformation of the protective function of the trade unions and other public organizations takes place at this point, going beyond the limits of pure distribution relations and encompassing the direct production stage. This means that it is not only the protection of the direct social interest of the individual but also the protection of the national and collective interests which become the function of the trade union organizations. This function is manifested, on the one hand, in protecting the interests of the collective and each one of its members from the negligence of individual administrators and from all possible bureaucratic distortions, formalism, and routine, and on the other hand, in protecting them from irresponsible attitudes toward the task on the part of individual workers, violations of labor and executive discipline, and displays of laxity and self-seeking. In other words, the participation of the working people in management includes not only the management of distribution relations but also the production process itself. It envisages their active participation in raising the technical level of production and its organization. Thus, in the course of discussing the 11th five-year economic and social development plan at the Ivanovsk Mixed

Fabrics Combine, general and special-purpose worker meetings were held and questionnaires put together, which included two questions: What has to be changed (introduced) in order to raise output with reduced costs and with a reduced number of workers, and how to accomplish a conversion to two-shift work during the period of summer vacations without reducing the volume of output? Large numbers of rationalizers and PDPS members become involved in elaborating corresponding measures. After a close study of more than 5,000 proposals, a paper on the technical development of the combine in 1981-1985 was adopted, which had been approved by the party obkom and the RSFSR Ministry of Textile Industry.

Thus, under socialist conditions an economical approach is formed with direct and active participation of the working people in managing the entire set of relations emerging in the course of the production process. This fact is of basic importance. Participation in nothing but the management of distribution relations may lead to parasitical tendencies ("we are responsible for correct distribution, whereas production is the business of the administration"), whereas participation in the management of production processes exclusively prevents the forming of a thrifty attitude to the people's wealth and in a way alienates the producer from the relations emerging in the social sphere and in everyday life. Only the participation of the labor collective in the management of all areas of economic activity contributes to substantially raising production effectiveness.

This specific feature of the participation of the working people in management, which is of paramount importance, is particularly significant under the conditions of developed socialism. Enhancing the role of the subjective factor in the economic development of society enhances the responsibility of labor collectives for the results of their work, requiring their more active intervention in production management.

What has been accomplished in this direction in recent years? Quite a lot. For example, the question of the participation of the working people in production planning has been actively developed, starting with the Ninth Five-Year Plan, and was directly reflected in the well-known CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree on perfecting the economic mechanism and in the legal acts which develop it.

Nevertheless, not enough has yet been done in this direction. To a great extent this is due to the lack of complete organizational forms of counterplanning and, primarily, of provisions securing the interests of the enterprise as regards cost-effectiveness. As was mentioned at the 26th CPSU Congress, fear of receiving additional assignments as well as planning based on existing results compel the enterprise to hold back reserves and to avoid basing its counterplan on them. We must urgently formulate rules on the principle of participation of the working people in production planning, such as to define the rights, obligations and responsibilities of all participants in this process, and which contain effective stimuli for involving the working people in drafting counterplans. Creating objective conditions at enterprises, associations and all levels of economic leadership, which contribute to organically involving the entire collective and its every member--the

latter being much more difficult--in perfecting the mechanism of economic management must become one of the inalienable functions of production managers and public organizations.

In this context it should be noted that the organization of the working people's participation in technical production progress is on the whole satisfactory, though not without shortcomings. A system of organizational forms which help carry out this work exists. The rights of inventors and rationalizers and their moral and material interests are stipulated in special legal acts which regulate the activity of both organs of economic leadership and public organizations. Altogether, 24 sectorial scientific and technical societies and an All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers have been formed. They have a ramified network of local organs involved in organizing the technical creative activity of the working people and applying its results. In the course of the 10th Five-Year Plan, the economic effect of implementing inventions and rationalizers' suggestions has amounted to more than 29 million rubles.

The involvement of the working people in perfecting the organization of production and work and in managing the affairs of enterprises and production subdivisions is much lower. To a great extent this fact can be explained by the lack of clear organizational forms and an economic mechanism which would secure the interest of every member of the collective in displaying such activeness. It is, for example, impossible not to note that stimulating (particularly in the material form) initiative in the sphere of organizing production work and management is not defined in corresponding legal provisions.

Another aspect of this problem is also significant. As a rule, it is only people who are professionally involved with technical equipment who are engaged in technical creativity, although every member of the labor collective, regardless of the nature of his work, can be involved in organizational creative efforts. Legal protection of organizational proposals will make it possible to involve all working people in the management process--from technical managers to preschool establishment personnel. It will guarantee that all the reserves are harnessed to the maximum and establish a favorable atmosphere for creative activity at each work place.

The stage of developed socialism is characterized by the constantly growing participation of the working people in making decisions dealing with management. This is a matter of developing the democratization of production management in both scope and depth. The opportunities of this line reside in the conversion to a new quality; converting the participation of the working people in production management into production self-management. The reason is that the working people can participate in the different and far from equal stages of the management cycle. The most important stages are those of making a decision and correcting it. Here the functions of management assume their decisive form. This is why at such management stages only an organ with a corresponding level of competence and with the right to make such decisions can be the subjective factor of management. According to the general rule, it is the economic leader who is authorized to make production

decisions. Therefore, the participation of the working people in production management mainly takes place in formulating management decisions and their fulfillment and control stages.

In other words, the participation of the working people in management as a rule assumes a consultative form and applies primarily to the process of drafting management decisions, whereby the worker has the right to express his opinion, make corrections, and suggest projects. Thus, he assists in drafting management decisions but is not authorized to make them. The consultative form is a widespread and necessary form of participation in management. It secures the implementation of the principle of feedback from the managed to the managing subsystem in terms of supplying the latter with the information required for decision-making. This participation of the masses assists the managing organ in gathering the information received from the labor collective and adopting the optimal solutions on this basis and efficiently carrying out, backed by the above-mentioned information channel, the accounting and control over their fulfillment. The consultative form of participating in management is widely practiced "at the top," particularly in legislative bodies.

At the same time it is impossible not to see a certain limitation inherent in this form of participation in management. When decisions are made or changed by a higher authority and the participants in the production process only play the part of consultants whose opinions may not even be reflected in the decisions, the responsibility for the decisions made and their purposefulness and feasibility also primarily rests on the shoulders of the person who has approved them. When decisions are made by an organ which will also carry them out, their goals will also be treated by the specific collective as its own. This is why, while preserving and perfecting the consultative form, the democratization of production management is achieved by securing the participation of the masses in all the stages of the management cycle, including making and amending management decisions. This means that production management follows the path of transition to self-management, that is to a situation in which decisions will be made by the very labor collective (of an enterprise, shop, section or brigade) which will be carrying them out. Here the problem of expanding the economic independence of the lower link merges with increasing the participation of the working people in production management and creating conditions in which the worker would fully feel himself the owner.

Thus, one of the most important ways of increasing the social activeness of the working people and instilling in them the feeling of ownership not only in relation to the national wealth but also their production sector is to broaden the area in which they can make their own decisions. This is also the most important way of enhancing the role of the labor collective both in production and ideological-educational activity, for it is precisely here that the "educational" nature of the economic activity manifests itself most fully.

The trend toward conversion to the participation of the working people in management consisting of adopting management decisions manifests itself most

fully in the organization of socialist competition. Socialist obligations are not a consultative but a decisive form of participation in management. By assuming and fulfilling obligations, the working people and their collectives exert a purposeful influence on the development of the economy, that is they directly participate alongside with the state organs in making decisions relative to national-economic activity. The main specific feature of the obligations is the fact that they are not assumed by state organs but by the competitors themselves, who proceed from their uncovered reserves and possibilities. The socialist obligation ("self"-obligation) is an act of self-management and self-organization on the part of the individual or the labor collective. It represents a special management decision because it does not come from the manager but from the self-managing subjective factor. These decisions are not a directive or an order issued by another organ. Their mandatory nature is based exclusively on the level of awareness and efficiency of the performer himself and his feeling of moral responsibility to society. Thus, socialist obligations become one of the most important forms of eradicating the substantial differences between the work of organizers and performers, thus increasingly turning the working people not only into participants in the production process but its real masters as well.

These qualities of socialist obligations are entirely lost when they are worked out "from above." Not only the essence of the obligations themselves which result from the high state of awareness and initiative on the part of the people is distorted by the very participation of the working people in production management is thereby excluded. Indeed, what kind of self-management are we talking about when the subject of management does not formulate the management decision but receives it ready-made?

The decisive form of mass participation in management manifests itself most fully during the elaboration of the counterplan. The counterplan is a management decision of a higher order than the socialist obligation, because it is organically intertwined with the relations of conformity to plan, which is the general manner in which the economy functions at the stage of developed socialism. It represents an act of self-management coordinated with other acts and, therefore, exerts a substantial influence on the content of management decisions of both the higher and related enterprises and organizations.

All directions in the development of the democratic principles of production management are currently broadly manifested at the level of the primary production collective, i.e., in the brigades. The economic and social advantages of the brigade form of labor organization are widely brought to light in the press. Under the conditions of the brigade organization of labor, labor productivity goes up, materials are used more sparingly, related skills are mastered more successfully, the exchange of advanced experience is facilitated, the creative ideas of the inventors and rationalizers are supported and implemented, young workers adapt more easily to new conditions and so forth. Besides, there emerges a new type of worker--the brigade leader who acts simultaneously as a performer, organizer, and instructor of the labor collective.

All these advantages are primarily the result of the fact that the brigade is a self-managing collective which guarantees its members broad possibilities

of participating in production management. Clearly this main principle on which the given type of labor organization is based should be directly reflected in the Labor Collective Law. It would be purposeful to include in this law the set of problems whose solution is left exclusively to the brigade, keeping in mind of course that brigade self-management cannot be "unlimited" and that a situation must not be allowed to arise whereby the brigade would find itself "cut off" from having an interest in the end results of the work of the enterprise.

The advantages of the brigade form of labor organization cannot manifest themselves if it is applied formally and if the legal, technical and economic and social conditions for its functioning are not provided. It is by no means every brigade that can be considered an element in the system of brigade organization. This qualification can apply only to those which are complex, based on cost-effectiveness and which have emerged as a result of the restructuring of the technological process and of the introduction of measures related to the planning, norm-setting and payment of labor.

Forming the brigade itself is not tantamount to mechanically uniting in a simple group workers engaged in a given production sector. It primarily signifies the creation of a complex mechanism of collectivist relations and communion between the people according to the new organizational links. This requires taking into account the compatibility of brigade members, and their general-educational and sociopolitical composition (number of party members, member activeness). There is no doubt that a brigade formed on a voluntary basis, but under the requirements we mentioned, not only can be entrusted with electing the brigade leader (instead of obtaining an approval for his appointment) but can be sure that, on the one hand, parochial tendencies will not get the upper hand and, on the other, that such a brigade will be able to withstand successfully attempts by some administrators to violate its economic independence.

Therefore it is not worthwhile to seek to increase the number of existing brigades, let alone establish a competition as regards this indicator. The effectiveness of the brigade form must be determined by economic activity indicators and not by the number of existing brigades. In some cases the pursuit of figures simply discredits this progressive form of labor organization. For example at the Elektrometallurgstroy Association in Belgorod Oblast 53 brigades saved 3,700 rubles in 11 months! In the preceding years a single brigade in the same association saved 30,000-35,000 rubles. It does not seem accidental that last year in over 41 percent of all construction and installation works accomplished by brigades based on cost-effectiveness labor productivity in building only went up by 2 percent whereas the plan envisaged 3.5 percent.

Thus the point is not to "encompass" formally or organize "paper" brigades but to use this form of labor organization effectively.

The socialist obligations and counterplans and the brigade system of labor organization substantially change the nature of mass participation in management. This participation cannot be viewed as a simple delimitation of management functions between the state apparatus and the working people. The



latter not only take over part of the functions of the management apparatus but also manage alongside it. And whereas at the earlier stages of development of the socialist society the participation of the masses only took the form of assisting the management apparatus in making a correct decision, that is, in a consultative form, during the subsequent transition to communist self-management the coparticipants in the process of management will evidently change places: the management decision will be made by the working people themselves, who will draw on the special knowledge of the managers.

However, it would be wrong to picture communist self-management as the making by individuals or collectives of decentralized management decisions unrelated to each other and not serving a common goal. This method of management is possible under the conditions of underdeveloped production relations in a primitive communal system. In a communist society characterized by a very high level of collectivization of the means of production, centralized management is an objective necessity. The national economy of the communist society will be a single organism rather than the mere sum of separate enterprises, each one of which can function independently of the others. However, under the conditions of the highest stage of communism centralized management will lose the elements of compulsion and its legal form.

Thus, the natural development of the communist production method, which stands for a consistent and comprehensive expansion of the participation of the working people in management, must be implemented in a conscious fashion by way of creating the most favorable conditions for its manifestation. In particular, alongside a complex of educational measures, the economic measures, essentially those related to perfecting the economic mechanism, are nowadays becoming particularly important. This means that the participation of the working people in production management cannot be regarded in isolation from the economic mechanism or as its supplement. Its democratic nature is an inalienable quality and an essential characteristic of the socialist economic mechanism which radically distinguishes it from the despotic system of management inherent in exploiting systems. This quality must be fully utilized in our practical management. Adopting the Law on Labor Collectives, whose draft is now being so widely discussed and with such great interest, will consolidate the legal basis of developing the democratic principles of production management and will mark an important stage in the big and complicated work of orienting the economic mechanism toward developing the creative activeness and initiative of the masses.

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ATTENTION TO AND CONCERN FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE LABOR COLLECTIVE

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[Article by V. Kuznetsov, general director of the Order of the October Revolution Dneproshina imeni XXV S'yezda KPSS in Dnepropetrovsk; V. Tonkonog, association party committee secretary; and V. Belen'kiy, chief of the sectorial scientific research laboratory of social planning, sociological research and labor psychophysiology in the tire industry]

[Text] Probably the most typical feature of the Soviet way of life is the confidence of the individual citizen in the future. The advantages of the socialist system and the profoundly national policy of the Leninist party are sources of social optimism. Job security, wages based on labor and social consumption funds, the tremendous successes achieved in resolving the housing problem, low rents, free medical aid, the possibility of giving children an education, including higher education, and many other by now traditional "attributes" of life, are consistent with the basic interests of the working people and offer them extensive opportunities.

The truly democratic nature of our society and its true humaneness contribute to the successful economic and social development of the country and the steady growth of the people's well-being. They are manifested in the daily concern shown by the party and state organs, trade union organizations and labor collectives for ensuring the working, resting and living conditions of the people.

Decisions on such problems are found in a number of party documents. Important among them is the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Measures To Further Improve Work With Letters and Suggestions of the Working People in Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress," which emphasizes that no task is or could be more important than concern for the well-being and interests of every Soviet person. The question of letters sent by the working people to the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which was discussed at a Central Committee Politburo meeting in December 1982, is a new confirmation of the party's consideration of public opinion.

Guided by the party decisions and stipulations, the party, trade union organization and management of the Dneproshina imeni XXV S'yezda KPSS Production Association in Dnepropetrovsk base their work on ensuring the unity of interests of the state, the collective and the individual working person, aware of the fact that success in the implementation of the program for the enterprise's economic and social development, planned assignments and socialist

obligations depends on the people's production and social activeness. That is why organizational and political education activities in the association are based on the efficient stipulations aimed at resolving national economic problems and creating conditions which enable us to take most fully into consideration the suggestions and experience of the working people and their collective, individual and family interests. Let us point out that in the past as well a great deal had been accomplished in this respect.

At the same time, practical experience proved the need to look for work methods which would enable us to broaden the boundaries of democracy at work and ensure a fuller consideration of public opinion. It is hardly necessary to prove that the more profound and specific the knowledge of problems affecting the people the more accurately and substantiatedly they will be resolved.

What was done to this effect? A sociological study sector was created at the Dneproshina Association in 1980; a sectorial scientific research laboratory for social planning, sociological research and psychophysiology of labor in the tire industry was opened in 1981. In our view, this was an important step in organizing the scientific study of social processes within the labor collective. The association acquired the possibility of systematically and consistently studying and controlling the most topical social problems.

At the same time, a sociological service, which was metaphorically named "Good Mood Service," a "Trust Telephone" sociological service, a system for the study and control of cadre turnover, and a comprehensive system for the study and control of visits by working people to managers and the consideration of letters, petitions, complaints and suggestions were organized. These work methods, based on sociological and sociopsychological means of controlling the collective are worth describing in greater detail. We believe that the Dneproshina experience could be of use to production organizers, party and trade union workers and plant sociologists and psychologists.

One of the features of the comprehensive sociological system introduced in 1980 is that uniform days and hours for the weekly reception of working people by the general director and his deputies, chief specialists, production, shop, department and laboratory chiefs and party, trade union and Komsomol committee managers were set for the entire association. A "balanced" schedule for seeing visitors, which is strictly observed, was formulated. Monday is a general day for seeing all economic managers of subunits and the association; visits on personal problems are held on Wednesday by the deputy general director in charge of living conditions. The party committee secretary receives visitors on Mondays; the trade union committee chairman, on Mondays and Fridays; during the other days petitioners on personal matters may see the deputies of the party committee secretary and trade union committee chairman. Individuals in charge of bookkeeping related to visits and letters have been appointed and two special journals are kept on received appeals by each structural subunit. One of the journals is a record of visits for personal matters while the other records letters and petitions.

We have added new "links" to this "system" for organizing work with letters and verbal addresses by the working people, which is traditional to a certain extent in many enterprises. Thus, a collegial control-observation organ--a standing commission for controlling the practice of visits to managers has been established. It includes the chief of the legal department (commission chairman), the deputies of the party committee secretary, trade union committee chairman and Komsomol committee secretary, an inspector from the complaints department, an engineer-sociologist, an engineer-psychologist and the editor of the plant newspaper.

Monthly statistical-sociological records of visits and letters, sent to the sociological research laboratory by the general director, party committee secretary, trade union committee chairman, Komsomol committee secretary, and chiefs of production lines, shops and large departments--a total of 47 senior personnel--are a major element of the new system.

In our study of managerial activities at the association, we paid attention to the fact that on the level of the management, the party committee and the trade union a properly streamlined system of work with addresses by the working people had been organized. Subunit managers dealt with it essentially while surveying the shops and sections and frequently along with considerations of production problems. The use of statistical-sociological information forms made possible the steady study of the nature of public opinion in all units, to be aware of the problems affecting the individual workers and accurately to assess the production microclimate, the standard of official relations and, in the final account, the dynamics of some social processes within the collective.

Obviously, it would be worth describing the content of the forms on verbal and written addresses in greater detail. The face side of the document shows the results of personal visits; the back describes letters, proposals, petitions and complaints. The form includes the position of the manager, name of the said unit, the calendar-accountability period, the signature of the official in charge of recording the petitions and the date of filling the form. The section on the social structure of the petitioners lists them as workers, engineering and technical personnel, employees, former enterprise workers no longer employed by the association, labor veterans or private citizens living in the plant's microrayons. It also includes one of the most essential "efficiency indicators" in the work of the manager--the steps taken. A note is made on whether or not the question was essentially resolved, was it substantiated with an explanation or was the petition declined. A "scale" of efficiency in considering questions and addresses is given: 10, 15, or 20 days, 1 month or more than 1 month.

Experience proved the expediency of a detailed breakdown of the content of addresses by enterprise workers. They cover virtually all basic problems of work and way of life. They are mainly requests for housing, particularly for rooms in hotel-type hostels for small families, repair and exchange of housing, improved communal conditions, supply with construction materials, and so on. Claims related to unsatisfactory wages, improper allocation of bonuses and privation of annual bonuses are classified separately. A major group of

questions deals with jobs, transfer and dismissal of workers, or granting regular, study or administrative leave. Violations of labor legislation and some problems related to pensions are listed here. A separate record is kept of complaints regarding the work organization and conditions, the workstyle of managers, family conflicts, material aid granted, and processing of registrations and excerpts.

In addition to these features of consideration of written appeals, the records also show their origin: directly submitted to the association, received from superior party, soviet and economic organs or coming from newspapers and journals. This indicator is exceptionally important, for it makes it possible to determine how petitions are to be considered: in the collective, on the spot, independently or by superior order.

The introduction of the new sociological system, which has obvious organizational research advantages, made it possible, for the first time, to determine most fully and specifically, on the scale of the association, the nature of the practice of receptions and consideration of letters, and to become aware of the social demands of the working people in the collective. Two other links in the system should be mentioned in this connection: discussing the results of the work of production leaders with proposals, petitions and complaints filed by the working people at ideological conferences of subunit managers has become a proven method for the joint study of social information. We realized that the very fact of discussing this matter with the participation of party organization secretaries, shop trade union committee chairmen, Komsomol organization secretaries and economic managers directs the entire command to personnel in the association to adopt a concerned and attentive attitude toward each petition, letter or complaint. Furthermore, on the basis of the summed-up data by sociologists and results of investigations by the standing commission, the practice of visits by working people and consideration of written addresses is regularly covered in SHINNIK, the plant newspaper. The association's party committee provides overall control over the functioning of the system.

Characteristic and noteworthy changes have taken place as a result of the steps which were taken in handling letters, complaints and petitions. In particular, the number of verbal and written appeals has increased, as follows: there were 8,383 in 1980, 9,300 in 1981 and 9,511 in 1982. Is this good or bad? We believe the question to be irrelevant. What matters is the quality and efficiency with which reports, petitions and suggestions submitted by the working people were considered.

In our view, the increased number of addresses confirms, above all improvements in the organization of accountability and control and increased personal responsibility on the part of the managers in meeting the requirements of the working people. The statistical data also prove the further enhancement in the social activeness of the association's workers, which is largely manifested through their growing faith in the management. This is understandable, for concern for the working people is not only a creative back link but a type of psychological catalytic agent which accelerates the work of social information. In other words, people address themselves with

considerably greater frequency to a responsive and sensitive manager, who is ready to help the people through words and actions, than to a bureaucrat or callous office worker.

As statistical data indicate, over the past 3 years more than 27,000 statements, letters, petitions, complaints and proposals were recorded. Specific decisions were made on the overwhelming majority of them (71 percent). Substantiated answers, explanations or expert consultations were provided for 23.4 percent. Unfortunately, the enterprise was unable to meet 5.6 percent of petitions, statements and complaints for lack of necessary possibilities. It is indicative that the group of unresolved problems is declining despite a substantial increase in the number of letters and proposals.

We consider also a major accomplishment the fact that 85.3 percent of the overall number of questions raised were resolved within 10 days. The number of appeals, the consideration of which exceeded 1 month, declined by a factor of 15 in 3 years. Some changes in the make-up of their authors have taken place as well. The share of workers' communications has declined substantially. The number of questions raised and suggestions submitted by engineering and technical personnel and employees has increased somewhat. What is particularly noteworthy is that the number of communications addressed by former association personnel--pensioners and residents in the two plant microrayons--has increased by a factor of 3.4. This means that socio-production ties with the enterprise have not been terminated in the case of many labor veterans. The association continues to show specific concern for them.

In our view the breakdown in the content of verbal and oral addresses by topic is of interest. The most numerous--nearly 40 percent--are problems of jobs, choice of new type of work, transfers from one production subdivision to another, granting paid study or administrative leave and, finally, dismissals. Over the past 4 years intraplant transfers have increased by 25 percent. This has lowered cadre turnover from 16.4 to 10.6 percent. As in the past, the second most popular topic is related to housing-services problems and improving living conditions. Despite a certain declining trend (by 20 percent in 3 years), some 2,600 of our workers have still not been supplied with housing. The main reason for this is the constant lagging in the completion of housing behind the pace of development of production capacities, caused by the fact that the USSR Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry is allocating insufficient funds for housing construction.

In order to establish good housing and living conditions, particularly for the young families--our association is one of young people (about one-half of its entire personnel are under 30)--a youth housing microrayon was built during the 10th Five-Year Plan. It consists of six hotel-type hostels--1,380 one-room apartments. A food store, post office, beauty shop, tailoring and dry cleaning shops and a children's consultation office were opened here. A preventive treatment clinic for 270 patients was opened, administering a variety of treatment-preventive medicine procedures, a children's combine with a swimming pool, and a children's sports and games facility were built. A new school will be inaugurated soon and the construction of a hospital and

a second children's combine are planned. Housing conditions were improved for 500 workers in the 9th Five-Year Plan, for 1,815 in the 10th and for 608 in the first 2 years of the 11th five-year plans.

According to the "family-marital passport" data, which were developed and compiled by the Sociological Research Laboratory, our association numbers about 320 large families. Seventy-two of them are waiting their turn for receiving housing or improving their housing conditions. Improved layout apartments, with larger and auxiliary premises, will be built for these families in the new plant housing developments.

The management and the party and trade union committees pay great attention to creating maximally comfortable living conditions for young men and women. Three simple but quite efficient work methods have been developed. The first involves regular meetings between the general director, party committee secretary, trade union committee chairman and other senior workers with the residents of each of the six youth hostels. Plans for current and capital repairs of the hostels and purchases of new furniture, inventory and equipment are based on the results of such meetings; conditions governing competition among and review of hostels are defined. Plans for mass political, cultural-educational and sports-recovery work, involving the participation of the palace of culture, the sports house, the primary organization of the Knowledge Society, and others, are formulated. The second form of work consists of quarterly collective visits to hostels by senior association personnel and chiefs of shops and departments. Finally, the third involves weekly visits to hostels by representatives of the administration, the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and shops and departments. Remarks, wishes and suggestions expressed at such visits are recorded and discussed at weekly ideological conferences of representatives of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and managements of all structural subdivisions.

All of this contributes to developing a concerned attitude toward cadres, the sociopsychological adaptation of young people to the work and the strengthening of social discipline. Over the past 3 years a great deal has been accomplished to improve the living conditions of the association's working people. The hostels were subjected to capital repairs; cafeterias and food stands were reconstructed and interior design has made the premises attractive. New furniture has been provided for the residential premises, and red corners and recreation premises have been furnished. Rooms for training and sports-grounds and guest rooms have been set up. Direct-dial telephones have been installed. Barbershops and beauty salons have been opened in the male and female hostels and facilities in women's hostels have been equipped with sewing and washing machines. Refrigerators were installed on the initiative of the enterprise, one in each room--some 650 in all. Other requests have been met as well. An entire floor was set aside in one of the women's hostels for single mothers with children and properly furnished rooms. Bearing in mind that the enterprise has more than 1,000 so-called plant families and more than 380 of them living in a single structural subdivision, it was decided to restructure one of the male hostels as premises for small families and young married couples.

Well-organized living conditions are one of the prerequisites for high-labor productivity. The creation of necessary amenities in hostels, therefore, becomes expedient from both the social and the economic viewpoint. Naturally, even the best living conditions do not guarantee an interesting life for the young people in the hostels. In order to intensify ideological and cultural education and mass sports work a number of organizational steps have been taken. In particular, we opened a position for deputy chief of welfare, in charge of educational work, for an educator in hostels for small families and an inspector in the cadre department in charge of tutorship. A lecturer's office, two people's universities, and circles for garment cutting and sewing, photography and weightlifting and seven hobby clubs have been organized in the hostels. Virtually no free day takes place without sports competitions, hikes and culture trips.

Let us also note the way the family-demographic situation which is developing at the enterprise is taken into consideration. Since as a rule the members of "plant families" work on the basis of a 24-hour schedule in different shifts, many difficulties developed: parents were unable to be always with their children, to assist them in their homework, and so on. In some cases this even led mothers to resign from the enterprise. Therefore, a decree was passed allowing the personnel belonging to "plant families" 15-minute intershift "windows:" now one of the spouses can leave the shop 15 minutes ahead of schedule and the second can begin the work shift 15 minutes late.

A great deal has been done to improve housing-services conditions and amenities in residential microrayons. A total of 3,500 trees, some 4,000 shrubs, and more than 1,000 rose bushes were planted in the plant settlements, the main boulevard and the children's playgrounds were reconstructed and two hockey fields were built. As a result, the number of requests for apartment repairs and improvements in housing-communal and living conditions have dropped by more than one-half in 3 years.

At the same time, the number of requests for acquiring construction materials through the enterprise has increased substantially. Despite some difficulties, the association is trying to meet them. Over the past 2 years 59 percent of requests for bricks, slag blocks, timber, slate, cement, lime, whitening, pipes, rubberoid, and paint have been met. A particularly large number of requests were filed for the purchasing of rubber-lined slate, produced by our enterprise. Since the possibility of satisfying such demands was limited, by request of the administration the heavy tires shop increased its socialist pledges for the additional production of this item. Thanks to the steps which were taken in 1982, triple the number of workers were able to purchase such slate.

A responsive and interested attitude toward problems affecting the working people means that the manager must not wait for appeals, suggestions or complaints but display initiative in the study of topical problems. We have set up a special repair-construction sector dealing with reconstruction and servicing hostels and children's preschool institutions. Two years ago, although no complaints or suggestions had been received on the part of the working people, brick sheds replaced the wooden ones in all seven children's



preschool institutions. At the same time, the metal fencing around the kindergartens was replaced and entirely new furniture was brought in in the four children's combines. The shops sponsoring the children's institutions undertook the artistic finishing of the buildings, playgrounds and rooms.

A group for round-the-clock attendance has been organized in each kindergarten. Now parents working the second or third shifts can leave their children under the care of educators. Improving children's nutrition has become a subject of particular concern. Every year, in addition to budget allocations, the association allocates some 30,000 rubles for this purpose. Vegetables grown in the six enterprise greenhouses are sent to the children's preschool institutions. Every year the cost of kindergarten attendance for more than 40 children of low-salaried families is paid for.

An important decision was made aimed at helping the workers materially. The corresponding fund was distributed among all structural subunits according to personnel size. Shop and department chiefs and chairmen of trade union shop committees were given the right to consider independently and in advance problems of providing material assistance. This has enhanced the responsibility of the heads of subdivisions in terms of meeting individual requests, improved the publicity of the decisions made and reduced the likelihood of errors.

Extensive concern is being shown for the health of the working people. An increased number of workers currently apply for health cards, which proves not only that their individual requirements have increased but the increased possibilities of the association as well, which has two preventive treatment centers, the Sosnovyy Bor suburban rest home on the Samara River, four sanitoriums (on a share-ownership basis) on the Black and Asov seas, and two Pioneer camps. Over the past 3 years 22,500 such cards for sanitoriums, prevention centers, boarding houses, rest homes, tourist trips and diet food have been issued. What is noteworthy is that one out of eight cards is issued free of charge. Almost 15,000 people have received such passes for which they have been charged only a quarter of the value. One-half of the price of one out of five cards is paid by the trade union organization; 520 workers paid for 70 percent of the cost of their treatment or recreation and only 11 people paid the full cost of the cards.

Furthermore, for 5 years one of the Black Sea Pioneer camps has been turned into the "Slavutich" boardinghouse for parent vacations for 2 months after the children's vacations are over. Every autumn some 400 workers spent their leave there. Taking into consideration the desire of families to spend their leave together, we are reorganizing the work of recreation bases along the Samara River.

Last year the prevention center of the association sponsored a treatment-recovery course for 80 plant families: mothers with their children or entire families spent their resting period there. Educators took care of the children while the parents were at work.

The association is resolving satisfactorily as a whole wage problems as well. It is no accident that the number of petitions related to wages has diminished substantially. A study of resigning workers has shown that wages were in fifth place among the reasons for leaving the enterprise in 1982 (16 percent of all workers resigning). The number of complaints related to the organization and conditions of work has declined by more than one-half and such reasons for leaving the enterprise are in sixth place.

The number of appeals related to production problems has also declined. This is largely explained by the fact that the association strictly supervises the implementation of the plan for economic and social development, the collective contract, the plans for technical progress, organizational and technical measures, the application of a scientific organization of labor, reduction of manual labor and revision of production norms.

Let us cite a few examples of the efforts made to improve labor conditions and production standards. Thus, on the basis of several reports the association's management declared that 1982 was to be the year for the reconstruction of ventilation systems. New suction ventilation systems were installed in all basic technological shops or the old ones were entirely reconstructed. A similar decision was made on improving facilities. The standards of locker rooms have become quite high.

Based on worker reports, the psychophysicists studied the level and sources of noises, drew up a "noise chart" and, together with the engineering services, formulated a program of measures aimed at creating a normal situation in the shops. Twice monthly production standards are checked in each subunit. Once a week the enterprise managers and subdivision chiefs consider the work of one subunit or another on upgrading production standards, industrial hygiene and technical esthetics according to a special schedule.

We are pleased to note that the number of complaints related to the style of management has declined by a factor of 9. Such dissatisfaction is the last of the reasons for leaving the association.

The "Good Mood Service" we mentioned is an efficient instrument in the study of public opinion and meeting worker requirements. It operates by dialing 05 on the telephone, using "signal cards" and an "automatic secretary." More than 600 questions asked of this service were considered attentively and 95 percent of them were resolved at the enterprise practically and efficiently. In particular, the work of cafeterias and canteens was improved. They were repaired and reconstructed and their technological equipment and furniture were replaced. The interiors were redone, a food combine and a confectionary shop were opened, producing about 20 different products. For the past 3 years potatoes have been purchased in bulk and sold to the association workers. Plant buses help parents to take their children to preschool institutions. The itinerary of one of the city bus lines has been changed, and the route of the departmental bus servicing kitchen personnel was extended.

All of these may seem like "petty daily matters." However, unless resolved, they could spoil the mood of the workers. We are doing everything possible

to resolve any question in accordance with the wishes and requirements of the labor collective.

We have reflected the main results of the new organization of the work with the letters, suggestions, complaints and verbal addresses of working people with the help of a number of facts and statistical data. Also indicative is the fact that the number of letters and complaints filed by the personnel of the association has declined from 139 to 60 for those addressed to superior party, soviet and economic organs, and from 34 to 16 for those sent to newspapers and periodicals. There have been virtually no charges of legislative violations filed against the enterprise.

The CPSU Central Committee decree on the work of the party organization of the Dneproshina imeni XXV S'ezda KPSS Production Association in Dnepropetrovsk, of the USSR Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry on upgrading production efficiency and the quality of output noted that "labor and production discipline is strengthening at the enterprise, and cadre turnover is declining. This is greatly helped by high production standards, systematic improvements in all types of services to the working people, and increased material and technical facilities in preschool and medical treatment institutions." Unquestionably, all of this is having a positive impact on the results of the enterprise's activities and contributes to the successful implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The party demands of every manager, enterprise and establishment to show tireless concern for the working person and his interests, accomplishments and expectations. In order to resolve this problem in a party manner, in addition to everything else we must improve and enrich the means for the study of public opinion. It is very important that the letters and verbal addresses of the workers be considered by the managers as a signal for action and that the study and satisfaction of the requirements of the working people be organized on a steady and comprehensive basis.

The draft USSR law on labor collectives and on upgrading their role in enterprise, establishment and organization management calls for increasing their rights in the wage organization, norming and payments, the distribution and utilization of economic incentive funds, the improvement of sociocultural and housing conditions, and organizing communist education work. This offers even greater opportunities for increasing the concern shown for the members of the collective and improving their working, living and recreation conditions.

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## INTERNATIONAL POLICY OF SOCIALISM: UNITY OF WORD AND DEED

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[Text] A regular conference of Central Committee secretaries of the communist and workers parties of the socialist countries dealing with international and ideological questions took place in Moscow on 14-15 March. This was their eighth meeting since 1973 and one which represents an important form of socialist internationalist cooperation. As at previous meetings, the participants in the conference exchanged opinions in detail on the topical tasks of the political, ideological and propaganda work connected with the development of the international situation. The results of the conference which are reflected in the report on its work newly confirm the active and purposeful policy of peace pursued by the socialist countries and emphasize the importance of the ideological factor in implementing this policy, that is asserting the current understanding of the events and policy of the socialist countries in the awareness of the masses.

The participants in the Moscow conference, which was opened on the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, unanimously voiced their conviction that Marxism-Leninism was and continues to be the immovable foundation of the correct and effective policy of communists and of solving new tasks put forward by life.

Thus, the Moscow conference of Central Committee secretaries of the fraternal parties gave a new impulse to raising and discussing a broad range of problems of the ideopolitical struggle which is taking place in the world arena.

There are no pauses or respites in the history of mankind. Even those times which other generations regard as periods of relatively peaceful and undisturbed development are full of events which are of vital importance for those living through them. Yet history has its own landmarks--those particularly stormy and pivotal moments when very broad people's masses begin to move and join the struggle as they realize what their interests and aims are; when questions of general historic significance are solved in the clash between these masses and the opposing forces, and as a result of such clash peoples and countries change the route of their subsequent movement.

In spite of the impending social changes and while fighting against their already existing embodiment--real socialism--imperialism attempts to preserve and defend its former domination while brutally and impudently blackmailing mankind with the threat of its annihilation. This threat is quite real. It

has no precedent in history because never in the millenia of existence of the class society has hatred of man reached such a scale and had such destructive material means at its disposal. Never before have people been so possessed by class egotism to the extent of obliterating from the awareness of the ruling bourgeois faction the very idea that people have the right to live and to exist physically. Never before has the threat of annihilating the human race been elevated to an ideopolitical principle and state policy.

There is, for example, the following catchphrase in the political "catechism" of contemporary obscurantists: "Better dead than red." Coined soon after the defeat of fascism, it was regarded even in the West as more of a hysterical outcry and ideological hysterics than a political position which is at all serious. However, this cynical demagoguery begins to sound evil when the president of the biggest capitalist country publicly praises a church fanatic who declares himself ready to sacrifice his own children for such a "slogan."

The resistance to this threat hovering over mankind on the part of all the forces which have joined and are joining the struggle to solve the most topical worldwide task--that of preventing a nuclear catastrophe--is commensurate with the depth and unprecedented scale of this threat. At present this task marks this very "historical crossroads" which mankind has approached.

What is necessary, what is indispensable to guarantee its solution? State and political figures, political parties and public organizations, mass movement and professional associations and, on the whole, millions and millions of people who are searching, waiting for and demanding a response to this persistent question are thinking about and working on it harder than ever before.

Armed with the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the ways and laws of social development, we are convinced that our party, together with the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, proposes and pursues precisely such a policy which leads to solving the chief question of the contemporary world--that of eliminating the threat of war. We are also convinced that this policy correctly and organically unites the practical measures required to solve the urgent foreign political tasks up to and including proposals on concrete issues elaborated and substantiated in detail, together with a promising future-oriented program of a very comprehensive democratic transformation of the entire system of international relations. This policy is also profoundly principled because it expresses the positions and interests of the frontranking class of the contemporary epoch and because it does not contain any trace of self-interest; on the contrary, it corresponds most fully to the interests of all the working masses, all countries and peoples and mankind as a whole.

This is precisely the reason why the policy of socialism is characterized by, apart from other things, a feature which sharply differentiates it from the policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie. From the moment of its birth this policy has been directed toward peoples--not only at governments (which are impossible to ignore anyway) but also toward peoples, just as Lenin's decree on peace states. There again this direction differs radically from the

aspiration of the bourgeois policy to "win" the masses at any price and secure their "obedience" as a rule through deceit and lack of principle. "The bourgeois idea of strength is for the masses to let themselves be slaughtered blindly on the order of the imperialist governments" and the possibility of "sending the masses where the bourgeois rulers want to send them" (V. I. Lenin: "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 21).

The international policy of socialism and, naturally, its domestic policy appeals to the awareness of the working and struggling masses and to their conscious and independent actions in the name of their own interests when, to continue Lenin's thought, "they know everything, can judge everything and undertake everything consciously" (ibid.). In other words the socialist policy is completely free of the usual vice of the bourgeois policy--the gap between word and deed--because it has nothing to hide from the peoples; it simply has no aims which oppose their interests.

These basic and inalienable features of the international policy of socialism are at present manifested particularly clearly in the sharply exacerbated world situation, and first and foremost in the purposeful struggle waged by the socialist countries against the threat of war. The first months of the current year, 1983, also convincingly proved this fact and provided ever new proofs of the persistent peaceful efforts undertaken by socialism.

The exceptional place which this moment in time may take in the subsequent development of the world political atmosphere is now widely--one could say universally--understood and recognized. It is precisely to this moment, starting with late 1983, that the implementation of the aggressive U.S. and North Atlantic bloc plans is timed--plans aimed at undermining the existing military-strategic balance and gaining the military superiority of the imperialist camp which would allow U.S. imperialism--and this is what the authors of such plans count upon--to achieve world hegemony and decide with impunity the fates of all the peoples. As if in contrast to these antipopular intentions, early 1983 was marked by a new large-scale initiative of the socialist community which was expressed in the Political Declaration of the Prague Conference of the Political Consultative Committee (PCC) of the Warsaw Pact, an initiative which opens up the maximum number of possibilities for the peaceful development of international relations both in the near and more distant future.

The outcome of the struggle which is taking place at present, in 1983, will to a great extent determine which of these paths world politics will follow. This is why the Moscow meeting of Central Committee secretaries so insistently emphasized the urgent task of strategic significance of explaining and implementing those ideas and proposals which were put forward by the Prague PCC meeting and which synthesize the entire complex of peaceful initiatives put forward by the socialist community.

The months which separate us from this event allow us to evaluate even more clearly its significance as a landmark in the struggle of the socialist countries for peace and international security and as a kind of peace charter of

socialism in the present world situation. The main conclusion drawn by the Prague meeting, which affirms the possibility of diverting the development of international politics into a healthy and peaceful channel, toward detente and developing cooperation, is based on the profoundly realistic analysis and evaluation of the state of affairs and is at the same time supported by the broad and clear program of concrete actions leading to achieving this goal--a program of ridding mankind of the danger of nuclear war.

As the participants of the Moscow meeting noted, emphasizing the profound continuity of socialist foreign policy, the historic significance and scale of this new initiative in socialism's new peaceful offensive can be rightfully compared with the Peace Program, which laid the foundation of detente and determined the main tendency of the international relations throughout the 1970s.

The declaration of the Prague conference leaves no doubt as to how clearly and soberly the socialist countries evaluate the current world situation while uncovering the entire depth of danger of the aggressive course of arm-ing followed by imperialism. It is precisely toward attracting the attention of the peoples of the world to the greater danger, appealing to their vigi-lance, and unmasking the forces interested in exacerbating tension that the declaration urgently points. At the same time this political document asserts with conviction and valid reasons that there exists the necessity and possibility of returning to the policy of detente, of giving it "second breath," of continuing detente and rendering it more concrete in spite of the course toward exacerbating the danger of war.

Alongside the power of socialism and the broad democratic and peace-loving movements which have become an influential political force, a very important place in the correlation and distribution of forces conditioning this possi-bility is taken by the fact that the legacy of detente is still alive and that its real positive experience still exists and acts, which includes a system of agreements and contracts that came into being at the time. The participants of the Moscow meeting noted that this experience is paid its due in the capitalist countries as well both by certain circles and groups whose interests do not coincide with the currently prevailing imperialist course, and by the governments of a substantial number of states. The Prague Dec-laration expresses the readiness of the socialist countries not only to curb the arms race but also to carry out comprehensive peaceful cooperation and appeals in its spirit to revive and actuate this legacy, to resurrect it in its full volume and consolidate it with the help of new agreements, primarily in the sphere of military detente.

It is in this sphere that the "chief question" lies. It is worthwhile to emphasize once again that the large-scale and long-term ideas contained in the Prague Declaration, which open up the way for the "second round" of de-tente, are particularly valuable because they have been rendered concrete by extremely clear and realistic proposals on solving the most topical questions on the present-day agenda precisely in this military-strategic sphere, and are comprehensively supported by practical, mutually acceptable measures. Whatever the subject of discussion--whether it is the struggle against

deploying U.S. missiles in Western Europe or concluding a treaty on the mutual nonuse of military force and maintaining the relations of peace between the participants of the Warsaw Pact and the NATO; reducing the "ceilings" of weapons or renouncing the first nuclear or a non-nuclear strike; making Europe free of chemical weapons or conducting direct negotiations between the Warsaw Pact member-states and the NATO member-states on refraining from increasing or substantially reducing military expenditures--in all of these and the other supplementary proposals of the Prague Declaration, their topicality and the long-term nature of the positive consequences of these steps as well as the principled peace-loving position of socialism and its accord with the general interests of normalizing the world situation are organically united. As in all the actions of the socialist community, there is not a single point in these proposals which contains even a veiled threat to anybody's interests, be it in the West or East. This document is of an emphatically open nature. As the report on the work of the Moscow conference of the secretaries of Central Committees especially points out, the socialist countries are "prepared to study in detail any other constructive proposals directed at solving the chief problems of international life" and are striving for the "broadest possible dialogue and cooperation on the problems of peace and disarmament with all the political and social forces and with parties and organizations of different ideologies, convictions and views, which are nevertheless prepared to struggle for these aims."

Another characteristic and extremely important feature attests to the broad and open nature of the political program expressed in the Prague Declaration. Its proposals on curbing the arms race and eliminating the military threat, first in those places where it is particularly great, in fact form the core of the program of reviving and renewing detente as put forward by the socialist countries. It is precisely for this reason that this program stands in direct opposition to the plans of arming Western Europe with nuclear weapons and to the entire NATO policy of "bloc confrontation" which is materially based on the unprecedented accumulation of the modern means of mass destruction--all for the sake of and to secure the superprofits of the military-industrial program, which at the same time is directed toward guaranteeing general international security on the scale of the entire globe, for all continents, for small and large states, on the land and sea, in the atmosphere and space.

The participants of the Moscow meeting gave a special mention to the principle contained in the PCC Political Declaration of solving by political means the existing and of preventing new military conflicts in Asia, Africa and Latin America, of finally liquidating all the remnants of colonialism and racism which are in fact the hotbeds of aggression and the danger of war, and of rejecting the policy of neocolonialism and oppression of other peoples which they qualified as a fully valid and legitimate component of that program. We can only recall that the complex of these proposals is also supported and rendered concrete by the clearly defined measures regarding the Indian Ocean, the Near East, Southeast Asia, Central America, Southern Africa and so forth. Thus, the international policy of socialism provides a new confirmation of its consistent and unlimited striving toward general peace and security and frustrates once again the slanderous propaganda to "Soviet hegemonism" and "communist expansion."



It is quite a natural and legitimate phenomenon that such a profound and generalized program of international politics virtually immediately became an event of world dimensions. The report on the Moscow conference states that the peaceful initiatives as put forward in the Prague Declaration were met with considerable interest, understanding and support by the international workers and liberation movement, by the most diverse strata of the progressively minded public, by the antiwar movement and by the governments of many countries of the world. They are regarded as a real alternative to the imperialist policy which leads to undermining international stability and as a practical testimony of the fact that the socialist countries are prepared to act in the name of preventing nuclear war and preserving and consolidating peace.

The press reported at length and in great detail the numerous and various responses which the Prague Declaration received in the world. These were also a matter for profound and comprehensive consideration in the course of the Moscow conference. Its participants paid particular attention to the fact that the ideas and proposals contained in this document were positively evaluated by the vast majority of countries and by an extraordinarily wide spectrum of political and public forces. These evaluations single out different aspects of the international program as put forward by the socialist countries and place different political emphases. But taken together, they just underline the multifaceted nature of that constructive and life-asserting approach which was expressed in the new peace-loving initiative put forward by socialism. The Prague Declaration is highly valued for its topicality and timeliness and at the same time as a document which reaches far beyond the limits of the present situation and expresses the long-term interest in eliminating the danger of war. In the opinion of the progressive forces and, primarily, of communists and the frontranking detachments of the national liberation movement, it offers the active and timely help in their struggle, whereas the West European public saw in this declaration a factor of establishing and crystallizing the political positions in NATO and the member-countries of this bloc. The range of ideas contained in the Prague Declaration built a broad context in which concrete and separate proposals put forward by other countries found their place and mutual connection.

Comparisons of this kind, which also include high moral evaluations of the Prague document--its political courage, optimism, the hope which it gives, its realism and humanist spirit--can easily be continued.

However, the present U.S. administration and the official NATO leadership failed to find a constructive, honest and businesslike response to this initiative, let alone any arguments which could be opposed to the humanist and creative logic of the international policy of socialism.

Apart from the attempt to wave aside from the start the proposals of the Prague PCC meeting, the official reaction of the imperialist bloc was limited to such pettifoggery as would only deserve bitter irony had there literally not been on the agenda, according to Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, the questions of life and death of the peoples of both the Soviet Union and the United States, both the Warsaw Pact countries and the NATO countries.

The true reaction to these proposals on the part of the forces which determine the present course of imperialism is, of course, different. They responded to the peace initiative of socialism by speeding up their militarist course, that is primarily by building up even further the arms race, by further reorienting their politics in the direction of enhancing the role played by the military factor and exacerbating the "confrontation of forces" in all aspects of international relations, including the economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and other state and public relations.

At present this course toward "class revenge" directly regarding world socialism is being expanded to encompass the developing countries as well. Here, international imperialism counts on providing itself with the opportunity to exploit their gigantic human potential and resources through "power" pressure and through implanting and supporting reactionary regimes and kindling all kinds of discords up to military conflicts. The aggressive course of imperialism's foreign policy, which is pursued by the most reactionary factions of the monopolist bourgeoisie, is also addressed at home to the workers and democratic movements of their own countries. And finally, under the banner of antisocialist solidarity, the biggest power of the imperialist camp--U.S. imperialism--pursues its own purely selfish aims in its relations with its own competitors and partners. And this is not the case of so-called "family arguments." A profound and far-reaching--as far as its consequences are concerned--demarcation is taking place behind the concrete walls of the NATO military-political alliance, just as it is taking place behind the presently constructed drawbridges which are to join it with Japan: the real ally of U.S. imperialism in these countries is a narrow stratum of monopolistic oligarchy which is tied to the U.S. monopolies through transnational business and acts together with it, not only in spite of national interests but also in defiance of the interests of a considerable part of its own bourgeoisie, including big capital, thus allowing U.S. imperialism to turn these countries into its nuclear hostages.

Since, due to its very essence, such a course cannot count on the conscious support not only of the masses but also of the realistically thinking ruling circles, the ideological efforts of U.S. imperialism are invariably directed at creating with the help of all sorts of propaganda tricks a distorted and false idea about the world situation. Discharging a stream of deceptive information on the people, the gigantic propaganda machine employed by imperialism strives not only to keep the masses prisoners of the picture fabricated for them but also to keep them ignorant of the most basic facts and arguments disproving this picture and exposing imperialism.

This is the aim being pursued by the notorious "crusade" against communism declared by the U.S. President, which represents a kind of an ideological equivalent of imperialist aggression. The report on the work of the Moscow conference states: "As an expression of the profound crisis of imperialism, it serves in fact as a weapon of aggression against the growing forces of peace democracy, and social progress, and is aimed at interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, kindling hostility in relations between states and exacerbating even further international tension." This propaganda onslaught, comparable only to the darkest episodes in the history of the

intellectual crisis of the bourgeoisie, became a component of imperialism's state policy and is served directly by the state apparatus and even its leading figures, including the President.

Government directives are issued one after another, new specialized subdivisions and organs are created in the system of executive power, an unprecedentedly rigid system of administrative and repressive control over the means of mass information is established and, finally, the international coordination of these efforts, which results in an unending campaign of provocation and slander, is implemented through the NATO mechanism.

Its purpose can be defined, to use a historical expression, as "total mobilization" of all the ideological possibilities and resources of imperialism. Supplemented by correspondingly shameless propaganda methods, propaganda which has, in fact, degenerated into a "psychological war," it serves the maniacal goal of achieving the world domination of the United States.

We have already mentioned that, pursuing this goal by preparing for war and by threatening to unleash it, U.S. imperialism comes out against, in one way or another, not only socialism but also against all the mass forces of our time which are at all progressive.

The foreign political propaganda of the socialist countries considers as its aim to make this objective truth known to the greatest possible number of people in the entire world.

In reality this stands for the necessity to:

--unmask the militarist and hegemonist aims of those reactionary forces which now reign supreme in the imperialist policy, regardless of what demagoguery or lies they are concealed behind;

--consistently implement their constructive, realistic program, in line with today's conditions, of normalizing the international situation and ridding mankind of the threat of war--a program corresponding to the interests of all the progressive and peace-loving forces and set down in the Prague Declaration.

Truth was and continues to be the main weapon here--the truth of the scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis of international reality; the truth of the indisputable facts taken in their totality, consequentiality, and dialectical interconnection; the truth of clear and convincing arguments related in language which is clear and understandable to the masses; the truth of honest and principled polemics with all those who do not deliberately close their eyes to it. It leaves no place for illusions when it is the case of dangers threatening the peoples, but neither does it lose sight of its final--optimistic and life-asserting--goal, in spite of the pessimism, lack of faith and despair resulting from the imperialist policy of war.

It is precisely this yardstick against which our party, as well as the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, measure both their everyday

activities and the documents of such historic dimensions as the Prague Declaration. The most recent confirmations of this truly communist art of wielding the weapon of truth are contained in the analysis and evaluation of the international problems given by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov and set down in a whole series of his recent statements: in his replies to the journal DER SPIEGEL, to the representatives of a number of public organizations from Finland, to an American schoolgirl, during his meeting with Comrade E. Honecker and others. These documents are an irrefutable and most authoritative testimony of the rightness of the socialist foreign policy. They are also an example of how the obstacles piled up on their way to the other peace-loving forces and to the very broad masses of people beyond the borders of the socialist countries must and can be overcome by using the weapon of truth.

Appealing to these forces, the fraternal parties of the socialist countries strive to mobilize and concentrate the entire antiwar potential which has built up in the world. Such an appeal is based on a principled and honest foundation, on sincere consideration for the independence of these or other forces and on respect for the real contribution which they make and are capable of making to achieving the most topical goal, that of eliminating the threat of war. It goes without saying that this principled approach does not exclude political or ideological discussions, but it presupposes that these discussions must be held in a constructive manner for the sake of searching for common and mutually acceptable positions.

The fraternal parties of the socialist countries are aware of the fact that it is the Marxist-Leninist parties of the nonsocialist countries which represent their most faithful, resolute and consistent comrades-in-arms in the struggle for the peaceful future of mankind which they are waging.

The national liberation movement, and not only its frontranking and most revolutionary detachments but also the nonaligned movement--this legitimate representative of the national liberation forces at the state level--is increasingly becoming a great and influential antiwar and anti-imperialist force. It is quite natural that the results of the Delhi conference which almost coincided in time with the Moscow meeting attracted the intense attention of its participants, who emphasized the growing importance of this movement and welcomed its decisions aimed at consolidating detente and expanding it to all the regions on earth and at democratically transforming international economic relations in the interest of all peoples of the world. The "non-bloc" status of the nonaligned states has never signified and cannot signify indifference as to which tendencies will prevail in the world arena, whether they will be tendencies of peace or war, international cooperation or neocolonialist oppression, equality or imperialist diktat.

In recent years one of the most remarkable and important phenomena in political life has been connected with the unprecedented growth of the antinuclear, antimissile, and antiwar movement in general. The fraternal parties have repeatedly expressed and once again confirmed at the Moscow meeting their constructive position of solidarity in regard to this movement. The growing involvement of the masses, the inclusion of ever new social groups and strata in its ranks, the growing diversity of the forms and methods of its actions,

its expansion to encompass new regions and countries, the cohesion of its various detachments within the national framework and the gradual establishment of international ties between its individual national components and, finally, the enhanced effectiveness of the antimissile and antinuclear actions--all these facts give us every reason to think that the antiwar movement can positively influence international politics and thus accomplish its noble mission.

Of course, communists also clearly see the difficulties experienced by the antiwar movement. It is subjected to massive pressure on the part of imperialism, which attempts to split it and set its different sections against each other. For example, as soon as it became known that a world assembly "For Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War" would be convoked in Prague in June 1983, the idea was born to organize a West Berlin "convention" the same year in May, which deliberately put itself into opposition to the biggest and most authoritative detachments of the peace-loving forces. Those clearly contradictory attempts to discredit the antiwar movement, when in some cases it is portrayed as filled with "communist intrigues" and "Moscow's agents," whereas in others it is the "incompatibility" of communists and pacifists which is being proved equally zealously, follow the same diversionist and dissentient logic. Thus simple and well-known facts are brutally distorted.

It is worth emphasizing that it is precisely this petty idea [ideyka] that communists and pacifists "are going different ways" which is implanted little by little but stubbornly in the antiwar movement; it is this idea which must be resolutely rebuffed, conclusively unmasked, and its demagogic and profiteering nature must be revealed because it brutally distorts both the theoretical principles of Marxism in regard to pacifist ideology and practice and the theory of the real relations between the communists and the pacifists.

There is no doubt that the Marxist view of the origin and nature of wars differs from that of the pacifists and does not accept illusions which divert from the struggle for social progress, against war and the danger of war. However, the communists have always come out in favor of joint actions with the pacifists for the sake of peace and highly valued--even purely moral--contribution to this struggle.

To bring to light truthfully the real problems of these mutual relations and their living dialectics means to give a very effective and badly needed ideological support to the peace-loving forces.

Of course, problems of this kind continue to exist nowadays, be it in the relations with social democrats or religious circles, with ecological or other arising movements of social protest.

The constructive and principled approach adopted by the communists in regard to these questions can be attested to, for example, by their position as regards such a complex phenomenon which has manifested itself in recent years as the sharply intensified ideopolitical activity of the church and the religious movements. In itself the nature of this phenomenon leaves no doubts: this was the forced and urgent response to the democratic aspirations of the

masses. This forced the church, including its ruling hierarchy, to change considerably its position primarily on the issue of war and peace, having assumed obligations, worthy of respect, before the masses which follow it. However, it is no secret that in connection with the enhanced activity of the church, attempts to make use of the situation in an antidemocratic spirit became particularly lively both in the church itself and outside it. This is why the communists are of the opinion that, in this case, a principled ideological polemic is not only possible but also necessary. The church can further the striving of the masses for peace and social justice without abusing the trust which has been placed in it in this connection and particularly without using this trust for the purposes of political expansionism.

The fraternal parties openly declare that they are striving for the cohesion of all possible forces and primarily the masses themselves on the platform of struggle for peace, which is the broadest and greatest question of democracy and the very first condition of any social progress. Coming forward with this appeal, they are aware of their truly historic responsibility for the outcome of the grandiose world battle. In socialism, which has become a powerful engine of world development, mankind possesses the force which exerts international influence not through violence, that is, not by the method which is inherent in the exploiter society, but primarily through ideas and persuasion.

The successful struggle for peace essentially and primarily involves both the successes in building a new socialist society, its economic and political system and in its intellectual development, not only in every individual socialist country separately but also in their entire community which is growing and becoming stronger.

This fact is no secret for imperialism, either. The class enemy continues his incessant attacks in all directions while making them serve more and more adventurist goals: to drain the socialist economy through the arms race and economic diktat; to provoke and put together at least an appearance of political opposition within the state borders of the socialist countries; to discredit Marxism-Leninism and socialism itself as the embodiment of this great doctrine. The longer they continue, the more openly are these attacks directed at undermining the cohesion and unity of the socialist community.

Proceeding from the specific nature of the Moscow conference, its participants singled out from the broad range of tasks which are being raised in this connection before the fraternal parties the idea that the problem of securing the high effectiveness and quality of the ideopolitical work should be moved to the forefront. While encompassing the elements of substance and organization, the solution of this problem presupposes and requires that the truth about socialism reach the broadest masses to counterbalance bourgeois lies and petit bourgeois awareness.

The socialist countries have at their disposal an established, ramified and essentially all-embracing system of state and social relations that functions in a planned manner, a system of economic, political, scientific, cultural, ideological and moral relations which is a system of comradely interaction of millions upon millions of people.

An extremely important role in the further movement toward the new levels of cohesion of the socialist community belongs to ideopolitical cooperation. This role will also be enhanced in the future because every new step in social practice will require a scientific and theoretical substantiation and interpretation. It will be particularly enhanced as ever broader masses of the working people came out as direct, active and aware participants in the process of internationalizing public life.

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## DYNAMICS OF PEACEFUL OFFENSIVE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 83 pp 66-67

[Article by V. Nekrasov]

[Text] The new Soviet proposals aimed at strengthening peace, ending the arms race and preserving and developing detente, which are consistent with the energetic and initiative-minded policy of the Leninist party and the Soviet state, met recently with a broad response the world over. The intensive peace offensive mounted by the land of the soviets in accordance with the line formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress and firmly reemphasized at the November 1982 Central Committee Plenum, is continuing unabatedly. To the supporters of peace and the progressive forces on earth it is a source of inspiration in their persistent struggle against the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, which is intensifying by the fault of aggressive imperialist circles. The new peace steps taken by the Soviet Union were an "unpleasant surprise" to the reactionary forces which had hoped that Moscow had exhausted its stock of ideas and that henceforth the West would be given operational scope for its fabrications regarding Moscow's "intransigence."

The peace offensive of Soviet foreign policy, which is continuing, is not the product of abstract ivory tower elaborations but of the ripe requirements of the contemporary international situation. Imperative circumstances have appeared this year, which determined the need for taking new decisive and urgent steps to strengthen world peace. A particularly difficult international situation has developed and seems to be at the crossroads as a result of the feverish activities of aggressive imperialist circles. The threat of a nuclear military conflict is growing, aggravated by the approaching deadlines for the deployment of the new American nuclear missiles, in accordance with NATO's decision, and the stalled USSR-U.S. talks by Washington's fault.

Meanwhile, during the past period the forces which oppose war and could prevent it and defeat the implementation of man-hating militaristic plans have been strengthening visibly. The interaction among them on the national and international scales has increased and their possibility of really influencing Western governmental policy is becoming increasingly apparent.

Today's the feature is that the balance between the two confronting trends in international life is unstable. This triggers the urgent need for steps which could lead to normalizing the international situation. It is precisely this requirement that is met with the suggestions formulated by the Soviet Union.



The recently formulated peace-oriented Soviet initiatives cover a vast area. The proposal included in Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's 3 May speech on the readiness of the Soviet Union to reach an agreement on nuclear potential parity between the USSR and NATO in Europe, both in terms of carriers and warheads within specific interdependent periods of time, aimed at breaking the impasse at the talks, met with widespread approval, including that of governmental circles, in many Western countries. The adoption of this suggestion would substantially reduce the number of medium-range missiles and their warheads, deployed in the European part of the USSR, compared with 1976.

Preventing the militarization of outer space becomes a priority problem in the light of the plans of the American military of making preparations for war in and out of outer space. That is why the USSR has once again drawn attention to its proposal of concluding a treaty which would ban the deployment of any weapons in outer space. In Moscow's opinion, the interested countries should immediately open talks and draw up a corresponding treaty.

Interested in the soonest possible successful completion of the Madrid meeting among the participants in the European Conference, the Soviet government took an important counterstep with the statement that the USSR is willing to accept the draft final document on the meeting, which was submitted on 15 March by the group of neutral and nonaligned countries, despite the fact that it makes no mention of a number of important Soviet considerations. In confirming its support of the idea of establishing nuclear-free zones in various parts of Europe, including the North, our country expressed its readiness to assume the obligation not to use nuclear weapons against countries within such zones and to consider the question of adopting substantive measures related to adjacent Soviet territory, which would help to strengthen the nuclear-free status of Northern Europe.

The proposals submitted by the USSR are a real program for the comprehensive consolidation of the positions of peace and a consistent rebuff of the aspiration of aggressive Western circles to impose on the world a new and more dangerous "edition" of the cold war. The Soviet peace initiatives related to the arms race are truly comprehensive, ranging from the radical proposal of ending the production of nuclear weapons, followed by the gradual elimination of its stockpiles, to the essentially positive response to the idea formulated by Sweden of creating in Central Europe a zone free from tactical nuclear weapons. As we know, the Soviet Union has formulated realistic proposals, which do not violate the existing balance of forces or threaten anyone's security, in the field of reducing strategic armaments as well. The Soviet Union modifies and expands its proposals by also taking into consideration the views expressed by the other side, but with the mandatory observance of the condition of maintaining the principles of equality and identical security.

Together with the other members of the socialist comity, the Soviet Union is the coauthor of a proposed treaty on reciprocal nonuse of military power and for maintaining relations of peace between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. It is clear that the existence of such a treaty would significantly strengthen the peaceful structure of intergovernmental relations in Europe and the rest of the world.

The Soviet peace initiatives and proposals provide a practical opportunity for stopping the dangerous development of events, channeling them into a safe bed, strengthening mutual trust and undertaking to resolve the problem of limiting and reducing the arsenal of weapons, nuclear above all. By pointing the only realistic way to real disarmament, these initiatives and proposals have drawn to themselves the attention of the entire world with their logical and comprehensive nature. They are also a vivid testimony of the great life-asserting strength of Soviet foreign policy and its energetic and dynamic nature.

The blind faith in naked power which American imperialism is displaying in support of its claims to global hegemony, but which is increasingly proving the inability of a doomed social system to oppose the revolutionary processes of our time is alien to Soviet diplomacy. Soviet policy is scientific and humane. It is noble in the full meaning of the term. The Soviet Union not simply proclaims but actually proves its readiness to walk its length of the way leading to mutually acceptable agreements. Furthermore, by setting the example it proves its good will. The unilaterally proclaimed truly historical obligation assumed by the land of the Soviets not to use nuclear weapons first is only the most vivid manifestation of the high feeling of responsibility for the fate of mankind inherent in the foreign policy of the Soviet state.

Soviet diplomacy is always looking for new means and ways of strengthening peace and ending the deadly arms race. It is invariably guided by the principle of not starting an arms race wherever it has not existed before and ending it wherever it exists. The new initiatives formulated by the Soviet Union prove the art of socialist diplomacy in holding talks aimed at reaching positive results. At the same time, our diplomacy makes it maximally hard for the opponents of an agreement to maneuver with a view to hiding behind a verbal screen the immeasurable increase in imperialist military potential.

Imperialist propaganda is vainly trying to depict the development and refinement of Soviet proposals at the current Soviet-American talks as a consequence of the firmness and intransigence displayed by Washington. Such efforts not only fail to present the real state of affairs but are even dangerous, for they may lead to a self-hypnosis on the part of the American side at the talks and its loss of a sense of reality. The Soviet Union has never bargained nor will bargain with the foundations of security, its own and that of its allies. The West should remember that there are limits to the countersteps the Soviet Union is prepared to take for the sake of reaching agreements. By declining to reach an agreement on the most important problems of ending the arms race the United States risks to lose a real opportunity for reaching agreements consistent with the interests of all sides, including the United States.

Ninety years ago, in 1893, calling for peace in Europe based on democratic foundations, which would lead to disarmament, Engels wrote that "I claim that disarmament and, therefore, a peace guarantee are possible.." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 22, p 387). Given the current ratio of forces in the world this becomes even more possible and attainable. The peace proposals and initiatives of the Soviet Union point the way to peace, ending the arms race and fully restoring the beneficial process of detente.

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## 'SOCIAL PARTNERSHIP' OR PALTRY HANDOUTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 83 pp 68-76

[Article by I. Mel'nikov]

[Text] "Social partnership" is a frequent phenomenon in the contemporary Western world, not accidentally similar in the FRG, Austria, Great Britain, Sweden, France, Switzerland, and other developed capitalist countries. It has sunk roots in their social reality in varying degrees and forms.

What does it consist of? The following variety of views have been expressed by bourgeois and social reformist ideologues: The parties involved in "social partnership" must make sacrifices for the sake of the economic growth of their country and the "common good," and for avoiding the crises to which the capitalist system is subjected. In practice, this is invariably expressed as follows: the working class is asked to agree to the high profits earned by the entrepreneurs (which allegedly stimulates production) and to be moderate in their demands for wage increases (for the sake of making "their" capitalist competitive). The question of class confrontation is simply ignored. Rather, the "partner" simply meets partially some of the working people's demands.

The supporters of "social partnership" have used a number of formulations which border aphorisms in figurativeness and refinement, such as "we are all hanging from the same branch" or "we are all in the same boat." The aphorisms work well when the demands of the working people for higher wages because of growing inflation are answered with "no more can be granted given the current circumstances." Such "aphorisms" are used in condemning strikes and presenting the class struggle as something gone forever.

This "turn" of phrases conceals the target pursued by the bourgeoisie -- to make the working class reconciled to the capitalist system, and thus to find a panacea to the sentence which history has passed on that system.

As Lenin said, "by virtue of the basic contradiction which exists in its own situation," depending on the circumstances, the bourgeoisie answers the question "to be or not to be" in two ways. "First, the method of coercion, of refusal to make any concessions to the labor movement, the method of supporting all old and obsolete institutions, the method of intransigent rejection of reforms... The second method is that of 'liberalism,' of taking

steps to broaden political rights, reforms, concessions, and so on" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 20, p 67).

The "liberal" method in ruling is hardly new. Engels himself traced the reasons for changes in the policy of the capitalists toward the workers. In 1886, in preparing an addition to the American edition of his work "The Situation of the Working Class in England," he pointed out that the entrepreneurs are increasingly abandoning the coarsest and most hateful forms of labor relations inherent in the "adolescence" of capitalist exploitation. The expansion and increased complexity of the production process and the increased number of workers forced the capitalists to determine which aspect of the conflicts was unprofitable to them. The entrepreneurs 'were filled with a new spirit'," Engels wrote. "They learned how to avoid unnecessary altercations and silently to accept the existence and power of the trade unions.... Even the biggest manufacturers, who had been previously setting the tone in the struggle against the working class, are now among the first to preach peace and harmony. The reasons for this were very substantial. In fact, all of these concession to justice and love of humanity have been actually no more than a means for acceleration the concentration of capital in the hands of a few individuals to whom the old extortionary methods had lost their significance and had become a real obstacle..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 21, pp 261-262, 263).

Big capital changed its approach to relations with hired labor. The evolution in the ideological views of the bourgeoisie in the realm of labor relation was determined above all by the desire to adapt to the changed circumstances and to develop new and more efficient methods for the assertion of its economic power and the subordination of the working class, consistent with the requirements of the 20th century. Under the conditions of confrontation with world socialism, the ruling circles in the capitalist countries fear more than ever the growth of the class struggle into a mass revolutionary movement. Hence the aspiration of the bourgeoisie to use more concealed means of exploitation and oppression of the working people and its frequent readiness to make partial reforms, in order to keep the masses under its ideological and political control. The features of modern capitalism are largely explained by its efforts to adapt to the new global situation.

The changing ratio of forces in the world arena and the aggravation of the class struggle in countries ruled by capitalism force the bourgeoisie to use means and methods of struggle which may initially seem to contradict the conventional "classical" features of the capitalist system. In an effort to strengthen their social rear lines, together with the pressure methods, the capitalists are showing a readiness to take half steps and to make some concessions to the working people (naturally not in the area of their main demands). The bourgeoisie promotes the illusion that the workers could reach their expectations through accord with their "partners," without the revolutionary reorganization of society, but within the framework of the capitalist system. It turns to the policy of reformism, and tries to find approaches to a policy which acquired its name "social partnership" in the middle of the 20th century.

The study of two concepts -- reformism and revolution -- enables us to reach a deeper understanding of the nature of "social partnership."

Reform and revolution are opposites. However, the mere acceptance of this fact is very insufficient. The interaction between them is complex, contradictory and, something of equal importance, fluctuating. V. I. Lenin pointed out that the contrast between reform and revolution "is not absolute. It is not a dead but a living demarcation line which must be defined in each separate case" (op. cit., vol 20, p 167). Characteristically, Lenin described as "bourgeois" the formulation of the question of having either a reformist policy or rejecting reforms (see op. cit., vol 30, p 260).

The social reformists have always opposed a socialist revolution. However, the fate of the reforms themselves and their purpose have varied. They have been used as a tool for changing the ratio among class forces and an incentive in increasing the social role of the working people. However, they have consisted of minor steps which alleviated the lot of the working people most frequently only for a while, thus preventing...broader and more decisive changes. Consequently, the entire matter is one of the content and direction of the reforms. The reformists have always linked reforms to the existing system. They never have nor ever will go beyond that point.

Lenin wrote that "reformism as opposed to a socialist revolution is the formula of the contemporary 'progressive' and educated bourgeoisie" (op. cit., vol 20, p 305). Today's reformists sing the old songs but on a higher scale. They claim that the need for a socialist revolution has entirely disappeared, whereas a real, a tangible possibility of the evolutionary growth of capitalism into socialism has appeared. They also speak of "people's capitalism," the disappearance of the class nature of bourgeois democracy, and so on.

The successes achieved as a result of the revolutionary changes in the world may trigger for a while the readiness of capitalists and their accomplices to make reforms. This is most convincingly proved by the Austrian experience and the experience of the labor movement in that country. Two "reform periods" are clearly apparent in Austrian history: The first dates from the fall of the Hapsburg Monarchy to the beginning of the 1920s; the second started in 1945, after the routing of Hitlerite fascism and the upsurge of the revolutionary movement in Europe. The representatives of Austrian capitalism have repeatedly acknowledged the fact that their concessions to the working class would never have been so generous without their "red neighbor" on the east.

A new variety of reformism developed with the establishment of state-monopoly capitalism, described concisely and expressively by Karl Renner, the leader of the Austrian social democrats, as early as 1917 as "state-monopoly reformism." The main idea of this reformism, he said, -- the penetration of "statehood" into the very fabric of the private economy -- determines the need for cooperation with big capitalism. If such is the case, the social democratic politician concluded, gradual "progress" is the only possibility of avoiding a radical breakdown of the social system and the fall of the bourgeoisie.

Renner's ideas began to be extensively applied in the specific circumstances of postwar Austria in the form of "social partnership," i.e., in the form of

the already "historical" cooperation between the social democratic leadership and big capital. The penetration of the "social partnership ideology" into the pores of Austrian society was helped by the nearly 25 years of high economic development, which was accompanied by considerable concessions granted the working class by capitalism in an effort to hinder the development of the labor movement.

The Austrian model of "social partnership" deserves a closer study. For many years the Western mass information media described it as the most efficient, citing the very insignificant level of strikes in the country. The following data characterize the "best" years: Austrian enterprises recorded only 89 hours of strikes in 1977; the Austrian worker averaged no more than 107 seconds' worth of strikes in 1978. In the Alpine republic, the Italian newspaper ROMA admiringly wrote, "social partnership" rests on the firm foundation of labor discipline which even the "good old" 19th-century industrialists could envy.

...Roughly similar arguments, not lacking emotional coloring, were cited in the talk between this author and Alfred Stroer, management secretary of the United Austrian Trade Unions. Look, he said, at what THE WASHINGTON POST has written about our system of social peace: "America must learn from Austria." The Austrian example, he went on to say, is being considered in many countries where the people have become tired of strikes and all sorts of street disorders. A compromise has been reached in our country and solid bridges have been built between entrepreneurs and workers; conflicts, if they break out, are resolved peacefully, through talks.

But who participates in such talks, and what is the structure of Austrian "social partnership?" Here "social partnership" is cultivated by all three parties represented in parliament: Socialist, National and Freedom. It is practiced by the leading organizations which represent the interests of both main classes in the state monopoly capitalist system -- the association of entrepreneurs and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, on the one hand, and the Labor Chamber and the Joint Austrian Trade Unions, on the other.

The "social partnership" organs began to be established in Austria after the famous October 1950 strike, when hundreds of thousands of blue- and white-collar workers took to the streets, led by the communist party. The "incendiary nature" of these actions was obvious, and the bourgeoisie hastened to put out the class conflict. Interestingly enough, these organs were not set up legislatively at that time and to this day they operate only on the basis of agreements among the "partners," although the problems they deal with are of vital importance to the country. For example, is the case of the Parity Commission not unique? It is essentially on the basis of its recommendations that the parliament rubber stamps decisions pertaining to prices, wages, customs fees, loans and investments -- in a word, decisions pertaining to all matters related to the distribution of the national product.

"In Austria, during the last decade," DIE WELT; the West German newspaper wrote, "there has not been a single price increase which was not discussed in advance by the commission. No one has tried to ignore or scorn its decisions,

for the leadership of the Parity Commission also holds leading positions in the country's political, economic and social life" (DIE WELT, 31 March 1977).

Rudolf Sallinger, the chairman of Austria's Chamber of Commerce and Industry, who plays first violin in the affairs of the Parity Commission, in discussing this subject with me at a latter date, essentially confirmed the accuracy of DIE WELT's statement on the influence which this organ has within the "social partnership" system: although the Parity Commission has no official standing, and although its resolutions are not mandatory to entrepreneurs or trade unions, and nor is their implementation, it enjoys real and great power. This "elder" Austrian capitalist praised his "partners" who, in his words, are displaying a sensible desire to reach agreements. Our partnership, he went on to say, is bringing to Austria a desired social peace. Naturally, not everything goes smoothly. The system works better when the market is active and stumbles in times of crises. Speaking honestly, it is no easy matter to reconcile the partners' differences. The entrepreneurs frequently express their displeasure, convinced that the trade unions are asking for excessively high wages and excessively low prices. However, we manage to accomplish a great deal through "social partnership." Despite the abundance of critics of the system, we have as yet to find a better way to resolve conflicts, Sallinger concluded.

"There is one," confidently says Friedrich Janik, member of the Austrian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the production council in a glass factory, with whom I spoke a few days later, in the small city of Brunn, not far from Vienna. "Our production council protects the rights of the working people not on the basis of the notorious 'social partnership' rules and has been able to achieve far more than the workers in many other Austrian enterprises. In the areas of wages, pensions and paid leave," Janik said, "the boss has been forced to accept the council's demands. The factory's management has frequently tried to avoid such questions: 'Such problems should be resolved not on the factory level but on the level of high politics, by the Parity Commission.' It also tried to provoke conflicts and has threatened to stop work. We were able to withstand, thanks to worker solidarity... Had the production council chairman paid attention to them the position of the entrepreneurs would have appeared invulnerable, for quite frequently the consideration of worker demands is postponed endlessly. This suits the capitalists perfectly."

Actually, could the trade union organizations and enterprise production councils have any kind of final say within the limits of the "rules of the game" dictated by the "social partnership?" For instance, prices are rising steadily and irreversibly, but any request on the part of the working people for a wage increase must be directed to the president of the United Austrian Trade Unions. Should he agree, the request goes to one of the Parity Commission's subcommittee for consideration. If approved, talks may begin, providing that the results are submitted for approval by the Parity Commission itself. Ernst Wimmer, CPA Central Committee Politburo member, who has made a thorough study of the "social partnership" problem, states with the deepest conviction that "...In order for the Austrian working class to acquire the possibility of struggling for the defense and expansion of democratic rights and immediate and long-term interests, and for the middle population strata

which are also suffering from the oppression of monopoly capital, to become free from the present squeeze, the "social partnership" system must be abolished and the United Austrian Trade Unions be freed from its rule by big capital. This will make the trade unions become what they are supposed to be: the weapon of the proletariat. Such is the key task in the struggle for changing the ratio of forces in favor of the working class. As our party has pointed out, the solution of this problem will require a great deal of time, painstaking work, great patience, persistence and consistent efforts to organize the necessary unity of action. However, it must be resolved."

Paradoxically, "social partnership," which is the pride of the Austrian bourgeoisie, is also proof of its weakness. The capitalist production method has retained its ability to function because the state is assuming increasing functions for its protection and support. The high level of organization of the state-monopoly system in the country and the quite significant share of the state sector in its economy are also manifestations of a weakness in Austrian monopoly capital, for which precise reason it needs a "partnership" with the leadership of a strong social democratic movement. The ruling class needs this support because of its fear of the very possibility of a conflict with the working class.

The West German model of "social partnership," which was also advertised in the past as a model for emulation, can no longer boast of the absence of strikes, not to mention a low unemployment level. In the Rhein variant priority is given to means and methods which have the highest impact on the socioeconomic side of the production process.

The policy of "property acquisition" by hired labor became widespread in Great Britain, the United States, France, Sweden, The Netherlands and Denmark in the 1950s-1960s. However, nowhere else was there so much talk and effort to apply it and to establish a "people's capitalism" as in the FRG. The West German sociologists used as the cornerstone of the "property acquisition" policy the Roman Catholic social dogma according to which the right of ownership is an inalienable right of the individual granted to him by nature itself. The conclusion was: was it worth preserving the "eternal" system of ownership distribution in which some acquire essentially everything, while others nothing? Was that not an explosive situation? The property owner tries to preserve it, whereas the nonproperty owner tries to destroy the ownership institution which it considers an alien force.

Prescriptions for the prevention of this trend which was a threat to the foundations of capitalism were drafted with the help of the "social partnership" idea. Here is the way SDP Chairman Willi Brandt formulates his viewpoint on this matter in the book "Looking at the Future:" "Participation in production management and worker ownership are the answer to the question of alienation" (Willi Brandt. "Uber den Tag hinaus." Stuttgart, 1974, p 196).

The "involvement" of the West German working people in capitalist ownership took place in the form of issuing "people's shares," introducing "investment wages," and others. Let us note that the policy of "property acquisition" not only imposed on the working class the ideology of "social partnership" but also helped to create funds which were used quite freely by the monopolists as



additional capital investments. In the case of the Volkswagen and FEBA Concerns, the implementation of the "people's capitalism" idea turned into revenues of, respectively, 1.3 and 3.3 billion marks.

Actually, historically this "novelty" in West German capitalism was nothing other than the "well forgotten past." Lenin considered the policy of dispersing ownership among working people not "democratization" but the greatest possible concentration of capital. "'Democratization' of stock ownership," he pointed out, "from which the bourgeois sophists and opportunistic 'me-too social democrats' expect (or claim to be expecting) the 'democratization of capital,'...is in fact one of the means of increasing the power of the financial oligarchy" (op. cit., vol 27, p 345).

As in the past, today the small stockholder is removed from participation in enterprise management. He does not even try to attend general stockholder meetings, for problems of enterprise economic activities are resolved at such meetings by voting the number of shares, of which he owns extremely few.

Asked whether the petty investor becomes one of the "haves" or "property owner," Lenin answered: "No, he remains a proletarian, forced to sell his manpower, i.e., to become the slave of the owner of productive capital.

"...Unquestionably, through his participation in a large enterprise the petty investor becomes intertwined with the enterprise. Who benefits from such intertwining? Big capital, which broadens its operations by paying the petty investor no more (and frequently less) than it would pay any lender of funds and which is the more independent of the petty investor, the smaller and more divided this investor is" (op. cit., vol 6, pp 289-290). How relevant Lenin's assessments sound today! And when reformists -- supporters of "social partnership" -- equate the petty to the big shareholder, we unwittingly recall the striking fact cited by the American economist Victor Perlo in the book "The Empire of Financial Magnates;" in the United States the Dupont family alone owns 10 times more stock than all American workers put together.

In the final account, the "people's stock," so extensively promoted in the FRG by the bourgeois parties and the social democrats, ended in the hands of the largest entrepreneurs and bankers. Typical in this respect is the admission of H. M. Slayer in the book "The Socialist Model:" "Today most of these valuables are once again in the hands of owners and stock exchange dealers."

The West German researchers admit that the ideas of "social partnership" had already changed in the FRG toward the end of the 1970s. Whereas previously they had been based on the principle of cooperation, and conflicts were acknowledged to exist in isolated areas only, today conflicts between labor and capital are fully acknowledged and included in the partnership system, and cooperation is presented as an objective to be reached in the future.

Speaking of "social partnership" in the broad meaning of the term, we should put it on the same level as the policy of "property acquisition" and the "coparticipation" system, naturally, the way the entrepreneurs depict it and the way it is implemented in practice. Both phenomena feed the same roots -- the roots of collaborationism with monopoly capital. Ideally, i.e., from

the proletarian viewpoint, "coparticipation" carries within it the charge of the struggle for democratic control over the economic power of the monopolies and for democracy in the economic and political areas.

However, the bourgeoisie has invariably been and is still trying to emasculate this positive change (not unsuccessfully, let us note). Through "coparticipation" its ideologues try to conceal the true alienation of the working people from bourgeois society, which is based on domination by a handful of monopolists. They see the meaning of "coparticipation" only in establishing a "harmony of interests" within the existing society and remove from the awareness of the working people the concept of the class struggle.

In the postwar period, the main political parties in Great Britain have been successful in developing the "social partnership" system. The Labor Party adopted the paper on "Industrial Democracy," while the Liberals took up the "Work Partners" program, which claimed with a straight face that thanks to the creation of production councils and the acquisition of stock by the workers they are becoming "coowners of enterprises." Even the Conservative Party tried to match its rivals. Its paper "Fair Deal at Work" called for improving communications and consultations between managers and workers and encouraging in hired labor a "feeling of satisfaction with the job."

What the British working people get from their "partnership" with the entrepreneurs is best described by the history of the first British "labor productivity accord." It was started in the summer of 1960 at the Esso Refinery in the town of Foley. After long discussions, the entrepreneurs and the trade union signed an unusual contract. The company agreed to raise wages, which made them the highest in the country, and pledged not to reduce the manpower. In return, the administration asked for freedom of action in the area of increasing labor productivity.

Ten years later, as a result of active monopoly, government and bourgeois mass information media propaganda, the number of such contracts exceeded 3,000, covering more than 6 million British workers. The result? The situation of the "pioneers" was described in the trade union press. Ten years later, the initial high earnings of the Esso-Foley personnel had been entirely "eaten up" by price and tax increases. The same fate awaited the other "partners" in the deal with the capitalists. Compared to the added value, the share of wages is declining steadily, enabling the entrepreneur to extract maximal profits as a result of higher labor intensification and productivity.

The Swedish example as well make the members of the "social partnership," those at the "bottom," skeptical. Although the January 1977 so-called "law of coparticipation (i.e., of the right of blue- and white-collar workers to influence the affairs of the enterprise) was hailed by the Swedish social democrats as the biggest reform since universal suffrage, it did not meet the true expectations of the people. The law did not bring to the working people full democratic rights at work but did increase the duties of the workers on keeping the "social peace" for the duration of the collective labor contracts.

The Swedish social democratic government, which came to power once again last autumn, intends, as reported in the press, to hold talks with members of

the opposition and the organizations of working people and entrepreneurs in the immediate future. Some of the main problems to be discussed will include the signing of new collective contracts between trade unions and entrepreneurs and increasing the say of the working people at work.

The government is currently engaged in drafting proposals on the creation of so-called "working people's funds." There will be one such fund per province, set up by increasing by one percent the payments withheld from entrepreneurs for the pensions fund. These funds will be used to purchase stock selected by the fund managers, consisting of representatives of the trade union and the provincial and municipal authorities.

There are a number of unclear aspects in the campaign for creating "working people's funds." The social democrats themselves admit that the problems of their organization and structure and whether the working people alone or the entire population, including the entrepreneurs, will vote in the elections for fund managers remain unsolved.

Something else is clear, however. In addition to the negative attitude to the creation of this fund on the part of the bourgeois parties, which consider it an attempt at "shaking the foundations of a free market economy," many rank-and-file members of the Swedish Social Democratic Labor Party and the trade union masses have taken a skeptical view. The reasons for this reaction are clear: the bitter "social partnership" experience has taught the Swedish working class not to accept on faith even seemingly attractive plans.

From time to time the West European "social partners" hold broadly representative conferences. In recent years, however, such conferences have not only failed to yield tangible results but even to create conditions for adopting purely promotional declarations which demand nothing of no one. For example, whereas representatives of Common Market governments, entrepreneurs and trade unions, who met in Luxembourg, proclaimed "most emphatically" that unemployment would be wiped off in the EEC by 1980, in subsequent years they have not taken the risk of making such predictions.

Conversely, there has never been a shortage of differences among partners at such meetings. "Dialogue of the Deaf," "Mixing Fire with Water," and diametrically Opposite Interests," are headings in the Western European press which show quite eloquently the results of each such conference.

The recent events in France clearly prove the desperate efforts of the bourgeoisie to channel into the "social partnership" bed any economic reform of some importance. Even the partial steps to democratize economic life, taken by the government, triggered the active counteraction of the big entrepreneurs and their organizations.

Another "social partnership" feature is becoming clearer in the 1980s: The deep and protracted economic crisis is sharply reducing maneuvering possibilities in the social sphere. Like a piece of shagreen leather, the material foundation of the conciliationist policy is shrinking. However, the capitalists have no intention of dismounting their favorite horse. As in the past, in a variety of languages in the press and on television, day after day,

the working people are being told insinuatingly and intimately or pushily and firmly that "Things can be good for the worker only if they are good for the entrepreneur and, consequently, the enterprise."

It is with this kind of background music that today the entrepreneurs and their defenders are speculating with unemployment particularly shamelessly. To use the metaphor of the progressive Viennese publicist Helmut Ricci, "waving the whip of unemployment, the trade union leaders are trying to talk the working people to accept gratefully the 'social partnership' spice cake."

Are reflections on the democratic nature of "social partnership" not remindful of Andersen's tale about the king's clothes? Life itself peels off the covers and exposes naked its squalid ideology and practice. The decisions made by the "social partners" are predetermined and imposed on the working people by omnipotent exclusive authorities consisting of large entrepreneurs, officials of chambers of commerce and industry and members of the government and the reformist trade union leadership.

Partnership with capitalism has never gotten nor will it ever get on with the working people's solidarity.

Faith in the system created by reformist conciliationists and the bourgeoisie is undermined in the course of the struggle waged by the working people for their vital rights. The working people are gaining experience and resolve. They have in the communist party a loyal and reliable vanguard. The truth of life and the logic of the struggle are on their side. In the final account, the "social partnership" will crumble for, in Lenin's words, it is nothing but a means of fraud, flattery, phrase-mongering, millions of promises, petty gifts and minor concessions while leaving important matters untouched.

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## INK COOLIES OF AMERICAN 'SOVIETOLOGY'

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[Article by Dr of Philosophical Sciences A. Belyayev]

[Text] The imperialist bosses have learned nothing from the lessons of history. It does not seem all that long ago that a British political figure, speaking in Fulton, a small American town, openly called for a "crusade" against the socialist world. Harry Truman, the then U.S. President, applauded the speaker warmly.

The cold war followed. It was exhausting to the nations but profitable to the U.S. military-industrial complex which rocked wide the pendulum of the arms race and earned billions in superprofits by plundering the working people and the taxpayers.

Under the influence of the increased power of socialism and the pressure of peace-loving nations, between the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the '70s the leading U.S. circles were forced to make a sober assessment of the existing circumstances of approximate parity of forces and seek means of converting from confrontation to a businesslike mutually profitable cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries.

The Final Act of the Helsinki accords, initialed by 33 European countries, the United States and Canada in 1975, was the result of the positive development of relations among countries with different social systems. The peoples of the world sighed with hope and relief. Various mutually profitable relations substantially expanded between the Soviet Union and the United States. This applied to culture as well.

However, the ink of the initials of the state leaders under the Final Act was still wet when the "Sovietologist" Fr. Barghourn hastened to publish a book which warned the West of "the danger of detente." The author called on his compatriots to "realize the threat to American interests and to democratic values the world over presented by Soviet foreign policy which was calling for 'reducing international tension'" (Fr. Barghourn, "Detente and the Democratic Movement in the USSR." New York, 1976, p 146).

The situation in the United States worsened with the emergence of President Ronald Reagan in the political arena, as the stooge of the most militant and

most anticommunist circles. In the first 2 years of his administration Reagan was able to break virtually all relations between the USSR and the United States -- cultural, scientific, economic and trade.

Finally, crossing, like Churchill, the Atlantic, this time from West to East, 1 year ago the President delivered a hysterical speech to the British Parliament in which he appealed for that same Churchillian "crusade" against the ideas of communism and the socialist comity. With unique cynicism and hypocrisy, Reagan pathetically exclaimed: "Historians who will study our time will note the steady restraint and peaceful intentions of the West"...

The restraint and peaceful intentions of the West... Five hundred thousand American soldiers armed to the teeth, thousands of airplanes, tanks, guns and navy ships have been proving, day after day, the "restraint and peaceful intentions of the West" in Vietnam, flooding that small country with a sea of napalm and chemical toxins, and lobbing on it millions of tons of bombs, shells and mines....

Today the entire world shudders at the horror of the monstrous crimes committed by Israeli fascism in the suffering land of Lebanon and the cool, preplanned and merciless annihilation of the people of Palestine with American weapons. The blood of the tens of thousands of killed and wounded Palestinians and Lebanese is also on the conscience of Reagan and his administration. This blood will never wash away.

These examples do not fill the entire list of bloody crimes committed by American imperialism against mankind. Against a background of such crimes, Reagan's pharisaic claims of Western "restraint" and "peaceful intentions" sound like shameless mockery of the conscience and intelligence of mankind.

The foreign policy course charted by the Reagan Administration of confrontation with the socialist world, worsening relations and breaking contacts is paralleled by an unrestrained anticommunist and anti-Soviet campaign within the country. The U.S. rulers would like to instill forever in the mind of the individual American a pathological hatred for the ideas of communism, to frighten him to death with the fictitious "Soviet military threat" and to make him fear the very words "socialism," "communism" and "Soviet person."

Books by American writers which include any kind of criticism of the American way of life are being banned. According to the American Library Association, between September 1980 and August 1981 alone, some 1,000 (!) such bans of "reprehensible" books were recorded in the various states. Books have been banned and removed from schools and libraries, written by Scott Fitzgerald -- "The Great Gatsby"; Ernest Hemingway's "A Farewell to Arms"; J. D. Salinger's "Catcher in the Rye," and even the books of Mark Twain, with his unforgettable Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn...

The tough rhetoric of Reagan's propaganda services is affecting the minds of some American literary and artistic personalities as well.

Reagan unceremoniously fired all civilian air controllers in the country for daring to strike in defense of their rights, and succeeded in banning their

union. For some reason, no single American writer of note stood up in defense of the violated rights of the working people. Six months ago, Reagan banned a railroad engineers' strike. Once again, no objection was voiced by U.S. writers who kept their mouths shut. The famous American "freedom" seemed to have been forgotten.

Meanwhile, the U.S. mass information media keep publishing a number of "statements" and "letters of protest" in defense of human rights, allegedly violated in the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity. Such documents are frequently signed by various American scientists, writers and artists. It has been frequently established, however, that the people who have signed slanderous texts drafted by the U.S. special services were sometimes totally unaware of the essence of the matter they were encouraged to oppose. They thus made fools of themselves, compromising their names and undermining their reputations.

Furthermore, some American literary workers have hastened subserviently to assent to the unrestrained anti-Soviet rhetoric practiced by Reagan and his propaganda services. This has taken various aspects. For example, PLAYBOY, a semipornographic magazine with a wide circulation, bluntly asked the aged writer Michener: "You are undoubtedly a confirmed anticommunist. What do you think of Soviet behavior (!) in the 1980s and the future of Soviet society?"

Michener's answer is quite similar to Reagan's numerous statements on the same subject: "...The behavior of the Soviet state is monstrous. ...I think that Russia will last another 40 years after which it will gradually begin to disintegrate." Compare this statement with Reagan's electoral campaign incantations: "The problem is that the Russians are monsters and have no respect ...for human life...for which reason they can tolerate the loss of 20, 30 or even 40 million people." Or his thoughtful excerpts, such as "The Soviet experiment is experiencing a decline. Our opponents are beginning to be winded."

Actually, one feels embarrassed for people who call themselves writers but whose political thinking rises no higher than the loud demagogy of the present administration in Washington, for they literally grovel at the feet of the most reactionary forces in American society, who have now seized power in the country.

Yes, history has truly taught them nothing. Many have been the prophets of Reagan's and Mitchener's ilk.

In a speech at Duke University, William Styron, another American writer, was eager to swear loyalty to Reagan's politics and muttered something incomprehensible to the effect that "We must...hate communism... Hatred of communism... must become...a necessary requirement" (THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, 18 June 1981).

However, Styron more likely understands where such sermons could take the country. Many Americans remember the time of Senator McCarthy, and Styron is afraid of another "witch hunt" in the United States.

Alas, the statements of many frightened American literary workers prove that the hunt is already on and that the writers have become its first victims.

Karl Proffer, officially a professor of Slavic languages at Michigan University, an inveterate anticommunist-"Sovietologist," who willingly lends his talents to the anticommunist journal PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM and the Voice of America, which are the main weapons in the psychological war waged against the socialist world, was also heard of in the periodical THE NEW REPUBLIC (14 February 1981). He is also a publisher of dissident writings in Russian in America, on an "entirely independent basis," naturally. The origin of the funds supporting such a "publishing house" in America, which clearly stands no chance of showing a profit, would be easy to guess.

As to knowledge and understanding of Soviet literature, frankly speaking, Proffer has nothing to boast about. His views on our literature are one-sided, narrow-minded and ignorant, as was already pointed out in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA (see the article by A. Mulyarchik, No 29, 21 July 1982). Let us not mention Proffer's self-sufficiency and boastfulness.

Proffer's main target is the by now traditional meetings between Soviet and American writers. Five such meetings have been held since 1977, three on Soviet soil and two in America. The idea of such bilateral encounters came to a number of American writers and the USSR Writers' Union precisely when the right-wing forces in the United States launched an active offensive against detente and began to cut off all contacts and relations with the Soviet Union.

Surmounting tremendous difficulties and sometimes persecutions on the part of the mass information media, those American writers who value reciprocal understanding and professional cooperation with their Soviet colleagues are courageously continuing to maintain such contacts. This was not to Proffer's liking. How come, the self-appointed guardian of American writers angrily asked, how do they dare to continue their regular encounters with Soviet literary workers? This, God forbid, may create the impression that the Helsinki accords have not been buried yet. It must be understood that such practices conflict with the policies of the Reagan Administration which Proffer, the petty literary politician tries to serve loyally and dedicatedly.

With a feeling of irritation he admonishes the noted American writer Joyce Carol Oates who wrote to him after a meeting with Soviet writers in New York. She asked the "expert" in Soviet literature why is it that "these great and serious colleagues of ours -- Soviet writers -- are unknown at home, in the United States?" (THE NEW REPUBLIC, 14 February 1981, p 32).

Proffer hastened to disabuse Joyce Carol Oates: How could she gain such a favorable impression of Soviet writers? "The American writers have been misled," the "Sovietologist" said, sounding the alarm. In his view, these "treacherous" Russians "use" the names of American writers. Why and how, one may ask? Proffer explains: the Russians allegedly need such encounters in order...to create in their readers the impression of equal partnership. "When the names of American writers appear in the official Soviet press alongside the names of Soviet writers it is assumed that the Soviet readers will think that, well, everything is normal, our writers go there and their writers come here, they talk as equals" (ibid., pp 32-33).



But such a conversation among equals is precisely what Proffer does not want. He fears that "the average Soviet reader may view such reports on encounters between American and Soviet writers as a confirmation of the accurate assessment of current political events presented in the Soviet press, i.e., that it is precisely America which is trying to promote a global war psychosis... whereas Soviet policy is aimed at peace and proves that we, Russians, want peace and that even well known American writers agree with our viewpoint" (ibid., p 33).

Unlike Proffer, however, many "well known American writers" actually clearly see and realize the entire madness of the arms race unleashed by Reagan, and his course of global confrontation with the socialist world, which accepts the possibility of a thermonuclear war, the danger of which indeed comes from one side only: the United States. The Soviet government solemnly proclaimed in front of the entire world that the USSR will not use nuclear weapons first. The American government flatly refused to make a similar statement. Every honest person on earth, writer or simple worker, cannot fail to see and realize who actually wants peace and struggles for it and submits to this effect constructive decisions, and who, conversely, bases his entire policy on imperial ambitions and is ready to take the risk of a thermonuclear war for the sake of world domination.

The fact that encounters between Soviet and American writers irritate Proffer and the likes of him means that such meetings actually help achieve reciprocal understanding and strengthen peace. They confirm the justness and vitality of the Helsinki agreements and the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Proffer shamelessly and impudently condemns Norman Cousins, the American cochairman of these encounters, an honorable literary worker and for many years editor of THE SATURDAY REVIEW, scornfully referring to him as naive, a person the "perfidious" Russians were wrapping around their little finger. The "Sovietologist" became angry at Cousins for having categorically refused to publish in his journal Proffer's shameless "refutation" of Cousins' report on the meeting between American and Soviet writers in Pitsunda in 1980. Among others, Cousins had deemed it suitable to tell the readers the true story of the notorious "Metropol" "almanac" (incidentally, Proffer himself had played an important role in this ugly matter. A copy of this "almanac" had been found in Proffer's possession, in America, long before its existence had been revealed to literary workers in Moscow. It was Proffer himself who had published this "almanac" in Russian through the allegedly "his" publishing house. This made it obvious that this "almanac" undertaking was of a purely political and speculative nature, and of overseas inspiration. The artistic value of the materials published by Proffer proved to be so squalid that no doubt could remain as to the publisher's low artistic tastes).

Proffer accused Norman Cousins of "naivete" and the fact that this honorable editor had been "satisfied" with the explanations and materials related to this matter, courteously offered to him by the Moscow writers. Embittered to death by THE SATURDAY REVIEW's refusal to publish his "refutation," Proffer ranted and raved: "One can only guess as to whose influence killed the truth: ... People like Cousins would rather speak of disarmament than consider their own gullibility" (ibid., p 33).

Proffer vainly plays the simpleton, sadly claiming ignorance as to who in America is killing the truth about the Soviet Union and Soviet literature. This truth is being killed every day and every hour by professors and various "Sovietologists," whose profession and purpose in life is to slander and lie about socialism and the processes developing in Soviet literature. They are doing everything possible to prevent the American readers from gaining access to any objective information on the Soviet way of life found in any talented Soviet work. They judge, lie and slander Soviet literature with unparalleled conceit and arrogance in an effort to defame the works of its outstanding masters.

Pseudotheoretical views have been sneaking in the writings of the "Sovietologists" in recent years on the question of is there actually a Soviet literature to begin with? And, in general, should one use the term "Soviet literature?"

For example, in his book "Soviet Russian Literature Since Stalin" (1979), Deming Brown claims as self-evident that "In recent years (?) the term 'Soviet literature' has become increasingly unsuitable." Posing as a judge, he passes sentence: "...The term 'Soviet literature' has become actually meaningless" (D. Brown. "Soviet Russian Literature Since Stalin," New York, 1979, p 1).

So there. No more and no less -- "it has become meaningless." For Brown, it turns out, there is no Soviet literature, and the "Sovietologist" thirsts for and even demands that there be no Soviet literature for others as well. And, as we can see, he presents his wish as something universally accepted, accomplished and requiring no proof whatsoever.

Together with Brown, Ronald Hingley, the Anglo-American "Sovietologist," is hastening to "close down" Soviet literature. In his book "Russian Writers and Soviet Society, 1917-1978" he writes that he will be discussing "modern Russian writers living in the USSR" or "Russian literature during the Soviet period" instead of using the term "Soviet literature" (R. Hingley, "Russian Writers and Soviet Society, 1917-1978," New York, 1979, p XV).

In a word, if we are to believe Brown and Hingley, Soviet literature no longer exists.

Here again history has taught the anticommunists nothing. There have already been attempts to declare the USSR a "geographic concept." Now the modern "Sovietologists" are playing the same trick with Soviet literature, combined with the impudent wish to blend within the same concept Soviet writers with those who have lost the right to call themselves such after becoming stateless exiles.

The American "Sovietologist" Morris Friedberg as well has made a contribution to this "discussion." In an article carried by PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM he speaks rapturously of the existence of an "emigre Russian literature" which is being "created today in Western Europe, Israel and the United States." The "Sovietologist's" overheated imagination is already engaging in incredible dreams and, like his colleague Proffer, he announces that it is precisely this "emigre" Russian literature that allegedly promises to create works no less

important than "the legacy of the old exiles who showed up in Paris, Berlin, Warsaw and Prague in the '20s" (PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, May-June 1980, p 63).

Such guess-work is ridiculous. Prince D. Mirskiy himself wrote about the exiles of the '20s and their works in his book "Contemporary Russian Literature: 1881-1925", which came out in London and New York in 1926 (p 246). Sadly, he wrote that "As a whole, the noted writers who found themselves outside the Soviet borders lost their creative possibilities. Breaking the ties with the native land is a severe trial for the writer... No single poet or prose writer of any importance...appeared outside Russia."

A short while ago the American magazine NEWSWEEK carried an article on today's exiles, former Soviet writers, significantly entitled "Voices Crying Out in the Wilderness." It said the following: "Totally involved with the problems of adapting to their new environment...they...have not created while in exile a single work of note, and the little they have written in the West has been of low quality and has not conveyed anything... Cut off from their roots they seem incapable of creating anything... Instead of continuing to write..., they sit in the French cafes speaking Russian and making plans for the liberation of their old homeland (what is this if not the "sword and plough alliance" of Ostap Bender of sainted memory! -- the author)... While they were in the Soviet Union they considered themselves martyrs. Here they are lost. Their voices are voices crying out in the wilderness" (NEWSWEEK, 4 April 1977 pp 45-47).

Apparently, the Americans themselves are not all that sympathetic to those writers who have left their homeland. One of the latter complained in THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW (7 September 1980) that "I met more Americans in Leningrad than here in America."

In his article Friedberg also undertakes to prove that an alleged "decline of the novel" has taken place in Soviet literature of the '60s-'70s. In his view, "all post-Stalinist Soviet literature, now a quarter of a century old, has produced few new novelists." The "few interesting Russian novels" which appeared were "the work of dissidents, published outside official Soviet channels" (PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, May-June 1980, p 57).

What was the cause of the "decline" of the Soviet novel detected by Friedberg? Apparently, the desire of Soviet writers to "avoid political problems." According to the "Sovietologist," it is precisely this that made them turn away from the novel, "and in favor of short prose" (ibid., p 58).

The strategic objectives of the anticommunists are not only to instill in the minds of their compatriots an a priori negative attitude toward the literature of socialist realism and to depict it in a distorted and slanderous light, but to try indirectly to influence the feelings of the Soviet artistic intelligentsia. The Friedbergs, Proffers and others of the same ilk would like to separate the creative interests of the Soviet writers from the life of their people, the party and the tasks of building communism, and to reduce them to "personal and frequently intimate relationships between men and women."

They are perfectly aware of the tremendous and truly invaluable role which Soviet literature and art play in shaping the communist outlook and high moral qualities of the builders of the new society and strengthening the foundations of socialism and the Soviet way of life. That is why they look for historical parallels which could somehow lend themselves to being used as arguments in compromising the party- and nation-mindedness of the literature of socialist realism. Thus, Friedberg pits, with a minus sign, naturally, modern Soviet literature against Russian prerevolutionary literature. In order to earn the sympathy of the readers for their characters," he writes, "the prerevolutionary Russian writers deemed it necessary to question somewhat the reasonableness of society or the judicial system of the state..." (ibid., p 54).

Almost 20 years ago a similar speculative juxtaposition between Russian prerevolutionary and contemporary Soviet literature was made by the "Sovietologist" Mark Slonim.

Naturally, Slonim and Friedberg prefer not to specify the type of state system and power opposed by progressive Russian literature. They pretend to be unaware of the type of system and state which appeared in Russia as a result of the victory of the Socialist Revolution in October 1917. Yet this, precisely, is the hub of the matter !

The methods used by the "Sovietologists" are the abstract interpretation of specific historical concepts such as "power" and "state" and the abstract pitting of literature against the system and the state in general.

Yes, the works of the great Russian prerevolutionary writers were anti-bourgeois. This noble tradition is preserved and energetically developed by the Soviet writers, for their works are thoroughly antibourgeois. The Sovietologist gentlemen can rest assured of this fact !

The entire matter is precisely one of viewpoint. The means through which Slonim and Friedberg try to replace the proletarian with their own bourgeois and anticommunist viewpoint and present the latter as universal and obligatory for all times and social systems are unsuitable and designed for people with a primitive political awareness.

However, the hopes of the "Sovietologists" of pitting the Soviet writers against their own Soviet society, party and socialist state are unattainable. As F. Barghourn wrote in 1976, "unfortunately (!), the overwhelming majority of the Soviet intelligentsia supports socialism" and "is ready to work within the communist political system and to observe its rules" (Fr. Barghourn, "Detente and the Democratic Movement in the USSR," p 166).

In an effort to undermine the trust and diminish the interest of the Western reader in Soviet literature, the "Sovietologists" stop at nothing. Everything is used: forgeries, falsifications, distortions of the real facts of the Soviet literary process and lies not only regarding the work of Soviet writers but the attitude of the Soviet readers toward the works of their writers.

Let us take that same Friedberg as an example. He has long and persistently tried to instill in U.S. public opinion a negative attitude toward Soviet

literature and adjure it to show no interest in it.. He claims that modern Soviet literature is hardly read even inside the Soviet Union, preferring to it any work written in the West regardless of quality.

In a PROBLEMS OF COMMUNIST article Friedberg remarks as though in passing that "The preference shown by the public for Russian translations of Western European and American prose, poetry and plays in the post-Stalinist period has been in general a reflection of the attitude toward Soviet literature as well" (PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, May-June 1980, p 53).

Friedberg's slanderous assertion can be easily refuted since numerous sociological studies on this problem are systematically published in the USSR.

Let us cite Yu. Andreyev's article "Mass Culture and Culture of the Masses" (ZVEZDA, No 7, 1982). Based on the thorough study of sociological works published in the USSR over the past decade, the author has reached important and irrefutable conclusions regarding what and how fiction is being read in our town and country. "...The readers," he writes, "are most interested above all in new literary publications or, speaking more broadly, in modern Soviet literature. Soviet works account for up to 70-75 percent of all reading material... Books by foreign writers account for about 20 percent..."

Friedberg's "reflection" of the attitude of the Soviet readers toward contemporary Soviet literature, as we can see, collapses with its very first exposure to results of sociological studies.

Several years ago William Lederer, an American bourgeois journalist, published a booklet under the title of "A Nation of Sheep." The author expressed his concern with the major failures of American foreign policy, as a result of which "large parts of the world in which we (i.e., Americans -- the author) were admired and in which we enjoyed a preponderant influence," suddenly began to show disgust and hostility toward America and Americans. Lederer set himself the task of determining the reason for the decline in American prestige and reached the conclusion that "The main reason...is ignorance of anything pertaining to the rest of the world. A nation or an individual cannot perform their functions if truth is either inaccessible or strange to them... All of us must become informed." However, the author notes, to accomplish this in America is unusually difficult, for "In the United States today...the truth is essentially inaccessible..."

Accurately and precisely stated ! The American people are being deliberately deprived of truthful information on the outside world, the socialist world in particular.

Sadly Lederer predicted that "If today's propaganda fraud (and dull sheepish perception of everything by our citizens) were to go on, I predict that the United States will be facing hard times. A great power cannot last long if it rests on the unreliable and slippery foundations of self-deceit and disinformation."

The "Sovietologists" are trying to restrain the interest of the American public in Soviet literature and art. It is hardly incidental that the Reagan

Administration started its anti-Soviet activities by breaking all agreements on cultural exchanges between our two countries. Today the American people are deprived of the possibility of becoming acquainted with the achievements of Soviet artistic culture. The goal of the "Sovietologists" is to instill in every American a blind hatred for the ideas of communism and open hostility toward the Soviet people and state. They are promoting prejudices and cultivating conceited arrogance, loftiness and chauvinism on a global scale. This makes it easier for the U.S. ruling class to keep the people in check and under the iron heel of capitalism.

But, as President Abraham Lincoln said, "You can fool all of the people some of the time, you can fool some of the people all of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time."

Yes, the lessons of history have taught nothing to the ink coolies of American imperialism, wallowing in dirt. But the time of truth is coming!

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## CRIME FROM THE PAST TO THE PRESENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 83 pp 86-93

[Article by I. Karpets, vice president of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers]

[Text]

1

The use of mercenaries, which seems to have been given a second breath during recent decades, is among the leading aggressive tools used by imperialism today. In reviving this seemingly obsolete institution, imperialism gave it a more dangerous and cruel nature than ever before.

The history of mercenaries may be traced to the depth of centuries--to a time when, in the year 3000 B.C., ancient Egypt launched its conquests. The use of mercenaries was widespread in Persia, Athens, Carthage, and ancient Rome. The supply of mercenaries was practically inexhaustible: farmers who had lost their land, ruined petty artisans and, in general, declassed elements.

During the period of feudal divisions the mercenary institution had declined. The period of establishment of centralized feudal states gave a new impetus to the use of mercenaries in Europe. Kings, dukes and electors made extensive use of professional soldiers in strengthening their power. For example, Swiss and German mercenaries served at the court of the French kings. Since around the 15th century, feudal armies consisting primarily of mercenaries began to be raised. Mercenaries were extensively used by King Friedrich of Prussia, known as Friedrich the Great.

We must also remember that the struggle for rule of the sea was waged by England (as well as Spain, France and others) also with the help of mercenaries, who not only served the British royal navy but were quite extensively used in privateering. One of the most colorful figures who engaged in officially forbidden piracy was Drake, the greatest specialist in brigandage at sea. Toward the end of his life Drake, "the government's pirate," was rewarded by the British crown, presented with high distinctions and made admiral and lord.

F. Engels described mercenaries as follows: "The feudal armies stopped existing and new armies were raised from the numerous mercenaries who were left free to serve whoever would pay them after the feudal system broke down" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 14, p 28).

Under capitalism the use of mercenaries in wars of conquest, enrichment and population plunder developed at a fast rate. Mercenaries, who were paid for killing, had no ties to the people or anything in common with the interests of those they served. As a rule, they were unreliable and preferred to engage in brigandage. They betrayed their masters by switching sides. Mercenaries were actually criminals for hire.

The notorious French Foreign Legion, in which members of many other than French nationalities served for pay, was a mercenary force. The French bourgeoisie pursued its colonial policy in Africa and Southeast Asia with the help of this force.

The United States and Great Britain staffed their armed forces with mercenaries through World War II. To this day the same method for raising an army remains (again in the United States and now the FRG as well). However, it is not the method of raising a professional army itself that characterizes the danger of the rebirth of use of mercenaries today. In the final account, the way the individual countries recruit their armed forces is their own concern. However, the most dangerous use made of mercenaries in history has been the hiring of paid killers to seize foreign lands and to deal with their populations.

The national self-awareness of the people increasingly strengthened in the course of the historical process. The peoples rose to fight for their independence and against the oppressors. In time the nature of wars changed as well. Mercenary forces were defeated in fighting armies consisting of people who were defending their homeland, independence and freedom. Even regular and well-equipped armies of conquerors were no longer able to defeat nations waging just wars. This was natural, for the people fighting for their freedom knew what they were defending. The mercenaries, also well-armed and trained, yielded to the power of patriotic spirit and universal hatred.

Our century decisively changed the attitude toward mercenaries and our opinion of them. The fact that mercenaries began to be looked at as an institution of the policy of exploitation, inadmissible in international relations, is unquestionably related to the ideas of liberation brought by the Great October Revolution, the establishment of new socialist states and the collapse of the colonial system.

It looked as though the institution of mercenaries had been buried once and for all. In recent decades, however, it has been reborn from the ashes under which the ways and means of past aggressors, condemned by the nations as criminal, had been buried.

The main and rather unseemly role in this belongs to the United States--the contemporary bulwark of reaction and the ideas of violence and hate of mankind. This role became particularly noticeable with the accession to power of the Reagan Administration. The openly expansionistic and aggressive foreign policy course pursued by the American administration brought about the restoration of the old seemingly forgotten forms of interfering in the affairs of other countries and nations.



Mercenaries--that institution of the past--found their new position as a means for carrying out aggressive plans. Although historically mercenaries have always been professional soldiers, today they are different from their predecessors.

What links them is only the fact that they are quite well-trained to kill people. In this sense they cannot even be considered soldiers, for the soldier is a member of a regular army which exists in all countries above all to defend its borders. Mercenaries frequently wear the military uniform of the country which they allegedly represent (the racist Union of South Africa, for example). Despite this camouflage, they are not entitled to call themselves soldiers.

SOLDIER OF FORTUNE is the name of a journal for mercenaries, published in the United States. In addressing the congress of the World Association of Democratic Lawyers in Algiers described this publication as monstrous. It contains everything: from prescriptions on how to kill, torture and poison people to the lowest possible pornography. According to progressive U.S. lawyers, the journal would make even Hitler blush. The contemporary mercenaries are described in the Western press as "wild ducks" (clearly because of their moving from one place to another). The weekly JEUNE AFRIQUE describes them as the "supermen of the Western world." However, a book published in the West describes the mercenaries as the "prostitutes of imperialism." We believe this to be the most accurate and clear description of rabble.

The characteristic feature of modern mercenaries is that "soldiers of fortune" are used above all to suppress national liberation movements. Killers armed to the teeth with no "pangs of conscience," like the Hitlerites, these contemporary Landsknechts are used against poorly armed people caught by surprise, who are defending the interests and national independence of their homeland and are poorly trained for war. Colonialism collapsed but, with the help of mercenaries, the neocolonialists are trying to do everything possible to hinder the process of establishment of the young countries. Modern imperialism has put in the hands of the "soldiers of fortune" advanced means for the mass destruction of people. The main areas in which imperialism uses mercenaries are Africa, Asia, the Middle and Near East and Latin America.

The class interests of imperialism have led it to the resurrection of the most inhuman means, ways and methods for suppressing those who oppose exploitation and oppression. The political objectives in the use of mercenaries are as clear as is the criminal nature of the institution.

Imperialism uses criminal means to achieve political objectives within and outside its own system.

2

It has been estimated that between the end of World War II through 1979 more than 100 armed conflicts involving the use of mercenaries had taken part in the world. By now this figure is considerably higher, for the number of cases of open U.S. intervention in the affairs of other countries has multiplied. For example, a "Caribbean policy" would be inconceivable without

the training and use of mercenaries against Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador and other countries in Latin America. We know that members of the Miskito tribe are being recruited in Honduras for action against Nicaragua. At the same time, Indians from the same tribe inhabiting the remote northeastern part of Nicaragua are being recruited for the same purpose. The purpose of this dirty game is to promote civil war. The tried method of the CIA--to use the centuries-old alienation of national minorities from national interests--was already used by the United States in Vietnam, Laos and other countries. The supporters of Somoza, who fled the anger of their own people, are being trained in terrorist and military operations in special camps (as are Cuban counterrevolutionaries in Miami). Reagan recently signed a secret document allowing operations by mercenaries and militarized units against the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador and Cuba.

John Stockwell writes of the role of the CIA in raising mercenary units to overthrow democratic governments in a book published as early as 1978 (John Stockwell, "In Search of Enemies," New York, 1978).

Mercenary recruitment centers are openly operating in many capitalist countries. As a rule, the authorities claim that such institutions are private business. Such centers operate in London, Paris, Brussels, Johannesburg and other cities. There are even "price lists" for mercenaries: so many dollars for so many months of "work," so much for destroying a tank, so much for killing 10 blacks (or yellows or any other kind of "savages"), so much for a captured Russian (!) and so on.

Particularly noteworthy among the recruiters are one Roberto Holden, a secret CIA agent, who was exposed as a criminal at the trial of mercenaries in Luwanda, as well as his accomplice, Lesley Espin, an arms merchant. Having spread their net quite widely, these merchants in "live stock" hide behind the back of the CIA and the intelligence services of other NATO countries.

Mercenaries who have survived an "operation" in a given country frequently move to another. As their experience becomes "richer," demand for them rises and so does their price. Hired killers move from Indochina to Lebanon and from Africa to the Middle East and Latin America, helping aggressors, dictatorial fascist and semifascist regimes and traitors of their nations. The Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES, for example, reported that until the people of Zimbabwe gained their independence, mercenaries from Britain, the United States, the FRG, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa served in the Rhodesian army.

No camouflage can conceal the true nature of the mercenaries and the sinister purpose of the activities of forces who use them. Efforts to present their recruitment and shipment to one country or another as a private activity were exposed at the Luwanda trial of mercenaries. As a result of the exposures, the British government was forced to appoint a special commission to study the problem of mercenaries. It became apparent that many British subjects had fought in Angola. "Democratic" Britain was sending hired killers to a country which was trying to defend its independence.

What was the result of the investigation? The commission called for banning the recruitment of mercenaries in Great Britain in accordance with international agreements. At the same time, however, it called for revoking an 1870 law according to which joining a foreign army was considered a criminal offense. What reasons were given for the abrogation of this law today, when the criminal nature of hiring mercenaries has become even more obvious? The commission considered that preventing mercenaries from committing murders in other countries was a violation of their freedom (!). This fact enables us to understand better what stands behind the concept of "freedom" in the Western world.

In rejecting the charge of conspiring with the mercenaries, essentially the commission proclaimed the right "freely" to kill in other countries. Its suggestions were so odious that the British ruling circles preferred to conceal them from public opinion.

Laws similar to the one which was passed in Great Britain in 1870 are in the books in the United States, the FRG and some other countries. In the United States, for example, Article 53, Title 18, of the Federal Criminal Code calls for loss of citizenship for mercenaries who join any service. However, such laws are honored no better than in Britain.

Such is the situation, although concealed by words, statements and even laws.

3

The criminal nature of the mercenaries is not only that the institution is essentially a secret form of aggression but that the mercenaries themselves are killers, rapists and brigands. One must also realize that the modern Landsknechts help to implement the political plans of the reaction, which are threatening to mankind. Not only the institution but its use are criminal. The political leaders who, although indirectly, encourage the use of "soldiers of fortune" cannot avoid responsibility."

We should also be aware of the fact that along with the flotsam of society, obviously criminal elements and professional killers and robbers, simple people in trouble, of which there are many in the Western world, hire themselves out as mercenaries as well. Gradually, these people too adopt the morality of gallows-birds and abandon the universal human values. They no longer think of categories such as punishment and impunity, morality and immorality. Western moralists and politicians are quite pleased by the existence of such a potential human market for waging wars and suppressing the working people.

The nature of the mercenaries is made particularly clear by the statements of one Michael Hoare, nicknamed "Mad Michael." This "madman" has crisscrossed all of Africa on the instructions of those who hire him. The Congo, Angola, Rhodesia, Benin and Zaire are a partial list of countries where Michael Hoare has "distinguished" himself. "Mad Michael" freely admitted to a group of journalists that "to me, who I kill is all the same--wild beasts or Africans. Over a period of 12 months my boys and I killed between 5,000 and 10,000

blacks in the Congo." It is precisely such people, if one could describe them as such, who are needed by the secret hirers of killers.

The reaction tries to overthrow progressive governments with the help of mercenaries. An attempt at a reactionary coup d'etat in the Congo (Brazzaville) took place in August 1978, in which mercenaries were assigned the leading role. Quite typical in this respect were also the events which took place at the end of the November 1981 in the Saychelles. A gang of mercenaries, armed by the South African racists and with U.S. support, tried to secure the return to the Saychelles of former president Mangema, who had been overthrown by the people. Shortly before the target date of dealing with the democratic system in the Saychelles, South African "tourists" flooded this island country. A shock group of mercenaries landed on the island on 25 November with a view to capturing the airport on the run. Interestingly enough, in addition to South Africans, this detachment included Frenchmen, Britons, Belgians and Australians. The operation was headed by one Peter Daffy, Michael Hoare's colleague and assistant, who, together with his "boss" had gained notoriety in the 1960s for his cruelty in the Congo.

The legitimate authorities in the Saychelles were able to lock and render the gang harmless. A large quantity of weapons was seized, including submachine guns and even antitank weapons. Kurt Waldheim, the then-UN secretary, said the following in answer to the appeal addressed by the government of the Saychelles: "As you know, the UN General Assembly discussed the matter of mercenaries. I have raised this question to the international community in order to draft as quickly as possible an international convention which would ban the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries."

A study of the problem leads to the following considerations. Today mercenaries hired by imperialism have become a variant of the "rapid deployment force," to be used in countries where for one reason or another imperialism is unable to send its armed forces, and mainly and above all for purposes of suppressing the national liberation movement.

The aggressors and their patrons should be reminded of the fact that criminal behavior has always been suitably assessed by the nations. Mankind's memory retains nothing but curses and scorn for aggressors. In his time, Omar Khayyam said:

If all countries, near and far  
Conquered, roll in the dust,  
You will not, great ruler, become immortal,  
Your plot will be small: 6 feet of ground.

To obtain 6 feet of ground for oneself and voluntarily depart from this life is a matter of personal choice for the lovers of aggression and wars. But no one has the right to prepare such a fate for others. Man is born for the sake of building life on earth.

Let us name another feature of being a mercenary, dangerous to mankind: the links between this institution and terrorism. Terrorism--right wing, fascist

and "left wing," similar to it--has swamped the capitalist world. Those who favor progressive social change are dying from bullets and bombs; in many countries the terrorists are trying to destabilize political life. Terrorists are opening the way to power for reactionary forces and fascism in Italy, the FRG, the Latin American countries and elsewhere. With the help of terrorists the United States interferes in the domestic life of other countries, trying to prevent political changes it dislikes, as has occurred and is occurring in Italy, for example.

The ideologues of imperialism are trying to pin the label of terrorism to the national liberation movement, blabbering about some kind of mythical "international terrorism." The U.S. Administration is using this to conceal its own terrorist policy toward forces fighting imperialism. In an effort to suppress liberation movements, and supporting reactionary, fascist and semi-fascist regimes throughout the world, the United States makes frequent use of terrorists in pursuit of this policy, or, actually, those same mercenaries. The progressive forces in the world cannot ignore this activity dangerous to mankind.

Today imperialism is using increasingly energetically mercenaries to suppress the revolutionary movement. The U.S. Administration does not publicize this. However, it is impossible to conceal the fact that in suppressing the troubles and in the mass killings of the "colored" population in the southern part of the United States, triggered by a wild outburst of racism and monstrous manifestations of racial discrimination, "soldiers of fortune" were used--Cuban exile riffraff, servants of dictatorial regimes in other Latin American countries or simply exiles without a roof and means of existence. American imperialism granted to all of them the right to kill people like them for money and for the benefit of those who are paying it.

In his novel "Man Amidst the Sands," the progressive French poet and novelist Jean Joubert has brilliantly described the modern Landsknechts. He has clearly described the way today internal security detachments made of mercenaries are being raised. Here is an excerpt from his book: "They looked at us from newspaper photographs. Shoulder to shoulder, in high boots, black helmets, armed with sticks and grenade launchers. They looked like a cliff against which the wave of strikers, students and supporters of autonomy would break. There was something of the riders and gladiators in them.... We have inherited this breed."

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Obviously, the mercenary movement must be stopped, including by legal means. There are no comprehensive UN agreements on mercenaries and on treating the mercenary movement as an international crime as genocide, for example. However, a number of international legal documents describe the mercenary movement as precisely such a crime.

In surmounting the opposition of reactionary forces, mankind is approaching the point of a decisive struggle against the mercenary movement--a crime in the life of modern mankind inherited from the past.

In this connection, let us recall the real steps taken by the progressive forces who are trying to outlaw mercenariness and, therefore, to ban the very practice of hiring mercenaries. Here is an excerpt from the supplementary protocol to the 1949 Geneva Convention on the protection of war victims: "... the mercenary does not have combatant\* status. He is a military criminal and subject to punishment..."

Following is the text of the UN resolution: "The use of mercenaries by colonial and racist regimes against national liberation movements which are fighting for their freedom and independence from the oppression of colonial and foreign rule is a criminally punishable action and, correspondingly, mercenaries must be punished as criminals."

A juridical definition of mercenariness exists. Article 47 of the supplementary protocol to the 1949 Geneva Convention, adopted on 10 June 1977, describes it as follows: "A mercenary is any person who: a) has been specially recruited locally or abroad to participate in an armed conflict; b) is actually taking part in military operations; c) is participating in military operations motivated mainly by the desire for personal benefits; d) who is not a citizen of any one of the belligerent countries nor a permanent resident on the territory controlled by the belligerent side; e) is not a member of the personnel of the armed forces of the belligerent country..."

Furthermore, the Organization of African Unity has made a considerable contribution to the legislative ban of mercenariness. It passed a regional act which, however, exceeds regional frameworks. The resolution which was passed on this matter at the Rabat 1972 meeting of the council of ministers of this organization stipulates that actions conducted by mercenaries should be considered crimes against peace and security in Africa. The resolution included the very important stipulation to the effect that the recruitment, army and supplying of mercenaries is also a crime.

The UN resolution also mentions the right to wage a national liberation struggle and to struggle against colonialism and foreign domination. For some reason, however, the United States believes that one cannot struggle against its rule, for this would violate the "national interest," and would be considered terrorism or something even worse. Therefore, international agreements and the views of nations may be binding to anyone who may wish it but not to the United States. This is the typical logic of the aggressor.

Article 3 of the definition of aggression, which was approved by the United Nations in 1974, considers the sending of mercenaries to the territory of another country an act of aggression and, therefore, an international crime. The facts prove that the U.S. administration is totally ignoring this resolution.

Documents were initiated at conferences on international humanitarian rights, which were periodically held from 1974 to 1977, treating mercenariness and international crime and mercenaries as criminals. These resolutions have not

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\* Combatant--soldier, military serviceman in a regular army--the author.

become as yet an international agreement passed by the United Nations. However, they express the view of global public opinion, which, as a juridical document, cannot be ignored by those who favor peace and security of the nations and the national independence of countries and peoples. However, neither the U.S. ruling circles nor those of many countries following it pay attention to these resolutions.

Together with all progressive mankind, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries support the unconditional recognition of mercenariness as an international crime and the law banning mercenariness to be adopted and observed strictly. There should be no gap between words and deeds, laws and actions, which is so typical today of imperialist doctrines and practices.

The decision to draft a code of crimes against mankind and to consider mercenariness an international crime was adopted at the November 1982 UN General Assembly session. The decision is symptomatic, reflecting the concern of the world public and its desire to do everything possible to reserve peace and prevent the commission of crimes from which mankind suffered during the Nazi period.

The forces of reaction are opposing the adoption of clear and unequivocal resolutions which would meet the expectations and hopes of the people. The very definition of the concept of terrorism was subjected to a complex series of juridical debates. Jurists from a number of Western countries, who submitted their own variants, are working hard to present black as white and include in the concept of terrorism the national liberation movement, without which the political, economic and social liberation of the peoples of many countries would be inconceivable. Therefore, the road to the formulation of a code of crimes against mankind, including the punishment of mercenariness, will be difficult. However, it is absolutely necessary for the sake of the cause of peace and progress.

The leaders of the capitalist world and their accomplices who are formulating today "prescriptions" which destroy the very foundations of human life--the feeling of love for homeland and one's people, the love of man for man and respect for other nations, are criminal. To destroy and depreciate all of this is inhuman. Those who make efforts to destroy all and everything for the sake of preserving the exploiting system, power, wealth and privileges are criminals who profit from crime and should be condemned as the worst enemies of progress. The refined means used to promote their harmful ideas should be countered by universal solidarity.

All people must realize the danger which the antihumane activities of reactionary forces represent. An irreconcilable struggle must be waged against crimes which threaten mankind and the forces which trigger them, for the sake of the triumph of peace, prosperity and progress on earth.

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## SECTORIAL MANAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 83 pp 94-99

[Article by K. Belyak, USSR Minister of Machine Building for Animal Husbandry and Fodder Production]

[Text] The editors received many responses to the article by G. Popov, "Development of Sectorial Management of Industry" (KOMMUNIST No 18, 1982). Our readers express their views which occasionally do not coincide in the least with the content of and questions raised in the article. Following are two such responses which largely reflect these differences.

KOMMUNIST will continue to cover the topic of improving national economic management in its subsequent issues.

At the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, emphasized that a number of ripe problems remain in the national economy, which must be resolved "by summing up domestic and global experience and putting together the knowledge of the best practical workers and scientists." One such task is that of improving industrial management.

Of late there has been an increasing number of publications by scientists, whose studies of the condition of sectorial management of industry include proposals on the reorganization of management organs.

Comrade Popov's article "Development of Sectorial Management of Industry" (KOMMUNIST No 18, 1982) as well as the article by Comrade Pletnev "Political Economy of the Victory of Labor Over Capital" (PRAVDA No 84, 25 March 1983) indicate the need for an intersectorial approach to the economy and the creation of a system for managing groups of homogeneous and interrelated sectors.

We have the long positive practical experience of a number of commissions of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium. We are familiar with their useful deeds and good reputation. Their usefulness lies in the sensible and highly efficient coordination of the management of groups of sectors and the choice of new technical directions. However, in this case design and technological decisions and production assignments are given to sectors according to their



specialization. The agroindustrial complex is gathering strength and acquiring positive experience.

However, the authors of the articles we mentioned cite questionable arguments in their single objective of proving that sectorial management of industry has become obsolete.

To say the least one should be amazed at Comrade Popov's statement to the effect that "difficulties in the work of ministries are the logical consequence of the objective development of sectorial production specialization under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution and the gap which has opened between the changed place and role of the sectors and the existing system of ministerial management of industry." I strongly object to the view that "the two main tasks which demand a sectorial approach with particular urgency--satisfying the needs of the public and accelerating scientific and technical progress--increasingly require today an intersectorial approach and can be resolved less and less through the efforts of a single sector."

Nor can I agree with Comrade Pletnev, who states that "the view 'from within' the individual sector (department) presumes giving its interests priority, while the national economy itself is represented as the coexistence of various sectors (departments). The inertia of the sectorial approach and the departmental structure of production management leads to ineradicable shortages caused by the interest of sectorial 'monopolism' of increasing prices, incomplete use of equipment, lack of equipment renovation, and so on. Hence delays in the restructuring of the production apparatus, slow application of progressive technological methods, and so on."

Thoughtlessly, Comrade Pletnev links this thesis to the unfading Marxist doctrine. "As we know," he writes, "Marx did not include at all the industrial sector as an object in the study of political economy." However, the author notes, we "find in Marx...an intersectorial vision of optimizing the national economic complex."

There is hardly any need to guess what the great scientist saw. All we have to do is read in his immortal "Das Kapital" that "...the development of the productive force of labor in one production sector, iron, coal, machines, construction, and so on, for example, which in turn may partially depend on successes in the field of intellectual production and precisely on successes in the natural sciences and their application, is a prerequisite for reducing production costs and, consequently, productive capital outlays in other industrial sectors such as the textile industry or farming, for example. This is self-evident, for a commodity which is the product of one industrial sector becomes productive capital in another industrial sector" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 25, part I, p 93).

We read further that "the characteristic feature of this type of economy of permanent capital, based on the steady development of industry, is that here increased profit norms in one industrial sector are triggered by the development of the productive force of labor in another" (ibid.).

The sectorial principle of industrial management was organized by V. I. Lenin from the very first days of the Soviet system and has remained essentially unchanged to this day. The very first Higher Council of the National Economy set up the main and central committees by sectors: the Textile Industry Central Committee (Tsentrotekstil') was set up on 1 April 1918; the Main Petroleum Committee (Glavneft') was created on 17 May 1918; and so on.

The First All-Russian Congress of Soviets of the National Economy (May-June 1918) played a most important role in the elaboration of methods for industrial enterprise management. Lenin severely criticized the initial draft "Regulation on the Management of Nationalized Enterprises." "Communism," he wrote, "demands and presumes the highest possible centralization of large-scale production throughout the country. Therefore, the All-Russian Center must unquestionably be granted the right to manage all enterprises within the sector directly.

"To deny the All-Russian Center the right to direct jurisdiction over all enterprises in a given sector throughout the country, as stipulated in the commission's draft, would mean regional anarcho-syndicalism rather than communism" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 392).

The sectorial industrial management principle enabled the young state to resolve ripe complex problems of building a socialist society. In accordance with the decrees promulgated at the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets on measures to strengthen and develop peasant farming, on 1 April 1921 Lenin signed the decree "On Agricultural Machine Building" which stipulated the following:

"1. Agricultural machine building is hereby considered a matter of exceptional importance to the state...

"4. The Higher Council of the National Economy is hereby instructed to concentrate exclusively within the jurisdiction of the Main Administration for Agricultural Machine Building ('Glavsel'mash') Metals Section of the Higher Council of the National Economy the management of the entire production of agricultural machinery and tools in the country..."

During the restoration and reconstruction period the guiding principle in the reorganization of industrial management was the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, which presumed the comprehensive consideration of the interests of the state as a whole and the individual enterprises in their complete integrity. During the period of laying the foundations of the socialist economy industry developed tempestuously. The tasks of industrial management became more complex and, as a logical consequence, new sectors were created for the sake of resolving ripe national economic development problems. The People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry and the People's Commissariats of Light and Timber Industries were created on the basis of the 5 January 1932 USSR Central Executive Committee and Sovnarkom decree. The People's Commissariat of Defense Industry was separated from the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry in 1936 while the Machine Building People's

Commissariat was separated in 1937. The process of breakdown of people's commissariats continued in 1938-1939. The Machine Building People's Commissariat was divided into three people's commissariats (heavy, medium and general machine building).

The sectorial industrial management system proved its viability during the difficult period of the Patriotic War and the difficult postwar period of restoration of the dislocated national economy, as well as under different, sometimes difficult searches for management methods.

The nomenclature of industrial sectors reflects the historical process of the continuing growth of the social division and specialization of output. The main feature in establishing separate sectors today is based on ensuring the full satisfaction of the needs of society for a specific commodity produced on a high technical standard. The establishment of one sector or another is not a spontaneous process but a manifestation of the planning principle in the socialist economy.

The development of the natural gas industry, nuclear power industry, space research, medical industry and computer manufacturing called for the creation of new specialized industrial sectors with their staffs--the respective ministries.

The author's assertion that in a number of cases "the organization of ministries outstripped the actual formation of a new sector" is incorrect. It is an error. The creation of one sector or another is not a subjective act but an objective necessity. It had increasingly become obvious toward the end of the 1960s that animal husbandry and fodder production processes were the least mechanized in the country's agriculture. Seventeen ministries and departments and thousands of kolkhozes and sovkhoses were trying somehow, frequently using their own systems, to mechanize such agricultural processes. In order to resolve these ripe problems, the Ministry of Machine Building for Animal Husbandry and Fodder Production was established by ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in 1973. The sector was based on existing foundations and already partially developed solutions in the leading farms in the country and abroad and scientific forecasts on converting animal husbandry to an industrial base. As a result, during the 10th Five-Year Plan, the first during which the sector operated autonomously, the amount of equipment for animal husbandry and fodder production produced equalled the entire output of the three previous five-year plans combined.

A large volume of new, highly productive equipment was developed and its series production was organized. In the final account, this ensured the previously impossible enhancement of the level of comprehensive mechanization. Compared with 1973 (the year the ministry was formed), by 1980 cattle herds served with comprehensive mechanized facilities had expanded by a factor of 2.8; the number of hogs had increased by 60 percent and of poultry by a factor of 3.2. This proves that the establishment of the sector was a necessary production concentration for the solution of an important national economic problem, which has always been and remains a key feature in national economic development. The sectorial principle of socialist industrial management is of decisive importance in ensuring skilled enterprise management,

which is possible only with a profound knowledge of the specific nature of the sector. It is based on the objective laws governing the development of socialist society and has withstood the strict test of time.

Let us emphasize that ideal management systems do not exist and hardly anyone would dare to claim that all shortcomings could be eliminated from any individual system.

In discussing industrial management problems we must determine above all the type of management system which would best meet the requirements of satisfying social requirements for a specific commodity, the concentration of its production, its intensification, acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and increasing labor productivity (incidentally, Comrade Popov does not even mention in his article this most important synthesizing indicator of activities in any economic sector, which characterizes above all the rationality of its management system).

The desire to prove that the sectorial industrial management principle has become obsolete and that at the present stage the basic management problems can be resolved only on the "supraministerial" level or through a "block of interrelated sectors" leads Comrades Popov and Pletnev, the article authors, to cite far-fetched arguments, in our view, which essentially proves the fact that they are poorly acquainted, to put it mildly, with the work of enterprises and ministries.

Thus, Comrade Popov writes that "it was possible to create a new sector only through the establishment of comprehensive enterprises which could operate with virtual autonomy. The basic production shops in such enterprises were surrounded by various and powerful "rings" of auxiliary production shops. Enterprises were created as multisectorial...." At this point the author is clearly confused. An enterprise could be described as multisectorial if it met the social needs for various yet equally important finished goods. We emphasize the word equal, for it would be hardly possible to describe as multisectorial an enterprise which produces consumer goods along with its main commodity, making use of basic production byproducts, which is economically expedient. To describe an enterprise as multisectorial if auxiliary shops are created along with basic production shops signifies ignorance. Some enterprise repair shops are equipped with most complex tools; special tools are produced in instruments shops, most complex models of parts to be cast subsequently are made of wood in the modeling casting production shops through the efforts of highly skilled fitters, instrument makers and carpenters. This is a "ring" in the best meaning of the term. Incidentally, the term "auxiliary shops" has clearly become obsolete today and the classification of shops as basic and auxiliary, as well as the same classification given to the personnel of such shops makes for confusion in the efficient organization of the production process, triggers a certain moral dissatisfaction and unjustified disparities in the wages of enterprise workers. Therefore, the so-called auxiliary shops, along with the basic shops, are parts of a single technological overall production process assigned to the specific enterprise.

Furthermore, Comrade Popov believes that "the effort to concentrate a given sector within a ministry failed.... Most ministries have become essentially less sectorial than subsectorial ministries for machine building and the power industry." This is essentially a game of semantics.

In terms of the classification of Soviet economic and industrial sectors, each economic sector, industry, for example, is classified into consolidated (comprehensive) production sectors. In industry this applies to fuel, machine building, power, and others. Each of these comprehensive sectors rallies homogeneous sectors which, however, specialize in the production of specific commodities. In this connection, we should consider that most existing ministries are precisely sectorial ministries engaged in the production of goods for specific consumption purposes.

To claim that all machine-building ministries in the country could be squeezed within a procrustean bed would indicate a lack of understanding of the economic system. Given the tremendous economy of the country, how could such a monster be managed?

Starting from the claim that a ministry is not a sector, the author writes that several ministries have to be involved in resolving any major problem. This, however, is perfectly natural. Is the solution of problems in building the Baykal-Amur Mainline not the best proof of how to resolve such problems? Is it unnatural that the production of new large KamAZ and BelAZ trucks required the active participation of the Ministry of Chemical Industry, Ministry of Construction Materials Industry and others in the development and supply to the automobile manufacturers large-sized tires with a lower specific pressure on the ground, large windshields, various types of plastic glass items, and others, not produced previously?

The involvement of related sectors in resolving major economic problems has been justified by life and the practice of economic construction. The creation of an agroindustrial complex in the country, which includes a number of ministries and departments specializing in different areas, as we mentioned, provides another convincing proof.

Comrade Popov believes that currently the sectors are increasingly losing their monopoly status in meeting social requirements. As proof he cites the example of the USSR Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper and Wood Processing Industry, which cannot be in charge of all timber output in the country, for much of the wood comes from organizations outside the ministry. Let us point out that, to begin with, this concept precisely defined hardly applies to all ministries. On the basis of this stipulation, Comrade Popov reaches the conclusion that a ministry does not cover the concept of a sector. It would be logical to point out that rules have their exceptions. However, it would be erroneous to formulate a rule on the basis of exceptions. The Ministry of Aviation Industry has the monopoly in meeting social requirements for airplanes. And what ministry other than that of automotive industry meets the needs of society for automobiles or the Ministry of Coal Industry for

coal extraction or the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy for metal production? This list could be extended.

Secondly, since the process of sectorial development is dynamic, it is above all with a view to production concentration that ministry demarcations are periodically refined, as a result of which the boundaries separating sectors and ministries become significantly closer to the one wished by the author of the article.

Comrade Popov uses the term "extraministerial" output and writes that "after 20 years of searching, no suitable method for making a ministry answerable for 'extraministerial' output could be found."

Yes, efforts were made to create intersectorial production facilities. Problems of greater significance than those described by Comrade Popov were considered. This included concentrating the production of castings and semi-finished hot and cold extrusion parts--the future parts of machines greatly needed by machine building ministries, i.e., that which we conventionally describe as minor metallurgy, and the production of support parts in the so-called "intersectorial production" sector.

However, the problem proved to be almost insoluble, for such items are produced by large enterprises and organizing their separate production is both technologically and territorially impossible.

Practical experience proved that it is economically expedient to include within a machine building enterprise the production of cast and stamped small parts and support items the machine processing and assembly of which is based sometimes not only on a shift but an hourly production schedule. We were able to set up several central casting facilities for large cast parts--metal cutting and press equipment mills.

However, major national economic problems exist which are urgently awaiting their solution. The need for internal combustion engines in the country is tremendous and despite the fact that they are being produced by a number of sectors, it remains unsatisfied. For this reason a number of ministries have asked to be allowed to organize their own production of such engines. All this leads to the destandardization of identical items, which extremely hinders not only the production of engines but also their use. We know that one of the most important indicators in engine work is fuel outlays per effective power. The concentration of their production in terms of scientific research and increasing output until all requirements have been met would be far more effective.

The hydraulic drive of running parts and systems of mobile machinery and the use of gearless transmission mechanisms are becoming increasingly popular in worldwide practice. This indicates great progress in machine building. Each ministry is developing its own hydraulic equipment production: the ministries of construction, road and municipal machine building, agricultural machine building, machine building for animal husbandry and fodder production, and so on. Here as well the same type of difficulties arise as in organizing the

production and operation of internal combustion engines. Such problems can be resolved only through itemized specialization from top to bottom.

Comrade Popov accurately formulates the question of the need to supply the national economy not with individual machines but machine sets. However, he erroneously believes that this problem cannot be resolved on the basis of sectorial management.

But who will resolve it? Who could be responsible for a complete set of machines for the Belorus' tractor other than the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building?

The following unequivocal rule has been formulated within the country's economic system: whenever individual commodities are produced by various sectors or enterprises, responsibility for the technical standard and production availability is assumed by the sector specializing in the production of such items.

Nor could we agree with the author's opinion that "the ministry cannot pursue a truly sector-wide unified scientific and technical policy." The opposite is confirmed by the Ministry of Machine Building for Animal Husbandry and Fodder Production.

When the ministry was formed in 1973, the country's agriculture was receiving disparate machines and mechanisms which made possible the mechanization of individual processes in animal husbandry and fodder production. By 1980 the ministry was already producing 87 full machinery sets; it will be producing 133 full sets by 1985.

Between 1974 and 1980 qualitatively new machinery consistent with the latest achievements of Soviet and foreign science and technology were developed and produced for fodder production mechanization alone. These are sets of self-propelling fodder-harvesting combines with a hydraulic drive for the procurement of silage and haylage, machine and equipment sets for the production of granulated and briqueted fodder, and machine sets for the procurement of rough fodder in large bales. Comprehensive deliveries of all technological equipment for all types of animal husbandry complexes and farms under construction have been developed and secured. There has been a qualitative updating of equipment as a result of which feed production and cattle raising and feeding are being organized on an industrial basis.

Comrade Popov enumerates a number of problems which, in his view, cannot be resolved under the sectorial industrial management principle. Thus, he writes that the Nikolayev Association of the Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, which produces automated lubrication systems (ASS) and is responsible for meeting the demands of all ministries interested in such systems, is unable to meet even the needs of its own ministry. Without naming the reasons for this situation, the author suggests the organization of an intersectorial association which would include enterprises within each sector engaged in producing and assembling ASS elements. Why should such a simple problem be resolved in such a complicated manner? What kind of

strange reorganizing "itch" is this? The reason for which the Nikolayev Association cannot meet the entire demand for ASS is the delay in the commissioning of planned capacities. Why is it necessary to set up enterprises within each ministry? Would it not be simpler and more economical to complete the initiated construction at the Nikolayev Association and to commission the planned capacities which would ensure the production of ASS in quantities sufficient to satisfy in full the needs of all interested economic sectors?

Containerized haulage is another example. Unquestionably, this is a progressive hauling method. But let us assume that a container production association has been established somewhere in the country. Would it be able to produce the full set of models and dimensions of containers to meet requirements for hauling all types of goods? In the course of time containers would break down. Shipping them back for repairs or shipping new containers to the consumer would choke further the already overloaded railroad transportation system.

Therefore, the cases of the ASS, the containers and the Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper and Wood Processing Industry are not basic so that, used as starting points, one could draw far-reaching conclusions to the effect that "under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution objective processes have developed within the very nature of public production such as ... drastically to weaken the role and significance of the sectors themselves as agents of scientific and technical progress." It is on this basis that the author calls for the reorganization of sectorial management of industry, the essence of which would be for the ministries to become merely organs of operative administration of industrial subsectors, i.e., to be replaced, if we understand it accurately, by all-union industrial associations.

The authors of the articles suggest that "supraministerial organs," or "blocks of interrelated sectors" be set up to resolve general sectorial problems of acceleration of scientific and technical progress in machine building or power industry, for example. The new management organs, according to Comrade Popov, "freed from current production management functions (which would be left to the ministries), would act as organs which would be able to formulate and resolve major problems of scientific and technical progress within a span of several five-year plans..."

The question unwittingly arises: Has the author considered the management of an enterprise located in some area remote from the "supraministerial management organ" and how would this "supraministerial eye" keep it in sight? For we are dealing here with the management of collectives, of living people: the working class and the intelligentsia, which must efficiently resolve a number of production and social problems.

Comrade Yu. V. Andropov noted at the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum that "if we want to achieve real progress in the installation of new equipment and use of new labor methods, the central economic organs, the Academy of Sciences, the State Committee for Science and Technology and the



ministries must not simply promote them but determine and remove specific difficulties which hinder scientific and technical progress."

Like any revolution, the scientific and technical revolution develops deep within historical processes. That is why the shoots of the scientific and technical revolution can be developed today only within specialized production facilities.

The sources of anything progressive are found deep within specialized sectors, within the creation of cadres of scientists, designers and production innovators. Using the latest achievements in the basic sciences, they would ensure the development of the scientific and technical revolution in terms of developing and operating machinery in sectors consumers of new equipment and technologies.

Let us remind Comrade Popov in this connection that our country has a most important governmental organ in charge of planning major intersectorial problems--the USSR Gosplan--and the State Committee for Science and Technology and the USSR Academy of Sciences, in charge of resolving major problems of new equipment and coordination. Their specific purpose is to ensure the comprehensive use of natural resources and manpower, to protect the environment, to allocate capital investments and to develop long-term scientific and technical programs. The concept of "supraministerial organs" suggested by Comrade Popov sounds naive, to put it mildly. There is a USSR Council of Ministers, which is our country's government.

Lenin firmly opposed organizational limelighting and hasty and poorly thought out decisions, particularly in terms of various reorganizations of management organs or the hasty creation of new institutions.

Let us have general reorganizations as little as possible, Vladimir Il'ich repeatedly asked (see op. cit., vol 40, p 142).

"I am mortally afraid," he wrote on 22 January 1922 to G. Ya. Sokol'nikov, the people's commissar of finance, "that now that you must manage a most important people's commissariat, you may become involved in reorganizations and restructuring..." (op. cit., vol 54, p 133).

This leads to the conclusion that at the present stage in industrial management the creation of "supraministerial organs" is unnecessary. We must strengthen and develop the existing sectors, enhance labor and production discipline at enterprises and organizations, create a favorable moral and psychological climate in the collectives and improve the workstyle and methods of the sectorial staffs--the ministries.

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## REALISTIC SUGGESTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 83 pp 100-101

[Article by Academician A. Petros'yants, Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences]

[Text] In his article (KOMMUNIST No 18, 1982) Comrade G. Popov raised a major and grave complex problem related to the economic management system.

The entire experience in industrial management, gained as a result of the industrialization and tempestuous development of the economy during the first five-year plans, was based on the creation of heavy and light industry sectors and their management by people's commissariats.

The people's commissariats became ministries after the war (1941-1945), although the nature of their work remained practically unchanged.

As the economy developed further, and due to the need to create and develop individual economic sectors, new ministries sprung from the old. Thus, the electrical engineering industry created the radioengineering, followed by the electronic and communications industries. The same system was used in the creation of the Ministry of Power Machine Building out of the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, and the creation of machine building ministries for animal husbandry and feed production, the light and food industries, the household appliances industry, etc.

In other words, specialized sectors and corresponding ministries were created as needed by the country.

Therefore, the USSR now has 33 all-union and 31 union-republic ministries, or a total of 64, not counting state committees and other central institutions.

Only 12 of the 64 ministries are truly all-union, dealing with national problems: Foreign Affairs, Defense, Internal Affairs, Health, Finance, Railways, Communications, Maritime Fleet and Trade.

The other ministries are known as industrial. Their purpose is to meet the requirements of the national economy for raw materials, industrial commodities and goods. As a result of the country's economic expansion, the number of such ministries tends to increase.

The abundance of industrial ministries does not mean in the least that each one of them is fully specialized in the production of specific items and that each one of them covers a separate sector. Not in the least. Many examples could be cited proving that a duplication in the production of goods takes place without any standardization and, above all, consistency.

This abundance of industrial ministries hinders the USSR Council of Ministers in managing large national economic sectors and prevents it from concentrating on the main, the central planning and management problems.

As a rule, the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium is forced to deal with problems of coordinating and resolving arguments among ministries and, as willed by fate, to act as a judge or umpire for 52 ministries.

Essentially, virtually all ministries are firms, some of them quite large and powerful. There are very few ministries which cover an entire sector. The majority (Comrade G. Popov is right) are in charge of a subsector.

The system of creating more and more ministries is obviously outliving its usefulness, although the national economy greatly needs specialization and a type of cooperation which would fully meet instead of defeating the requirements of consumers for the products of such cooperation.

It is a well known fact that for lack of cooperation each ministry tries to secure for itself the goods it requires, rather than rely on the cooperated procurer. "It may be more expensive and worse, but I will have it and the plants will not be idling." This old mentality will prevail until a system of full-blooded sectors has been established.

The establishment of associations did not yield the expected results. The administrative machinery expanded rather than the opposite. Instead of establishing sectors, subsectors remained under the same ministry. The cost of goods increased and quality improved little instead of lowering production costs and improving quality.

On the basis of the national economic task formulated by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum of satisfying the steadily increasing social requirements, clearly the time has come to consider the organizational forms of the entire industrial management complex.

A number of suggestions have been formulated on means to improve management. I believe one worth considering among them is a means for the organizational strengthening of the management of industry and the entire national economy by singling out a group of ministries in charge of problems of national importance and a group of industrial ministries.

The first group, consisting of the 12 ministries I listed is quite clear. All of their functions are clearly defined and fully cover all problems within their jurisdiction, under the guidance of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The second group of 52 ministries could be reviewed from the organizational viewpoint.

For example, all machine building ministries -- Automotive Industry, Heavy and Transport Machine Building, Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances, Medical Industry, Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems, Communications Equipment Industry, Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, Construction, Road and Municipal Machine Building, Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, Machine Building for Animal Husbandry and Fodder Production, Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, Electrical Equipment Industry and Power Machine Building could be combined in a single Ministry of Machine Building Industry.

All raw material ministries dealing with mineral extraction -- the Ministries of Gas Industry, Geology, Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry and Coal Industry -- could be combined.

How can we conceive of managing a huge complex of ministries such as a newly created Ministry of Machine Industry?

This group of ministries could be headed by a member of the Council of Ministers Presidium and head of the collegium of the new ministry. The collegium would include all ministers in charge of problems related to their sector, cooperation, development, etc. This would relieve the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium from the consideration and resolution of current problems. It consider resolve main problems only and set industrial development guidelines.

The decisions of the new collegiums would be mandatory and issued as ministry orders. Disagreements among individual collegium members would be submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers. Obviously, this would apply only to matters of principle.

The role of such a joint ministry would be greatly enhanced and the sectorial possibilities would be extensive.

Furthermore, in the course of the activities of such an association the organizational restructuring of the ministries within it would become possible. Their number within the association could be increased or decreased.

Attention would be focused on cooperated procurements; standardization and consistency would be ensured in the best possible way, and problems of production quality, increasing export volumes and producing spare parts would be resolve more easily.

I believe this somewhat unexpected proposal to have a kernel of rationality.

The formerly justified industrial management structure has already outgrown itself.

We cannot continue to increase the number of independently acting ministries which are becoming unmanageable from a single center.

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ON THE SUBJECT OF A BOOK

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[Review by R. Petropavlovskiy of the book "Etika Lyubvi i Metafizika Svoevoliya" [Ethics of Love and the Metaphysics of Wilfulness] (Problems of moral philosophy), by Yu. N. Davydov. Molodaya Gvadriya, Moscow, 1982, 287 pp]

[Text] This book was not conceived and written as an ordinary scientific research or popular science work. Its aim was higher. Yu. N. Davydov, its author, noting the "symptom of the people's moral search," (p 3) undertakes to help the people, the young in particular, in their ethical orientation, and to indicate to them the "only type of perception of the world which can be described as truly moral..." (p 274). This purpose assigns the author great responsibility, for which reason his book must be approached without allowances, the more so since he does not express commonly accepted views and since the book has already drawn the attention of the readers.

Here is the way Davydov sees the existing situation, our spiritual needs and the moral values we need.

The 1960s and 1970s were to us a time of pursuit of fashionable latest philosophical ideas and erudition. It was then that the information boom caught up with us. This triggered in both readers and writers a sort of disease, an "intellectual dyspepsia," and unhatched "philosophical" ideas. A trend toward the emasculation of philosophy and its consideration as an intellectual game with nothing in common with real life developed. Today, however, the increase in the general interest in philosophy is assuming a different nature: many people have begun to turn to it in search of an answer to the question of the meaning of life. This makes us hopeful that our disease "can be cured by restoring to moral philosophy its full rights..." (p 5). If in the course of our pursuit of Fashion and Erudition we can relearn and take the path of "reeducation" with the help of "moral philosophy," the latter could help us to convert our "knowledge" of an infinite number of things into "true knowledge of the few things without which one cannot live," i.e., into "knowledge of life considered in its moral dimension..." (ibid.).

According to the author, we "unexpectedly find for ourselves" a cure to unhatched ideas in Russian classical literature. That literature, the author explains, as represented by the works of Leo Tolstoy and Fedor Dostoyevskiy, "is also a classic of moral philosophy, unsurpassed so far by either "late" or

"latest" philosophical fashion... It is precisely within it, in our literature which was initially also our philosophy that the moral experience of the people was concentrated like precious gems of works which became classical... Philosophy in general and moral philosophy in particular grows out of the moral experience of the people and "dominates" works in which this experience obtains its most accurate expression. Among the ancient Greeks this applied to Homer's Illiad and Odyssey; among the Arabs to the Koran, and in our country, to the novels of Tolstoy and Dostoyevskiy" (pp 6-7).

That is what Yu. V. Davydov says.

It is Dostoyevskiy's "moral philosophy" that the author discusses at the greatest length. To him it is not a subject of scientific study or academic research. The only thing he seeks in it is what can quench the spiritual thirst of our contemporaries and heal them spiritually, that which provides a direct answer to their current moral questions. In presenting in his own fashion the essence and significance of "moral philosophy" and, at the same time, noting its improper interpretation in a spirit of Western "philosophy of life," Davydov convincingly emphasizes that "Dostoyevskiy can contribute a great deal, an infinitely great deal to our youth of today..." (p 7).

The author pays considerable attention to Tolstoy's ethic, which is essentially equated or almost equated to Dostoyevskiy's moral philosophy. Furthermore, the author's conclusions, based on Dostoyevskiy and Tolstoy, are directed against nihilism, specifically against the views of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, the founders of the "philosophy of life," and against the existentialist concepts of man and morality.

Such are the general grounds of all the ideas developed in Davydov's book and all his views on problems of "moral philosophy."

How should they be treated?

Bearing in mind how responsible the problem of giving the people a moral orientation can be, we should openly acknowledge that with his book Yu. V. Davydov complicates rather than facilitates its solution.

The main feature in the book with which we cannot agree is the type of conceptual, ethical and moral views it teaches us. This is the essence. But nor can we ignore many other views, judgements and opinions reflected in the book.

Let us begin with the status of the moral condition of the Soviet people. It is no secret to anyone that a great deal of undesirable and alarming features remain in the minds and practical daily habits of a certain segment of our country's population. An unconscientious attitude toward labor and social obligations, dishonesty, individualistic manners, careerism, acquisitiveness and other negative features are disappearing from social practices more slowly than we would like and are by far not uprooted entirely. Nurtured by enduring traditions from the past, they sink roots in the complexities of the present and are frequently revived among some population groups by virtue of mostly local but sometimes also general reasons. This calls for persistent struggle against such phenomena which legitimately concern the people. Is it

admissible to present all of this as though "we," the "writing and reading public," have been painfully afflicted with crude philosophy? Is the formulation of the question of the "moral search by the people" presented accurately? Is an accurate interpretation provided by the author if it is treated as pursuit of fashionable "modern" and "latest" philosophical concepts? In these views everything is turned upside down, nothing corresponds to reality and everything is clothed in extremely loud formulations.

In general, what latest philosophical concepts are being discussed in this case? Davydov does not explain, and all the reader can do is guess. Judging by some hints (p 6, in which he speaks of the classics of moral philosophy, still unsurpassed by the "late" or "latest" philosophical fashion) one could think that this applies to existentialist, structuralist and neo-Marxist concepts. It is true that philosophical "fashion" indeed applied to these concepts in the 1960s and 1970s. But where? In the West. Yu. N. Davydov himself wrote about this in previous well grounded works.\* But was there any noticeable attraction to such concepts in our country? No. Therefore, why confuse something clear?

In as much as there ever was or is any kind of "fashionable" trend toward views or philosophical ideas alien to us, they have been less "latest" than about a century or so old, such as Slavophilic, Fedorovist, etc., along with positivistic inclinations. This has been frequently discussed in the press as unhealthy phenomena. To begin with, however, this attraction developed primarily among a small segment of the intelligentsia, and not in the least among "us" in general. Secondly, it should be considered not as the cause but the consequence of the kind of insufficient orientation in the field of spiritual values and lack of philosophical firmness, a kind of instability which are still extant among some Soviet people.

But let us go on. It is entirely unsuitable to describe and depict no more and no less as the "moral searches of the people" today's manifestations of concern shown by the people for their spiritual and moral development, and the desire to define the most efficient ways and means for the full development of the personality of the Soviet person, and efficient means for surmounting shortcomings in societal moral practices. Search is a "big" word. Usually it means the desire to acquire some kind of new ideals and new spiritual guidelines, after realizing the groundlessness and decline of the old. By arbitrarily using the expression "moral searches" -- by the "people" no less -- Davydov merely disturbs and confuses the reader.

But who is this "we" who appear in the book as the victims of Fashion, Erudition, and "dyspepsia"? Completely on the basis of the approximate words "we," "the reading and writing public," and "the people," we can interpret the author as follows: the incidence of this "Type of disease" has spread to a great many Soviet people. But such a concept clearly misrepresents us. Does the author really fail to notice this?

The author's statements regarding a "true knowledge" of something "little" which we vitally need, and the acquisition of this "little" through "reeducation" based on the ideas of Dostoyevskiy and Tolstoy and the manner in which "we" "unexpectedly discover all of this for ourselves, are strange, pretentious and inconsistent with reality. Anyone who is past 30 and who does not confuse his sights by "unexpected discoveries" knows that there are no

such crucial "little" things in life. We also know that firm guidelines for life, supported by convictions, can be obtained only through steady "soul work," through the perception of educational influences from other people, self-education, blending thoughts and feelings with practical experience, practical testing of ideals, moral norms and models of behavior, and not at all as a result of the fact that unexpectedly man would start raving on the subject of one idea or another expressed by one philosopher or another.

What can we say about concepts such as the one that philosophy does not develop from cognitive or any other experience, but precisely from moral experience, as though the direct foundation on which moral philosophy is erected happens to be not economic or any other social relations and not even the moral practice of people but poetic epical works and novels and, "among the Arabs, the Koran" (!), as though the moral experience of the people is concentrated not within the people themselves, not in their consciousness and not in their moral relations, but "precisely within it, within our literature" (fiction, belles lettres)...

Such concepts offer nothing other than a striking confusion.

All of these, however, are no more than petty matters compared to the main theme in the book, to what it teaches us in terms of understanding the meaning of human life and morality.

The views on morality promoted by Davydov may be described with the help of a few theses:

- true morality is absolute, and so are its requirements;
- it is based on love;
- it also means self-sacrifice, self-denial;
- the rejection of moral absolutes means nihilism.

This view on morality is promoted consistently in the book, chapter after chapter and page after page. Thus, Davydov proclaims as the most general question of moral philosophy that of "the meaning of life and the moral absolute, in the light of which human life acquires its meaning and 'horizon'" (p 84). According to the author, being an absolute the moral principle "rises above the people" and becomes something "infinitely loftier" than people in their isolation. In the face of it, "every person is placed in an essentially equal position" (p 154).

To Marxism, which recognizes the axiomatic conclusion of the existence of a class morality in a class society and its historical nature, this is so alien that the question arises as to whether the author ascribes a special meaning to the term "absolute." No, he does not. For example, here is his explanation of the commandment "Thou shalt not kill!" It "will be needed by man "for as long as he remains mortal: in that sense it is also absolute" (pp 199-200). Since all people will always be mortal, the absolute, as interpreted by Davydov, is unconditional, fixed, permanent and universally



valid, brooking no exceptions. Therefore, no special meaning of the word absolute should be sought in this case.

Therefore, we are told that mankind "lives...precisely through the faith of its majority in the absoluteness of its absolutes" (p 185). Without them "no normal existence is possible, both for society at large and the individual," and that their destruction, i.e., nihilism, "inevitably leads to illness of the human spirit" (pp 183-184). By losing faith in the absolute man loses "at the same time all ties, all attachments and all obligations toward anything outside himself" (p 25). If no moral absolutes exist "all human actions become essentially 'equivalent'" (p 216). Do we realize the danger of nihilism? It abolishes the difference between what is morally lofty and base, between exploit and crime. Such is the author's view.

It follows, therefore, that under no circumstances should one encroach on moral absolutes. "Once" (a noteworthy "once" -- when, how?) "a system of moral requirements and norms, ideals and values has been established as an absolute" (p 184) it should be retained for ever and we must vigilantly see to it that these norms and values do not lose their "totally unquestionable importance" (ibid.). Replacing one moral system with another? Asserting not some universal but class moral norms and systems? Inadmissible! This would be a catastrophe: "A moral absolute either exists, providing that the moral substance of the people has not broken down, in which case the people prosper, or does not exist, if this substance has disintegrated, in which case anything predicted by Dostoyevskiy may happen. The question of whether or not a moral absolute exists coincides with the question of will there be or not be a nation (precisely as such, rather than as 'ethnographic data' for other people)" (p 263). Therefore, everything depends on the attitude toward the moral absolutes. The reason for World War II, in particular, and the terrible calamities which befell "European mankind" in particular, after the Hitlerites seized the power in Germany, according to the author, was the nihilistic scorn of absolutes. "All mankind...had to pay for the loss of moral absolutes in the human masses" (p 261).

That is why nihilism must be surmounted "by strengthening the organic foundations of human life, the natural existence of which rests on the inviolability of the moral absolute" (p 185). "From the viewpoint of Russian moral philosophy the source of the moral impasse in which the West found itself, but which threatened Russia as well, was the collapse of the moral absolute... Consequently, there is only one possibility of breaking the impasse. On the basis of the still not disintegrated moral substance in the people...to resurrect the faith in the absoluteness of moral absolutes...even among educated and cultured strata in Russian society which, already involved in 'civilizing' processes, are sources of ethical skepticism" (p 258).

These judgments by the author allow and even mandate to us to draw most definite conclusions regarding his ideological and methodological stance. He simply rejects the class approach to morality, the definition and study of historically determined, legitimate and transcending class norms and systems and the acknowledgment of qualitatively different stages of development of morality throughout its history, special constituent systems, and the recognition of the base-superstructural and historical type of interrelationship

between morality and economic relations within society. It is no accident that problems of the classes and the class nature of morality seem to have been "lost" and "concealed:" they have been replaced by concepts of the "moral substance of the people" and stages of "search for the moral absolute and assertion of this absolute" (p 269). Davydov firmly rejects the dialectics of the interchange between good and evil caused by the class contraposition between the various moral systems in a private-ownership exploiting society. His ideological and methodological position unconditionally rejects the possibility of a positive attitude toward the revolutionizing of morality, which is incompatible with the acceptance of moral absolutes. As regards morality, the author supports nothing but a return to the past, to the adoption of moral absolutes, and not at all progress toward a new morality, qualitatively different from previous ones. Consequently, he opposes point blank the historical-materialistic methodology in ethics.

Davydov even expresses an unequivocal view on this subject. "...The desire appears," he writes, "to consider seriously the following: Is the 'moral idealism' of Tolstoy and Dostoyevskiy so impractical, so fantastic and so much alienated from life? Does this 'idealism' not contain far greater real knowledge of man, human nature and history than Nietzschean realism which can be based on madness only..? ...Against such a background, do the moral absolutes supported by Russian moral philosophy not appear not only sensible but even far more realistic with their 'idealistic' faith in the immutability of moral absolutes?" (p 262).

Let us, for the time being, set aside Tolstoy's and Dostoyevskiy's "Russian moral philosophy" behind which the author hides his own stand. Let us also leave Nietzscheanism aside, for the contrast between its "idealistic faith" in moral absolutes and "background" consists of something more than strictly Nietzschean. That same faith can be contrasted with many other things, such as Chernyshevskiy's views, for instance, in the case of "Russian moral philosophy." It particularly contrasts with historical materialism as well. The author knows this quite well. However, he prefers to talk about the contrast between his position and the "philosophy of life," Nietzscheanism and existentialism only. The fact that it conflicts with historical materialism he simply avoids. Silence is "golden!"

Could it be, however, that it is only the theoretical foundations that are bad, whereas the moral program per se, presented as an absolute, is good? As was pointed out, this program essentially consists of two ethical principles, two intercomplementing imperatives: love and self-sacrifice. That is how the author presents them.

He briefly described the absolute according to Dostoyevskiy as follows: an absolute "which has a moral nature and love for others" (p 270). He dwells far more extensively on Tolstoy's writings on the same topic. "In trying to express in a single word that which gives both a meaning to life and is its deepest meaning, Tolstoy always used the same word: love -- as the source of the moral link between man and the world and the people around him" (p 56). This love "for existence" and "others" is also a "means for attaining the 'universal unity' among people" (p 57). It is the salvation from the fear of death and "the surmounting of this fear by breaking through this fear which

separates man from others and leads him to these 'others.' A break which, according to Tolstoy, can be achieved only through love" (p 57).

It is true that not everyone can reach such a level of love. As the author informs us, it is accessible only to people related to "the substantial process which Tolstoy described sometimes as 'extracting' (or maintaining), or as 'creating' (recreating) life" (p 68). This "substantial process" of maintaining the life of all mankind and individuals (not clarified further) ensures the "fraternal closeness" of all who are involved in it, and the "blending" of simplest human interrelationships with moral relations. "...It is precisely in this "blend" that Tolstoy sees the the meaning of human life, for it proves to be impossible without love: without the loving and grateful assertion by one person of the life of another," is Davydov's not entirely understandable conclusion, about which he comments with great enthusiasm: "A truly deep thought! What a great deal of ethical pathos it contains, so highly consistent with sincere ethical searches... This is the 'Archimedal fulcrum' on the basis of which the young person who tries to lead a truly moral life can (and must) "structure" his relations with those around him step by step..." (p 68). Love is the 'Archimedal fulcrum' for man's entire moral development!

Another interesting point is the fact that this specific emotion summed up in Nietzsche's statement that "We are divine in love, we become the children of God, God loves us and wants absolutely nothing from us other than love" is described by the author as "the basic, simplest and yet most profound moral-religious experience" (p 129).

That is how he promotes the moral canon which has given the book its very title: "The Ethics of Love..."

In the track of Dostoyevskiy, Yu. N. Davydov discusses the principle of self-sacrifice and self-denial as he formulates the question as follows: "...Is the real substance of the people's life an aspiration to self-denial, and is this ideal being asserted as dominant in its traditions, culture and art, and does it stand on the level of this ideal to this day?" (pp 266-267). Dostoyevskiy considered loyalty to this principle a general phenomenon found exclusively in the Russian people, for which reason he ascribed to the Russian people the ability to save the peoples of the West, who had forgotten about self-denial, from moral collapse. Indeed, no nationalism is included in the claims to self-denial. Dostoyevskiy's nationalistic tendencies are manifested elsewhere: in proving, so to say, the historical and moral capability of exclusively the Russian people and the incapability of other nations, something the author of this book ignores. In this case what matters is something else: the general meaning he ascribes to self-sacrifice and self-denial.

Unquestionably, any adequately viable moral system demands the self-denial of the individual under specific circumstances and for specific reasons. The question is how and by what is this demand restricted and which are the situations and purposes which would justify such a demand from the positions of a specific moral system? Dostoyevskiy accepts no limitations. He considers this requirement unquestionable and absolute. To him the happiness of the individual "is his free and willing surrender for the sake of the betterment of others." Davydov as well supports self-denial in the same absolute terms.

Like Dostoyevskiy, he recognizes as the only justified one the decision of the "pure Russian soul" according to which, "in order not to cause unhappiness in others man condemns himself to unhappiness, even if it is immeasurably worse, and even if no one could appreciate such a sacrifice. It is on this basis that Davydov accuses of "near-sighted complacency" "those who have gone too 'far ahead' on the way to a reborn 'self-realization'" (p 265).

The author knows that the self-sacrifice of some may be used by others for selfish purposes. "However," he writes, "regardless of the reasons which may darken the idea of self-sacrifice or the circumstances which may distort the meaning of the action, the content of the idea does not lose its purity and absoluteness" (p 267). The absolute must be absolute! But here we cannot even mention the absolute. Naturally, self-sacrifice for the sake of a noble objective deserves our highest respect. It is an act of heroism. Under the conditions of mature socialism, however, when society is steadily increasing its power and granting the masses the wide use of a variety of benefits, and in which man is considered the highest value, self-sacrifice as an imperative becomes truly moral only under exceptional situations, and only then.

Among the other imperatives related to morality, the author discusses more or less extensively the commandment "Thou shalt not kill!" Naturally, it is also considered as an absolute and described as a superior moral principle. Also mentioned is the need (and tendency, habit) to work. Work is interpreted quite loosely -- mostly in the sense of individual participation in the process of supporting the life of all mankind and of "one another." This does not add anything essentially new in terms of understanding Davydov's overall moral program. Since this is the case, this too would be a proper subject for conclusions.

Obviously, expressed in terms of the slogans of absolute love and absolute self-sacrifice, the "world perception" which the author considers as the "only true one," is not based in the least on man's conscious participation in the class struggle and the subordination of his class activities to the transformation of the private-ownership, class-antagonistic and exploiting society into a free association of highly developed people, a classless, communist society. To us, however, these are the supreme objectives.

Love and self-sacrifice are necessary in the struggle for such reorganization of society. Without them no great historical accomplishment is possible. However, it is equally impossible with their help alone. Those who can only love and sacrifice themselves are very suitable to those who would use them in their own interests unabashedly. That is precisely why Christian morality, in which the subjects of abstract love and permanent readiness for sacrifice play a tremendous role, and which was never abandoned by Tolstoy and Dostoyevskiy, has been implanted among "the toiling and the burdened" by the ruling classes in the private-ownership society for centuries. This is an elementary truism the unfamiliarity with which is unpardonable.

The people must feel great love and have great readiness to sacrifice themselves for something great. They must be warm and responsive. This is needed not only for the sake of the interest of society, for without them there can be neither nobility in human nature nor moral strength and moral beauty. In

our time, when the fast pace of life, overstress and other factors sometimes lead to the impoverishment, "formalization" and partial "depersonalization" of relations among people, the value of such human qualities is enhanced. However, we need love and self-sacrifice not of the "right foot-left foot" variety but one which is very selective. As a supplement and as a balancing factor we also need its exact opposite: hatred of the social enemy and of anything socially negative and the ability to demand specific benefits for oneself (naturally, not for oneself only), the ability to stand up for oneself (in the broad meaning of the term) and the desire to defend one's rights stubbornly (again, not one's private rights).

The great poet, who has made a great contribution to that same Russian classical literature, exceptionally rich in moral and ethical values, to whose authority Davydov invariably refers, wrote that

No heart can love  
Without knowing hate.

The author contrasts the morality he encourages, a morality of love and self-sacrifice against its Nietzschean and existentialist interpretations. That is perfectly correct. In this case, however, we consider as far more important the fact that it is pitted against the revolutionary communist morality and leads not toward but away from it.

Several other major problems must be considered because of the author's attitude toward them.

Throughout his book, Yu. N. Davydov tries to prove that his conclusions are structured "in the spirit of Tolstoy's and Dostoyevskiy's moral philosophy," and that he looks at the topics of his discussion "from the simple and clear" (read: the only accurate) "positions of Russian moral philosophy" (p 184). He awards the title of Russian moral philosophy only to the ethical concepts he has gleaned by turning to Tolstoy and Dostoyevskiy. He cannot see anything or anyone superior to these philosophers in the field of "moral philosophy." He considers that they alone have interpreted the moral experience of the Russian people and are right in everything related to morality. Davydov does not mention a single criticism of their views throughout his book, and in his statements on matters of "moral philosophy" he fully shares theirs.

But do the ideas developed by the author fully coincide with the ethics of Dostoyevskiy and Tolstoy? Do these two original Russian writers properly reflect in their concepts of morality the moral experience of the Russian people, and do they indeed express its "moral essence?" Can we accept that their ethics is the peak of Russian and universal ethical thinking? Finally, should we accept their ethics without reservations? The categorical answer to all these questions is no.

Tolstoy and Dostoyevskiy are universally acknowledged great and brilliant writers. Their work left an ineradicable imprint on the entire spiritual culture of mankind. In reading and rereading their works, generation after generation of people not only experience tremendous spiritual pleasure but share with the writers that which excited them, agreeing or disagreeing with

them, learning and enriching their spiritual needs and interests, thinking about life, warmly responding to its impulses, accepting life in its infinite fullness, passionate stress, joys, conflicts, sometimes horrifying catastrophes and tragedies, in its entire charm, despite everything. In the characters and images and in their views, displaying an amazingly wide and penetrating insight, Tolstoy and Dostoyevskiy encompassed and revealed social reality and the elements of the inner world of man -- his thoughts, feelings, aspirations, will and soul. They powerfully raised and presented society and all responsive individuals with a mass of problems in the face of which one cannot remain indifferent. They presented them more profoundly, convincingly and demandingly than anyone else. Dostoyevskiy and Tolstoy lived with and transmitted, and still do, a "tremendous moral demand," as Dostoyevskiy described it. All of this makes them outstanding like few other personalities in history. We, the people and country who gave them birth, are justifiably proud of the fame of Tolstoy and Dostoyevskiy throughout the world.

However, all of this does not mean that neither Dostoyevskiy nor Tolstoy were free from weaknesses, contradictions or unbreakable links with an age which is behind us. Despite their unquestionable brilliance and enormous fame, they were men of their age, expressing the ideas and expectations of specific social strata.

Yu. N. Davydov presents Tolstoy and Dostoyevskiy as the spokesmen for all moral experience of the entire Russian people, of "those who, in their daily toil and misfortunes preserve for themselves and for 'all others' the supreme gift of human life, of human existence" (p 272) without any further explanation as to how this could be differentiated but, conversely, with an emphasis on human "universal unity" and the "indivisibility of the world." This constitutes a basic rejection of the manifestations of the social structure of the people and gives the author the opportunity to derive the "moral substance" of the people, "guaranteeing" to the individuals the absoluteness of their absolutes and the "moral unavoidability" in human interrelationships (pp 64, 68), simply on the basis of the "traditional labor system of the people" (p 66), and to ascribe to Tolstoy and Dostoyevskiy the role of representatives of the single nationwide morality.

However, in its historical reality the Russian people has never been simply one. The moral life of the Russian peasantry, particularly after the reform, the Russian workers, the artisans the *raznochintsy* and other strata and groups of the toiling population in the country, not to mention the various groups of the Russian ruling classes, were actually guided not by single abstract absolutes but by moral systems and norms which were quite different from each other (although sharing some common features) and were, furthermore not fixed but subject to substantial changes from one historical period to another. Incidentally, their nonabsolute nature and ability to develop did not hinder in the least their functioning. Conversely, they ensured their vitality and efficacy. The absolute "moral substance" which Davydov ascribes to the Russian people is no more than an illusion, a "small cloud." Naturally, both great Russian writers neither could be nor were the true spokesmen for the nonexistent "moral substance" of the entire Russian people.

These truths are so elementary in Marxism that it would be as embarrassing to mention them even to students as to proclaim to the world that the skies over us are blue, although sometimes cloudy.

It has long and unequivocally been established that Leo Tolstoy, particularly starting with the 1880s, was the spokesman essentially and with all of its basic contradictions, ideology and morality, for the patriarchal Russian peasantry during the age of breakdown of the old social relations under the pressure of developing capitalism and the rising bourgeois revolution in Russia. Fedor Dostoyevskiy, Tolstoy's senior contemporary, was, as a whole, the spokesman for the equally conflicting ideology and moral searches of a certain segment of the nonproletarian Russian urban strata during roughly the same period. The reason was that in their ideological and theoretical conclusions they did not step beyond ideals and concepts which were necessarily held by some of the urban and rural population of the Russia of that period, by virtue of their social status. It is precisely this understanding of the social nature of Dostoyevskiy's and Tolstoy's ethics that Davydov silently opposes with his abstract concept and methodology which ignore the class nature of the society.

As the ideological representatives of said social strata, Dostoyevskiy and Tolstoy, despite their entire brilliance and depth of perception of the people's suffering, problems and needs and their great ability to bring up, to activate and touch even the deepest strings of the people's moral world, were unable to and did not offer an accurate and truly scientific solution of the basic ethical problems they raised. Therefore, how could their ethics become the peak of universal ethical thought? The true science of morality -- the Marxist -- originated in Western Europe, when the revolutionary working class entered its arena. It appeared as the methodology of dialectical (and historical) materialism was extended to ethics. It accepts the extremely rich and priceless legacy of Dostoyevskiy and Tolstoy within the context of the overall legacy of mankind not apologetically but critically.

Generally and as a whole, however, Dostoyevskiy's and Tolstoy's "moral philosophy is conservative and aimed against revolutionism. It cannot be accepted as the peak of even Russian ethical thought of its times. It does not constitute in the least the entire "Russian moral philosophy." Its general spirit, tendency to adopt moral absolutes, rejection of revolutionism, promotion of ideals borrowed from the past rather than the future, extent of penetration into the real laws governing the moral development of society and attachment to religion were greatly inferior to the ethics of the revolutionary *raznochintsy* movement, the movement of the Russian revolutionary democrats, Chernyshevskiy's above all. Even in some minor aspects, if we consider exclusively fiction in our country and name only universally recognized personalities, it lost compared to the moral and ethical positions held by Pushkin, Turgenev, Goncharov, Nekrasov, Shchedrin, Korolenko, Chekhov and, finally, Gor'kiy (naturally not on their own but as a result of the strength they also drew from the Russian people and their various strata), whose works were to many the primary "textbooks of life," although in some aspects, compared to the views held by other writers, it was ahead.

That is why we cannot sympathize with the author's efforts to lead us into an unquestionable acceptance of the ethical ideas of Dostoyevskiy and Tolstoy, which can and must be accepted critically.

Here again we must also stipulate that the ethical concept promoted by Yu. N. Davydov, as expressed in his book, is by far more his own than Tolstoy's and Dostoyevskiy's, although he ascribes it entirely to the latter. They themselves would have hardly accepted it in its entirety. This is not the proper place for presenting their ethics which, despite substantial similarities are quite distinct from one another. Neither of them can be reduced to the assertion of absolutes and contain inherent contradictions, such as conservatism, antirevolutionism (which, in Dostoyevskiy is frequently malicious and abusive\*), ideals drawn out of the past, soul-searching and self-torturing, avoidance of the struggle against religion along with inner democracy, elements of socialism, devastating exposure of private-ownership society and the ruling classes and almost fanatical aspiration toward the complete moral renovation of man; the preaching of "Christian love, indiscriminate self-sacrifice, universal forgiveness, nonresistance and infinite patience but also, in Lenin's words, a "mountain of hatred." These are merely some examples. Such "crying" contradictions, to cite Lenin once more, can be found in every step of Dostoyevskiy's and Tolstoy's ethics and outside them. Is this what Davydov is promoting?

One of the contradictions in the ethical views of both writers is the desire to find their foundation in Christianity (Orthodox in Dostoyevskiy's case and nonconfessional in Tolstoy's). Davydov could have expressed his own view of the matter, not in the style of the "primitive atheism of the '20s" (p 120), which he finds irritating, but from the positions of contemporary atheism. For some reason, however, he remains silent on the subject and does not even hint at the groundlessness of the religious view on morality. Instead, he cites abundantly "neutral" statements on the personality of Jesus Christ, etc.

Both Dostoyevskiy and Tolstoy had traits of greatness and weakness. Davydov tends to emphasize the latter. Lenin, however, considered the case of Tolstoy as an example of how to treat the cultural heritage, which includes both weaknesses which belong to the past and greatness, which belongs to the future. He taught us how to take this greatness, work with it and interpret it. How, and why? "Not for the sake of having the masses limit themselves to self-perfection and yearning after Divine life" or "for the masses to limit themselves to cursing capital and the power of money," but so that, among others, they may learn how "to rally within a single multimillion-strong

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\*Tolstoy himself said the following on the subject: "Dostoyevskiy's attacks against the revolutionaries are bad. He judges them superficially, without trying to understand their feelings" (see Valentin Bulgakov, "L. N. Tolstoy v Poslednyy God Yego Zhizni. Dnevnik Sekretarya L. N. Tolstogo" [L. N. Tolstoy's Final Year of Life. Diary of L. N. Tolstoy's Secretary]. Moscow, 1960, p 158). The novel "Besy" [Demons] is largely aimed against the revolutionaries and, in this respect, contains libelous elements. Dostoyevskiy himself referred to it as a tendentious pamphlet. Yu. N. Davydov fails to mention this, although he refers to the novel throughout his own book.



army of socialist fighters" (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 20, pp 23-24). We should perhaps recall in this connection Lenin's statement regarding efforts to consider Tolstoy above all as a "great conscience:" "Does this not give priority to that which expresses Tolstoy's prejudices rather than his intelligence, that which in him belongs to the past rather than the future, his rejection of politics and his sermons concerning moral self-perfection rather than a stormy protest against any type of class rule?" (ibid., p 23).

However, the author is not objective not only regarding Dostoyevskiy and Tolstoy. His attitude toward nihilism, Nietzscheanism and some other past social trends is worthy of comment as well.

From the position of acknowledging only the absolutes, all manifestations of antiabsolutist criticism, whatever they may be and whatever their origins, become equal. Correspondingly, the concept of nihilism is considered uncompromisingly negative. That is precisely Davydov's interpretation. However, our perception of nihilism should not be based on a position of absolutism. Nihilism means the rejection of established social norms, values and authorities which could be quite disparate. That is why the specific social meaning of nihilism depends precisely on the type of specific values which it opposes. There is reactionary nihilism, which rejects all the values of human culture and morality and cynically accepts only force, the rule of force and destruction. At some stages in history, however, another kind of nihilism may appear showing a negative attitude toward obsolete reactionary customs and traditions. That is why Lenin included revolutionary nihilism among its other varieties (see op. cit., vol 4, p 262). A great deal of such nihilism existed in the Russian social movements of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, although, to be sure, it suffered from major weaknesses. Davydov simply ignores it. Nihilism, to him, is merely "life without absolutes," existence "in outer darkness," and "denial of life itself," which leads to what is "destructive-decayed" and "monstrously inhuman" (pp 70, 177, 237).

Nor is the question of Nietzscheanism all that simple. Without dwelling on it in particular, one example is worth mentioning. To Yu. N. Davydov in particular, it symbolizes in a Renaissance way the Telem Cloister, metaphorically interpreted as the approval of total permissiveness, although it was certainly conceived as the opposite. Born of the imagination of Francois Rabelais, the great 16th-century humanist, in his novel about Gargantua and Pantagruel, it embodied the dream of that outstanding Renaissance personality of an ideal society.

According to Rabelais, "Their one and only rule was was 'Do What You Want,' for people who are free, come from a good family, are educated, and move in decent circles are granted by nature itself an instinct and a motive force which constantly forces them to do good deeds and avoid vice, a force which they describe as honor. But when these same people are suppressed and oppressed by base violence and coercion they turn that same noble zeal with which they voluntarily aspired toward virtue to reject and overthrow the yoke of slavery..." (Francois Rabelais, "Gargantua et Pantagruel," Pravda, Moscow, 1981, pp 112-113). Is this a sermon preaching the doom of public and individual morality and the total permissiveness which can destroy all and

everything? On the contrary, permission is not permissiveness or encouragement of unrestrained arbitrariness. Rabelais' idea is that highly developed people, free from oppression, will be urged by their own inner convictions to strive only toward their own and the common good rather than toward vice and evil. We too accept this idea in its contemporary communist interpretation. It is part of our communist ideal of a society in which the free development of one becomes a prerequisite for the free development of all.

As to Nietzscheanism in particular and the "metaphysics of willfulness," as the author describes the "philosophy of existence" (existentialism), we can only approve of their criticism by the author. These philosophical and ethical trends are alien to our entire outlook and morality. Yu. N. Davydov, however, considers them only from the positions of ethical absolutism. Therefore, his criticism of them can only lose in strength and effectiveness.

Let us sum up our review of Yu. N. Davydov's book.

It is a totally unsuitable guide for those who need help in developing a true moral-ethical and conceptual guideline, particularly in the case of "young people without a rich practical experience as yet." It is strange for a book on "moral philosophy" to be aimed at our youth without mentioning a single word about the communist ideal and communist morality. Its publication by Izdatel'stvo Molodaya Gvardiya is a serious ideological error.

It is no less amazing that such a book could have been written by no other than someone well known for a number of solid Marxist works criticizing bourgeois philosophical concepts and trends, contemporary in particular.

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\* See, for example, his book "Estetika Nigilizma" [The Esthetics of Nihilism] (Iskusstvo, Moscow, 1975, 271 pp) and "Neomarksizm i Problemy Sotsiologii Kul'tury" [Neo-Marxism and Problems of the Sociology of Culture] (Nauka, Moscow, 1980, 152 pp) of which he wrote three-quarters.

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## EXAMPLE OF SCIENTIFIC IRRESPONSIBILITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 83 pp 115-116

[Article by V. Muradyan, Yu. Pankov and Sh. Chivadze]

[Text] Scientific conscientiousness, historical reliability, class approach and party-mindedness are basic principles governing the research work of Soviet scientists working in the social sciences. Scientists who study and, even more so, are engaged in the publication of documents and facts related to V. I. Lenin's life and activities have a particularly great responsibility. In order to prevent occasional efforts or arbitrary interpretations in this matter, the CPSU Central Committee has assigned to the party history institutes to supervise the publication in the individual republics of scientific, literary and artistic works on V. I. Lenin's life and activities. Guided by these instructions, the CP of Armenia Central Committee Party History Institute, a branch of the CPSU Central Committee IML [Marxism-Leninism Institute], has significantly increased its supervision over the publications of party history works in the republic. However, ArSSR Academy of Sciences Academician G. B. Garibdzhanyan ignores these requirements entirely. In recent years he has published a number of books, pamphlets and journal and newspaper articles related to the life and activities of Lenin and his fellow-workers. Not a single one of them has been reviewed by the CPSU Central Committee IML Armenian Branch, although they contain obvious flaws.

It is worth recalling that as early as 1958 the article "Against Violations of the Leninist Principle of Party-Mindedness in Science," the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS (No 4) sharply criticized major errors made by a number of Armenian historians, including G. B. Garibdzhanyan, for their interpretation of party history problems. Clearly, G. V. Garibdzhanyan failed to draw proper conclusions from the criticism in the central press. Furthermore, after becoming director of the IML Armenian Branch, he allowed the publication of a number of works containing gross errors. G. B. Garibdzhanyan continued to do the same even after he was relieved from that position.

Here are some facts: The youth journal GARUN ("Spring," No 1, 1974) published a documentary "true story" entitled "Loyalty" by G. B. Garibdzhanyan. The author's intention was to describe individuals close to Lenin on the eve of and during the proceedings of the Second RSDWP Congress, their thoughts and their feelings.

Two striking features become immediately apparent as we read the story. First, the author's claim that on the eve of the Second Congress Lenin and his family had their attention focused on Bogdan Knunyants and Arshak Zurabyan; second, the claim that allegedly even before the congress Lenin was quite concerned by the fact that a split was to occur at the congress between him and Martov and Plekhanov. Having invented this idea, the author devotes a large part of the story on Vladimir Il'ich's emotions. Walking along with Knunyants, Zurabyan and Martov on the shore of Lake Geneva, and admiring the calm, Lenin is supposed to be saying, "How nice it would have been if our souls too could rest even for a while, without nervous stress and with abated passions and if Martov and I would not be arguing...for the party comrades, the organizations, the class are looking at us..." (p 9). In order to link these thoughts to those of the Caucasian representatives, G. B. Garibdzhanyan has one of them saying "Vladimir Il'ich, the Batumi workers are quite concerned about maintaining the unity of the Lenin-Plekhanov-Martov threesome, and have instructed me to speak out in favor of your unity." Allegedly this was said by Arshak and it is precisely in that spirit that G. B. Garibdzhanyan has Bogdan make a statement on behalf of the Baku workers.

As we know, Lenin rated highly the statements on the agrarian question of the delegates from the Caucasus at the Second RSDWP Congress. "The Caucasian delegates," he wrote, "held an entirely proper stand on this matter..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 8, p 221). The author of the novel, however, giving his own interpretation of Lenin's statement, puts in Bogan's and Arshak's mouths his own words, namely that their "four hands, like four pillars of granite, will lay a reliable foundation for the Leninist building of the congress" (p 11). How cheap and boastful this fictitious statement sounds! The question is why was it necessary for two delegates from the Caucasus to be a "reliable foundation for the Leninist building of the Congress?"

Let us turn to another work by the same author. In 1980 the publishing house of the ArSSR Academy of Sciences published G. B. Garibdzhanyan's book "V. I. Lenin and the Armenian Leaders." The reader may ask, who are those leaders? The Armenian people have contributed an outstanding galaxy of revolutionaries, many of whom became Lenin's closest fellow-workers and students. The names of the outstanding sons of the Armenian people S. Shaumyan, B. Knunyants, I. Lalayants, S. Spandaryan, A. Myasnikov, Kamo (S. Ter-Petrosyan), A. Mikoyan, V. Avanesov and others are known to our entire party. One could assume that even with such a strange title, the author would discuss above all the soldiers in Lenin's guard and his firm supporters. However, in choosing the characters for his book, G. B. Garibdzhanyan was not guided by the Leninist principles of class- and party-mindedness.

The author writes at length about Arshak Zurabyan (Zurabov), Prosh Prosh'yan, Maro Nazarbek, Voski Ter-Ovanesyan and several other personalities affiliated with a variety of political trends and parties. All of them are described in the book as Lenin's fellow-workers and like minded people. Arshak Zubaryan is even listed among the "loyal Leninists" (p 26), although soon after the Second RSDWP Congress Zurabyan became close to the mensheviks. The book abounds in unproved assertions such as "on Lenin's direction," "on Lenin's instruction," "on Lenin's order," etc. The author needs all this to "build a bridge"

between Il'ich and the Armenian leaders. Alas, many of the facts cited are not backed by archive or literary sources or mentioned in V. I. Lenin's Biographical Chronicle.

G. B. Garibdzhanyan publishes his articles anywhere he can, including newspapers and journals in many fields, some of them technical. Their standard can be judged by an article in the journal GITUTYUN EV TEKHNIKA ("Science and Technology," No 8, 1979) on Lenin's book "What Is to Be Done?" Amazingly, in discussing the "economists," the author writes: "Their appearance and predominance in the social democratic committees was due to the same reasons as the appearance of opportunism in any capitalist country -- a weakening of the labor movement and a heterogenous structure of the proletariat" (?!!).

G. B. Garibdzhanyan claims in his publications to have found new previously unknown materials on Lenin. Thus, he published in the newspaper SOVETAKAN AYASTAN (17 October 1973) a long article entitled "New Materials on Ties Between V. I. Lenin and the Bolsheviki in the Caucasus." As was established later, the only "new feature" which the author had presented to the readers as a result of his own study of Soviet and foreign archives had been borrowed from the book "Lenin i Pol'skoye Rabocheye Dvizheniye" [Lenin and the Polish Labor Movement] (Mysl', Moscow, 1971). However, G. B. Garibdzhanyan manages to distort even the precise and clear statements of the authors in discussing the formulation of the national question in the draft RSDWP program. He omits the word "draft," and what comes out is that the RSDWP program was adopted in February 1903, although in fact it was adopted at the Second Congress, in July-August.

Many such flaws may be found in other G. B. Garibdzhanyan works.

Documents issued by the CP of Armenia have frequently raised sharply and principle-mindedly the question of the struggle against deviations from the Leninist principles in ideological work, including in historical and party history sciences. As we can see, however, none of this has made the proper impression on G. B. Garibdzhanyan.

That is why I decided to turn to the editors of KOMMUNIST. The Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26th Party Congress emphasized that the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory was and remains an exceptionally important party task. It is self evident that the successful solution of this problem calls for applying greater strictness regarding the scientific standards of party history publications.

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TRUE DOCUMENTS OF THE TIME

AU221145 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 8, May 83 pp 117-123

[Editorial book review marking the publication of selected speeches and articles by M.A. Suslov: "Marksizm--Leninizm i Sovremennaya Epokha" [Marxism-Leninism and the Contemporary Stage], selected speeches and articles in three volumes, Politizdat, Moscow, 1982]

[Text] The works of Mikhail Andreyevich Suslov (1902-1982), a prominent figure of the CPSU and the Soviet state as well as of the international communist and worker movements, take their deserved place in the arsenal of Marxist-Leninist theoretical thought. They cover the period from the 1940s to the 1970s, which was a heroic and, at the same time, a complicated period in the life of our country. It encompassed a stern battle against fascism, the reconstruction and subsequently a steep upsurge of the national economy, after which the socialist society entered the stage of maturity. During these years the Soviet people had very difficult problems to solve and in rereading the works of M.A. Suslov nowadays the reader realizes even more deeply the entire wisdom and foresight of our party's policy.

Knowing the objective laws of social progress, taking into account the conditions of real life and undeviatingly guided in its revolutionary-transformation activity by the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the CPSU developed and creatively enriched it with new conclusions and principles. Great merit in this belongs to M.A. Suslov, a prominent theoretician of our party.

Mikhail Andreyevich belonged to the powerful generation of bolsheviks--founders and builders of the new society. Their world outlook and political position were formed under the direct influence of the October Revolution and V. I. Lenin's brilliance. Recalling the start of his conscious life, M.A. Suslov wrote: "As the son of a poor peasant I mastered the science of life when the completed revolution had overthrown age-old oppression and the working people began to shape their own destiny. It was precisely then, during those difficult years which were nevertheless lit up by the light of great transformations, that as a young man I made the most important choice of my life--I became a communist" (vol I, p 3). At that time, in 1921, he was 19.

Since then, having forever linked his life with the Leninist party, M.A. Suslov, a true son of the working people, served their interests honestly and

selflessly. In the words of M. I. Kalinin, for the sake of socialism, for the sake of that which is good and for the sake of truth and justice he burnt up his energy in all the positions with which the party entrusted him and thus earned a high reputation among the communists and all the people.

M.A. Suslov spent 35 years working as a CPSU Central Committee secretary. He was a member of its Presidium and subsequently of the Politburo, and was for a long time an elected deputy of the USSR and RSFSR Supreme Soviets.

As a convinced internationalist, a true revolutionary who hated the class enemies of socialism, however they concealed themselves, and an irreconcilable fighter against opportunism, M.A. Suslov enjoyed great respect among the fraternal communist and worker parties.

## I

The materials collected in the three volumes make it possible to trace the unity of the historical stages of the creation of our society and provide a comprehensive idea about the main directions of the general course of the CPSU in terms of the socioeconomic development of the country, the cultural and intellectual progress of the Soviet people, the world communist and worker movement and foreign policy. One of M.A. Suslov's main achievements was his daily attention to developing the Marxist-Leninist theoretical thought as an important prerequisite for the creative activity of our Leninist party. He noted: "The theory of scientific communism as elaborated by K. Marx and further developed by V.I. Lenin is the lodestar in the course of building the first communist society in the world" (vol II, p 160).

M.A. Suslov emphasized that the processes taking place in the developed socialist society and the course of world events inevitably present complicated new tasks and require that all the components of Marxism--its philosophy, political economy and scientific communism--be further enriched.

The three-volume collection demonstrates how our party, guided by the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, paves new ways in revolutionary theory and practice. The most important place here rightfully belongs to the concept of developed socialism. The author said: "In this concept we see the greatest achievement of creative Marxism-Leninism and the necessary theoretical and methodological foundation for solving the basic problems presented at the present stage of social development" (vol III, p 372).

On the basis of the most important theoretical principles of Marxism-Leninism M.A. Suslov provides a strictly scientific characterization of the nature and main qualitative features of mature socialism. At the stage of maturity socialism quite clearly manifests its new quality as an integral system. Its forward movement takes place on the basis of fully established socialist production relations and under the conditions of the complete domination of the public and collective ownership of the means of production and the consolidated ideopolitical unity of the society. In this context the specific nature of the contradictions emerging in the socialist society is clearly defined as non-antagonistic. They are solved by the party in the process of perfecting the forms and methods of socioeconomic management.

Touching upon this problem in his article "The Teaching of Karl Marx and Some Questions of Socialist Construction in the USSR" Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, noted: "Yes, we have contradictions and difficulties. To think that any other course of development is possible is to abandon the reliable--although at times bitter--ground of reality and to divorce oneself from the basic elements of Marxist dialectics. From the theoretical point of view this question was cleared up by Lenin on the basis of Marxist theory. Lenin wrote: "Antagonism and contradiction are not the same thing. The former will disappear in socialism, whereas the latter will remain" ("Leninskiy Sbornik" [Leninist Collection], vol XI, p 357). At present this principle has been proved in practice. However, it does not follow that it is possible to neglect the nonantagonistic contradictions and ignore them in politics. Life teaches us that as a result of such lack of attention even contradictions which are not antagonistic in their nature can generate serious collisions. Another very important aspect consists in correctly utilizing the contradictions of socialism as a source and stimulus for its advance. This is how the Marxists raise and solve the question of the contradictions in socialism, a question on which our ideological opponents systematically and insistently focus their attention.

The main part of the political superstructure of the mature socialist society is the state of the whole people. Its genuinely humanist essence is being increasingly manifested. It embodies the democratism of our political system and the complete equality of and cooperation among all nations and nationalities in the USSR. This was reflected in the new USSR Constitution. M.A. Suslov noted: "Its adoption was not only a historic act of consolidating the achievements of developed socialism and creatively summing up the experience of communist building but also a powerful incentive for further perfecting the entire system of sociopolitical relations. The fruitful activity of our party in managing the socioeconomic and political processes in our country, the increasingly active work of the soviets of people's deputies and the broader and more direct participation of the citizens in state affairs--all this is directed toward the further consistent development of socialist democracy and the consolidation of the Soviet state system" (vol III, p 263).

The living and developing doctrine of mature socialism to whose elaboration M.A. Suslov made quite a substantial creative contribution decidedly refutes the idle conjectures of our ideological opponents about the alleged "ossification" of Marxism-Leninism which is currently under way.

Historical experience proves that all possible critics of scientific communism are trying in vain to "dismember" it, breaking it up into "national" versions, to oppose Marxism to Leninism and to make vapid its revolutionary essence. Marxism-Leninism is a united and integral international doctrine. All its component parts are organically interconnected and interrelated and its main principles are firm and of equal significance for all nations and nationalities. The principled position held by the CPSU on this question has been repeatedly confirmed in our party documents. This is also convincingly discussed in the three-volume collection.

In spite of all the attacks of its abusers the vitality of the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin has been proved by the entire course of social



development. The fact that mature socialism has been built in the USSR, that the power of the socialist commonwealth has been enhanced and that the influence of the communist ideas in the world has been strengthened, is a clear testimony of the growing strength of Marxism-Leninism.

## II

In formulating socioeconomic policy and leading its practical implementation at every historical stage the CPSU proceeds from the concrete scale of the national economy and from the conditions under which it functions. M.A. Suslov emphasized that the main point here is to develop in every possible measure production forces and production relations and build the material and technical base of communism. At present on the basis of the experience-tested conclusions of Marxist-Leninist theory our party is solving the very complex task of concretely determining the ways of building this base. Of paramount importance in this respect are the decisions of the 24th, 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses. The economic strategy worked out by these congresses which in M.A. Suslov's words "can be called congresses of the period of developed socialism" (ibid., p 350) demonstrate the organic continuity of the party's policy and at the same time an innovative approach to economic problems.

Our economy--the material base of social progress--has reached qualitatively new limits. Its production potential is enormous. The national wealth of the country now amounts to 3 trillion rubles (not including the value of land, underground resources and forests), whereas the value of the main production funds, which is the main part of the national wealth, amounts to over 1 trillion rubles (at comparative 1973 prices). As regards many very important indicators, the Soviet Union holds the leading positions in the world economy. Sectors which determine the scientific and technical progress, such as machine building, electroenergetics, electronics, chemical industry and others, are developing at a fast pace. The material base of agriculture is being consolidated. Today our country also has at its disposal a powerful building industry. The mature socialist economy makes it possible to implement consistently an extensive social program aimed at improving the life of all Soviet people.

However, as the 26th Party Congress emphasized, increasing the return from such a gigantic economy is possible today only by intensifying it. This is one of the main laws of developed socialism. M.A. Suslov's works deal with the most important directions of the party course aimed at intensifying production: accelerating scientific and technical progress, raising labor productivity, rationally distributing production forces, effectively utilizing labor, material, and financial resources, improving the quality of production and strengthening state and labor discipline.

Only by organically linking the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system can a new qualitative level of production forces be reached. M.A. Suslov wrote: enormous scientific potential which our country possesses must be placed to an even higher degree at the service of raising the effectiveness of social production. Drafting and implementing comprehensive target programs for technical progress becomes particularly significant. This is where the party

committees of the scientific research organizations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the State Committee for Science and Technology and the ministries and departments should concentrate all efforts. They are called upon to be in the vanguard of the struggle for the close integration of science and production" (ibid., p 352).

Solving the problem of shifting our economy to the path of intensive development raises the role of political economy as the theoretical base of the economic policy of the party. In this connection M.A. Suslov emphasized that the scientific management of the national economy is impossible without the ever deepening cognition of the objective laws of socialism and the mechanism of their action and application in economic practice.

The specific economic sciences are also confronted with responsible tasks. They are designed to intensify their contribution to perfecting the methodology of planning and distribution relations, to analyzing the problems of the effectiveness of social production, of the utilization of funds, the growth of labor productivity, technical progress and the policy of capital investment.

The materials of the three-volume work draw the reader's attention to the importance of utilizing intensification resources first and foremost for raising labor productivity. This is particularly necessary in connection with the exacerbated demographic situation in a number of areas in the country. Mechanizing manual labor, primarily in auxiliary production, loading-unloading and storage operations, and repairs assumes great significance. The author writes about ways of saving raw and other materials and the maximum involvement of all production resources in economic turnover. He emphasizes that all excesses and waste are absolutely inadmissible.

An important place in M.A. Suslov's works--works dealing with the economic problems of socialism in the USSR--is devoted to perfecting planning and management. "The main point here is to turn our plans at all levels into a genuine weapon of scientific and technical and socioeconomic progress. They must contain the best scientifically substantiated solutions for the basic problems of the development of the national economy and guide the socialist economy along the most progressive paths toward achieving the highest possible effectiveness of social production" (vol II, p 294). The three-volume work particularly notes the significance of long-term plans and it clearly exemplifies the idea that long-term planning is the most important condition for drafting correct five-year and annual plans and guaranteeing that they are scientifically substantiated and stable.

Touching upon the questions of labor organization and its material incentive, the author points out that wages are directly dependent on labor productivity, that the interest of production collectives and of every worker in the common results of their work must be enhanced and that the role of wages as an effective incentive for production growth and the chief source of income of the population must be raised.

Specially mentioned are also the problems of correctly utilizing the commodity-money relationship in the socialist economy. This relationship, according to

M.A. Suslov, must serve the interests of strengthening the planned economy and contribute to developing the initiative of enterprises on the basis of cost-effectiveness (see *ibid.*, pp 165-166).

The contemporary agricultural policy of our party whose beginning was laid by the March (1965) CPSU Central Committee Plenum is also extensively brought to light in the publication. The implementation of this policy is aimed at raising the effectiveness of agriculture, making it function on the basis of industrial methods, thus reducing its dependence on weather conditions, completely satisfying the country's demand for high-quality agricultural products and, as a result, substantially furthering the process of drawing together working and living conditions in the town and country.

The building of mature socialism has allowed our party to subordinate to a great extent the development of the economy to its highest goal--raising the living standard of the Soviet people. The materials in the publication give the reader an idea about the entire set of steps which are being taken in our country with a view to increasing the population's real income and consumption, improving labor organization, everyday life, culture, education and providing health protection.

M.A. Suslov's works comprehensively demonstrate the way in which the socio-economic progress of our society is implemented in the Soviet way of life. "Our society is an indestructible brotherhood of working people. The socialist social system, the unity of interests and the common ideology of all working people have become the very foundation on which, as Lenin predicted, new forms of human community have appeared and where the Soviet socialist way of life has been established, a way of life, which opposes the bourgeois one based on exploitation and the oppression of one individual by another. The constant and persistent growth of the material well-being of the people, the high level of their intellectual life, their devotion to the ideals of communism and their selfless love of the socialist fatherland as well as the creation of ever more favorable conditions for the comprehensive and free development of the individual--these are the features that determine the Soviet way of life" (vol III, p 110). This is one of the most remarkable results of the socioeconomic policy of the CPSU.

### III

"Perfecting the socialist democracy in all possible ways, a democracy whose class essence expresses the basic interests of the working class and all the Soviet people, developing further the creative initiative of the masses and expanding their participation in state and social management--such is the main political line along which the Soviet society moves toward communism" (vol II, p 291). The publication convincingly reveals the deeply humanitarian essence of our democracy and demonstrates how--as socialism is established and consolidated--the socioeconomic and political rights of the working people are expanded, rights which are organically combined with the conscious fulfillment of the working people's obligations and social duties.

The nature of Soviet democracy, its socioeconomic roots and directions are analyzed in detail. The main attention is devoted to the development of

democracy in labor, the basic sphere of human activity. Standing production conferences, workers meetings and general meetings of kolkhoz members are discussed. The party is continuously concerned with enhancing these meetings' authority in solving all the questions related to the life of labor collectives and developing in all possible ways the features characteristic of our democracy, such as open voicing of opinion, honest criticism of mistakes and shortcomings, and self-criticism.

Creating an atmosphere of high exigency and strictness in production, the party and other public organizations are called upon, according to the author, to react effectively and specifically to criticism of instances of bad management, failure to fulfill planned tasks and a negligent attitude toward work. At the same time any attempts to persecute people for criticism must be cut off most firmly.

To develop socialist democracy also means to improve the activity of those organizations which unite the masses and, first and foremost, of the soviets of people's deputies, the trade unions and the Komsomol. The CPSU believes that it is of paramount importance for these organizations to act courageously and confidently within the limits of the rights and functions granted them on a broad scale by the USSR Constitution, to avoid becoming self-satisfied with successes, resolutely avoid bureaucracy, formalism and sluggishness, and strictly see to it that the law is observed by everyone and everywhere. M.A. Suslov said: "We cannot close our eyes to the fact that there are still some people who like to circumvent the law, sometimes using the specious excuse that it was purposeful or even necessary to 'take effective measures.' We should wage a resolute struggle against this. The laws of the Soviet system must be reverently obeyed--this was the principle by which V.I. Lenin was invariably guided in his practical activity. Demanding the same of all officials, he emphasized that for the mere suggestion to circumvent a decree the guilty person must be put on trial. He resolutely came out against all manifestations of disrespect, be it even a minute one, of the law" (ibid., p 261).

The advantages of socialist over bourgeois democracy, which always was and continues to be the democracy of the rich, however it is glossed over, are revealed in many articles and speeches by M.A. Suslov.

The author inseparably related the questions of perfecting socialist democracy with the tasks of shaping the new man and with the analysis of the tendencies in the socioclass structure of our society and the party policy in the sphere of national relations. These are the key factors of building the society of the future.

M.A. Suslov pays particular attention to the Leninist principles of communist conviction: political vigilance, acute class awareness, ideological cohesion, awareness of the superiority of our system and ideas, and readiness to defend the fatherland and the revolutionary gains of socialism.

Encouraging the need for conscientious creative work is of very great importance in shaping the new man as a comprehensively developed personality. The publication states: "Party organizations must not even for a minute weaken

their struggle against the manifestations of petit bourgeois narrow-mindedness, greed and money-grubbing as well as indifference to the concerns and affairs of the people. Without ridding ourselves of these social 'sores' we will not succeed in shaping a new individual and it is the duty of the communists to strive to actively involve all labor collectives and all public organizations in the struggle against the antipodes of the socialist way of life" (vol III, p 361).

The author's words that "the workers' performance should always be justly and objectively evaluated, that conscientious workers should be encouraged in every possible way, whereas loafers and dodgers should be punished with reduced wages and benefits, are equally topical. Such an approach fully corresponds to the socialist principle of distribution depending on the quantity and quality of labor and to our moral norms..." (ibid., p 359).

In analyzing the tendencies in the socioclass structure of Soviet society, M.A. Suslov paid great attention to the problems of drawing its classes and social groups closer together. The essence of this process lies in the law-governed evolution of these groups and classes in the workers' society of a new type. As the 26th CPSU Congress emphasized, the establishment of a classless society will essentially and mainly take place within the historical framework of mature socialism. The leading force in this process is the working class, whose ideopolitical qualities, interests and ideals become an asset of all Soviet social strata. The author notes that it is necessary to constantly keep in view the questions of raising "the ideopolitical maturity, education and professional qualification of the workers, to include them on a larger scale in party, trade union and Komsomol committees and in high-level and local state organs" (ibid., pp 356-357). M.A. Suslov also profoundly elaborated in theory the ways of consolidating the union among the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia.

Under the conditions of mature socialism, the fraternal friendship between all the peoples of our country is consolidated, a comprehensive drawing together of nations and nationalities is taking place and a new social and international entity--the Soviet people--is being formed. The celebrations marking the 60th anniversary of the USSR demonstrated very clearly that our multinational state is based on complete trust, equality and the voluntary union of all the peoples which are part of it, and on their fraternal unity and cooperation. Many materials in the work testify to the fruitfulness of the Leninist national policy of the CPSU. They provide an analysis of the problems which are naturally generated by the dynamics of our state's development and in particular by the multinational population of the union republics. The book points out that "the increase in the number of citizens of nonindigenous nationality is a legitimate process caused by the development of the country's production forces and the transformation of its economy into a united national economic complex, as well as by the rapidly growing multifaceted ties among the republics. This process will also continue in the future. This is why the party committees are obliged to investigate the above-mentioned problems more thoroughly and make timely suggestions on the ways of solving them" (ibid., p 358).

Consistently pursuing the policy of friendship and brotherhood among the peoples of our country, the CPSU focuses its creative energy on the struggle to build a classless society.

The leading and guiding force of Soviet society is the Leninist party. This is a decisive prerequisite for all our successes. "The Marxist-Leninist party performs the role of the leading force of society because it consistently expresses the interests of the people, constantly strengthens its ties with the working people, perfects the forms and methods of party leadership in all aspects of socioeconomic life and builds all its activity on the basis of a profoundly scientific analysis of the tendencies of social development" (ibid., p 371).

The work discusses important questions of CPSU history, and the outstanding role played by Lenin in creating the party, securing the October Revolution victory, solving the tasks of the transitional period, and forming the first multinational state of the working people.

It is appropriate to recall on the threshold of a portentous event--the 80th anniversary of the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party--one of M.A. Suslov's speeches in which he clearly defined the historic significance of this congress which formed the revolutionary Marxist party of the Russian working class, a new type of party. Mikhail Andreyevich appealed for augmenting in every possible way the examinations of the very rich legacy of our party. "A profound theoretical investigation of its great historical experience allows us better to understand the laws of social development and lays a solid base for communist convictions of the Soviet people" (ibid., p 373).

In discussing the functions performed by the CPSU in society, the author draws attention to the problems of party building and primarily to the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. This principle is the law of party life. It allows the communists to answer the most complicated questions, develop further the internal party democracy and enhance the discipline and responsibility both for the state of affairs in their own organizations and in the party as a whole.

The decisive prerequisite for the leading role played by the CPSU is its monolithic unity with the people. Following Lenin's behest which reads: "To live in the midst. To know the feelings. To know everything. To understand the mass. To find an approach. To win its absolute trust" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 44, p 497), the party expands the publicity of its work and applies everywhere the Leninist work style. Its main features are the strictly scientific nature, constant ties with the masses, genuine collectivity and personal responsibility as well as inseparable connection between word and deed, initiative, conscious discipline and intolerance for shortcomings.

The strength of the CPSU also lies in the fact that it offers an example of courageous and constructive criticism. Lenin taught us "to admit our faults, not to be afraid of correcting them again and again will take us to the very

top" (ibid., p 423). Many of M.A. Suslov's speeches provide a good example in this respect.

The clear and precise principles which form the basis of CPSU activities and its uncompromising struggle for the Marxist understanding of the place and role of the working class party in society are of international significance. In his works M.A. Suslov, a brilliant polemicist, mercilessly rebuffs all kinds of falsifiers who are busy talking in a pseudo-scientific way about a certain "usurpation" of power on the part of our party and convincingly demonstrates the helplessness of the theoretical arguments of the revisionists who are trying to belittle in every possible way its role in society.

The materials in the publication explain in detail the principle that in the society of developed socialism, which is laying the material and technical foundations for communism, the enhanced vanguard role of the party is focused, firstly, on the solution of domestic and international problems which are enormous in scope and complexity; secondly, on the growing political awareness and activeness of the masses; thirdly, on the expanded socialist democracy and higher demands placed on the management of socioeconomic processes. This is an objective law of the genuinely democratic development of real socialism.

The publication discusses in detail the Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. It examines the different aspects of the class conflict between the two sociopolitical systems and proffers weighty proof of the growing might of socialism.

Long, convincing passages are devoted to the socialist commonwealth which has nowadays become the most powerful association of peoples and which has now achieved an unprecedented rate of socioeconomic development.

The peoples of the socialist countries are united by the commonness of their basic interests. They have a uniform economic base--the public ownership of the means of production, a uniform state system--the authority of the working people, a common ideology--Marxism-Leninism, and the same goal--communism. All of this provides a stable foundation for their friendship and cooperation.

Proletarian internationalism is a tested powerful weapon of the communists and the core of the entire activity of the ruling parties of the countries in the socialist commonwealth. It is a guarantee for the successful building of the new society and the joint struggle for stable peace, people's democracy and progress.

The entire experience of the sociopolitical development of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries attests that the greater and more complex the tasks of socialist and communist construction are, the more important is the role played by the Marxist parties in the political, organizational, theoretical and ideological life of society. Their leading role in forming the entire complex of ties between the fraternal states is legitimately enhanced. The materials of the publication allow the reader to picture clearly the close contacts between our parties and evaluate the significance of the

comprehensive and systematic interparty contacts aimed at identifying the leading trends of social development and exchanging experience. The fraternal parties collectively direct the process of deepening political, economic and ideological cooperation, draft its concrete ways, pace and forms, and work out substantiated reference points which help each country correctly to solve complicated problems.

The experience accumulated by real scientific socialism is an outstanding achievement of the entire international proletariat. It helps the revolutionaries to find the only correct and reliable way to liberate the working people from the omnipotence of capital. There is hardly any country or any ideological or political trend which does not to some degree experience the influence of socialism.

The CPSU opposes all forms of exploitation and oppression of the peoples. Our state supports the liberation movements in areas where imperialism and neocolonialism still retain their domination. The work cites numerous examples of our selfless aid to the young states which have started building their national economy and culture.

M.A. Suslov's works on foreign-political subjects devote great attention to the struggle for peace. The Soviet Union confidently opposes the forces of war and implements its Peace Program which has won general respect and recognition. In our relations with the capitalist states we proceed from the principles of equality, mutual advantage and peaceful coexistence. However, as the author points out, the peaceful course pursued by our party is meeting with bitter opposition on the part of the military-industrial complex of the West.

The author exposes the secret diplomacy of the militarists and draws a panoramic picture of the struggle waged by the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries for putting an end to the arms race and achieving complete and universal disarmament.

The detailed analysis of modern monopoly capital contained in the works of M.A. Suslov confirms the conclusion drawn by our party that capitalism has no future. However, the bourgeoisie does not simply yearn for the good old days. It does not part with the dangerous illusion of taking revenge. The social decomposition of the capitalist society as a consequence of economic crises, and the loss of many positions suffered by the imperialists through the onslaught of the revolutionary forces only increases the rage of imperialist reaction. It responds with increasingly sophisticated and treacherous methods and forms of ideological diversions to the success of socialism and the world revolutionary movement. That is why the struggle of the communists acquires an ever growing significance--as a struggle for the purity of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, for consolidating their ranks and disseminating among the working people the truth about socialism.

Soviet foreign policy is based on a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the leading tendencies and prospects of world development. It is a consistent class policy, realistic and flexible. It is directed toward guaranteeing



favorable international conditions for the communist building in our country and toward consolidating peace, and that is why our people ardently support it and approve of it.

M.A. Suslov's work "Marxism-Leninism and the Contemporary Stage" reflects the strategy of the communist construction which has been elaborated and implemented by our party over a long period of time. The reviewed work demonstrates the considerable personal contribution of its author to the solution of many key problems of the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU. Put together, the works of M.A. Suslov are one more vivid proof of the creative strength of our party which develops and enriches the theory of scientific communism.

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## NATIONAL AND ETHNIC PROBLEMS IN AMERICA

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[Review by V. Tishkov, dr of historical sciences, of the following books: (1) "Natsional'nyye Problemy Kanady" [National Problems in Canada]. Yu. P. Averkiyev, responsible editor. Moscow, 1972; (2) "Natsional'nyye Protsessy v SShA" [National Processes in the United States]. S. A. Gonionskiy, responsible editor. Moscow, 1973; (3) "Natsional'nyye Protsessy v Tsentral'noy Amerike i Meksike" [National Processes in Central America and Mexico]. S. A. Gonionskiy, responsible editor. Moscow, 1974; (4) "Etnicheskiye Protsessy v Stranakh Yuzhnoy Ameriki" [Ethnic Processes in South American Countries]. I. F. Khoroshayeva and E. L. Nitoburg, responsible editors. Moscow, 1971; (5) "Etnicheskiye Protsessy v Stranakh Karibskogo Morya" [Ethnic Processes in the Caribbean Countries]. I. L. Nitoburg, responsible editor. Moscow, 1982]

[Text] The waves of national conflicts flooding the capitalist world place national and ethnic problems in the center of the ideological and political struggle, reminding society again and again that they are among the most complex and difficult to resolve. This makes particularly topical the series of collective works by the USSR Academy of Sciences Ethnographic Institute, published by Izdatel'stvo Nauka, on national and ethnic processes on the American continent.

The countries in that continent are of particular interest to ethnographers and sociologists. By virtue of objective circumstances, the American continent has become a gigantic laboratory for the development of multiracial and multiethnic societies and states within a relatively short historical period, starting with the establishment and development of capitalist relations, whereas in places such as Europe or Central Asia the formation of ethnic communities and nations and nationalities took millenia and has largely been completed. While noting the national and ethnic processes taking place in the New World as affected by this characteristic, the authors nevertheless emphasize that the class foundation, which forms the main watershed between types of development of nations and nationalities and their interrelationships, runs irrevocably through all such national and ethnic features and unique characteristics.

As is the case of the entire capitalist system, a trend toward the development of national divisions and aggravation of racial and national conflicts is developing in America. Furthermore, in recent decades the United States, the

citadel of world capitalism, has become the arena of most fierce racial and national combats.

The socialist world presents a different picture. Here the elimination of the oppression of one nation by another, age-old enmities separating them, and obstacles hindering the free development of all nations and nationalities and their actual equality were achieved.

The works under review show the common laws governing national and ethnic processes in America, as they appear in ways specific to each country, and refute the efforts of bourgeois ideologues to use them as arguments with which to deny the decisive influence of the class factor on said processes. The authors rightly emphasize that it is only if racial and national problems are considered through the lens of their social base that the tangle of acute and complex contradictions, sometimes developed over centuries, can be unraveled, and traditional stereotypes and myths, naive-religious concepts and malicious man-hating fabrications can be surmounted.

The appearance of nations in the majority of American countries was accompanied by the mixing of two or even three racial types: Indian Mongoloid, European and Negroid. Hence the exceptional variety of physical appearances among the Americans. Today the majority of them are of the European type (53 percent), as follows: nine-tenths of the population in the United States and Canada, and more than one-quarter of the population in Latin America, where most European types have some Indian and Negro blood. Negroes -- the descendants of slaves imported from Africa by the colonizers -- account for less than 7 percent of the American population. They include Negroid groups in the United States and Brazil and the blacks in Jamaica, Haiti and the small West Indies islands. In countries such as Cuba and Brazil Negroes constitute the main national component. The racial discrimination policy practiced in the United States is restraining the merger of the blacks with the Euro-Americans, and the Afro-Americans of today may be considered a "subethnic" group within the American nation. Mongoloid Indians account for 6 percent of the present population. In several countries (Mexico, Guatemala, Paraguay) they became the main component in the establishment of the nation.

The principal anthropological feature of the contemporary American population, however, is the existence of racially mixed groups: mestizos and mulattoes, who account for 34 percent of the entire population. The mestizos are descendants of mixed Indian-European marriages and the bulk of the present population of Mexico, the Central American countries, Venezuela, Chile, Paraguay and others. Mulattoes are the product of European-Negro mixture. They account for a considerable share of the population of Brazil, Cuba, Venezuela and several countries in the West Indies, and some of the U.S. population. Soviet scientists have noted that in Latin America it was precisely the mixed groups which, starting with colonial times, were precisely those which "played the most active social role in demanding representation for the entire population of one area or another," and, in the final account, became the bearers and "the nucleus of the future national culture" (4, p 7).

An important distinguishing feature in the American ethnical structure may be traced in the correlation between ethnic and national boundaries.

Soviet demographers have estimated that today members of more than 100 different nations, 20 of them numbering more than 1 million people, live on the territory of some 50 political formations (independent countries and colonial possessions). Virtually all of the American nations which were formed during the age of colonial conquests and division of the world, national liberation movement and revolutions, are within the boundaries of the independent countries which appeared. Consequently, state boundaries in America coincide by and large with ethnic divisions, i.e., Mexicans live in Mexico, Guatemalans in Guatemala, Brazilians in Brazil, and so on. The only exception is found in countries such as Canada where, mainly as a result of those same political factors (the British seizure of a French colony in 1763) two nations -- the Anglo- and French-Canadians developed within the borders of a single country.

Under these circumstances, the establishment and continuing consolidation of national and ethnic awareness essentially coincided with the awareness of national affiliation. This influenced the specific features of nationalism. Nationalistic ideologies in South American countries play a major role.

The mass immigration from various European and Asian countries and the inter-American population migration essentially from Latin to North America in the 19th and 20th centuries brought ethnic variety to the American nations. The latter circumstance led to the fact that the ethnic classification into tribes, nations and nationalities used in our publications does not reflect the entire variety of nations and ethnic groups found in the American countries. In the opinion of Soviet researchers, there exist so-called transitional groups of immigrants belonging to different generations in countries such as Canada and the United States. They frequently have a double ethnic awareness, for they have not yet entirely lost the cultural and linguistic features of their native origin without having fully adopted or wanting to be adopted by the new ethnic groups. This raises the important question of the specific process of the development of American ethnic groups, frequently characterized by its incompleteness. For example the process of intensive assimilation of immigrant groups is continuing to take place among the Anglo-Canadians. It is generally too early to speak of a completion of the process of formation of bourgeois nations in Central America and the Caribbean where the last colonial enclaves coexist with young independent bourgeois countries. This is the only explanation for the fact that only a few decades ago efforts had been made to organize intergovernmental associations and federations in Central America or the still heatedly debated questions of the "common fate of the Caribbean," or a "Caribbean" or "West Indies" self-awareness. Nor should we forget the fact that an ethnic community of a qualitatively new content is developing in the area: the socialist Cuban nation, and the existence of Nicaragua, where national construction is taking place on a revolutionary basis.

As we single out the common themes covered in the works under review, let us also note the national and cultural characteristics of some areas. This applies to the countries in the Caribbean Archipelago, the ethnic history of which is discussed in the last series of books. This area presents a complex mosaic of countries and peoples: side by side with revolutionary-democratic Grenada and socialist Cuba we see Duvalier's oligarchic dictatorship in Haiti and several colonial enclaves. As we study the events taking place in the

area (the political map of the archipelago is changing under our very eyes) we must take into consideration the fact that its population is noted by its exceptional variety -- racial, ethnic, linguistic and religious.

As a result of the fact that the Greater and Lesser Antilles were colonized by several European countries and were under the predominant influence of the mother countries for several centuries, the archipelago became divided into four ethnocultural subregions: Spanish-speaking (Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico), French-speaking (Haiti, Guadeloupe, Martinique and others), English-speaking (Jamaica, Barbados, the Bahamas, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia) and Dutch-speaking (Aruba, Curacao, Bonaire and others). By the time slavery was introduced two basic population components and two cultural trends had already been established in the Antilles: the Euro-American and the Afro-American. "The interpenetration and modification of these cultural trends were the main features of "creolization" -- a lengthy cultural process which began as early as the 16th-17th centuries and which continued in the colonies after slavery was abolished" (5, p 9). Naturally, this process had its peculiarities in each of the four ethnocultural subregions. The abolition of slavery in the Antilles was followed by the appearance of new ethnic and racial groups (Indians, Chinese, Portuguese,, etc.), the interaction between which and the previously settled population determined in the final account the ethn racial aspect and the ethnocultural and ethnopsychological features of today's population.

During the period of colonial rule the mulattoes, the light-skinned in particular, who here (unlike in the United States) held a privileged position, enjoyed a higher social status compared with the black majority which remained in slavery for a long time. The emancipation brought legal freedom to the black slaves. However, the majority among them remained on the lowest rungs of the social ladder, whereas the financial and economic upper crust in the mother country and, to a certain extent, the local "white elite," retained their political and economic domination. The "middle" class and the government officials through whom the colonies were ruled locally during the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries, consisted mainly of the lighter-skinned mulatto population which enjoyed certain privileges. The situation began to change only during the last 30-40 years, as the local "colored" and, subsequently, black bourgeoisie and intelligentsia began to grow and to strengthen their positions. Nevertheless, in the people's minds, the social stratification remained related to the color of the skin.

During the decolonization process which developed in the English-speaking West Indies in the 1960s-1970s, as a result of which the power was assumed by leaders, mulattoes essentially but also some blacks, racial differences between the mass of the population and the ruling upper crust vanished.

The authors of the works under review emphasize that ethnic problems are only one of the aspects of social processes, the nature of which is determined above all by socioeconomic factors. This approach enables us to determine the prime reasons for ethnic changes and national problems. Let us consider the example of Canada: in Quebec, their own province, French Canadians are in the lowest income bracket among some 10 basic ethnic groups. This undoubtedly proves the unequal status of the people of French origin. In the United

States, the gap in the economic well-being of the white and the black populations is even wider, unemployment hits the blacks far worse than the whites, and the problem of urban black ghettos is far from being solved. Let us note that the American working class developed and grew as a multiracial and multinational class. As pointed out by U.S. communists, "racial and national oppression became an inseparable feature of American capitalism from the very moment of its appearance, and a structural component of its system of class exploitation. At the present stage of state monopoly capitalism it has assumed a more refined and concealed aspect. Nevertheless, it has been preserved in its entirety... About 50 million Americans are victims of racial and national oppression" ("XXII Natsional'nyy S"yezd Kommunisticheskoy Partii SShA, 23-26 Avgusta 1979 Goda" [22nd National Congress of the U.S. Communist Party. 23-26 August 1979]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1982, p 197).

The works under review assess the policies of the ruling classes and dominant groups in the area of national relations. The ethnic aspects of the colonial policies of Spain, Portugal, England and France in the New World are of substantial interest. The European colonizers were united in their intolerance of the American native population -- the Indians -- which resulted in their total annihilation in a number of places or in their oppressed and catastrophic situation which remains to this day.

Modern capitalism introduced more refined and sometimes concealed forms of racial and ethnic discrimination, which is manifested both toward the native population and the immigrants. The national policy in imperialist America is the most rigid. In Canada the national policy is distinguished by a relatively greater tolerance, expressed in the "mosaic" concept and the contemporary policy of "multiplicity of cultures on a bilingual basis." However, in Canada as well, the efforts to develop a harmonious "pluralistic" society failed to yield tangible results.

The contemporary national policies in Latin America cannot be assessed simply. In countries such as Mexico, for example, a great deal has been done to preserve the Indian cultural heritage. In neighboring Guatemala, the ruling extreme-right clique is engaged in open genocide -- the annihilation of thousands of Indian peasants, who are the mainstay of the liberation struggle.

The impressive successes achieved by socialist Cuba are striking against this background. Here, for the first time on the American continent conditions have been created for the implementation of the principle of human equality regardless of color and ethnic affiliation. Socialist changes ensured full equality among Cubans. The fact that during the initial years of the revolution more than 700,000 people, essentially blacks and mulattoes living in the outlying areas and in the mountains, were made literate was of great importance. Cubans of different colors, who enjoyed the highest reputation among the people, were elected to leading party and government positions. The word "Negro" ceased to be insulting. Marriages between blacks and lighter-skinned Cuban women, extremely rare in the past, became popular ( see 5, pp 119-124). The development of the Cuban socialist nation clearly proves the tremendous possibilities offered by the new system in resolving national-racial problems.

The latter circumstance deals a crushing blow at all sorts of racists theories and convincingly proves the universal applicability of the conclusion that the solution of the national problem can be found only on a class basis.

These truly scientific works also reveal as yet unresolved problems and prospects for possible new studies. Thus, the problem of contemporary ethnonational processes in the American countries, including that of the assimilation of the immigrant population, requires a more intensive study. The readers will be unquestionably interested in the fate of the Slavic, labor above all, immigration between the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, which made a substantial contribution to the development of countries such as Canada. The present stage in the development of the native population -- the Indians -- and the struggle for its rights and preservation of cultural autonomy deserves a more thorough consideration.

These few remarks and conclusions are made possible by the rich theoretical and specific historical data in the works under review.

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