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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 15, October 1983

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No 15, October 1983

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

CONTENTS

October Revolution and World Development	1
Statement by Yu. V. Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium	12
June Plenum Ideological Work Decisions Discussed (K. Chernenko)	17
Always To Learn From Marx (Ezekias Papaioannou)	37
Primary Party Organizations and Strengthening of Party Ranks (G. Kryuchkov)	49
Strict Talk (V. Kadulin)	63
Automotive Transport: Further Development Tasks (D. Velikanov)	77
In the Interests of the Present and Future Generations (Z. Nuriyev)	87
New Patriotic War Documents	93
Important Milestone in the History of Soviet-Vietnamese Relations (Ye. Pavlov)	115
Outer Space Must Be Peaceful (V. Avduyevskiy)	122

Internationalists of the October School (F. Krotov)	134
Perfecting Planned Management in the Socialist Countries (R. Yevstigneyev)	138
Sociophilosophical Problems of Developing Countries (V. Burov)	141
Short Book Reviews (I. Mints)	148
Bookshelf	150

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OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND WORLD DEVELOPMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 83 (signed to press 11 Oct 83) pp 3-12

[Text] History is familiar with many important events indicating crucial moments in the life of mankind. The Great October Revolution became the main turning point in the process of global development, with a direct influence on its destiny.

The October Revolution, which inaugurated a new age in the development of human society, and which was made by the Russian working class allied to the poorest peasantry, under the leadership of the bolshevik party, laid the beginning of a most profound reorganization of the very foundations of social life on earth. This marked the first step in the transition from the prehistory of human society to its true history -- a communist civilization. The development of the global revolutionary process, embodied in a great variety of forms and manifestations and currently following the historical trends earmarked by the October Revolution, reflects, one way or another, its ideological legacy and the overall laws it brought to life governing the reorganization of society on a socialist basis.

The reason for this profound and still unabated influence of the October Revolution on all aspects of human life is that it is not an attempt to implement lofty utopias but something born of the very course of social development and the practical embodiment of the great historical mission of the working class, which was brought to light and comprehensively substantiated by the founders of scientific communism.

The October Revolution, which made the first breach in the global capitalist system, clearly indicated to the peoples of Europe, Asia and the other continents the path to the revolutionary transformation of society. The October Revolution, the creation of the first socialist state in the world and its successes and accomplishments armed the international working class with the extremely rich experience of the practical implementation of revolutionary ideas and inspired dozens of millions of people to struggle for their rights, for improving their material living conditions, for their spiritual emancipation and for socialism.

The victory of the October Revolution practically proved that the preparation for and conversion to socialism are impossible without the leadership of the toiling masses by the working class and its vanguard party, a party of a

new type, which combines scientific socialism with the revolutionary worker movement. It was precisely such a party which led the Russian proletariat through all trials to the successful socialist revolution and was hammered out by V. I. Lenin as the bolshevik party.

The October Revolution, which eliminated social and national oppression and the private ownership of productive capital and radically changed the class structure of society, emancipated the people of Russia, delivering them forever from slavery to local and foreign exploiters, ended national hostility and reciprocal mistrust among nations and ensured the prosperity of all nations and nationalities and free development within the fraternal USSR. The principles of Leninist national policy and the experience in establishing the first multinational state of workers and peasants in the world became a beacon to the fighters for national liberation and social progress the world over.

The Great October Revolution had a most profound influence on the spiritual life of mankind. It brilliantly confirmed the historical accuracy and universal nature of the revolutionary theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin, struck a mighty blow at reformist and bourgeois ideology and tremendously expanded the scale of ideological and political influence of scientific socialism on the entire course of global developments.

Physically unable to deprive the working class of its victory and turn back the course of events in the Soviet Union, for a long time the Russian and international bourgeoisie and its most outstanding ideologues based their plans for the restoration of the old order on the hope that, as Milyukov, the Cadet leader wrote, "their victory will be short-lived and... the bolsheviks will be unable to retain the power," and that "the bolshevik system will be unable to keep a single one of its promises. It will give the people... neither peace, nor land, nor bread nor 'socialization' of industry." They consoled themselves with the illusions that "as the time of the October Revolution retreats into the past" the "ideology of this victory" will weaken.

The hopes of the bourgeoisie failed. The Soviet system, which strengthened with every passing year, fulfilled all the promises it had given to the people, and the ideology of the victorious October Revolution and the scientific outlook of Marxism-Leninism not only did not lose their influence over the masses with the passing of time but strengthened it substantially, and recruited under its flags millions and millions of new like-minded people, convinced fighters for the communist renovation of the world.

With the victory of the Great October Revolution the class confrontation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was also extended to the area of international relations, putting an end to the indivisible rule on earth of relations among countries inherent in capitalism.

The October Revolution, which marked the start of a qualitatively new stage in the struggle waged by the international working class for peace, linked the concepts of "peace" and "socialism" within a single unbreakable entity. In the first legislative act of the Soviet system -- Lenin's Decree on Peace -- the struggle for a democratic peace and international cooperation was proclaimed the objective and highest principle of foreign policy of the

socialist state consistent with the profound interests of the peoples of all countries. War was condemned as the greatest crime against mankind.

Through its first foreign policy act the state of workers and peasants not simply proclaimed its aspiration to work for ending the imperialist war but formulated as its strategic task to provide conditions for peaceful and good neighborly coexistence among countries with different social systems.

The bourgeois ideologues have wasted a lot of ink in an effort to prove that the appeals of the young Soviet state for peace were a temporary measure allegedly aimed at concealing the attachment of the homeland of the October Revolution to "exporting" and "encouraging" revolutions in other countries, promoting military conflicts in them and interfering in their internal affairs. The lie about "exporting" revolution was aimed, in the final account, at proving nothing less than the "perpetuity" of capitalism and convincing world public opinion that the threat to the bourgeois system comes only from the outside, from the "conspiracies" and "subversive activities" of the communists rather than its own insoluble internal contradictions.

Life itself, the history of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the building of the new society, refute the fabrications of our class enemies and convincingly prove that the basic interests of the working class and the building of socialism and communist objectively demand peace. Historical experience also proves the dialectical interconnection between the support of peace by the first socialist state on earth and its inflexible loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism and solidarity with the struggle waged by the progressive revolutionary forces the world over.

The socialist revolution, Lenin emphasized, "must be helped. One must know how to help it" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 396). The "know how to help it," which Lenin emphasized, totally excluded and excludes the very possibility, the very idea of "exporting" or "urging on" the revolution in other countries. It is simply impossible to "bring in," or "export" a revolution. A revolution is made by the people of one country or another and by it alone. Marxism, Lenin pointed out, "has always rejected the 'urging on' of revolutions which develop with the ripening of the sharp class contradictions which trigger revolutions" (ibid., p 403).

In Lenin's view, the ability to help the socialist revolution meant above all to reach what was "maximally attainable in a given country for the development, support and awakening the revolution in all countries (op. cit., vol 37, p 304). Successes in building socialism and communism, the revolutionizing influence of the creation of a new life and visible proof of the advantages of socialism over capitalism in all areas -- economic, social, cultural and ideological -- constituted the true, the real support which the homeland of the October Revolution could provide to the progressive revolutionary forces the world over, support which indeed recognized no state borders and in the face of which international reaction is helpless.

The incompatibility between proletarian internationalism and the idea of "urging on" the revolution, alien to the communists, was manifested the very first days after the October Revolution. The bourgeois ideologues claim to

this day that Lenin and the bolsheviks linked their hopes for the success of the socialist revolution in Russia to the immediate outbreak of similar revolutions in the industrially more developed countries.

In practice, however, the fate of the socialist revolution in Russia was not rigidly tied to the immediate outbreak of such revolutions in Western Europe. As Lenin pointed out in November 1918, after the October Revolution Soviet Russia did everything possible to educate the working masses in Western Europe (ibid., p 154), above all by exposing the bourgeois lie aimed at discrediting the Soviet system, its objectives and politics, publicizing secret international treaties concluded to the advantage of the capitalists in various countries and seeing to it that the popular masses in the European countries became aware of the imperialistic nature of the policies pursued by their governments. However, Lenin emphasized, "although the attempt we made to awaken the masses failed to yield instant results, we never even assumed that the revolution will either begin immediately or else that everything has been lost" (ibid., p 155).

Despite the objective prerequisites for making successful proletarian revolutions in a number of Western European countries, attempts to overthrow the bourgeois power in them failed. One of the main reasons for the fluctuating development of the revolutionary process in Western Europe, as Lenin anticipated, was that it was far easier to start a socialist revolution in Russia than in the advanced countries which had a more experienced bourgeoisie which used most refined and skillfully concealed forms of oppression, while the reformist social democratic leaders were able to keep significant toiling masses from participating in the revolutionary struggle. In Lenin's words, the greatest difficulty and danger facing Europe was the lack of revolutionary parties at the end of the world war. Consequently, weakened by its division and the opportunistic policy of its social democratic leaders, the Western European working class proved at that time unable to end the bourgeois rule.

All of this caused tremendous difficulties to the Russian working class. It was forced to experience truly inhuman trials caused by the foreign intervention, civil war, economic dislocation, hunger and poverty. Under those circumstances the main task was to defend the first state of workers and peasants in the world and to protect and strengthen the gains of the working people. "...Our task now," Lenin said in July 1918, "is to support, defend and preserve this force of socialism, this socialist torch, this source of socialism which is actively operating the world over..." (ibid., pp 15-16). At the cost of tremendous efforts and sacrifices, headed by Lenin's party, the young Soviet republic defended and protected the gains of the October Revolution which, in itself, became another universal historical victory of the international working class. The torch of socialism began to burn even more brightly over the world.

After defeating the attempts of international imperialism and the domestic counterrevolution to overthrow the worker-peasant regime, the Soviet state reasserted its readiness to develop peaceful cooperation with all countries. The 1921 treaties which Soviet Russia concluded with Iran, Afghanistan and Turkey were models of true equality, respect for the sovereignty of nations, nonintervention in the domestic affairs of other countries, and providing

selfless economic and cultural development aid. On Lenin's instructions, the Soviet delegation to the 1922 international conference in Genoa proclaimed the principle of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. Following the failure to reach an agreement with the powers of the Entente, the Rapallo Treaty was concluded with Germany. This was the first breach of the front organized by the imperialist countries against Soviet Russia and a model of new types of relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. Naturally, this policy was hardly dictated by circumstantial considerations, as many a generation of bourgeois ideologues has tried to prove. The policy of peaceful coexistence is most closely related to the universal struggle for liberation and logically stems from the Leninist theory of socialist revolutions.

Lenin noted that because of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism, socialism "cannot win simultaneously in all countries. It will initially win in one or several countries, while the others will remain bourgeois or prebourgeois for a while" (op. cit., vol 30, p 133). Social developments confirmed Lenin's prediction that socialism will remain the essence of an entire historical age, as a result of which countries affiliated with different social systems will inevitably coexist throughout the entire period. Lenin's tremendous merit is that he identified the objective basis for peaceful coexistence between countries belonging to the two opposite systems. "A force more powerful than the desire, will and resolve of any hostile government or class exists," he emphasized. "It consists of the common global economic relations which force them to establish relations with us" (op. cit., vol 44, pp 304-305).

Two important factors have always contributed to the implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence. First, the support of the Soviet state by the broad toiling masses in capitalist countries, which played a major role in the failure of the imperialist intervention against the young Soviet republic and in strengthening its international position. The second factor which facilitates the exercise of a policy of peaceful coexistence is the existence of contradictions in the imperialist camp both among individual countries and among various groups of ruling classes within the capitalist countries. Lenin repeatedly indicated the need to note and use in the interest of safeguarding peace and international cooperation differences between the members of the bourgeoisie "who lean toward a military solution of the problem" and those "which lean toward pacifism, even of the worst variety which, from the communist viewpoint, is beneath all criticism" (op. cit., vol 45, p 70).

Peaceful coexistence, however, has never been considered an eternal condition, a passive nonresistance, or the abandonment of the struggle against imperialism. In defending what is most precious to all people -- peace and life -- from its very start socialist foreign policy placed itself at the service of all the oppressed and exploited. "...The bolsheviks," Lenin pointed out, "are creating entirely different international relations which enable all oppressed nationalities to become free from imperialist oppression" (op. cit., vol 42, p 107). This always presumed waging an active struggle for the defeat of any aggressive imperialist intrigues and meant that the peaceful foreign policy of the land of the soviets, aimed at ensuring the security and strengthening the main bulwark of socialism on earth, was also an important factor in the

struggle waged by all revolutionary forces of our time and contributes to the creation of favorable international conditions such as to enable all countries and nations to make social progress. It is thus that the land of the soviets is fulfilling its international duty to the world revolutionary movement and the working people the world over.

In considering the establishment of peaceful relations with the capitalist countries and developing mutually profitable cooperation with them as a specific form of the class struggle, Lenin believed this to be the only suitable and most advantageous policy for the Soviet state, for it enabled the country to focus its efforts on peaceful socialist construction and extended it above all to the area of economic competition between the two systems. It is precisely "in this area that the struggle has assumed a global scale. If we resolve this problem we have achieved an international and probably definitive victory" (op. cit., vol 43, p 341).

As Lenin predicted, the struggle for peace, against imperialist aggression and oppression and for the establishment of democratic principles of equality and friendship among nations in international relations, initiated by our country in October 1917, proved to be exceptionally hard and stubborn. For many years the Soviet state was forced virtually alone to withstand the pressure of world imperialism, and to defeat the anti-Soviet plans of international reaction. It was only revolutionary changes of a truly global scale that forced the ruling circles of a number of imperialist countries gradually to accept the new realities and the inevitability, in the final account, of agreeing to a peace "more or less satisfactory to democracy and the working class," as Lenin said (op. cit., vol 26, p 303).

The consequences of the defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism in World War II with the decisive role of the Soviet Union was the first such shift of a universal historical scale. With the radical change in the global ratio of forces in favor of democracy and socialism, under the leadership of communist and worker parties, the working people in a number of European and Asian countries seized the power, established people's governments, made deep revolutionary changes and took the path of socialist development. As a result, socialism exceeded the framework of a single country. A world socialist system appeared, which is becoming today a decisive factor in social progress. This is the greatest universal-historical event after the October Revolution and the most important gain of the international working class and revolutionary communist movement.

The new social system born of the October Revolution brought to life a new type of international relations among sovereign and equal socialist states. It created an alliance among nations united by common basic interests and ideals and loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The socialist commonwealth, linked by fraternal ties, practices today the broadest possible cooperation in all areas of life -- political, economic and cultural -- in the interest of the individual fraternal countries and world socialism at large. By strengthening their cooperation and unity the socialist countries increase the power of their beneficial impact on the course of global events. This benefits all nations, all mankind.

The collapse of the imperialist colonial system was another revolutionary change in the world's political life, which entailed major changes in the deployment of class forces in the international arena. In the qualitatively new conditions which developed after the war, and relying on the aid and support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries won their persistent and selfless struggle for national liberation. Colonial empires came to their end during the 1970s. A considerable group of countries with a socialist orientation emerged among the young national states. They are making radical socioeconomic changes and taking political, organizational, ideological and cultural steps which provide opportunities for a transition to socialism bypassing the capitalist stage. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are united with them by common anti-imperialist and peaceful objectives in foreign policy and common ideals of social justice and progress. In their revolutionary-transforming activities the young countries enjoy the support of the homeland of the October Revolution and the entire socialist world.

The successes of the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries in building a new society and the very existence of a global socialist system radically changed the conditions of the struggle waged by the working class in the developed capitalist countries. The ruling classes can no longer ignore the growing influence of the socialist example provided by many nations and the world socialist commonwealth. Under the pressure of the struggle waged by the proletariat, and taking into consideration a permanent factor such as the revolutionizing influence of global socialism, in order to preserve its rule the bourgeoisie is forced to make certain concessions to the working class -- recognizing the rights of trade unions, improving somewhat living and working conditions, creating social security systems, etc.

However, since such concessions do not affect in the least the system of capitalist exploitation itself and do not rescue the working people from the ulcers of capitalism, such as mass unemployment, poverty, the steady increase in the cost of living or crying social inequalities, and do not offer any protection from curtailing the rights officially proclaimed by the bourgeois state. The high pitch of class battles is not diminishing throughout the capitalist world. The increasing actions of the working class against monopoly omnipotence and for the satisfaction of economic and social demands, against the arms race and in defense of peace undermine the forces of imperialism and are the forerunners of even more powerful class confrontations which could bring about radical social changes. This is boosted by the sharp aggravation of the internal contradictions in contemporary bourgeois society and the unparalleled energizing of heterogenous social and political forces which oppose the dictatorship of big capital and the adventuristic course taken by the aggressive imperialist circles in the international arena.

All of these large-scale changes which, combined, offer an objective foundation for improving the political situation in the world, are most directly and closely related to the historical accomplishments of socialism, above all in the Soviet Union, its development as a powerful country, the creation of its invincible defense potential, the strengthening of the international positions of the homeland of the October Revolution and the spreading of its influence on the entire course of global development. In our days the efforts of the

leninist party and all Soviet people are directed toward the planned and comprehensive advancement of developed socialism and the further successful progress of our country toward communism. The stage reached in social development enables the Soviet Union to exert even greater influence on world events.

The strengthening of the economic and defense power of our country and the growth of its international importance have not affected the support shown by the USSR of the principles of equality and the development of good neighborly relations with all countries regardless of territorial location, size or social system. Although ready to defend the great accomplishments of the October Revolution, the Soviet people have never threatened any nation, big or small, with the use of force. They have never tried to impose their social system and ideology on anyone and have always favored extensive and fruitful cooperation among all nations on earth, free from diktat and intervention, for the sake of their mutual benefit and for the good of mankind.

Such was the case during the first post-October Revolution days when the young Soviet republic, weakened by the World and civil wars, foreign intervention and dislocation, found itself surrounded by hostile forces, and when the ratio of forces in the world was far less favorable to socialism than it is today.

Such is the case today as well, when the ratio of forces in the world arena has changed substantially and the power and influence of the Soviet state have grown immeasurably and the principles of peaceful coexistence, which are the foundations of our country's foreign policy, have gained wide international recognition.

Our party has always been against turning the ideological confrontation between socialism and capitalism into a confrontation between governments and nations and for the level of perfecting weapons, mass destruction weapons even more so, to become the criterion of the historical truth of opposing ideologies and social systems. Military rivalry has never been the choice of socialism. Since the time of the October Revolution its ideal has been a world without weapons, a world in which the threat of war itself would be excluded. "We firmly believe," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov has pointed out, "that in the final account socialism will prove its superiority precisely under the conditions of peaceful coexistence with capitalism. We do not support in the least competition in the military field imposed on us by imperialism."

Conversely, our class opponent has always feared the peaceful competition of ideas. Starting with the very first days following the victory of the October Revolution, Soviet Russia became the target of the aggressive plans of the militant anti-Sovietism of the imperialist countries which, as Lenin pointed out, "consider it their main task to strangle world bolshevism and its main nucleus, the Russian Soviet Republic" (op. cit., vol 37, p 164).

The aggressive imperialist circles are concocting the same type of ideas today by proclaiming the Soviet Union the "focus of evil" in the world and announcing a new "crusade" against communism, trying to secure for the United States a dominant position in the world and accelerating the development of new nuclear missile systems aimed at dealing a first strike, and corresponding military and political doctrines the suicidal purpose of which is victory in a

nuclear war against the USSR, and preparing to deploy in Western Europe new American missiles targeted on the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

At the turn of the 1980s, urged on by the most reactionary strata of the American financial upper crust and the military-industrial complex, the ruling U.S. circles took a sharp turn toward increasing tension and the arms race, confrontation with the socialist countries and fiercer struggle against the revolutionary democratic forces and national liberation movements. "...In the West," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov noted, "the most militant groups have become energized, groups whose class hatred of socialism has prevailed over the feeling of reality and occasionally even over common sense."

The foreign policy course pursued by the present administration in Washington is explained above all by the fact that a certain segment of the monopoly bourgeoisie is stubbornly refusing to acknowledge the radical changes which have taken place in the world and to accept the new realities of our age. Unable to meet the historical challenge which socialism hurled at imperialism as early as October 1917 or offer mankind any kind of positive development program, the U.S. reactionary circles consider as their only possibility to hinder, on the one hand, the offensive of contemporary revolutionary forces and, on the other, to ease some of the tremendous difficulties currently experienced by the capitalist system (severe economic decline, unparalleled inflation, drastically increased unemployment, etc.), increasing the arms race, a show of force and militancy and attempts to restore the United States to its lost position in the world. This is the purpose of all pretexts used in enhancing anti-Soviet hysteria and justifying large-scale military preparations and interventions in Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.

This course is encountering the growing opposition of progressive and democratic forces the world over. Discontent with the adventuristic policy of the United States, fraught with the threat of thermonuclear catastrophe, is shown also by that segment of ruling Western circles on whom the changed ratio of forces in the world arena is having a sobering influence. Convinced that the anticommunist "crusade" proclaimed by the Reagan administration can only extremely aggravate the international situation and result in the increasing isolation of the United States in the world community, these circles have come out in favor of adapting to the new situation and resolving the historical confrontation between capitalism and socialism through means less threatening to the very existence of mankind.

Unquestionably, the definitive adoption of the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems in international relations would be consistent with the vital interests of all nations. That is why the CPSU and the Soviet government can only welcome the trend currently shown in the capitalist world of a more realistic assessment of the international situation.

From the first days of the establishment of the Soviet system, the state of workers and peasants has always shown its readiness for dialogue with all interested parties and for reaching honest and just agreements. In the case of the exceptionally urgent current problem of nuclear missiles, for instance,

the Soviet Union believes that it can be resolved simply by showing willingness to find mutually acceptable solutions for substantially reducing the level of nuclear confrontation on the basis of the already achieved parity and the principles of equality and identical security of the parties. This aspiration is the basis of the constructive position held by the USSR in the talks on limiting strategic armaments and nuclear weapons in Europe. The position of the Soviet Union on such most acute problems of our time was clearly and unequivocally expressed in the declaration of Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman. Therefore, now it is only a question for the United States and its NATO allies to respond to the specific and far-reaching Soviet proposals aimed at lifting the threat of a devastating nuclear war hanging over the world and preventing another exceptionally dangerous spiral in the nuclear arms race. The Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries have given a clear and precise warning that unless this takes place, and if the plans of the American military on deploying medium-range missiles in Western Europe are nevertheless carried out, which will create an additional threat to the safety of the Warsaw Pact members, they will take effective countermeasures and will in no case allow any military superiority over them.

The aggravation of the world situation, caused by the increased aggressiveness of extreme reactionary forces, headed by U.S. imperialism, and their efforts to turn the course of history back, demands more than ever before the strengthening of international solidarity and the cooperation among communist and worker parties and all progressive forces in the struggle for safeguarding peace, restraining the arms race and opposing the adventurist policy of imperialist circles.

Unlike the bourgeois pacifists, the communists call not simply for the prevention of war. The Soviet Union aspires toward a radical improvement in international relations and the development of normal good-neighborly relations among all countries, regardless of their social systems. It continues to promote respect for the sovereign rights of all states and nations and the strict observance of the principles of international law which have always been violated by imperialism. "...In our epoch," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov emphasized, "it is precisely socialism which is the most consistent defender of the healthy principles in international relations, of the interests of detente and peace and of each nation and all mankind." The people of good will see in the peace-loving course of the CPSU and the Soviet State the worthy continuation of the traditions of the Great October Revolution and Lenin's behests.

The influence of the land of the soviets on world events has never been more powerful and comprehensive. Imperialism is using all possible means, resorting to gross provocations against the Soviet Union, raising its anti-Soviet campaign to the level of a refined psychological warfare and increasing the atmosphere of military psychosis in order to weaken this influence and turn the people away from socialism and the revolutionary October legacy. Soberly assessing the global situation, the communists realize that despite its defeats international reaction remains a source of tremendous danger and that the wild plans for social revenge it is concocting can poison the international atmosphere and lead mankind to the brink of nuclear catastrophe.

The entire post-October development proves that peace cannot be elicited from imperialism. The path to strengthening it on earth will be hard and thorny, with no easy victories. Nerves of steel, active struggle in defense of the principles of peaceful coexistence and resolve and ability to defend the great achievements of the socialist revolution will be needed in order to secure it.

As was the case immediately after the victory of the October Revolution, the present difficult period in global developments demands of all Soviet people high revolutionary vigilance, endurance and discipline, and awareness of the tremendous responsibility for the fate of the world and the cause of socialism throughout the world thrust on our country, Lenin's homeland, the homeland of the first victorious socialist revolution in the world. The successful solution of the key tasks in the field of economic and cultural construction by the Soviet people guided by the CPSU will unquestionably constitute a tremendous step toward the development of the country and improving the life of the toiling masses, and an even more convincing demonstration to the entire world of the advantages of the socialist system, enhancing its attractiveness.

The firm and consistent course pursued by the CPSU toward perfecting developed socialism in the Soviet Union and ensuring the peace and security of the peoples is the best guarantee that the Leninist party and the Soviet state will continue successfully to implement their historical mission of pioneering the building of a new society and increase even further the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the experience of the October Revolution on all aspects of global progress.

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STATEMENT BY YU. V. ANDROPOV, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE
AND CHAIRMAN OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDUM

PM281456 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 83 (signed to press 11 Oct
83) pp 13-17

[PRAVDA, 29 September 1983]

[Text] The Soviet leadership deems it necessary to inform the Soviet people, other peoples, and all who are responsible for determining states' policy of its assessment of the course pursued in international affairs by the current U.S. administration.

In short, it is a militarist course that represents a serious threat to peace. Its essence is to try to ensure a dominating position in the world for the United States of America regardless of the interests of other states and peoples.

The unprecedented buildup of the U.S. military potential and the large-scale programs for the production of all types of weapons--nuclear, chemical, and conventional--are subordinated to precisely these aims. The United States is now planning to extend the headlong arms race to space as well.

The American military presence thousands of kilometers from U.S. territory is being expanded on all kinds of farfetched pretexts. Bridgeheads are being created for direct interference in the affairs of other states with the aid of armed forces and for the utilization of American weapons against any country that rejects Washington's diktat. As a result, tension has increased in all regions of the world--Europe, Asia, Africa, the Near East, and Central America.

The other NATO countries are increasingly being dragged into the implementation of all these dangerous plans of Washington's. Moreover, efforts are being made to revive Japanese militarism and to link it to the [NATO] bloc's military-political machine. In the process attempts are made to get people to forget the lessons of the past.

The peoples judge the policy of a particular government above all by its actions. So when the U.S. President bombastically declares from the UN rostrum his commitment to the cause of peace, self-determination, and sovereignty of the peoples, these rhetorical declarations can convince no one.

If anyone has any illusions about the possibility of an evolution for the better in the present American administration's policy, recent events have

dispelled them once and for all. The administration is going so far for the sake of achieving its imperial objectives that one cannot help doubting whether any restraints [tormoza] at all exist for Washington to prevent it from crossing a line before which any thinking person ought to stop.

The sophisticated provocation organized by the U.S. special services using a South Korean plane is also an example of extreme adventurism in policy. We have elucidated the factual side of this action in detail and authentically. The guilt of its organizers--no matter how they dodge and no matter what bogus versions they put forward--has been proved.

The Soviet leadership expressed regret at the loss of life which was the result of this unprecedented, criminal act of subversion. The loss of life is on the conscience of those who would like to arrogate to themselves the right not to reckon with states' sovereignty and the inviolability of their borders, who conceived and implemented this provocation, and who literally the next day hastened to force colossal military appropriations through Congress and are now rubbing their hands with satisfaction.

Thus the "humanism" of the figures who are endeavoring to shift onto others the blame for the death of the people who were on board the aircraft means new mountains of weapons of mass destruction--from MX missiles to containers of neuroparalytic gas.

In their endeavor somehow to justify their dangerous, misanthropic policy, they are heaping mounds of slander on the Soviet Union and socialism as a social system, and the tone is being set by the U.S. President himself. It must be frankly said that it is an unseemly spectacle when, having set themselves the aim of denigrating the Soviet people, the leaders of a country like the United States resort to what is virtually foul-mouthed abuse mingled with hypocritical sermons on morality and humanity.

The world well knows the worth of this moralizing. In Vietnam morality as it is understood by Washington officials was instilled with the aid of napalm and toxins, in Lebanon it is being hammered in with volleys from ship's guns, and in El Salvador this morality is being introduced through genocide. This list of crimes could be extended. So we also have something to say about the moral aspect of U.S. policy, both when we remember history and when we are speaking of the present.

Now Washington, in addition to morality, is also flouting elementary rules of decency, displaying disrespect not only for statesmen and states but also for the United Nations. You may well ask whether an international organization designed to support peace and security can exist in a country where unbridled militarist hysteria is implanted and insults are hurled at that organization's good name?

Under cover of anticommunism, the claimants to the role of shapers of world destiny are trying to instill systems which suit them wherever they do not meet with a rebuff.

The concepts with which they try to justify this modus operandi would not, of themselves, be worthy of attention were it not for the fact that they are

being preached by the leaders of a major power and are not simply being preached verbally but are also being implemented in practice.

Transferring ideological contradictions to the sphere of interstate relations has never brought anything good to those who have resorted to it in foreign affairs. But now, in the nuclear age, it is simply absurd and inadmissible. Transforming the confrontation of ideas into military confrontation would cost all mankind too much.

But those who are blinded by anticommunism are obviously incapable of thinking about that. Beginning with the bogey of the "Soviet military threat" they have now reached the point of declaring a "crusade" against socialism as a social system. They are trying to suggest to people that socialism has no place at all in the world. True, they do not go so far as to admit that they are speaking of the world as Washington would like to see it.

But wishes and possibilities are far from the same thing. No one may reverse the course of history. The USSR and the other socialist countries will live and develop according to their own laws--the laws of the most progressive social system.

In the 65 years of its existence the Soviet state has successfully come through many ordeals, including harsh ones. Those who have tried to encroach on our state's integrity, on its independence, on our system, have found themselves on the ash heap of history. It is time that all those whom it concerns realized that we will be able to safeguard the security of our country and the security of our friends and allies under any conditions.

Soviet people may be sure that our country's defense capability is at such a level that anyone would be ill-advised to stage a trial of strength.

We for our part do not seek such a trial of strength. The very thought of this is alien to us. We do not separate off the well-being of our people and the security of the Soviet state, still less counterpose them to the well-being and security of other peoples and other countries. In the nuclear age the world must not be looked at through the chink of narrow egoistic interests. Responsible statesmen have one option--to do everything to prevent nuclear catastrophe. Any other position is shortsighted and, what is more, suicidal.

For the Soviet leadership the question of what line to follow in international affairs and in the present acute situation does not arise. Our policy is aimed, as before, at preserving and strengthening peace, easing tension, curbing the arms race, and broadening and deepening cooperation among states. This is the immutable will of the CPSU and the entire Soviet people. These, we are convinced, are also the aspirations of all peoples.

Of course, malicious attacks on the Soviet Union arouse in us a natural sense of indignation, but we have strong nerves, and we do not build our policy on emotions. It is founded on common sense, realism, and profound responsibility for the destiny of peace.

We proceed from the premise that *Wostok* is not bound to perish. The arms race must and can be ended. *Wostok* deserves a better lot than to live in a world torn by conflicts, suffocating beneath a burden of lethal weapons.

In advancing far-reaching proposals with regard to limitations and reductions of both strategic nuclear arms and medium-range nuclear arms in Europe we are concerned not only about the security of the USSR and the socialist community states but also about the security of all other countries.

As regards U.S. policy, its increasing militarization is also manifested in the reluctance to hold any serious talks and to reach agreement on questions of curbing the arms race.

The Soviet-American talks on a very acute problem--the reduction of nuclear arms in Europe--have now been going on for 2 years. The Soviet side's stance is aimed at finding mutually acceptable solutions on an honest, just basis, solutions which infringe on one's legitimate interests. At the same time it has also become clear over these 2 years our partners in the Geneva talks are certainly not there to reach an accord. They have a different task--to procrastinate and then begin deploying Pershing II ballistic missiles and long-range cruise missiles in West Europe. And they do not even particularly hide this fact.

They merely take refuge in arguments about some kind of U.S. flexibility at the Geneva talks. A further portion of this "flexibility" has just materialized. And this time the deception involved [*zalozhenny*] has become clear. If we leave the details to one side, the essence of the so-called new move in the American position, publicized as an "excellent" move, boils down to a proposal to reach agreement, as before, on how many Soviet medium-range missiles to reduce and how many new American missiles to deploy in Europe in addition to the nuclear potential which NATO already has.

In short, they are offering us a discussion on how to help the NATO bloc upset in its favor the balance which exists in the European zone in terms of medium-range nuclear means. And now, without batting an eyelid, they are portraying this move as something new.

From the captain's bridge in Washington, the operation of installing these U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe is seen as extremely simple and most advantageous for the United States--advantageous at Europe's expense. The European allies of the United States are regarded as hostages. This is a frank policy, but a cynical one. But here is what is really incomprehensible: Is any thought given to this by those European politicians who, disregarding the interests of their peoples and the interests of peace, are helping the implementation of the U.S. Administration's ambitious militarist plans?

There must be no room for reticence [*nedogovorennost*] here. If, despite the will of the majority of the population in West European countries, the U.S. nuclear missiles appear on the continent of Europe--this will be a step of fundamental dimensions that is hostile to the cause of peace on the part of the U.S. leaders and the figures of the other NATO countries acting in concert with them.

We do not discern on the American side any desire to really tackle the solution of the problem of limiting and reducing strategic arms. People in the American capital are now busy with something else: They are putting into production more and more new systems of these arms. And types of them are emerging that may altogether fundamentally overturn notions of strategic stability and of the very possibility of effectively limiting and reducing nuclear arms.

The Soviet Union's goodwill and its desire to reach agreement should not be taken by anyone as a sign of weakness. The Soviet Union will be able to give a suitable response to any attempt to disrupt the existing military-strategic balance, and its words will not be at variance with its deeds.

But we are principled opponents of competition in the production and stockpiling of mass destruction weapons. This is not our way. It cannot lead to the solution of any of the problems facing mankind: the economic development of states, the protection of the environment, and the creation of simply elementary conditions for people's life; for their nutrition, health, and education.

The release of the material resources which are being pointlessly wasted on the arms race and the revelation of man's inexhaustible creative capacities--this is what can unite people, this is what must determine the policy of states at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries. For all this to materialize it is necessary to stop the forces of militarism and through joint efforts to prevent the world from sliding into the abyss.

All peoples and each inhabitant of our planet must be aware of the threatening danger. Aware so as to unite their efforts in the struggle for their own existence.

Mankind has not lost and cannot lose its reason. This is manifested with the utmost force in the breadth of the scope of the antimissile and antiwar movement which has developed on the European and other continents--a movement in which people of different social, political, and religious affiliations are taking part.

All those who are today raising their voices against the insane arms race and in defense of peace can be assured that the policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is aimed at attaining precisely these goals. The USSR desires to live in peace with all countries, including the United States. It is not hatching aggressive plans, it is not forcing an arms race on anyone, it is not imposing its social order on anyone.

Our thoughts and aspirations are embodied in specific proposals aimed at securing a decisive change for the better in the international situation. The Soviet Union will continue to do everything possible to defend peace on earth.

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JUNE PLENUM IDEOLOGICAL WORK DECISIONS DISCUSSED

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[Article by K. Chernenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: "The Cause of the Whole Party, the Duty of Every Communist"]

[Text] The heights of progress have always been scaled with the help of advanced ideas. The creative role of Marxist-Leninist ideology is vividly manifested in the revolutionary transformation of the world, the multifaceted process of socialist building, and the education of the new person.

This is an ideology that enlightens and uplifts human intelligence, ennobling human feelings and organizing the will of the millions.

It is an ideology that asserts the unity of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action.

It is an ideology that rallies the socialist society on collectivist principles, an ideology of social optimism and peace.

In all its educational work the CPSU is invariably guided by Marxism's fundamental idea that man is molded not by circumstances themselves, but by the practical activity aimed at transforming them. Social practice, in the Marxist-Leninist concept, includes change not only in material living conditions, but in man himself. The molding of the new person is therefore both the aim and a necessary condition of communist building.

One of the main sources of the Leninist party's strength was and is the ability to creatively interpret the specific features of each historical stage and to determine the concrete content, forms, and methods of ideological activity that most fully meet with society's needs.

That is how our party has always acted. And that is how it acts today.

I

The June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum was a major event in the party's life and an important milestone in our country's movement along the path of social progress.

It gave a detailed analysis of the present stage of our society's development and clear guidelines for the future, noted the achievements and examined with party-minded exactingness the shortcomings of ideological education work, and defined clearly what must be done and how in order to bring that work up to the level of the major, complex tasks that are being resolved in the process of improving developed socialism.

On the basis of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and developing the provisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the November 1982 Central Committee Plenum, the party put forward at the June Plenum a detailed concept of ideological activity of long-term significance. Our ideological and theoretical arsenal was enriched with profound new ideas associated with the realities of today and lighting the way for further forward movement.

The speech at the plenum by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, is of fundamental significance for an understanding of current tasks and prospects in the economy, politics, and ideology. It is notable for its innovative approach to the most complex problems of domestic and international policy, its realistic assessment of the present, and its bold, scientific predictions for the future, founded on the analysis of real trends. Its important generalizations and conclusions define the main direction of work on the new edition of the CPSU program and reveal profoundly and in close conjunction with cardinal socioeconomic tasks the key questions in ideological activity. Party committees must proceed on the basis that despite the importance of economic and organizational matters, ideological work is coming increasingly to the fore.

The June Plenum took place in an atmosphere of the further strengthening of the indissoluble unity of party and people and our society's cohesion and aroused a patriotic desire in Soviet people to struggle more energetically and persistently for the implementation of the plans laid down, so as to make our socialist motherland still more mighty and prosperous. Its ideas have a beneficial influence on the entire sociopolitical, spiritual, and moral atmosphere in the country. Both the content and the tone of communists' speeches in party organizations and letters from workers, kolkhoz members, national economic specialists, scientists, and cultural figures to the Central Committee and to press organs enable us to state with complete confidence that the plenum's decisions were received with deep satisfaction. All this indicates that the questions it examined are topical and the measures elaborated express the interest of all working people.

"The ideas and thoughts of every one of us were reflected in the speech by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Yu. V. Andropov and the plenum report and resolution," B. I. Stepanov, tool maker of the Sibelektromotor plant, stressed at a joint plenum of the Tomsk party obkom and gorkom. "As was noted at the plenum, we must proceed on the basis that forming the awareness of our society's citizens is not only a matter for the professionals--ideologists, propagandists, and mass media workers. It is the cause of the whole party. And that means of each communist individually. This is how I understand it. I am convinced we will achieve much if everyone concerns himself with educating people in his own place. First and foremost through personal example and his attitude to the task in hand."

That is how millions of communists understand their party duty.

The most important political meaning of the plenum decisions is to bring into play all the creative forces inherent in the masses' labor and social activity and to ensure that all the working people--and I mean all--participate with still greater initiative in the implementation of constructive tasks and that each of them makes an increasing contribution to the common cause.

At party meetings, party committee plenums, and aktiv meetings, communists have analyzed from standpoints of high exactingness the state of ideological education work, realistically evaluated its pros and cons, subjected to keen criticism specific manifestations of divergence between word and deed, and mapped out meaningful plans of action. The pulse of the communists' living creative thought, their collective intelligence and experience, and their orientation toward practical deeds were clearly manifested in the business-like, committed discussion of the plenum results.

It is noteworthy that in the course of the partywide discussion of the plenum materials a broad spectrum of ideological problems was taken up. It is no exaggeration to say that not one question of ideological education work was ignored, whatever aspect of life it concerned. Interesting considerations and recommendations were voiced and initiatives put forward that introduce much that is new and valuable to ideological activity. It is particularly important for initiatives to be developed, recommendations consistently implemented, and criticism taken into account. Party committees must constantly monitor this work.

The plenum adopted important decisions. Work to implement them has been launched in all party organizations. Where in particular should attention be directed today?

First, it is necessary to make all communists aware that these decisions are intended for long-term systematic work whose main content is the all-round, planned improvement of developed socialism. This work is based on the fundamental theoretical generalizations and conclusions that define the preparation of the new edition of the CPSU program. The standard of all ideological education work depends on how organically concrete measures and actions are linked with that fundamental basis of all party activity.

Second, it is necessary to proceed on the basis that ideological work is an integral part of communist building. This means that improving it is dialectically interconnected with the resolution of topical questions of our society's economic and sociopolitical development and with the strengthening of the foundations of the socialist way of life. Formalism, stereotyping, superficiality, and divergence between words and deeds begin precisely where educational tasks are isolated from economic, social, and organizational tasks or are combined with them only mechanically. Here painstaking day-to-day work is needed, and the crux of this work is to teach people to think in broad socioeconomic and political terms and to translate economic, social, and other tasks into the language of educational actions, and educational actions into the language of economic and organizational actions. Substantial work lies ahead in this respect for all party committees.

Third, ideological work is a unified whole. It has to do with human consciousness, and people's thoughts and feelings cannot be shared among different departments. So it is necessary to establish close collaboration among ideological institutions and the mass information and propaganda media--all components of the ideological education complex--and to involve the broadest aktiv in this work and rely on it constantly.

Fourth, it is always necessary to see beyond mass measures, the figures--running to millions--for coverage by various forms of study, and the huge print runs of newspapers, books, and journals, not to mention television, which has an enormous audience, to man, with his unique individuality and inner world, his own experience of life, his joys and sorrows, concerns and ideas. It is apposite to recall that for Lenin, workers and peasants were not abstract "propaganda targets," "but living people who have experienced much, thought much, and demand attention to their needs" (N. K. Krupchaya, "On Lenin: Collection of Articles and Speeches," Moscow, Political Literature House, 1979, p 160).

It is necessary to develop and enrich the bolshevik traditions of work among the masses and step up the mobilizing and organizing role of propaganda. Today, as in the years of industrialization and collectivization, the Great Patriotic War and the postwar restoration, the agitator, propagandist, or party journalist is called upon by force of his conviction, truthfulness, and principles, to kindle people's hearts and help them in labor and life.

"Words," Lenin taught, "are also deeds" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Completed Collected Works], vol 11, p 59). The party has always relied on the force of truthful words addressed to the masses, words that have inspired, rallied, and mobilized people to resolve the tasks set, however complex. It is incorrect to think that the contemporary Soviet person, being more educated, erudite, and well-informed than his predecessors, is less responsive to the words of propagandists and agitators. True, you must talk to him seriously, he does not like commonplaces and will not accept an edifying tone. Calm, sensible, to-the-point discussion, realistic analysis of the situation, well-weighted arguments--these he receives more profoundly and fully. Educational work now requires considerably more psychological subtlety and more tact; flabbiness and indifference are contraindicated, what is needed is keenness of thought, precision of speech, and convincing arguments. Only then can this work become really effective.

Fifth, we need to decisively eradicate fuss, show, and useless paperwork, which become "pure bureaucratic murder of the living cause" (V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 42, p 344), and to evaluate ideological activity at all its levels and in every component not on the basis of the total number of measures, sessions, and decisions adopted, but in terms of the main criterion--the masses' labor and political activeness.

The spirit and substance of the plenum decisions demand from party committees a critical approach toward shortcomings in the ideological sphere, the ability to determine the weakest links in propaganda and education, and energy and persistence in implementing practical tasks.

Particular mention should be made of the question of overcoming the shortcomings on which the plenum focused keen attention. It is necessary to deal strictly with those who are inclined to display sluggishness, to work in the old-fashioned way, to avoid resolving urgent problems, and to give way to dreamy complacency. As a check on the work of certain party organizations and ideological institutions has shown, there are grounds for formulating the question in this way.

Increasing the effectiveness of education depends on a correct understanding of the nature of the relationship between objective and subjective factors.

Back at the time of the party's creation, in his work "What Is To Be Done?", Lenin came out against two erroneous extremes in the understanding of ideological activity--the first, when it is viewed in isolation from objective conditions and its worldly basis, which gives rise to verbiage and a tendency to indulge in hare-brained schemes, and the second, when hope is pinned entirely on material factors, which condemns ideological education work to passivity and laissez-faire. The Marxist-Leninist conception of propaganda and agitation developed in the plenum's decisions proceeds on the basis of the need to organically combine purposeful ideological work with transformations in the socioeconomic sphere and energetic labor and sociopolitical activity on the part of the people themselves.

The results of the June Plenum caused great interest throughout the world. An analysis of foreign responses shows that the progressive public saw in the plenum materials a profound ideological substantiation of the peace-loving policy of our party and state taking full account of the particular features of the present-day situation, and a constructive, principled course in international relations aimed at ending the arms race and preventing thermonuclear war.

Our friends assessed the plenum decisions as a clear program for the realization of socialism's advantages and further weighty proof of the CPSU's creative attitude toward revolutionary theory and of the unsubstantiated nature of myths about a "crisis" in Marxist-Leninist thought.

Our class opponents were once again able to see for themselves our unswerving and inexorability in upholding the interests of world socialism. The Soviet people cannot be intimidated by "psychological attacks" or by unbridled slander from imperialism's henchmen, who are without honor or conscience.

II

The June Plenum examined in broad historical perspective the vital questions of socioeconomic policy. Key tasks were put forward embracing all aspects of our society's life--the development of production forces, the improvement of production relations, and changes in the sphere of the superstructure.

The party has recently adopted important measures to ensure the further implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the Central Committee November and June plenums.

It is above all a matter of a radical increase in labor productivity and of combining in practice the advantages of the socialist system and the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. The recent CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures To Accelerate Scientific and Technical Progress in the National Economy" envisages a range of measures aimed at increasing the scale of the utilization of the present-day potential of science and technology in the economy, which will make it possible to deepen the intensification process.

It is also a matter of substantially improving planning and management, eliminating the unjustified scattering of resources, improving the balance of the economy, and more fully satisfying the population's demand for good-quality goods and high-quality food products. Great significance will also be attached to the resolution of a wide range of tasks to ensure close ties between economic and social policy, improve the Soviet people's living standard, and develop sensible needs.

Substantial work lies ahead in achieving a well-substantiated relationship between labor productivity and wages. We must not forget that the preferential growth of labor productivity in relation to the growth of wages, which is an objective economic law of socialism, consolidates the material base for improving the people's well-being and fulfilling social programs. The plenum once again recalled that one of the main principles among the vital principles governing the socialist society's life is that of distribution according to labor. Any slackening of control of the measure of labor and the measure of consumption results not only in economic losses, but in moral flaws. Our propaganda is called upon to analyze more deeply and demonstrate in accessible form the dependence of prosperity and consumption on the labor invested and its quality.

The entire experience of socialist building indicates that forward movement is inconceivable without the development of democratic centralism in management and the heightening of each worker's responsibility for fulfilling his duties to society. The masses' initiative and creativity, the growth of the economic and educational role of competition, and broad democracy in conjunction with centralism are essential, necessary conditions of the activation of economic life and of the utilization of the tremendous potential for increasing the production efficiency that is inherent in the socialist economic system.

Our socioeconomic successes lead to the strengthening of the material basis of the development of the socialist consciousness and the molding of a comprehensively developed personality, which is the party's program goal. "We rightly speak of ideological backup for economic work," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov has stressed. "But as much, if not more, significance is attached to economic or--more broadly--social backup for ideological work."

The plenum pointed out the need to constantly improve production management. A CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree entitled "On Further Measures To Broaden the Rights of Industrial Production Associations (Enterprises) in Planning and Economic Activity and To Step Up Their Responsibility for Work Results" was adopted recently, in accordance with which

an economic experiment is being conducted in a number of sectors. Essentially it is a trial run of the model of the economic mechanism for the immediate future.

A scientific approach, businesslike efficiency, and an objective assessment of results are the requisite conditions for the implementation of the experiment. The conduct of the experiment is not only an economic but also a party-political task which requires active participation by ideological workers. Journalists, propaganda workers, and lecturers must describe clearly and skillfully the essence of the steps being taken and must respond more promptly to those situations that slow matters down.

The orientation toward the end results of work guides production toward satisfying more fully the requirements of the national economy and the people. There is also a rapprochement between the economic interests of society, the collective, and the individual. It is important to note that the substantial broadening of associations' and enterprises' rights is leading to the further development of democratic principles in the solution of the most diverse questions emerging in the production process. At the same time responsibility for work results is being stepped up. It is not a coincidence that Lenin viewed the "establishment of a very strict sense of responsibility" and the "voluntary execution of the orders and instructions needed to ensure that the economic mechanism does indeed work as smoothly as clockwork" (op. cit., vol 36, p 156) in close interconnection.

Characterizing the economy's decisive role in building a socialist society, Lenin highlighted two main factors for economic growth: the plan and discipline. The consistent implementation under communist party leadership of socioeconomic development plans and strict discipline in their fulfillment have brought our country up to the heights of mature socialism. The plenum stressed that the strengthening of discipline is not a short-term campaign but a matter of systematic daily work. And success is ensured when all working people become directly involved in this work and when it is based on the masses' conscientiousness and initiative.

Discipline based on a conscientious attitude to labor is inherent in socialism's nature. The elaboration of a collectivist consciousness and conduct itself requires the constant maintenance of a high level of socialist discipline, which meets the interests of all the people and is a very important condition of the fulfillment of state plans and of increasing production efficiency.

Discipline in the Leninist sense is inseparable from a concern for the state of affairs in the country. Practice shows that the greater the degree of responsibility among enterprise collectives for the fulfillment of state targets, the more zealously they will conduct their economic management. But this requires greater organizational and educational work among labor collectives.

Educate people in the daily struggle to fulfill state plans, to improve output quality and the efficient use of production capacities, raw materials,

energy, and work time, and to strengthen organization and responsibility, and in the struggle against inertia, bureaucracy, departmentalism, and local favoritism--this is how the question was posed, Lenin-style, at the June Plenum. The best method of carrying out this work is to educate people by means of positive examples and models of leading experience and by specifically highlighting those factors which achieve success.

The USSR Law on Labor Collectives granted them new potential for active participation by each worker in production management. It is necessary to ensure that these rules are used effectively to strengthen and uphold the atmosphere of high exactingness, responsibility, and discipline. State and economic organs must create for labor collectives the optimum conditions for their fulfillment of production programs and social development plans. Primary party organizations form the political nucleus of labor collectives. They carry tremendous responsibility for the implementation of party policy both in the production, socioeconomic, and ideological spheres. I should also like to draw attention, in particular, to the role of the factory and plant press. A greater degree of order, social initiative, and organization prevails in those places where worker correspondents take part positively in the life of their enterprises.

Demands on industrial leaders are increasing under present-day conditions. Their principle-mindedness, competence, and persistence do much to determine the state of affairs in all sections of the national economy. The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, and AUCCTU resolution on stepping up work to strengthen socialist labor discipline, points out that a leaders' inability to ensure the appropriate order in a given area of work should be viewed as a feature incompatible with the post held.

There is a direct dependence between the results of a labor collective's work and discipline and the attention paid by the administration and social organizations to people's needs and requests.

The experience of advanced enterprises such as the Likhachev truck plant, Leningrad's V. I. Lenin Optical and Mechanical Plant, the Lakuzhskiy Turbinny Zavod production association, Sumy's M. V. Pruze machine-building production association, the Lipetskstroy trust, Tiraspol's S. M. Kirov foundry machinery plant, and others show this convincingly. The party and trade union organizations and economic leaders there are doing energetic work to create favorable conditions for highly productive labor and to strengthen discipline and increase cadre stability by improving production organization and paying greater attention to social questions. Economic, organizational, and ideological resources are being channeled into achieving high labor productivity, increasing production efficiency, economy, and thrift.

The June Plenum made a call to actively shape the new type of economic thinking and to foster initiatives and socialist enterprise. Businesslike efficiency, responsibility, a heightened feeling for innovation, a thrifty attitude to the people's property, and an orientation toward qualitative indicators and the best national economic results with the minimum costs are integral features of this thinking and style of work. The cultivation of these

features is equally necessary to the economic executive and to every specialist, worker, and kolkhoz member.

There is sufficient potential for this, including mass economic training, constant information to collectives about production matters and prospects, and the in-depth study and use of advanced work methods. Experience of life shows that the worker who has a thorough knowledge of the economy of his plant, construction site, or kolkhoz participates more actively in production management, overcomes more rapidly the inertia of long-established ideas and habits, seeks out ways to resolve the tasks that arise more energetically, and is constantly concerned to improve the matter assigned to him.

Lessons can be learned, for example, from the work experience of party organizations in Zaporozhye Oblast in reducing the proportion of heavy physical labor. Socialist competition, mass economic training, the work of people's universities, and the press do good service in mobilizing working people to implement the comprehensive programs for labor mechanization formulated at enterprises. The leadership and coordination of the fulfillment of these programs are carried out by a special council under the party obkom. As a result the labor of about 20,000 workers was mechanized in the oblast in the 10th Five-Year Plan and the first half of the 11th Five-Year Plan, modern economic thinking here is combined with persistence, a determination to achieve practical results, and well-ordered organizational work.

The new economic thinking cannot be restricted to the framework of "one's own" production unit. The workers who have mastered it are distinguished by a respectful and solicitous attitude toward the interests of other collectives and of society as a whole and, of course, by the strict fulfillment of state plans and pledges. Those who forget this and approach matters from a purely departmental or local viewpoint are dissipating the strengths of collective labor and are violating state discipline and the norms of socialist management. Consequently the basis on which people's conscientious, interested, and responsible attitude to their obligations rests is undermined.

Shaping the new economic thinking means primarily examining all production questions from the viewpoint of the interest of all the people and the state.

"Each factory and plant committee should feel," Lenin noted, "that it is not only engaged with the affairs of its own plant but that it is also the organizational cell for building all state life" (op. cit., vol 35, p 147). A collective's efforts must not end when its output leaves the enterprise or farm gates. It is necessary to know all the details of the sphere of consumption of this output and to help in its rational utilization. Savings must be made not only "on the shop floor" but also among consumers; in other words, it is necessary to show concern for national economic gain as a whole. An in-depth, concrete economic knowledge and a broad political and state approach to problems are absolutely essential here.

A narrow pragmatic, mercenary view of economics is alien to communists. The linking of production and political questions is an important feature of the new economic thinking. This link was demonstrated very well by the builders

of the Urengoy-Pomary-Uzhgorod main gas pipeline. The ahead-of-schedule construction of this unique route was an outstanding victory for Soviet science and technology and our industry and is evidence not only of the skill but also of the high level of political consciousness of workers, engineers, and scientists. It is a businesslike reply to those transatlantic adventurists -- Intention was to talk to our people in the language of political ultimatums and economic sanctions. It is not just economics but also politics, big politics which is created by workers' hands. After all, to pose any question in a political way, according to Marx, is to reveal its social meaning and to approach it "from the viewpoint of the state as a whole" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 1, p 360).

The new economic thinking does not come about of its own accord. It is developed by means of intensive labor connected with the constant renewal of knowledge and changes in people's psychology. Linking the strength of knowledge with practical experience and ideological conviction with economic education and the development of working people's initiative and energy is a most important task of management and education.

III

The successful implementation of the tasks posed by the plenum is inconceivable without a considerable improvement of the organization of the whole matter of education. "... It is only with excellent organization," Lenin stressed, "that our moral strength can be turned into material strength" (op. cit., vol 9, p 246). Businesslike efficiency, a concrete approach, a realistic evaluation of results, a sober consideration of the level of people's consciousness and political culture, a constant comparison of propaganda with the real course of life, the results of economic and managerial activity, and the strengthening of discipline and order--that is what is particularly important now.

Many party committees have begun to tackle more actively questions of the organization of ideological work and to show greater initiative, creativity, and persistence in increasing its efficiency. It is being increasingly concentrated on resolving crucial economic, social and educational tasks. The experience, for example, of the Moscow City party organization in improving the system of communists' political training is interesting, as is that of the Kiev City party organization in ensuring the unity of economic, organizational, and political work, the Minsk City party organization in working people's patriotic and internationalist education, the Ivanovo City party organization in strengthening discipline and order in industry, and others.

As is well known, the plenum paid great attention to improving the forms and methods of ideological work. And it must be said that we have been doing much in this direction. The comprehensive approach to the organization of the educational process and to the use of all the means of ideological influence is establishing itself and current and long-term planning is being better conducted. Leningrad's experience in formulating plans for the economic and social development of administering regions and labor collectives including programs in the educational sphere is being disseminated.

The strengthening of the scientific base of ideological education work should be included among the positive changes. This makes it possible to make more objective judgments about the efficiency of certain links in propaganda and agitation, the level of information of various groups of the populations, and the moral and psychological climate in collectives.

We have to implement the plenum decision on organizing an all-union public opinion study center. It will require a strong network in party kraykoms, obkoms, and gorkoms, and labor collectives. However, the nub of the problem is not only in the study but also in the purposeful shaping of public opinion. In brief, it is not just practical present-day recommendations that are needed, but also scientifically validated forecasts capable of promptly guiding our propaganda.

When it is a matter of economic and social problems it is particularly necessary to explain in detail their essence and the point of decisions and to publicize the activity of management organs and systematically inform working people about it. Many party organizations have now established well-organized work with working people's questions to lecturers, propagandists, and mass media organs. They are studied and generalized and--most importantly--they are examined and resolved by the competent organs. It is important to ensure that no question raised be left without a clear answer, and that no businesslike proposal be left without the adoption of specific measures. Such is the CPSU Central Committee's requirement.

The strict party monitoring of the implementation of working people's suggestions and proposals produces a considerable social effect and strengthens the prestige of propaganda.

The June Plenum emphasized that the first secretaries of party committees must constantly deal with the questions of ideological work. This is a matter of principle. Wherever they go carefully into these questions, there is significantly greater responsibility for ideological education work by all party committee sections. It is obvious to us that no political activity is possible without personal participation by all party cadres in educational work. A party worker is not and cannot be fully effective without direct contact with the masses, without the ability to attract people, without the need to expand his theoretical horizons.

This applies directly to economic leaders, too. Many of them have proved themselves to be good educators, aware of how important it is to bear in mind the ideological aspects and consequences of practical economic and organizational work. Take, for example, the famous Magnitka. All shop leaders and foremen there have either graduated from the evening university of Marxism-Leninism or are studying in one of its faculties. The combine's leaders meet the people in shops and teams according to a precise schedule. This makes it possible to resolve efficiently any problems that may arise and to maintain an atmosphere of comradeship and mutual trust.

Everything is important in a collective's life: the organization of labor and recreation, the allocation of housing, travel warrants, and places in children's institutions, the system in hostels and the menus in canteens, the

nature of mutual relations between leaders and subordinates, and so on. It would be hard to overestimate the effect of a correct and just solution to these questions on the conscientiousness, quality of labor, and social behavior of a person and his mood.

One positive fact is that many party committees have become bolder in their experiments, are creating an atmosphere of imaginative quest, and are discovering efficient means to strengthen the unity between economic management and education. This is manifested, for example, in the development and introduction of effective forms of organizational and mass political work under the conditions of agroindustrial associations.

For example, the Blagodarnenskiy party raykom in Stavropol Kray, in conjunction with the rayon agroindustrial association, has generalized and disseminated the experience of the Gigant Kolkhoz where, last year, all harvesting work was already being carried out by the team contract method. During this year's harvesting period this method was adopted by two-thirds of the rayon's harvesting and transportation collectives. Some 680 party members participating in the harvesting work formed 40 temporary party groups, which enhanced the communists' influence on the progress of work. Agitation and propaganda links functioned at all sectors of the grain production conveyor belt--from the fields to the elevators. The results of socialist competition were analyzed daily and announced to all subdivisions of the agroindustrial complex, also on a daily basis. The motherland's granaries were filled with 103,000 metric tons of grain and the plan for grain sales to the state for the first 3 years of the five-year plan was fulfilled 120 percent. What is especially valuable was that these results were attained in difficult weather conditions.

The establishment of agroindustrial associations requires special attention to be paid to the formation of new relations between people who share common goals and responsibility for the end results. This is one of the urgent tasks facing rural party raykoms under present-day conditions.

Today the center of gravity of political education work is shifting to the primary labor cells--the production teams. It is expedient to set up party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations or groups within them, or--when they are numerically small--to send party organizers to them, as is done in the Ukraine and Georgia. At the same time, the coordination of the activity of public organizations within labor collectives must be improved so as to prevent them duplicating one another's work. It is, after all, possible to reduce the number of measures implemented by them, some of which are furthermore often similar, without in any way diminishing their role or prestige or damaging their work. Each public organization must fulfill its own functions without taking on tasks which are outside its competence.

To conduct education on a wide front encompassing all spheres in which personality is shaped by skillfully utilizing our entire information and propaganda arsenal--this is the plenum's directive.

A leading role in this must be played by the mass news media. There is an appreciable tendency in the press to provide deeper and more topical

materials, vary their forms, establish close contact with the readers, and--most important--to make the printed material more effective.

The plenum pointed out the need for significant improvement in the work of rayon and city newspapers. There are good examples of their reporting local life and showing constant concern for raising the professional standard of published materials. For example, the STROITEL' KOMMUNIZMA newspaper published in Arkhangelsk Oblast's Plesetskiy Rayon attracts its readers by reporting local news on a daily basis, laconically, in an interesting way, without copying the larger publications, by skillfully combining news with statements on problems, sharply critical materials, and regular reports on the measures that have been taken. People are glad to turn to such a newspaper with their concerns and suggestions, telling about their affairs. And when the readers speak of it as "my newspaper" this shows that it is being run skillfully, meaningfully, in a spirited fashion.

We must consolidate and develop everything positive that has emerged in the activity of central and local press, above all the valuable experience in publishing materials close to life and the real problems that perturb people.

Fewer vague deliberations, general positions, and anonymous appeals, and more objective, analytical approaches, and direct appeals to the reader--this is one of the plenum's most important requirements.

It should be especially emphasized that ideological work must be constantly at the focus of the attention of the mass news media and be analyzed just as systematically, with just as much interest and exactingness as the other aspects of the multifaceted activity of party organizations.

The current task is to improve the contents and effect of television current affairs programs. The recently adopted CPSU Central Committee resolution on this question defines specific measures. A morning news program and additional news reports during the day are being introduced. A new weekly television program with counterpropaganda content is being produced for young people, while a regular news and current affairs program will be devoted to children and adolescents.

The press, radio and television, and publishing houses give workers in literature and the arts access to the broadest audiences. This is why the editorial collectives strengthen and develop their creative relations with writers, painters, composers, and theater and cinema workers on the basis of high party exactingness and professional exactingness and disseminate more widely the practice of adhering to the aims of society. There is experience of this in our country and it is yielding fruitful results. A large group of workers in literature and the arts are currently working in close cooperation with journals and publishing houses on the most topical subjects. The heroic saga of the conquest of space and the outstanding labor feats of our contemporaries provide wonderful material for the creation of artistic and journalistic works of enormous educational significance.

All the activity of creative unions, the appropriate ministries and departments, and their party organizations today must exert a more active influence

upon the ideological orientation of work in theaters, movie studios, journals, and publishing houses so as to eliminate instances of conciliatoriness in questions of world outlook, any retreat from historical truth, and subjectivist bias in the approach toward evaluating artistic works. Work with the creative intelligentsia is called upon to help resolve the most important task of literature and the arts: how to create the complete image of the hero of our times, capable of creating a deep impression on people's souls and serving as an attractive example, above all for young people.

The plenum raised urgently the question of changing the style of work in the entire network of political and mass political study so that it can really help every working person acquire a deeper understanding of party policy and apply in practice the knowledge he has acquired. Substantial amendments have been introduced in study programs. So as to further raise the ideological and theoretical standard of propaganda and agitation, the CPSU Central Committee has taken the decision to set up an All-Union House of Political Education. The ideological cadres expect it to provide serious scientific and methodological assistance and to generalize the experience in propaganda work, coupled with clear recommendations on the application of the achievements of psychology, education, and sociology in propaganda.

The foremost principle in education is concern for the growing generation. The June plenum looked at this problem from the broadest point of view--from the patriotic and internationalist education of young people to their training for socially useful labor. This important discussion was continued at the meeting with party veterans at the CPSU Central Committee and at numerous party committee plenums.

The commission set up immediately following the plenum by a Politburo decision is working on proposals for the preparation of reforms in the schools and vocational and technical training system. Party workers, important scientists, experienced educators, and labor collective leaders are taking part in its activity. Various alternatives are being currently studied and viewpoints and approaches are being carefully compared. The commission and press organs are receiving a large stream of letters. The ideas and opinions they contain are being analyzed most thoroughly and generalized, and will be taken into account. The reform that is in preparation is a question of major social significance affecting the interests of the whole of society.

The only correct path in educational work with the growing generation is to combine study with productive labor, actively involve young people in socio-political life, and be more daring in entrusting them with increasingly responsible matters so that they can mature more quickly in the crucible of practice both ideologically and morally, acquiring high civic and vocational qualities.

The party attaches paramount significance to the further consolidation of socialist principles in all spheres of life and to overcoming everything that contradicts them. It is now clear to us that the existence of negative phenomena cannot be explained only by remnants of the past and the force of inertia. We know both theoretically and practically that such phenomena also

arise as a result of causes involving the contradictions and complications of social development and shortcomings in economic and educational work. This means that, in order to place the struggle against phenomena diametrically opposed to our way of life on a realistic basis, it is necessary to make use of all means--socioeconomic, educational, administrative, and legal. It must be stressed that criminal actions by the plunderers of the people's wealth, the speculators, and the bribe-takers must inevitably be the subject of clear-cut class evaluation because we are talking about protecting socialist property and our fundamental principles and standards. In its uncompromising struggle against any forms of antisocial behavior, society must rely on the force of the law, and the law--on the force of society.

Both centrally and locally, specific measures are being taken in accordance with the plenum directive to counteract more efficiently the infiltration of hostile ideology. They envisage the establishment of a unified countrywide counterpropaganda system starting at the labor collective level.

The main aspect of its work is to clearly disclose the advantages of the Soviet way of life, to profoundly and convincingly expose the rotten "values" of bourgeois mentality, to specifically analyze antisocialist propaganda, and to develop and coordinate preemptive counterpropaganda measures. The class enemy undertakes all sorts of provocations trampling the universally accepted standards of law and morality, does not disdain the most brazen slander and lies, and unleashes arrant anti-Sovietism. These conditions necessitate high vigilance and the energetic rebuttal of any intrigues by ideological saboteurs.

No matter which ideological sphere we take, the Leninist work style and the skillful organization of affairs provide the basis of success. What is it that hinders organizational work most of all? First and foremost, it is the substitution of bureaucratic matters for meaningful issues, enthusiasm for sessions and conferences, and all the nonrational allocation of time. Some party organizations simply have no time for work, because of the abundance of paperwork descending from above. It can happen that an enterprise, construction site, or sovkhos party committee receives each year several hundreds of documents, requests or instructions.

It is clear that time can really be devoted to the main issue--work with people--only by blocking off the stream of inquiries and reports and by renouncing blind faith in the strength of paperwork and the accumulation of all sorts of measures and campaigns. For example, the Tomsk party obkom undertook to resolutely cut down the number of requests for information and local reports and oblast conferences summoning the aktiv, which has enabled the apparatus workers to spend more time on the spot and render greater practical assistance to primary party organizations and party raykoms and gorkoms.

The improvement of the style of ideological and mass political work means above all exacting monitoring of the implementation of party directives and the execution of decisions taken. This is based on inspection of the real state of affairs and analysis of the results that have been attained, instead of simply looking at the reports and the formal qualities of the documents. Errors and rash conclusions are otherwise inevitable.

A little while ago PRAVDA cited the following facts. The Irkutsk CPSU Obkom Bureau approved, and recommended for introduction in all the oblast's labor collectives, the experience of Oktyabrskiy Rayon in providing ideological backing for competition under the slogan "Not a Single Laggard." In actual fact, one in four of the rayon's enterprises fails to fulfill its plans. The Cherenkovskiy party raykom noted the well-organized economic study at the East Siberian refractory materials plant, and yet for several years it has been failing to achieve the plan targets in all indicators.

It is typical in these cases for the evaluation of ideological work to be superficial. This approach, the formal approach, is bound to result in serious mistakes.

It should be said that the plenum's criticism of a number of party committees was heeded and practical conclusions are being drawn. But further solid work will have to be done to eliminate shortcomings and substantially raise the level of organizational and ideological activity.

It is cadres who determine success in any area of party work. Diverse and profound knowledge, political experience, moral authority, a vigorous and businesslike approach, and propaganda and organizational talent are what is basically expected of ideological personnel.

The party has established a ramified system for the training and periodic retraining of ideological cadres. Implementing additional measures in this sphere, the CPSU Central Committee has decided to create an all-union institute for the improvement of press workers' skills.

It is important to ensure that the content of the training of the party aktiv in all its forms is suffused with the ideas of the plenum and the study of theoretical matters is closely linked to the interpretation of practical experience and its analysis and generalization. Greater demands must be made on staff who have undergone retraining, and they must make maximum use of the knowledge they have acquired.

Questions pertaining to ideology and education, to the concrete approach to propaganda and agitation, and to intensifying the ideological influence on all aspects of life are playing a big part in the current report and election campaign in the party. Its theme is the further strengthening of party ranks, the development of intraparty democracy, the refinement of organizational and ideological work and the forms and methods of party leadership of socioeconomic processes, and the enhancement of the CPSU's leading role in the life of Soviet society.

IV

New ideas closely connected with our present-day reality and program provisions determining the directions of work on the refinement of developed socialism have equipped the party and the people with a clear idea of immediate and long-term tasks. We have now acquired mere knowledge and have begun to understand phenomena more deeply and to see further.

Of course, the theoretical organizations and conclusions contained in the plenum materials cannot give exhaustive answers to all the questions posed by life and practice. These generalizations elucidate the main, key problems of the present state of social development and provide theoretical solutions of them close up, so to speak. At the same time, they must be "growth points" for scientific knowledge in the social science sphere. Initiative, bold scientific research, the detailed analysis of the way objective laws work, and the ability to see phenomena in terms of interrelationships and contradictory development and to provide practice with valid recommendations and sound forecasts--this is what is expected of social scientists today.

Work to implement the plenum's ideas and guidelines is under way in scientific institutions. What is needed is a decisive switch in social science to the real, practical tasks set by life. So it is important for all social science institutions, VZ departments, scholars and teachers to reevaluate their activity in the light of the plenum decisions and to draw their own concrete conclusions.

Scientific research can bear fruit only when it is firmly founded on Marxist-Leninist philosophical and methodological principles, when it is permanently oriented toward class criteria and aids the fuller comprehension and utilization of socialist methods of management and control.

The role of world outlook and methodological intellectual discipline is growing because representatives of all manner of spheres of knowledge, not only comparatively closely related ones, are being drawn into a common stream of research. We are seeing a deepening relationship between the social, natural and technical sciences, increasingly wide use of the research methods of the natural sciences in social science, and growing interest on the part of natural scientists in philosophical problems and in the social and moral aspects of the development of knowledge.

The strengthening of the bond between the different sciences requires a profound mastery of Marxist-Leninist dialectical materialist methods of scientific thought--the only reliable instrument for understanding society and nature.

The Soviet scientist is not a narrow specialist, but a person with broad social interests and a philosophical outlook, a patriot and citizen who regards his work as a service to truth, to the good of the people and to the great communist ideals.

With the refinement and scientific control of social processes, the system of links between theory and practice acquires new forms and new content. These ties are undergoing development and enrichment in two main areas. On the one hand, political, economic, and educational activity is becoming increasingly dependent on the results of scientific research. Profound philosophical generalizations, accurate economic calculations and forecasts, and correct sociological observations are very essential today. Essential if we are to be able to act with certainty, on a long-term basis.

On the other hand, impulses from various spheres of social practice are of growing significance for theoretical work. Important experiments are

currently taking place in key areas of economic and cultural building and experience has been accumulated in solving complex economic and social questions and scientific and technical problems, improving production management and organization, encouraging highly productive labor, strengthening discipline, and improving educational work. This experience, filled with a wealth of vital content, requires all-round evaluation and generalization.

At the same time, practice must also be responsive to science and must heed its conclusions and advice. All valuable scientific results must be rapidly put into practice and purposefully used to improve production efficiency and economic and educational activity.

In this connection, it is necessary to touch on the question of interaction between science and ideological practice. The plenum indicated a certain lack of coordination between scientific and propaganda components. A determined effort must be made to eliminate this lack of coordination. Only then can one ensure, as Comrade Yu. V. Andropov noted, that "People grow up here not just as bearers of a sum of knowledge, but above all as citizens of a socialist society, active builders of communism, with characteristic ideological principles, morals, and interests, and high standard of labor and behavior."

The social sciences must be the smithy of our ideological complex, where knowledge is forged and ways and means of transforming knowledge into "actual organs of social practice and the real life process" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 46, Part II, p 215) are thought out. The dual role of social science lies at the very foundation of our ideology, scientific not only in its content, but also in the methods of working with the masses. "...Make analysis the basis of our agitation and propaganda...."--this task was set by Lenin (op. cit., vol 40, p 244).

For practical work in the sphere of propaganda and education it is important to know not only the nature of socioeconomic processes but also the particular shape they take in the social consciousness and social psychology of society as a whole and of individual groups and strata of the population. And the purposeful and broad development of specific sociological research can make a big contribution in this area.

Educational activity is a most delicate medium for molding and developing the individual. Therefore even its good experience, when transplanted from a concrete situation to the "herbarium" of dried-up schemes, often loses its freshness, vital cogency and effectiveness. This specific feature of education demands an appropriate broad social and philosophical approach.

Lenin saw the principles and concepts of our philosophy and methodology as the "result, sum, and conclusion" of the worldwide historic experience of understanding and transforming the world, the experience of entire eras and of struggle among social classes. How can one bind more closely the great concepts of our science to the life experience of the individual and his day-to-day practice? It is up to social science to answer these and other questions. This is a job for philosophers, sociologists, teachers, and psychologists. And the party is urging social science cadres to carry out this work.

Revealing the internal link between theoretical research and social practice, which merge together "into one work," Lenin stressed that notwithstanding the "indispensability, importance, and immensity" of theoretical work, "the practical work of propaganda and agitation must always take first place for the reason that "theoretical work only meets the latter's needs" (op. cit.,, vol 1, pp 308, 309). Theoretical thought and our social sciences have to be responsive to the needs of propaganda and agitation and it is the task of propaganda organs to clearly formulate these needs, without making vague statements about "general tasks" and to help focus social scientists' efforts on the most topical practical problems.

Certain steps are being taken in this direction. A comprehensive plan for scientific research into the topical problems of ideological and mass political work for the period up to 1990 is currently being drawn up. It will be carried out by the Academy of Social Sciences and the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism in conjunction with the USSR Academy of Sciences scientific institutions. A joint council is being set up under the name "The Scientific Bases of Ideological and Political Education Work in Conditions of Developed Socialism," and it will coordinate all research related to this problem.

One must support the practice whereby social scientists become directly involved in the elaboration of the most urgent problems related to propaganda effectiveness and education in general and whereby they receive a specific, targeted work program from party committees. This makes for collaboration among representatives of different scientific disciplines on the basis of comprehensive research groups all working on the same problem. The latter is also of considerable importance because the organizational structures of our social science institutes are in some cases not flexible enough to switch over to the new set of problems in time.

What has been said also applies to research into international problems. Effective propaganda action on topical questions of present-day world development, the well-argued exposure of the reactionary essence of imperialism's foreign and domestic policy and the bourgeois way of life, and the convincing refutation of the fabrications of hostile propaganda demand a considerable improvement in the standard of the theoretical scientific handling of these problems. This means an improvement in the structure and organization of the work of the relevant scientific institutions.

All the educational and organization work of the scientific institutions' party committees must contribute to generating the kind of moral and psychological atmosphere which will promote a bold and enterprising statement of new problems, a creative discussion of them, and a consequent increase in scientific knowledge. Social scientists must not avoid the tricky questions, the real conflicts and contradictions. It is not a matter of collecting difficulties and shortcomings and seeing it as "radical thinking" or a "critical approach," but of investigating their specific sources and causes and establishing the most effective ways of surmounting them.

The entire spirit of the plenum demands a thoughtful analysis of social phenomena and significant new generalizations which can meet the practical

requirements of economic building, the development of social relations and spiritual life, and the improvement of ideological education work efficiency. And this, the chief task of our science, must be dealt with vigorously and assiduously.

Our Leninist party has acquired unparalleled authority as the political leader of the Soviet people and organizer of their worldwide historic victories. In all its accomplishments it is guided by the great teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. "We Soviet communists," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov stressed, "are proud to belong to the most influential ideological current in the entire history of world civilization--Marxism-Leninism." And there is no more honorable task or loftier duty for a communist than that of conveying Marxist-Leninist ideas to the masses, revealing the inseparable link between party policy and working people's vital interests, and devoting all his knowledge, energies and experience to the noble cause of educating the new man.

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ALWAYS TO LEARN FROM MARX

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[Article by Ezekias Papaioannou, secretary general of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL)]

[Text] In connection with K. Marx's anniversary, which is celebrated this year by all revolutionary and progressive forces in the world, the AKEL Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission held a special session at which Comrade E. Papaioannou spoke on "Marx's Doctrine and the Need for the Continuing Training of Party Leaders and Members." The main stipulations contained in this speech are presented in this article.

This year marks the 165th anniversary of the birth and centennial of the death of Karl Marx--the brilliant founder of scientific socialism and the teacher and leader of the world proletariat, who indicated to its most progressive and revolutionary class its great purpose in the history of mankind and thus predicted the most profound revolutionary changes which were to occur throughout the world. He "died," Engels said, "respected, beloved and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow workers throughout Europe and America, from the Siberian mines to California..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 19, p 352. In recalling these words today and paying our respects to Marx, we honor the most outstanding leader of the international worker movement and a mental giant who, together with Friedrich Engels, his revolutionary fellow worker, created scientific socialism--the ideology, theory and program of the revolutionary working class.

The Revolutionary Theory of the Proletariat

Marxism was born in the 1840s as the theoretical expression of the basic interests of the working class which, at that time, had begun to act as a historically autonomous force. The working class needed a revolutionary theory in order to struggle successfully. It was precisely this theory which revealed the objective laws of social development, defined the ways, means and methods for the liberation of the working class and clarified its universal-historical mission, which is to build socialism and communism.

Together with Engels, Marx developed a method for the revolutionary reorganization of the world--dialectical materialism--which made a real revolution

in the history of philosophy, radically transformed philosophical materialism and developed its superior form.

In developing philosophical materialism in width and in depth, Marx and Engels took its development to its end through the creation of historical materialism, i.e., the science of the laws governing social development. Contrary to the idealistic theories, Marx and Engels proved that the socio-economic system is a base on which the political and ideological super-structures are built. The study of precisely this system, of the economic structure of capitalist society, is the object of "Das Kapital," Marx's main work. In an area where all economists before him saw nothing other than relations among objects, Marx discovered social relations among people.

Marx's theory of added value exposed the true source of profits and wealth of the capitalist class--the exploitation of man by man. Furthermore, in his words, Marx discovered the economic laws of movement typical of the capitalist production method. He identified their nature and described their development trends.

Lenin said that "the theory of added value is the cornerstone of Marx's economic theory" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 23, p 45). It is on the basis of this theory, with the scientific analysis of the capitalist production method itself, that Marx predicted the inevitable fall of capitalism and the triumph of socialism and communism.

The scientific ideology--the ideology of the working class--created by Marx made a real revolution in the social way of thinking and life. Its influence determines and will continue to determine the main direction followed by all ideological trends and the ideological struggle.

The battle call "Workers of the World, Unite!" which was proclaimed in the "Communist Party Manifesto," which became a call for the struggle for peace and social justice, freedom, against exploitation and oppression and for a truly humane society, is heard today in all languages of mankind.

Therefore, after creating a scientific philosophy--dialectical and historical materialism--which the working class needed in order to realize its objective place and role in historical development; and after developing the Marxist political economy, which proved the capitalist socioeconomic system will be destroyed by virtue of its inherent objective laws, Marx and Engels were the first to define on such a truly scientific basis the universal-historical role of the proletariat as the gravedigger of capitalism and builder of a socialist society. Lenin emphasized that the clarification of this role of the proletariat was the main feature of Marx's theory (op. cit., vol 23, p 1).

Having defined the conditions required for the implementation of this historical mission--the introduction of the public ownership of productive capital above all, which calls for the political power of the proletariat--in their very first scientific program of the working class, the "Communist Party Manifesto," Marx and Engels proved that the working class needed a revolutionary party in order to implement its historical role.

In 1847 they joined the Alliance of Communists, the first independent German and international revolutionary party of the working class based on scientific communism. The highest point of Marx's revolutionary activities is related to the activities of the International Association of Workers, from 1864 to 1872. He was the main personality in the organization of the First International. Under his guidance the worker organizations in different countries united and began to follow a common revolutionary path. Mass revolutionary parties were created on the national level. Marx rallied around him comrades loyal to the cause of the working class, armed them with theory and trained them as revolutionaries-internationalists.

After the defeat of the Paris Commune and the termination of the activities of the First International, Marx and Engels ascribed tremendous importance to forming a party of the working class and developing its program. In particular, they subjected to serious and principled criticism the draft program of the German Social Democratic Party. This led to the appearance of Marx's "Critique of the Gotha Program," which, after the "Communist Party Manifesto" and "Das Kapital," is Marx's most important theoretical work, in which he presents key problems of the theory of scientific communism. In it Marx formulated conclusions based on his long study of the laws of the capitalist production method and the lessons of the Paris Commune, the historical merit of which Marx saw in the fact that it was the first attempt in history to build a proletarian state. The most important lesson learned from the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels emphasized, was that it is insufficient for the working class to take over the bourgeois state apparatus. This apparatus should be destroyed and totally replaced by the apparatus of proletarian power.

In his "Critique of the Gotha Program," Marx analyzed so accurately and scientifically problems of power and the need for a proletarian revolution and seizing and retaining the power by the proletariat, that to this day, 108 years after this work was written, it illumines the path of communist and worker parties. Marx and Engels proved that the vital interests of the entire working class can be expressed only by a United Revolutionary Party armed with scientific theory. It is only on the firm basis of a scientific outlook that the working class can fulfill its historical mission and its revolutionary party can define its objective and means to achieve it and its strategy and tactics in the different circumstances of the struggle.

The entire experience of our age fully confirms the basic Marxian conclusion to the effect that working class needs, above all, a revolutionary party in order to ensure the victory of the social revolution. The working class in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries was able successfully to carry out its historical mission because it had a party guided by scientific socialism. Only a party which combines theory with practice in resolving the problems of its age and which understands how creatively to use the universal laws of history and is closely related to the masses can guarantee success in the implementation of the tasks which arise during the time of transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism and advance in the revolutionary building of a new socialist society.

During the relatively peaceful period after 1871 and until the first Russian revolution of 1905, Marxism became the dominating trend in the labor movement in many countries. However, the numerical growth of the labor movement and the change from capitalism to imperialism changed the conditions of the proletarian struggle. High superprofits enabled the bourgeoisie to bribe a segment of the working class, as a result of which reformist, opportunistic and nationalistic trends penetrated the labor movement. "The dialectics of history," Lenin wrote, "is such that the theoretical victory of Marxism forces its enemies to change into Marxist clothing" (op. cit., vol 23, p 3). In order to stop the triumphant march of Marxism, the bourgeoisie made use of revisionism, which undermined the parties of the Second International from within and disarmed large detachments of the working class under circumstances in which the warmongers unleashed the global slaughter. Millions of workers paid with their lives for this retreat from a proletarian class position.

The further development of the revolutionary labor movement could be ensured only through an uncompromising struggle against opportunism. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, which he created and led, assumed this historical task. Under the new situation which developed at the beginning of the 20th century, when capitalism had reached its highest and final stage--imperialism--Lenin alone was able to defend Marxism and to develop it further in accordance with the requirements of the new age. In his struggle against the revisionists who were falsifying Marxism, Lenin clearly proved that the conversion of capitalism to its imperialist stage meant the greatest possible aggravation of class contradictions and the inevitability of a socialist revolution and not in the least the "growth" of capitalism into socialism through partial reforms. Lenin creatively applied Marx's theory under the new circumstances and enriched it with new concepts. His contribution was the analysis of imperialism, based on Marx's economic theory, and the further development of revolutionary theory and elaboration of the theoretical foundations of the party of a new type and its strategy and tactics in the struggle for gaining political power and building socialism. It is since that time that Marx's theory has been inseparably linked to that of Lenin, which was its logical continuation. Marxism became Marxism-Leninism. \

Marxism-Leninism is the theoretical foundation of the activities of communist and worker parties and the strategy and tactics of the proletarian class struggle and the building of socialism and communism. The unity between theory and practice in Marxism-Leninism is manifested in the fact that it develops creatively on the basis of the collective experience of the international communist and worker movements.

Those who call themselves Marxist but not Leninists, and those who try to find differences between Marx and Lenin, either know not what they speak or deliberately distort reality.

Marxism-Leninism is a single and indivisible entity. To try somehow to separate Marx from Lenin and Marxism from Leninism is like trying to separate the flour from the bread. Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma. It is a science of life and the laws which guide it. It is a creative and steadily developing science created by Marx, Engels and Lenin, the giants of the mind and the

teachers and leaders of the working class and the world's proletariat. Lenin is the brilliant leader of the proletariat who implemented Marxism in reality and built the first socialist state in the world.

The building of socialism in the USSR was the greatest triumph of Marxism, initiated with the victory of the 1917 Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. It was thus that the working class in the land of the soviets, guided by the famed CPSU, despite most difficult circumstances in which it had to act and its sacrifices, was able to perform the greatest possible exploit for the sake of the international working class.

Starting with 1917, the development of Marxism-Leninism was substantially enriched by the knowledge acquired by the Soviet Union in resolving the new complex problems which appeared in the course of the socialist reorganization of society. Marxism-Leninism also encompassed the experience of the other revolutionary trends in the global revolutionary movement during the new age in world history, which was initiated by the October Revolution. The contemporary communist movement appeared under the influence of the October Revolution victory. It was under its influence that the Communist International was created, which played a basic role in combining Leninism with the international worker movement and which created Marxist-Leninist parties which proved that they stood in the vanguard of the struggle against imperialism, fascism and war.

During the 66 years which have passed since the October Revolution, the international communist movement became the most influential political force of our age. Today it encompasses communist and worker parties in nearly 100 countries.

The international communist movement is also the living tie linking scientific socialism with the most progressive forces within the labor movement, marching in the front ranks of the struggle waged by the peoples all over the earth for national and social liberation, the seizure of political power by the working people, the revolutionary transformation of society and the building of socialism and communism. In the course of the struggle waged by the communist movement the effectiveness and veracity of the principles of proletarian internationalism and the international unity and cooperation between communists and all revolutionary forces are practically tested.

Today Marx's name and cause have captured the minds of millions of people the world over. The popular masses linked to Marx their revolutionary struggle for the lofty human ideals to shift from the realm of utopian dreams to that of historical reality. The revolutionary theory formulated by Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin is of great importance. All other ideologies, be they bourgeois, social-reformist or extreme leftist, reject the laws of social development, for which precise reason they are doomed to failure. Marxism-Leninism asserts the faith in the creative possibilities of the popular masses. It teaches infinite faith and loyalty to the working class and the application of the class approach to all problems.

All present historical experience confirms the vital strength of Marxism-Leninism and its consistency with our time. This is confirmed, on the one hand, by the profound and increasingly aggravating crisis of imperialism and, on the other, the successes achieved by socialism in building a new world. All of Marx's basic, fundamental ideas on the revolutionary role of the proletariat as the creator of a classless society free from exploitation, the need for the working class, allied with all working people, to seize political power, and the socialization of productive capital in the course of the socialist reorganization of society, all such ideas which constitute the theoretical foundations of the strategy and tactics of Marxism-Leninist parties, find increasing confirmation in the social practice of mankind.

That is precisely why, using a variety of fraudulent methods, imperialist propaganda stubbornly tries to present Marxism as something obsolete, something which is losing its influence among the masses. Life itself, however, refutes the falsehood of such claims and proves that Marxism-Leninism is exerting a growing influence on the toiling masses. The vulgarizing and distortion of Marxism confuse and disappoint some toiling strata, leading them astray from the class struggle. The bulk of the working and oppressed masses, however, is profoundly convinced that Marxism-Leninism is a living, creative and steadily developing science, consistent with all basic problems of our time and that it is truly invincible. Marxism-Leninism is invincible because it is true.

Marxism-Leninism is a necessary prerequisite for the activities of any party of the working class which sets itself the historical task of changing existing reality, destroying the old, historically obsolete and rotten world and building a new, strong and viable one. Marx, Engels and Lenin taught that the successful struggle for the socialist reorganization of society is impossible without revolutionary theory. Those who underestimate the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism one way or another, invariably turn into pragmatists who essentially act blindly, losing track of the final objectives of the struggle and confidence in its success.

Many bourgeois and petit bourgeois ideologues and politicians have misrepresented Marxism-Leninism, interpreting it as they wished or as suited the interests of the working class. There were even those who, while considering themselves communists, distorted the revolutionary content of Marxism-Leninism, claiming that both it and proletarian internationalism have outlived their usefulness, using quotations from the works of the Marxist-Leninist classics out of context and time, and failing or unwilling to understand the true meaning of the words of the great founders of scientific socialism.

Inquestionably, the labor movement in each individual country has its own characteristics, for which reason it is forced to live and struggle under specific circumstances. Consequently, different methods of struggle and of following the way to socialism and communism exist. However, no varieties of socialism or communism exist. There is no "Eurocommunism," "Asian communism," "African communism" or "American communism."

Inquestionably, the struggle waged by the working class within each specific country will leave its mark on the socialism or communism it builds. This

does not mean, however, that it could be described as some kind of particular solidarity based after the country, geographic area or continent in which it was established.

The Great Struggle for Unity

Three main revolutionary trends exist in the world today. They are the socialist system, the workers movement in the capitalist countries, and the national-liberation movement. These three revolutionary trends of our time are the living embodiment of Marxism, the embodiment of the great principle of revolutionary solidarity which imbues this doctrine--a principle of proletarian internationalism.

We studied all basic problems of the proletarian revolution on the basis of the fact that socialism is essentially international. Marx and Engels waged a tireless struggle to coordinate the actions of the global worker movement and for a proletarian internationalism.

Marxism-Leninism always emphasized the unity and interconnection between the national and the international and between socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Marx proved that a narrow national approach radically conflicts with the objective class interests of the proletariat, which is opposed by its common enemy regardless of national boundaries. Marx countered the concessions to bourgeois nationalism, contained in the draft Gotha program, and its loose thesis of an "international fraternity of nations" with a clear class demand for "international fraternity among the working classes of different countries in their joint struggle against the ruling classes and their governments" (op. cit., vol 19, p 22).

The tremendous importance which Marx ascribed to the dialectical unity between the national and the international factors in revolutionary politics are entirely relevant today. To Marx, both the national and the international problems were closely related to the definition of the social nature of the working class and its historical mission. Bearing in mind the international nature of the revolutionary struggle and the national nature of the organization and conditions of struggle waged by the working class, Marx and Engels, who formulated the great slogan "Workers of the World, Unite!" rejected bourgeois nationalism and, with it, the lack of respect for national ideas. They clearly determined that the working class, as an international force, must take into consideration in its actions the true national interests of the nations. It is with this that the working class assumes both national and international responsibilities.

The international unity of the working class was and remains the main prerequisite for success in its struggle. Our age has confirmed the invincible vital strength of proletarian internationalism. The importance of proletarian internationalism in the global revolutionary process increases to the extent to which the role of the working class increases steadily. Today, when the working class is waging the struggle under different circumstances, while facing common international problems, more than ever before the revolutionary forces need unity in order to march alongside the other progressive

and peace-loving forces and ensuring the salvation and progress of mankind. The sphere of influence of proletarian internationalism has widened. Today it far exceeds the framework of the international working class with its revolutionary parties and the socialist countries and their nations. A steadily growing number of nonproletarian revolutionary forces, social and political movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America in particular, consider such principles the base of their internationalist obligations and relations in the struggle for peace, national and social liberation and social progress.

Today proletarian internationalism is manifested above all in strengthening the fraternal alliance with the USSR and the other members of the socialist commonwealth, in the struggle for further strengthening the unity and cohesion of communist and worker parties, in solidarity with the struggle waged by the workers in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement, in support of all fighters against imperialism and for peace, democracy and national independence, and in the steady struggle against anticommunism and anti-Sovietism and bourgeois nationalism, and against any attempt at dividing the socialist commonwealth and the communist movement.

The struggle for peace and against the threat of war is one of the most important aspects of international solidarity and a most important trend in an area of its practical application.

The army of the fighters for peace is powerful and invincible. Through its activities it can and must put an end to the criminal hand of the warmongers promoting a third--this time thermonuclear--world war and establishing peace the world over. War is not inevitable. It is necessary for the powerful peace-loving forces to act against it on time and most resolutely.

A stubborn struggle is taking place in the contemporary world between two trends in international politics. On the one hand, this involves a strategy aimed at restraining the arms race, preserving detente and peace and protecting the sovereign rights and freedoms of the nations; on the other, it is a strategy aimed at undermining detente, escalating the arms race, pursuing a policy of threats and interference in the domestic affairs of the socialist and other countries and suppressing the liberation movement of the nations.

There is a close interconnection between social progress and the struggle for safeguarding peace. Marx proved that the social roots of war should be sought in the exploitation system. In the epoch of capitalism the bourgeois pursuit of profit is the main reason for war.

Peace is consistent with the nature of socialism, for which reason there are no classes or population strata in the socialist society which could make money from preparations for war or earn profits from armaments or else benefit from expansions abroad. More than one century has passed since Marx proclaimed that, unlike the old society with its economic poverty and political insanity, peace will be the universal rule of the newly appearing society, for a single ruler will rule the entire new society--labor.

The first act passed by socialism, immediately after its birth in 1917 was Lenin's Decree on Peace, which was addressed to all nations and governments and expressed the firm will of the new society to establish, preserve and strengthen peace. It is as of then that socialism has tirelessly struggled to achieve this objective. Real socialism is a superior stage of social progress and the main force in the struggle for peace. The socialist countries played a decisive role in the turn from cold war to detente. The military strategic balance which was achieved in the last decades is a factor of tremendous importance in safeguarding peace. In developing the Peace Program for the 1980s, the Soviet Union formulated a number of specific proposals aimed at containing the arms race, both nuclear and conventional, reducing international tension and safeguarding peace.

While socialism brings peace, capitalism remains a source of conflicts, confrontation and war. To this day imperialism is trying to draw the attention of the nations away from its internal crisis problems and to protect its positions abroad, increasingly resorting to aggression and pursuing a policy of international adventurism. The aggressiveness of the extreme reactionary forces, headed by U.S. imperialism, following the path of "our confrontation" and intensification of the arms race, has increased. They are trying to disturb the existing military-strategic balance and achieve a decisive superiority in favor of the United States and NATO in order to blackmail the socialist countries and all progressive forces and to restore imperialist hegemony, even with the help of nuclear war.

The important objective of this aggressive policy is the restoration of imperialist domination over power and raw material resources and the struggle against the national liberation movement. Furthermore, U.S. imperialism is hoping to regain the possibility of exercising unrestricted diktat over its allies and striking at other imperialist centers competing against it. It is thus that imperialism is proving once again that it is a hotbed of aggression, a threat to peace and an obstacle on the way to social progress the world over. Historical reality is debunking the imperialist claims to the effect that socialism is to be blamed for worsening the international situation. It also exposes the arguments of those who are trying to blame, even though partly, socialism for this fact. These arguments are used consciously or subconsciously with a view to drawing the attention of the peoples away from the fact that it is only the most aggressive imperialist elements which are responsible for the increased international tension and with a view to weakening the forces of peace and social progress. Imperialism alone carries the threat of thermonuclear war.

In the contemporary epoch the defense of peace is related more than ever before to the universal historical mission of the working class. Peace is the most important prerequisite for the continuation of mankind and the most important factor in resolving all other social problems. Lately the struggle for peace, inseparably related to the struggle for concluding agreements on putting an end to the arms race, limiting armaments and promoting disarmament on the basis of equality and equal security, has been inseparably related to activities aimed against the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Western Europe. Disarmament is an ideal toward which the labor

ment and socialism have always aspired. Marx and Engels themselves considered this problem one of the most essential in practical politics.

With its repeated realistic proposals for detente, reduction of nuclear armaments, disarmament and peace, the Soviet Union is rendering an invaluable service to the cause of peace the world over. In rebuffing the policy "from the position of strength," pursued by the American imperialists and their allies, the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist commonwealth act as the flag bearers of peace and defenders of the vital interests of all nations.

AKEL--Party of Creative Marxism

Marx's doctrine is a truly invincible science which must become accessible to all party members and leaders. In the course of 6 decades of activities the party has covered a great distance. It was a revolutionary path of struggle which required a number of casualties for the sake of enhancing the living and cultural standards of the working people and saving our country from the path of imperialism, ensuring its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, for a nonaligned demilitarized Cyprus.

We must complete the writing and publish a work on the history of our party, which is closely related to the struggle waged by the Cypriot working class and people. We have no right to delay the publication of the history of our party or an outline of this history. We must do this for the sake of the young party members, for our youth, our people. The publication and dissemination of party history will help the young generation to see the path covered by the party, to draw the necessary lessons from its experience and to shed light on the further path to true independence, social progress and socialism.

The party's history will prove the difficulty of applying Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in our country. Omissions and shortcomings in the work of the party of the working class appeared as a result of the insufficient theoretical training of cadres. This also led to errors. However, the party was always able to find the best means for correcting them and surmounting difficulties for the sake of serving the interests of the working class and all working people. AKEL has never feared to admit and correct its errors, for it has sprung from the working class and the working people, and for it lives, struggles, and makes sacrifices for the sake of the working class and all working people. It has nothing to conceal from the people.

However, the main characteristic feature of the party is not its errors and shortcomings, which we have exposed and corrected ourselves, but its inestimable services to the toiling people and their liberation struggle. We have the right to ask what would have been the situation of the working class, the toiling people and Cyprus itself without a party of the working class, without our party with its rich and varied revolutionary activities? All basic gains of the working class and working people in our country were achieved, one way or another, thanks to the revolutionary worker movement, Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

On what basis does our anti-imperialist, anti-occupation and liberation struggle today?

As a people we are still in the anti-imperialist, anti-occupation and liberation stage of the struggle. This is based on the fact that even after many years of fierce anti-colonial liberation struggle and the proclamation of Cyprus as an independent country the British imperialists have retained 99 square miles and another 37 areas on Cypriot territory as "sovereign British bases." They have retained the right to use our roads, ports, airfields and air space over Cyprus, and have also retained the right to hold military objectives and for holding military formations. The fact that Turkey and Greece have kept for themselves the right to deploy on Cypriot territory one military formation each as a "guarantee" of Cypriot independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. All of us well know that those three "countries-guarantors" have turned into three aggressors on Cyprus. The Greek junta was the first to invade Cyprus on 15 July 1974; 5 days later Turkey made its barbaric invasion of Cyprus and occupied almost 37 percent of Cypriot territory, while the third "country-guarantor," Great Britain, assisted both the fascist coup and the Turkish invasion. Furthermore, still from the time of colonial domination, the American imperialists retained their three operational intelligence radio stations on Cypriot territory. Today all three are on territory occupied by the Turkish intervention forces.

Under these circumstances, the Cypriot working class and its AKEL party cannot ignore the fact that in the course of the continuing class struggle priority is given to the anti-imperialist and anti-occupation liberation struggle.

Under these circumstances the Cypriot working class and its AKEL party cannot bypass the anti-imperialist, anti-occupation liberation stage of the struggle and directly chart a course toward the socialist reorganization of society. Such an error would merely weaken the liberation struggle, divide its forces and create a situation eagerly awaited by imperialism and the Turkish occupation forces in order to complete their plans for enslaving the island.

That is why at the present stage of the struggle waged by the people of Cyprus, the Cypriot working class and its AKEL party are struggling for achieving the strongest possible unity among all forces demanding the liberation of Cyprus from imperialist presence and Turkish occupation and for the unity of all popular forces fighting for a truly independent Cyprus, sovereign, territorially integral, nonaligned and demilitarized. This precisely is the content of our cooperation with the Democratic Party on the basis of the concluded minimum program. This is also the meaning of our efforts to further expand democratic participation on a broader basis.

Are we, at this stage, ignoring the class struggle? Unquestionably, no. It is important to have the class struggle in a class society such as ours. Now, however, the foremost phase of our political struggle is the anti-imperialist struggle for liberation and against occupation. This is the primary task.

AKEL, the party of the working class and the masses in Cyprus accurately and dialectically, rather than mechanically, the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, for

those who have studied and properly understood this principal theory and are not merely parroting it will note that Marx not only did not exclude the possibility of such alliances but, on the contrary, tried to promote them as the "Communist Party Manifesto" makes extremely clear: "...Everywhere the communists are striving for unification and agreement among the democratic parties in all countries" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 4, p 459).

Today, we, like the entire Cypriot people, are engaged in an anti-imperialist struggle for liberation, directed against the occupation of the island. There are people on Cyprus who see only the Turkish aggressor, failing to notice the presence of imperialism which brought the Turkish occupation about. Such people are engaged only in the anti-Turkish struggle, forgetting the anti-imperialist struggle for liberation. This neither applies nor could apply to our party, which is a party of the working class and all Cypriot working people, a truly revolutionary party guided by the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Our party does not conceal the fact that after the successful achievement of the objectives of the anti-imperialist and anti-occupation struggle for liberation, we shall initiate the next stage, namely the socialist reorganization of society. We shall complete this stage as well, confidently relying on the majority of the Cypriot working people.

Our party is truly proud of the fact that despite the difficult situation in Cyprus it has accurately applied and is applying the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It is proud of the fact that it was able successfully to fight factionalism and all sorts of deviations to the right and to the left. It is proud of being able to preserve the unity and monolithic nature of its ranks and leadership. This is explained by the fact that, applying creative criticism and self-criticism, we are steadily improving our work and our party so that it can serve the interests of the Cypriot working class and entire Cypriot people more efficiently.

AKEL is the mind and heart of the Cypriot working class. It is the most revolutionary class and the creator of all material values, the class to which belongs the future, the class of the builders of socialism and communism, embodying the greatest ideals of mankind. Our task, the task of all party leaders and rank-and-file members, is steadily to study the invincible scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Let us not forget that all of us are volunteers in an army whose aim it is to change man and society. We are striving toward the creation of a society in which man will be the greatest value in the world and will not know the meaning of exploitation, oppression, war and doom. The day will come when in our homeland as well the most democratic, just and perfect society--socialism and communism--will triumph.

This was bequeathed to us by Marx, Engels and Lenin. That is why we must live in such a way that, as we die, we could say that our entire lives and strength were dedicated to man, to his happiness and success.

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PRIMARY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND STRENGTHENING OF PARTY RANKS

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[Article by G. Kryuchkov, head of the organizational-party work department, Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee]

[Text] The Leninist party construction principles have a great vital strength. The entire system of intraparty relations within the CPSU, characterized by high-level consciousness and organization, monolithic unity and reciprocal exigency among like-thinking party members, their active participation in the formulation and implementation of party policy, one discipline for all party members and strict observance of the norms of bolshevik ethics is built on these tried principles.

The fact that the CPSU, as the vanguard of all working people, sets the example of skillful utilization of the truly unique experience in building the new world and applying scientific forms of management organization and methods, consistent with the new social development tasks which, as Lenin said, can "yield the greatest and most durable results with the least outlay of forces" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Completed Collected Works], vol 9, p 208) is of essential significance particularly at the present stage, the stage of comprehensive advancement of developed socialism.

The party's combat capability, its reputation among the masses and the effectiveness of its influence in all areas of social life heavily depend on the quality of the party ranks and their reinforcement with the leading representatives of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia.

As CPSU experience most convincingly proves, shaping the composition of the party is an objectively determined yet consciously controlled process. It is defined by the class nature of the party, the objectives and tasks of its struggle, its creative activities, and the broadening of its social base as socialism strengthens and develops. The content of this process is the purposeful reinforcement of party ranks based on a strictly individual selection and ensuring their high combat capability and activeness.

To this day the cornerstone, the basic principles are the familiar Leninist stipulations to the effect that we need new party members not for the sake of publicity but for serious work, and that "we do not need ostentatious party members even as a gift," and that the party must exclusively consist of fully

conscious people, sincerely loyal to communism, who can "show the application of the communist principles through their actions" (op. cit., vol 39, pp 224, 2007, vol 41, p 187).

The stipulations contained in the resolutions of the 24th, 25th and 26th CPSU congresses, the subsequent Central Committee plenums and other party documents involve the further development of the Leninist concepts on basic problems of party construction and their concretizing in accordance with mature socialist conditions. "The party," emphasizes the CPSU Central Committee Decree "On the 80th Anniversary of the Second RSDWP Congress," "ensures the strict observance of the principle of democratic centralism and the Leninist norms of party life. It is on their basis that it persistently resolves problems related to improving its qualitative structure, unity of party ranks, increased militancy of primary organizations and strengthening their influence in the labor collectives."

The need to enhance the role and significance of the primary party organizations and their responsibility in resolving socioeconomic problems, the communist upbringing of the working people, strengthening organization and discipline, and developing criticism and self-criticism was considered by the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum as one of the most important tasks. The communists, the plenum decree notes, have no more honorable duty than to disseminate among the masses the great ideas of Marxist-Leninism, to bring up the inseparable link between party policy and the vital interests of the people and to enhance the social activeness of the working people even more.

The trends which characterize today the party's development and the improvement of intraparty relations can be traced from the example of a large CPSU republic, such as the Communist Party of the Ukraine. It numbers 3,078,834 members rallied in 69,101 primary party organizations. During the period after the 26th CPSU Congress alone, the number of party members in the republic increased by 145,300 and that of primary party organizations by 2,255. These figures reflect the growing aspiration of progressive workers, kolkhoz members and members of the intelligentsia organizationally to link their lives with the party and to struggle within its ranks for the triumph of the great communist cause.

The Ukrainian republic party organization numbers almost 1.4 million workers. Together with the kolkhoz members they account for more than 60 percent of all party members. More than three-quarters of all party members and candidate members employed in the national economy work directly in material production. One out of each four or five specialists in the national economy and approximately one out of every two scientists are party members. In other words, the party forces operate in all sectors of economic construction and areas of spiritual life.

Never before have the party organizations had such extensive possibilities of exercising their systematic and efficient influence on all aspects of social life. The main aspect of party work today is to make full use of this influence for the sake of resolving the problems of advancing developed socialism,

seeing to it that each party organization is a militant promoter of party policy and every party member actively participates in the country's political life, always and everywhere setting the example of dedicated service to the interests of the people, impeccable implementation of civic and party duty, and profound awareness of personal responsibility for the state of labor accomplishments and the moral climate in his collective.

The party committees in the republic pay steady attention to selecting worthy party reinforcements, educating the party members, encouraging their active-ness, arming them with the experience of the senior generations of revolutionary fighters, and upgrading the role and responsibility of the primary organizations. The Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee has formulated specific steps aimed at the further organizational and political strengthening of the primary party organizations and intensifying their influence on the life and activities of labor collectives. These steps were approved at the 26th Congress of the republic's communist party and their implementation is subject to daily control. The party committees systematically analyze party enrollment and the type of educational work conducted with the new party reinforcements. These problems were discussed in particular at one of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee plenums held after the 26th CPSU Congress.

The regularly convened seminars for party organization secretaries and party raykom, gorkom and obkom personnel, the courses for upgrading the skills of party workers and practical science conferences pay prime attention to strengthening the party's ranks and ensuring the leading role of the party members in production and social life. After the 26th CPSU Congress, the CP of the Ukraine Central Committee alone has sponsored more than 40 republic seminars for secretaries of primary party organizations working in the leading economic sectors and in science, culture and higher educational institutions.

Speaking of the basic directions of the work aimed at ensuring the purity of party ranks and improving their qualitative structure, priority is given to increasing the responsibility of the primary organizations for selecting worthy reinforcements and consistently pursuing a line of increased strictness toward new party members, in order to exclude the enrollment of untrained and unsuitable people lacking the qualities of political fighters and preventing the accelerated growth of party ranks and the erosion of the boundaries which distinguish the party as the vanguard of the people.

It is indicative that between the 22nd and 23rd CPSU Congresses the number of party members in the republic increased by an average of 7.4 percent annually, dropping to 1.8 percent after the 26th Congress. However, even under this situation the party ranks are growing faster than the size of the population in general, the working population in particular. Thus, in the period following the 24th CPSU Congress, the ranks of the Ukrainian party organization increased by 27.7 percent, whereas the number of people employed in the republic's national economy increased by 10.6 percent only.

Guided by the basic stipulation that under developed socialist conditions, having become the party of the whole people, the CPSU does not lose its class

ature and remains the party of the working class, the party organizations are showing steady concern for strengthening the worker nucleus within the party and ensuring the leading status of the working class in its social structure. Workers account for approximately 58 percent of newly accepted CPSU candidate members. Compared to 1971, the number of workers who are party members has increased by nearly one-third, and their share in the social structure of the republic's party organization has increased from 20.9 to 28.8 percent.

Another important fact is that although the overall number of kolkhoz members in 1983 was 11.1 million, the number of party members among them increased by 7.2 percent within that period. Today they account for about 15 percent of the new party reinforcements. As a whole, in recent years almost two-thirds of the kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers accepted as party workers are mechanizers and livestock breeders.

The party's influence among the intelligentsia, the scientific, technical and artistic intelligentsia in particular, has increased considerably. Here again the possibilities of the party organizations have increased substantially. The number of engineering and technical workers who are party members, for example, increased by a factor of almost 1.4 and that of scientific workers by more than one-half following the 24th CPSU Congress. Party membership has increased among workers in education, health care, culture and the creative intelligentsia. The total number of party members with higher and secondary specialized training increased by a factor of 1.7 and their share in the Communist Party of the Ukraine increased from 43.2 to 57.4 percent. The republic's national economy employs nearly 5.9 million specialists, 1.7 million of whom are party members and candidate members.

Loyal to the behests of the great Lenin, the CPSU is always concerned with the continuity of its revolutionary course. This is reflected in the fact that the party organizations pay steady attention to strengthening their ranks with young forces. More than 80 percent of the new party candidate members enrolled after the 26th CPSU Congress are under 30. Virtually all of them have had political education training as members of the Leninist Komsomol. More than 70 percent of them were recommended for party membership by the Komsomol organizations. Guided by the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the stipulations of the June 1983 Central Committee Plenum, the party organizations are helping the young party members to master the ideological-political legacy of the party and Leninist traditions and bolshevik ethics.

The influx of progressive working people employed in the various economic, scientific and cultural sectors and in services in the party is increasing steadily. Today women account for 26 percent of the overall number of party members in the Ukrainian party organization, compared to 19.8 percent in 1971. The increase in their number is obvious. Nevertheless, the share of women in the party's membership is still inconsistent with their place and role in the republic's economic, sociocultural and societal life.

We also are concerned with ensuring that the party ranks reflect more completely the national structure of the republic's population and its various areas, and that the party organs, including the leaders, consist of individuals of the same nationality as those of the party organizations. Currently the Communist Party of the Ukraine includes members of more than 100 nations and nationalities, of virtually all national groups living in the republic.

The system of organizational and political measures which are usually known as the mechanism which controls party enrollment is aimed at implementing the basic stipulations related to ensuring a suitable qualitative structure of party ranks. In this complex and responsible matter an unskilled, simplistic, so-to-say straight-line digital approach--which, unfortunately, is still encountered--together with lack of control are inadmissible, particularly under the circumstances of the steadily growing moral and political unity of our society, when party policies are supported by the entire people and when the aspiration of the members of all social strata to be within its ranks is increasing steadily. An attentive and thoughtful study is needed of the deployment of party forces, which would enable us to take prompt measures to strengthen the party's influence on one sector or another and make the structure of the party organizations consistent with the changing production structure of labor collectives.

Naturally, prime attention is paid to strengthening the party organizations operating in the key directions of the struggle for public production intensification, increasing its efficiency, accelerating scientific and technical progress and implementing the Food and Energy programs.

The number of party members employed in sectors such as radio electronics, instrument manufacturing, the automation and control systems industry and automotive vehicle manufacturing, which largely determine technical progress in the national economy, has increased by 50 to 100 percent since 1971. The party organizations in the coal industry, ferrous metallurgy, construction, railroad transportation and services have increased. It is above all the share of party members among the working people in the leading professions that has increased. Whereas in the republic party organization as a whole the number of party members increased by 3.6 percent in the 2.5 years after the 26th CPSU Congress, in the coal industry, a most important industrial sector, it increased by 3.9 percent, including the share of workers by 4.3 percent and those engaged in underground work by 5.2 percent.

Now, when the brigade form of labor organization is becoming basic, it is important to create the necessary organizational prerequisites for exercising efficient party influence on the organization and fruitful activities of production brigades. The role of the shop party organizations and party groups in the primary production unit becomes greatly enhanced. After the 26th CPSU Congress the number of shop party organizations in the republic increased by almost 3,000 and that of party groups by more than 8,000. The selection of leading workers for party membership, conducted at enterprises and construction projects, and the improved deployment of party cadres led to the creation of 50,000 party groups in production brigades. Wherever the necessary number of party members has not been reached (in many such brigades

In industry and, particularly, construction and livestock breeding farms in some kolkhozes and sovkhozes), party organizers are named and party-Komsomol groups set up.

Naturally, we can ensure the recruitment of the truly progressive and worthy representatives of the working people by the party only if this is based on the comprehensive and exigent investigation of the qualities of applicants for CPSU membership, based on specific accomplishments. How is this achieved? First of all, through planned and painstaking work with the non-party aktiv and its extensive involvement in direct participation in the life of the party organizations. Let us note the practice of informing the party members at the proper time on the nonparty people who are ready to join the party. In a number of party organizations such comrades are issued responsible production and other assignments and recommended for transfer to lagging sectors.

Secondly, through practical and informal discussion of problems related to party enrollment at meetings and sessions of party committees and bureaus. The majority of primary organizations have made it a rule to consider such problems, as the CPSU Central Committee recommended, at open party meetings with the participation of nonparty members.

Third, by increasing the responsibility of party members and Komsomol committees for the quality of the new party reinforcements, although, frankly speaking, the party organizations are still not properly taking to task those who recommend for party membership insufficiently tested or unworthy individuals.

Finally, it is exceptionally important to organize party candidacy in such a way as to help it to determine extensively the practical, political and moral qualities of the candidates and their practical mastery of Leninist norms and traditions. As we know, Lenin demanded of all party members to prove through special efforts or contributions their unquestionable reliability, loyalty and ability to be party members. It is precisely this that Vladimir Il'ich considered the purpose, as he said, of the "'probation' or 'apprenticeship' consisting of 'working in a revolutionary way'" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch. [Complete Collected Works], vol 39, p 27). The effectiveness of this most important organizational-political method available to our party is confirmed by the following figures. In the period after the 26th CPSU Congress some 11,300 candidates failed the test and were not granted party membership.

The reinforcement of party ranks and the education of young party members, the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum noted, are the links within which are concentrated problems of organizational-party and ideological work. This is understandable, for the quality and combat capability of party ranks are determined not only by the thought-out and purposeful selection of new party members but their patient upbringing, ideological tempering and arming with the skills for politically influencing the masses. The core of this work is shaping in the party members ideological convictions, high political standards and the qualities of dedicated fighters for the triumph of the party ideals, aware of their high responsibility for everything taking place in the

countries and for the fate of the building of socialism and social progress, and their ability to implement the party line and directives under any circumstances. "Every party member, wherever he may work, must be a propagandist for and promoter of the ideas of the Leninist party and dedicate to this exceptionally important matter all his knowledge and inner strength," we read in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political Education Work."

The political standards of the party members are characterized by high consciousness, profound communist convictions, readiness to implement them in real actions for the good of the socialist homeland, unity of word and action, intolerance of manifestations of ideology and morality alien to us, revolutionary optimism and the noble features of the person with a socialist upbringing who, as Comrade Yu. V. Andropov emphasized, "is not indifferent not only to his own labor successes, prosperity and reputation, but the affairs of his fellow workers and the labor collective, and the interests of the entire country and the working people the world over."

The party education system is dedicated to the development of such qualities. In the Ukraine alone some 2.6 million party members and candidate members are studying within this system the theory of Marxism-Leninism and topical problems of CPSU policy. The 2,975 courses for young communists are a structural part of this system.

In organizing political training, the party organization proceeds from the fact that its purpose is to develop in the party members the ability to think independently and creatively, to develop in them a political approach to the work, political vigilance and the ability always to see the connection between their work in a specific sector and the life and accomplishments of the entire country.

The party veterans are making a great contribution to the education of the young party members and to arming them with the experience of the senior generations of fighters for the triumph of communist ideals. Almost 40,000 party members in the republic have been awarded the badge "Fifty Years' CPSU Membership." The CPSU Central Committee meeting with party veterans contributed to the further enhancement of the role played by veterans in all areas of production and social activities, and the more active use of their tremendous practical and political experience in organizational-party and ideological work and, above all, in the education of the youth in a spirit of loyalty to Leninist ideals and loyalty to the socialist fatherland and the cause of the communist party.

The importance of party meetings as the supreme organ of the party organization, a platform for the collective opinion of party members and a school for upbringing is universally known. In recent years their role has been substantially enhanced in the republic's party organizations. As a rule, the most topical problems of intraparty life, ideological work and the practical implementation of the party's economic and social policies are submitted for collective discussion by the party membership. Open party meetings involving the participation of nonparty comrades are being held more frequently. More

than one-third of the party members speak out at accountability and election meetings.

There was a time when in many large party organizations numbering 1,000 or more party members no general meetings were convened or else were replaced by meetings of the party aktiv. This narrowed the framework of intraparty democracy and infringed on the rights of the party members. Today the practice of convening general party meetings has been resumed. If necessary, they are held in shifts or groups of shops to which the same report is delivered. This was approved by the party members. Meetings frequently begin with reports on the implementation of previously passed resolutions. Particular attention is paid to developing at such meetings an atmosphere of free, interested and practical discussion of the items on the agenda and the implementation of critical remarks and suggestions made by the party members. Practical experience indicates that this is one of the important conditions for developing the activeness of the party membership, for, as was justifiably pointed out at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum, there is little need for meetings held essentially on the basis of a prepared scenario in which the speeches are drafted in advance while initiative, not to mention criticism, is suppressed. Unfortunately, this too still exists.

Party meeting practices are improving and shortcomings are being corrected in this area by the party organizations guided by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's instructions to the effect that "the more daringly and specifically the party members act in discussing vital problems of party and country life, the more actively they will participate in the implementation of decisions and the more successfully will our party carry out its historical mission."

The party organizations use a variety of methods for organizational-political influence in educating the party members and strengthening party discipline. Many of them proved their usefulness during the period of exchanging party documents and have firmly become part of the arsenal of party work. In particular, this includes the submission of accounts and reports by party members at the party meetings and party committee and bureau sessions on the implementation of their statutory and official obligations and party instructions and talks with party members and candidate members. As a result, at the party organizations of Voroshilovgrad Oblast alone, for example, in 1983 15,900 party members reviewed their previously taken obligations and assumed new higher ones. Almost 1,000 party members and candidate members transferred to lagging sectors and many party members have become actively involved in public work.

In the course of the talks, the results of which are discussed by party raykoms, gorkoms and obkoms, many specific remarks and suggestions are formulated on improving the workstyle of party committees and soviet and economic organs, ensuring the fuller utilization of production reserves and improving the working and living conditions and the education of the people. Extensive reports are submitted at meetings on the implementation of socialist obligations by the party members and on those who fall behind and if so for what reason. The party members are also systematically informed of the activities of the superior party organs and the resolutions they passed. All

of this helps to develop the activeness of the party members and to enhance their responsibility for the affairs in the primary party organization and the party at large.

The party committees try promptly to support through their authority the valuable and creative initiatives of party members. The patriotic initiatives of Grigoriy Yakovlevich Gorban', CPSU Central Committee member, twice Hero of Socialist Labor, employed at the Azovstal' imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze Plant in Zhdanov, approved by the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee, have become extensively widespread in the republic. Gorban' is the initiator of a mass movement among metallurgical workers for increasing steel smelting and improving its quality; also approved were the initiatives of Petr Pavlovich Matviychuk, head of a comprehensive milling brigade at the Kiev Machine Tool Building Association, who initiated a competition among comprehensive production brigades under the slogan "Highest Labor Productivity and Production Quality by Every Brigade Member and a Model Workplace in Each Brigade!"; and Antonina Fedorovna Fedusenko, master of machine milking at the Kolkhoz imeni Marks in Nikopolskiy Rayon, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, who called upon all agricultural workers to make a worthy contribution to the implementation of the Food Program.

The comprehensive creative work of the party aktiv, which is steadily expanding through the participation of the most prestigious and initiative-minded party members, greatly contributes to the positive trends in the development of intraparty relations. Whereas in 1971 more than 770,000 party members were elected party group organizers, secretaries of shop and primary party organizations and members of party bureaus and party committees on all levels in the republic, today the elected aktiv of the Communist Party of the Ukraine numbers more than 830,000 members, including more than 760,000 in the primary party organizations. Another more than 263,000 party members were elected members of party organization commissions in charge of supervising administrative activities and the work of the apparatus.

It is precisely the party aktiv which sets the tone in all matters and in the systematic implementation of the Leninist principle of collective party leadership. That is why the party committees pay great attention to developing the initiative of the party members and improving work with the aktiv. For example, interesting and meaningful practical science conferences were held on such matters by the Vinnitsa, Kharkov and Lvov party obkoms. The training of party activists has become comprehensively organized.

Nevertheless, we still frequently come across cases in which the same party members have been entrusted with several assignments and simultaneously elected to different organs, while others are issued no assignments at all. It also happens that in promoting one party member or another to membership in the party committee the position he holds is taken more into consideration compared to his reputation, political activeness and organizational capabilities. Such an approach artificially narrows the circle of the party aktiv and adversely affects the main and the social work of party members elected to several party organs. The Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee drew particular attention to this circumstance in the course of the preparations for the current accountability and election campaign.

inspire the people and contribute to the growth of their production and social activity. The personal example of the party members conveys a charge of great organizational, educational, and mobilizing strength. It is a truly inexhaustible moral-political reserve.

However, it would be erroneous not to see or to ignore the fact that some party members behave improperly, violate party ethics and discipline, remain passive in social life or engage in actions incompatible with the title of communist. Although such people are few, every CPSU member is a representative of the party and it is on the basis of his behavior and attitude to the work and to public duty that the nonparty people judge a given party organization and the party membership at large.

As was stressed at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the moral example set by the party members is a great force. It is always in the eyes of the masses, and the higher the position held the greater the responsibility it involves. The moral harm caused to the reputation of the party organizations as a result of improper actions and unseemly behavior of even isolated party members is obvious. In coming across cases in which some party members violate our laws and norms of communist ethics, at meetings and in their letters to party organs and newspaper editors the working people legitimately ask how can the party organizations and the party members tolerate within their ranks parasites, drunks, people who steal from the state, people who have accumulated excessive material goods and people who essentially have nothing of the party in their hearts?

In his time, Lenin said that among the party members "we cannot tolerate even a single one who fails to fulfill his assignment" (op. cit., vol 40, p 286). He called for the purging of party ranks "of elements which alienate themselves from the masses (not to mention, elements which shame the party in the eyes of masses)," "from swindlers, bureaucrats, and dishonest or vacillating communists..." (op. cit., vol 44, pp 122-124). This is the only possible approach today toward those whose egotistical, individualistic and consumerist aspirations are stronger than their feeling of duty.

The communist is a political fighter. To be a political fighter means to be a passionate and active propagandist and promoter of the party's ideas, policies and decisions, always ready to subordinate the personal to the social, to be intolerant of and uncompromising toward shortcomings or any violations and deviations from the norms of party life and communist morality, and firmly to rebuff manifestations of philistine and petit bourgeois mentality and hostile propaganda intrigues.

We know that all kinds of vermin gather wherever some profit can be made. Such people steal from our society, which in itself is dangerous. However, they cause even greater moral harm, for they undermine the very foundation of our ideological work--faith in the justice of the socialist system.

The republic's party organizations sharply react to cases in which a party member takes the path of money-grubbing and parasitism, suffers from "thingism" and "dacha fever," and so on. The struggle against the theft of socialist property, black marketeering, bribery and account padding has intensified.

The question is the following: any violation or abuse or else involvement of a party member in it, or any tolerance of violators are incompatible with party membership, not to mention holding a leading party position.

In developing this subject, let us emphasize something else: theft, bribery and other crimes committed by party members are extreme cases. What concerns us is something else, namely the fact that some party members, even people holding leading positions, tolerate shortcomings and abuses and fail to display activeness and persistence in the struggle against them. Could they be considered true political fighters? Naturally, they cannot. There have been cases in which some party members and even brigades, shifts, sectors, shops and other production collectives headed by party members have failed to fulfill their plans and socialist obligations to which, unfortunately, the party organizations have not suitably reacted.

Yet wherever party members work no laggards should be found; there should be no negligence and waste, lack of discipline and slackness. Wherever he may be, the party member is responsible not only for his actions but for everything surrounding him. Even if a party member does excellent work and behaves impeccably and is even active at meetings but tolerates at his elbow violations of labor discipline, drunkenness and grabbing, it is not justified to assume that such a party member is fulfilling his statutory obligations.

If a party member would not steal a single kopek but tolerates under his very eyes cases of padding, pilfering and squandering the people's goods, using funded materials, equipment, and transportation facilities of departmental enterprises for the building of private cottages, houses or garages without saying a word, he cannot be considered a true party member.

If extortion is practiced in a hospital, house management office or workshop while the party member timidly looks elsewhere, pretending that this does not affect him, he is not a fighter and party member, but a person indifferent to public interests. In the party, as writer Vadim Kozhevnikov aptly said, "there are no semiparty members." Indifference is incompatible with the title of communist. This is a major evil against which we must struggle most firmly and with party-minded zeal.

Today such questions are being raised particularly sharply in the republic's party organizations. Recently, after discussing the report submitted by the Dnepropetrovsk city party committee on the implementation of the resolution of the 26th CPSU Congress on intensifying the political training of party members, upgrading their vanguard role and strengthening party discipline, the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee noted the significant work done by the party organizations in the city but also drew attention to the fact that in some of them an atmosphere of strictly reciprocal exigency and intolerance of shortcomings is still lacking. Some party members poorly implement their statutory obligations and do not set a model for the nonparty people. Some production subunits headed by party members are not fulfilling their plans. The republic party committee made it incumbent upon the gorkom, the raykoms and the primary party organizations to intensify the ideological and moral training of the party members and persistently see to it that each

one of them become an active promoter of party policy, displaying the qualities of fighter to the fullest extent. The decree passed on this matter emphasizes the need firmly to put an end to manifestations of indifference and liberalism toward those who violate state, labor and production discipline and allow negligence and grabbing.

Let us also mention a mandatory quality of the party member such as keeping his word. We know that the gap between word and action, however expressed, causes tremendous economic damage but, most of all, harms the moral upbringing of the people. This was well put by Ye. A. Matsegora, general director of the Novokramatorskiy Mashinostroitel'nyy Zavod Production Association, Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee member, in his speech at a practical science conference sponsored by the Donetsk party obkom: "It is inadmissible to tolerate a situation in which deeds are replaced by words! Or when some managers...give their word, assure that their assignments will be completed on time, assume the obligation in front of their fellow workers to eliminate shortcomings, and so on. They gave their word, they assured, they pledged and...they failed to carry out, to accomplish, or to correct. Yet, when we meet them they shake our hand without embarrassment. They report on nonfulfillments without blushing. They submit their report shamelessly. Managers of such "caliber," in addition to harming economic construction, are a hindrance to resolving the problem of moral upbringing. Like a chain reaction their mentality is transmitted to the members of the collective they manage. This has a fatal influence on the production indicators of brigades, sectors, shops, and the plant as a whole."

It is extremely important, as we are guided by the CPSU Central Committee, for each party organization and collective to create conditions for the development of efficient, principle-minded and constructive criticism and self-criticism, so that no single worker may remain outside the range of control by the party organization or the public, and so that everyone, regardless of his position, be responsible for his affairs and actions above all to the primary party organization, to the collective in which he works. The work of the party organizations for the ideological-moral upbringing of the party members, the strengthening of their vanguard role, the development of creative initiative and the strengthening of party discipline are extensively covered in the republic and local press.

Increasing the requirements facing the party members is the firm line followed by our party, the specific implementation of Lenin's behests and a mandatory prerequisite for strengthening the ties between the party and the masses. Such ties become "the stronger and the more fruitful the more consistently and fully the party members perform their vanguard role," we read in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 80th Anniversary of the Second KSDWP Congress." When it is a question of the personal example set by a party member no weakening or violation of our principles are allowed.

Sometimes we read in the press or a pamphlet something like this: "In thus-and-such a collective (city or rayon) 60 or 70 percent of party members-production workers are communist labor shock workers." This is presented as some kind of achievement. We believe that such a formulation of the question

objectively belittles the title of party member. Unquestionably, to be a communist labor shock worker is an honorable and responsible matter. However, this concept by far does not cover the obligations of the party member, which include the duty actively to struggle for laying the material and technical foundations for communism and setting the example for a communist attitude toward labor.

It would be pertinent to recall here the way Lenin formulated such problems. In his classical work "The Great Initiative," pointing out that the workers of the Moscow-Kazan railroad had described with full justification their subbotnik as communist, Vladimir Il'ich substantiated it as follows: "Initially the workers proved in fact that they can work like communists and only then did they name their initiative 'communist subbotnik'" (op. cit., vol 29, p 27). He also said that "...such an honorable title must be earned after long and persistent work, through proven practical successes in truly communist-type building" (ibid., p 26).

The strict and absolute observance of Lenin's behests, style and norms of party life by each party organization or party work unit is a decisive prerequisite for the strengthening of party ranks and enhancing their combat capability. It is the prerequisite for the successful implementation of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the subsequent Central Committee plenums and the plans for the 11th Five-Year Plan. This is the direction of the work and daily activities of the republic's party organizations.

Currently an accountability and election campaign is under way within the Ukrainian Communist Party as throughout the CPSU, in an atmosphere of high activeness and exigency. The party members are comprehensively analyzing the course of the implementation of the resolutions of the 26th Party Congress and the May and November 1982 and June 1983 CPSU Central Committee plenums and the implementation of the plans for economic and social development. They are earmarking specific measures aimed at the further intensification of the influence of party organizations on the situation in labor collectives and national economic sectors, enhancing the organization and discipline at all work sectors and improving party management style and methods. Particular concern is shown for giving a stable nature to the noted trends of improving basic indicators of economic development, maximally catching up with the lagging allowed in a number of sectors in previous years and creating a reliable foundation for the successful completion of the five-year plan. The republic's party members, who warmly approve the CPSU domestic and foreign policy and the fruitful and purposeful activities of its Central Committee and CPSU Central Committee Politburo, headed by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, proclaim their firm resolve to make a worthy contribution to strengthening the economic and defense power of our great multinational socialist homeland.

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STRICT TALK

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[Article by V. Kadulin]

[Text] These two words best characterize the accountability-election party conference which was held at the end of September at the Zlatoust Locomotive Engines Depot, South-Ural Railroad. I dare to claim that it was held precisely as demanded by the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Accountability and Elections in Primary, Rayon, City, Okrug, Oblast and Kray Party Organizations," setting "the example for the collective interpretation of practical experience and arising problems, principled reciprocal exigency among party members and strict accountability for shortcomings and omissions."

I admit that not one of my interlocutors, one way or another involved in the daily affairs of this labor collective and the life of its party organization, doubted the successful outcome of the approaching meeting. The party committee members of the locomotive engines depot themselves approached it confidently. "This is a strong collective, the people are militant. They know how to work and keep their word!" The meeting proved yet once again the accuracy of this frequently stated claim confirmed during the course of many years.

The meeting was well-prepared, as it should have been. However, the preparations did not include any director's scenario with precisely marked performances. There was no selection of "convenient" speakers or speeches drafted or edited with a precise dose of admissible criticism. Such "artistic" are irreconcilably alien to the norms of our life but are still found in the practices of party and other public organizations, for which reason they have been so firmly condemned by the CPSU Central Committee. They were totally absent in the preparations for the accountability and election party meeting at the locomotive engines depot.

The preparations were of a different nature. They began directly at the accountability and election meetings held in the party groups and the shop party organizations. It was there that the topics of the future speeches were born and crystallized and the most topical and promising ideas were discussed and talked over.

"The elective party organs," stipulates the CPSU Central Committee decree on holding accountability and election meetings, "will submit to the meetings

... profound and self-critical reports... proposals aimed at improving all work." Understandably, party... devoted a great deal of effort to preparing his report... the success of the meeting substantially depended. Naturally, he... for the burden of party responsibility is heavy.

... started his labor career in the depot as assistant... party leader--he is under 35--was well familiar with the life... of the collective of more than 2,000 people and... mainly his organization comrades, numbering 430 party and... members.

The... members listened with close attention to the party committee... report. The... furnished red corner of the depot was crowded. Let us... at some meetings the report and debates somehow peacefully coexist, ... within a single interested discussion of the results of the... and the tasks for the future. The speakers refer to the report... left everyone indifferent only formally, for the sake of propriety. ... are based on the principle of "about this and about that and... nothing."

The... different. The party committee report had clearly hit the spot. The... found it easy to preside over the meeting. There was no short-... of speakers and the floor was given to anyone who wanted it. The meeting... the following morning, although traffic along the tracks did not... for a minute and gathering together all party members was physical-... However, in the cold light of dawn as well the heat of the... did not drop. It was as though the meeting had not been interrupted.

... the previous evening, rarely looking at their notes, and most frequently... at all, smoothly and logically, with enviable directness, ... not fearing to step on someone's pride, the party members spoke and... their thoughts on sensitive matters. The discussions developed and... the views expressed in the report and broadened its content.

... people could remain indifferent to the atmosphere of such a strict ex-... which, as a rule, prevails at meetings held by leading worker collec-... Here is well, looking at the concentrated faces, expressing tranquil... and listening to the intelligent and efficient speeches, one could... to think that those people considered themselves the full owners of... and the managers of the... socialist society, to... they had contributed, and who felt responsible before and more than... by virtue of their party affiliation, for its fate and further devel-... and that, in the final account, this was the theme of their strict... at that meeting.

From the Main Direction

Economic management is the core of all party activities in the socialist... Therefore, the accountability report began with a study of what the... committee, the economic management and the party members at the locomo-... had accomplished during the period of their accountability

to inform the working people for the implementation of the state transport plan, raising production efficiency and work quality, increasing the conservation of material, manpower and fuel and energy resources, applying new equipment and progressive technology, developing the socialist competition and disseminating progressive work organization methods.

These initiatives, the report noted, had been steadily considered at sessions of party committees and shop party organization bureaus and party meetings. Making use of existing possibilities, the collective had been able to achieve good results in 1983. Based on the results of the work for the second quarter it was among the winners of the all-union socialist competition and was awarded the third cash bonus of the Ministry of Railways and the Central Committee of the Railroad Transportation and Transportation Construction Worker Trade Union. The task now was to consolidate the success, and compensate for the losses which had developed as a result of the many unsatisfactory work indicators in 1981-1982.

The participants in the meeting thoroughly studied the question of reserves for the more efficient utilization of fuel and energy resources and the role of the economy initiative which had been launched here in the depot by V. Yegorov, the progressive worker, bearer of the Order of Lenin and electric locomotive engine operator. Anyone whose work is related to railroad transportation is familiar with the term "overburner," applied to a locomotive engineer who uses excessive electric power in running the train, either because of carelessness or inability. V. Yegorov drove the train without "overburning," and skillfully used the so-called recuperative braking in the points in which electric power is returned to the power grid. Some skeptics, however, questioned the honesty of the engineer and talks were heard in the depot to the effect that he was "stealing" electric power. At that point Yegorov offered to head on a voluntary basis a small column consisting of "overburners," which included more than a dozen locomotive brigades, and to train them in his art. His example was followed by other experienced engineers.

The day the meeting opened was also precisely the fifth anniversary of the day the Bureau of the Chelyabinsk CPSU Obkom had passed the decree "On the Practical Experience of the Collective of the Zlatoust Locomotive Engines Based on the Efficient Utilization of Electric Power in Train Traction." The initiative of V. Yegorov, who was awarded the USSR State Prize, spread far beyond his station. In the depot itself, for all of these years a progressive movement course has been operating under the slogan "If You Know How, Teach Your Friends." As was noted in the report, this made it possible to train an entire galaxy of locomotive engineers who are masters in saving on electric power. As to the purely economic results of the work, during the period under accountability the depot had saved the state 31.5 million kilowatt hours of electric power and 379.3 tons of diesel fuel.

"All appears to be excellent," objected at the meeting locomotive engineer-instructor V. Bryakin, head of one of the best locomotive columns in the depot. "As a whole, we work without 'overburn' and praise one another. However, we do have 'overburns.' Toward the end of the year we catch up with

our divisions and cover our overexpenditures by economizing. Yet we must work in such a way that no single case of "overburn" would occur during the year. To this effect we must improve the work of the progressive experience brigade courses and organize even stricter supervision of each locomotive engine brigade...."

The extensive utilization of the achievements of science and technology is the key to the intensification of work in transportation. This truth has been long and firmly adopted at the Zlatoust depot, which is justifiably considered the discoverer of electric traction in the main direction of the Trans-Siberian Railroad, which links the western with the eastern parts of the country. There still are workers in the depot who remember how in November 1945, in surmounting an unusually difficult section of track considered, incidentally, one of the most difficult along the entire line, the first electric power-driven train proceeded from Chelyabinsk to Zlatoust. Since then the depot has been used as an experimental ground where the finishing touches are put on new equipment. For example, when the Novocherkassk Electric Locomotive Engines Plant was preparing to manufacture a series of M-10 locomotive engines, the depot workers and engineers submitted more than 400 design improvement suggestions.

At this accountability and election meeting, the party committee secretary reported to the party members on the initial successes of the work which had started several years ago on developing and applying the so-called multiple-unit system (SME), which promises to yield tremendous economic results on the scale of our entire national economy. This mysterious and puzzling-sounding term means, in practice, the possibility of combining two locomotive engines in driving heavy freight trains with a single locomotive engine brigade.

The multiple-unit system was invented by associates of the All-Union Scientific Research Railroad Transportation Institute in Moscow. However, as we know, distance is no hindrance to cooperation among innovators. In 1981 two electric locomotive engines equipped with the still quite imperfect electronically robot which controlled their combined work were delivered to the Zlatoust depot. The party committee sponsored the innovation.

A creative youth fitters brigade headed by engineer Yu. Demchenko was created at the control-measuring equipment shop. After mastering the new equipment, the young, skilled workers began to submit ever more daringly to their learned colleagues suggestions for various improvements. Today the depot fitters have to their credit some 10 rationalization suggestions. This is now the best creative brigade not only in the section but along the entire South-Ural Railroad.

By now, depot chief V. Vinokurov said at the meeting, 30 electric locomotive engines have been equipped with electronic robots. It is of basic importance that these locomotives could be coupled in any combination. The reliability of the SME has improved. Extensive tests were made in driving coupled trains exceeding 5,000 tons. In the first 8 months of 1983 the depot locomotive engineers drove 1,776 such trains. SME means significant wage savings and thousands and thousands of tons of additionally hauled freight for the national economy. The coupled electric locomotive engines have power reserves

and drive the heavy trains with less power. This reduces wear and increases the operational reliability of the engines. Their turnover and useful work improved significantly. Computations made by specialists proved that the new method for driving methods will increase the handling capacity of the main line.

The accountability report listed another example of cooperation between the depot and the Chelyabinsk Electric Locomotive Engine Repair Plant, under the slogan "Successful Trips Are Born in the Shop." The acquired experience, the beginning of which was laid in 1977, was approved by the Ministry of Railways and the Central Committee of the Railroad Transportation Workers Trade Union and recommended for further extensive dissemination in the railroads. The results of many years of cooperation speak for themselves: the number of electric locomotive engine breakdowns after repairs declined by a factor of 3.

It is true that of late the quality of plant repairs has worsened and that the joint meetings between representatives of the two enterprises to consider results of the implementation of contracts and problems arising in the course of their cooperation have become less regular. Therefore, the new party committee membership has one more area in which to apply its forces. It is a very important one, for the quality of repairs largely determines the efficiency of all transportation work. This thought was particularly emphasized at the meeting.

Under the guidance of the party organization, with a persistence worthy of respect, the depot collective is trying this very five-year plan maximally to enhance the level of comprehensive mechanization of repairs and, on this basis, sharply to lower labor and material outlays and, at the same time, upgrade labor productivity, reduce idling of the locomotive engines fleet being repaired and considerably improve repair quality.

During the period under consideration, automation and instruments shops were commissioned and the construction of a turnaround depot at Kropachevo station was completed. The periodical repairs shop is being reconstructed with no interruption in the main work. A large number of new high-efficiency equipment has been installed. As a result, today the mechanization of labor-intensive processes has reached 64 percent, which is higher than the national average. The lion's share of all this work was accomplished not by contractors but by the depot personnel itself.

However, high repair quality means more than simply the consistent use of progressive labor methods and organization. This involves the systematic training of cadres and skillful use of moral and material incentives. It would take a long time to describe the set of steps taken in the depot to improve the quality of repair work. Let me merely cite the figures mentioned at the meeting, describing the fruitfulness of the efforts of the party organization and the entire collective aimed at upgrading the operational reliability of the locomotive engine fleet.

Compared with 1980, the volume of repair work in the depot was increased by approximately 18 percent and locomotive engine idling for all types of

repairs was reduced by a average of 7 percent with virtually no technical
improvement. The cost of current repairs here is the lowest in the railroad
system. In terms of this indicator, the depot has already met its 1955
obligations for the entire five-year plan. A great deal has been accom-
plished also in the struggle for model locomotive engine maintenance and
technical evaluation. That is why, whenever they have the opportunity,
locomotive brigades from other sections and lines are pleased to drive
engines assigned to the Zlatoust depot. The Zlatoust personnel maintains
their locomotive engine fleet so well that some residential premises are
less neat than the engineer's cabin of an electric or diesel engine.

Naturally, problems exist here as well.

"The technical condition of the engines would be even better if all of them
would be run by their assigned depots, as stipulated," said engineer K. Velya,
party committee member and honored railroad worker. "However, during the
Minister's order, electric locomotive engines, including ours, are 'driven
off' to other lines. Everyone is familiar with the condition in which they
are returned to us: although they are new engines, no spanner or screwdriver
may be found in the cabin. I suggest that our collective appeal to all rail-
road workers in the country to take care of the equipment as its own. We
have no right to forget that our electric locomotive engines are named after
Vladimir Il'ich Lenin!"

One could not fail to note that the analysis of achieved successes, although
the collective had something to be proud of, held a very modest place in the
accountability report. Even less was said about them by the participants in
the debate, most of whom did not even mention them. The discussions were
centered on shortcomings, worker omissions, unresolved problems and unmet
tasks. The most frequent and demanding words heard at the meeting were
struggle and discipline, calling for discipline and order. The party members
see their strengthening as a decisive prerequisite for further enhancing the
efficiency and quality of all transportation work.

"Tookly and Truly Needed"

Direct references to Lenin's work "The Forthcoming Tasks of the Soviet
System," the part in which the leader of the working class discussed the
tasks of the struggle against the elements of petit bourgeois interests and
sluggardism and the development of socialist discipline, were repeatedly heard
in the course of the discussions at the meeting. These references were both
natural and inevitable.

Lenin understood that the struggle against this element cannot be won
through persuasion and agitation, the organization of the competition and the
striving of organizers alone, but through coercion as well (see "Poln. Soobr.
sochin. i spets. izbrannye sochineniya", vol. 36, pp. 196-197). He pointed out that
"only large-scale machine industry, i.e., precisely the material, the prod-
uctive forces and foundation of socialism, unquestionably and most strictly
demand the unity of will which will guide the joint work of hundreds, thousands,
and tens of thousands of people." "But how can this strictest discipline be

...asked. His answer was: "Subordination to the will of the masses to the will of one." "This subordination," he explained further, "with order, discipline and discipline on the part of the party... reminds us of the work of an orchestra conductor. It may be compared, substituted if no ideal discipline and consciousness exist. But in any matter, the unquestionable obedience to a single will is a must for the success of a work process organized like large-scale machine industry is indispensably necessary. It is twice and three times as necessary in the railway" (ibid., p. 200).

...will, iron discipline and order are becoming increasingly necessary for the further progress of the mature socialist society which is developing on its own foundation--modern large-scale machine output. Communist discipline is not merely a technological requirement for modern industry but a prerequisite for the further strengthening of the collective principles in our life. This was perfectly understood by the party members at the locomotive engines depot, as it is by millions of Soviet working people. That is why the CPSU Central Committee appeal for comprehensive strengthening socialist labor discipline met with such warm response within the Party and among the broad toiling masses.

A thorough and honest discussion on strengthening the discipline took place at the meeting of the locomotive engines depot party members. It was particularly important in the least because to railroad workers discipline is a guarantee of traffic safety. I repeatedly heard at the depot the saying that the Party's instructions regulating the work of the railroads in the country are written in blood.

...did the speakers discuss?

They spoke about all of the state of labor discipline. The following figures were cited in the report: in the first 8 months of this year there were 146 cases of absenteeism committed by 126 people, whereas last year the number of such absences was lower. The least successful collectives in this respect were named and party members guilty of absenteeism were suitably rated.

The speakers considered violations of labor and production discipline the main reason for faulty work. It is true that the number of such cases is declining, although slowly. Thus, there were 72 such cases in 1981, 53 in 1982 and 46 in the first 8 months of this year. During the accountability period, however, four locomotive brigades ran through stop signals. In a railroad, this is a most severe violation. In two of these cases, the culprits were party members. The amount of unplanned repairs is declining with every passing year. Nevertheless, it still remains high in absolute terms. The speakers said that to the shame of the party organization some of the employees of the repair shops are party members.

The participants in the discussion directly linked the number of violations and the level of labor and technological discipline in one subunit or another to the discipline, practical qualities and moral features of the Communist masses.

"Frequently," brigade leader V. Prokhorov said, "a discussion on labor discipline usually centers on the workers. However, we must also take to task managers who also violate performing discipline and are either unable or unwilling to organize the work efficiently. In our steam locomotive engines shop we repair snow-removing equipment from the BAM [Baykal-Amur Mainline]. The equipment is in such poor condition that we are forced to use welding torches. Yet all we are issued are two oxygen cylinders which last 2 hours, which means that our fitters and boilermakers must stand idle instead of work. What kind of discipline is this! We have frequently raised this matter with the administration with no results. I have worked at the depot for half a century. I recall how difficult the situation was during the war and the first postwar years. At that time not even one oxygen station existed in the entire district and the cylinders we received came from Chelyabinsk. Nevertheless, we did not work on scanty rations as we do today!... Let us recall the story of the trench-digging diesel engine for the hospital. It stood in the open throughout the summer. We told many people that this should not be. The answer was, "we shall do it when the time comes." The time came when the sick began to freeze from the cold, and then there was a whole week of rushing! Is this proper management and a proper organization of the work? Those responsible for such "organization" should be taken most strictly to task!"...

V. Pechivalov, fitter at the lifting equipment repairs shop, spoke on the role of the party committee in the struggle for strengthening the discipline, technological discipline included, for bringing order in the production process and increasing the responsibility of economic managers for assignments. He said the following:

"Strict individual responsibility for the maintenance of tools, equipment and fittings is also an important factor in strengthening labor discipline. The party committee should supervise this matter closely. It must take to task along the party line managers-party members for negligence and slackness!"...

The accountability report self-critically noted that the party committee had weakened its exigency toward economic managers for the state of the discipline in their collectives. In this connection, the bureau of the Novozlatoustovskiy rayon party committee considered the item "On the Work of the Economic Management of the Locomotive Engines Depot in Strengthening Labor and Technological Discipline and Improving Train Traffic Safety in the Light of the Resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress." Depot Chief V. Vinokurov and his deputy R. Aleksandrov, head of the operations shop, were called to account by the party for shortcomings in work with cadres. R. Aleksandrov, who failed to cope with his obligations and allowed rudeness in his work with people, was relieved of his position. As was pointed out in the accountability report, this could have been avoided had the party committee assessed the practical and moral qualities of the party member promptly and on a principle-minded basis.

The depot party committee has somewhat increased of late its exigency toward economic managers who allow discipline violations. Thus, V. Ruzavin, senior foreman at the periodical repairs shop, and brigade leader F. Romazanov were

relieved of their positions last summer on the committee's initiative, for absenteeism resulting from a drinking binge. The worth of the appeals of such joint initiatives for managers for better order at work can be easily understood. It was no accident that discipline violations and work rejects were substantially higher precisely at the periodical repairs shop.

Honored railroad worker and party obkom candidate member locomotive engineer I. Malygin described briefly and clearly the change noted in the collective and the party organization toward slovenly individuals and drunks:

"The earth under the feet of the violators of discipline should burn!"

One of the best locomotive engineers of the depot drew the attention of those present to the close connection between the struggle for strengthening the discipline and streamlining the working and recreation regimen of locomotive engine brigades.

"This matter," I. Malygin said, "calls for the intervention of all public organizations and the administration. We have not seen positive changes in its resolution for a number of years. Cumulative fatigue develops in the people for years on end, which leads to cadre turnover and faulty work. The disorganization in the work and recreation regimen of locomotive engine brigades leads to violations of discipline and absenteeism. The party committee must demand a precise schedule of the junction party committee, the raykom and, finally, the CPSU obkom. Why is it, we ask, that our neighbors on either side of us work according to a specific schedule whereas we, who were the first to introduce it at one point, lack one?"...

This calls for some explanation. The point is that the locomotive brigades at the Zatonst depot are currently working on the basis of the so-called non-summoning system, based on the "self-appearance" principle. This means that a brigade back from a trip will be immediately told the destination of its next trip. The schedule is rigid. Be it Saturday, Sunday, a day of family celebration by the locomotive engineer or his assistant, at night or on New Year's, after 12 hours but not before, the brigade must take off on its next trip as scheduled. The numerous breakdowns in the organization of this schedule are mostly the result of entirely objective reasons. Nevertheless, the result is that brigades frequently are on the road for more than 10 hours without rest.

In accordance with recent CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees, bringing order in railroad transportation and improving its efficiency will require a tremendous amount of intensive and long work. The dedicated efforts of the railroad workers themselves would be insufficient. Suffice it to recall the great and heavy burden of inefficient crossruns. A great deal of money and effort will have to be invested in the area of station facilities and in strengthening all rear railroad transportation services which have fallen far behind the development of the locomotive fleet over a period of many years.

The work regimen of locomotive engine brigades itself must be streamlined, regardless of the complexity of this task. The gravity of the situation is

convincingly confirmed by the increased volume of overtime at the operations shop of the Zlatoust depot. As the accountability report noted, whereas in 1982 locomotive engine brigades totaled 180,000 hours overtime, they have already accumulated 214,000 hours in the first 8 months of this year.

Naturally, the application of a specific schedule will not resolve all problems related to normalizing working and resting conditions. However, they would at least enable the people to know 1 month in advance their scheduled runs and plan their own time better. This is no simple matter. In the final account, the many difficulties which arise here are reduced to the fact that the work of the locomotive engine brigades based on specific schedules must be combined with the train traffic schedule the purpose of which is to fulfill the heavily stressed transportation plan.

"In order to have a realistic specific schedule," said, among others, A. Nosov, chief of the railroad section, "the depot should have 439 locomotive engine brigades instead of 405 as is currently the case..."

It may become necessary to revise the work plan of the locomotive engines depot, for otherwise the economic indicators of the enterprise would become substantially worsened. However, even after surmounting this rather difficult obstacle, it will become necessary to hire skilled workers for the additional locomotive engine brigades. This too is a rather complex task. Nevertheless, the traffic service is completing the formulation of a schedule and, as the railroad section chief assured the party members, it will be mandatorily applied.

Discipline must be observed mandatorily by everyone. That is why, as was said at the meeting, once and for all the order on installing telephones in premises inhabited by personnel of locomotive engine brigades, which was issued more than 10 years ago by the Ministry of Railroads must be implemented. The availability of telephones is most directly related to the struggle waged by the collective for production discipline and order. Today, quite frequently locomotive engine brigades reporting for work are informed that their scheduled trip has been deleted. The telephone would free the engineer and his assistant from an unnecessary walk and time loss. It would also eliminate the need for "runners," who are paid by the depot especially for emergencies, should it become necessary to inform a locomotive engine brigade of scheduled changes. In the century of the scientific and technical revolution this institution is a stupid anachronism.

A locomotive engine brigade is like the last member of a relay race team. Being at the final part of the transport operation, it has to pay for any breakdown in its organization. If the road workers who have repaired the tracks "forget" to remove the speed signal the train will be forced to crawl along the way. If a dispatcher has improperly handled station shunting operations, the train will keep idling at the incoming train's signal light. This will mean that the locomotive engine brigade would be unable to maintain the stipulated technical speed and save on electric power. Mostly affected will be the end results of production activities. In 1982 the locomotive engine brigades of the Zlatoust section used up more than 20 million kilowatt

allowed them to get electric power from just waiting with their trains at a red light. The same amount of electric power would have sufficed to haul more than 2,000 full compositions from Kropachevo to Chelyabinsk stations!

But in 1977 the party members' discussion about discipline and order quite frequently exceeded the limit of strictly depot concerns and dealt with relevant problems of coupling, coordinating the efforts of traffic, freight car, road communications personnel, and others. In this connection, speakers at the meeting recalled the forgotten initiative of instructor locomotive engineer V. Nikolayev, whose column signed a cooperation contract with the collective of the dispatcher shift of the railroad section. The contract guaranteed a green light to the locomotive brigade in its travel. It was so, at the meeting that the depot party committee should deal more persistently with problems of interaction with the other sectors of the transportation shop using the help of the junction party committee which must precisely deal above all with organizing such interaction.

Unbreakable Time and Generation Continuity

The Zlatoust depot is located in the old part of the city which has a little under 30 years of skillful, almost magical work with metals and great revolutionary traditions. Here, in Zlatoust, such traditions can be experienced almost physically.

In this city of heredity proletarians, the locomotive depot, which celebrated its 90th birthday in September 1980, does not feel itself bypassed by either labor or revolutionary glory. The distant and quite recent but always heroic past can be felt surreptitiously but quite tangibly through its end results in participating in shaping the spiritual and moral features of the collective. It has become a full participant in the accountability and election meeting. This is no metaphor.

"We all have something to be proud of, something to care for and increase," locomotive engineer I. Malygin said. "We have something to tell the young workers...." Comrade Yu. V. Andropov said beautiful words about the veterans. Our depot numbers 136 party and labor veterans. This is a tremendous force which we must use skillfully...."

The 136 veterans who are members of the party organization account for slightly less than one-third of the total. It is obvious that their activity greatly determines the combat capability of the entire organization. As a rule, retired workers remain on the list of the party organization of the shop in which they spent many years at work. A territorial party organization has also been set up, consisting entirely of retirees. Fourteen party members in the depot have spent more than half a century in the party's ranks!

No, at that meeting the veterans were not assigned an honorary role. They were referred to with respect and without touching aspirations. They were treated as fellow workers who could make a great contribution to resolving the problems facing the party organization and to the struggle of the collective for increased efficiency and work quality and strengthening the labor

discipline. The veterans themselves efficiently participated in the work of the meeting. The idea which ran through all speeches was that they must act as tutors and educators of the youth but must be helped.

"Every year," Ye. Mogutov's report stated, "graduates of the city's Vocational-Technical School No 35 join our collective. We welcome them poorly, as everyone knows. There is a great deal of talk on this subject but so far words have differed from deeds. During the period under accountability we were unable to gather together the boys even a single time to dedicate them as workers in a ceremony, to inform them of the traditions of our collective and to have them meet our veterans. This is a great minus in the work of the party and trade union committees, the Komsomol committee and the administration. The depot has a veterans council the work of which, so far, has not been particularly noticeable...."

"It is important," said V. Kuptsinov, a Komsomol, party and labor veteran, taking up the same subject, "for us, the old, not to be forgotten when invitations are issued for one project or another in which our participation could be of use. As a person who joined the party here, at the depot, in 1931, and in the case of my comrades as well, everything related to our collective is precious and close. On my own initiative I go to the secondary vocational-technical school in the city to meet and talk with the children and to describe to them the way we lived and worked in past. However, is it suitable in such a case to rely on our individual initiative only?"....

This was absolutely right! However, equally true is the fact that the personal initiative of the veterans is also exceptionally necessary and important. When he retired, honored railroad worker V. Yegorov, whom we mentioned previously, expressed the desire to work as a foreman in that same secondary city Vocational-Technical School No 35 which trains the young railroad worker replacements. He brought to the school not only his tremendously long experience in driving trains but the outlook, the morality and way of life of one of the most progressive detachments of our working class. With his firm character and even occasionally disturbing irreconcilable attitude toward evil, views and customs alien to us, and lies and falsehood, worker Yegorov could have a beneficial influence on the school collective which, we were told, had its share of failures. Several years ago V. Yegorov turned "overburners" into graded locomotive engineers. He raised his own son as well as a railroad worker. Now, together with his colleagues, he turns mischievous vocational school students, not distinguished by their model behavior, into boys with a true worker character, into good specialists. And, as he himself, his friends and the parents of the students believe, he educates them as well.

A. Goncharov, first secretary of the Novozlatoustovskiy party raykom, rated highly in his speech the new initiative by this noted worker who assumed this bothersome work in the vocational-technical school not in the least for material considerations. The school greatly needs masters such as V. Yegorov, for which reason it is so important for his example to be followed by others.

The speaker mentioned that it is the duty of the public organizations to be in contact with the veterans not incidentally but on a steady basis. For example, the young people, the Komsomol members could become their permanent assistants. We must note the conditions in which they live and be ready to help the elderly if they need house repairs or on shopping trips.

The idea of the responsibility of the veterans themselves to the party organization and their collective was expressed at the meeting.

"I worked in the same job at the depot for 43 years and have been a party member for 33 years. A great many people know me," N. Stepanova said, with emotion. "Let me say that we, the members of the senior generation, must bear high the banner of party and labor veterans. A great deal was said here on youth education. We must educate the young people above all through our personal example."

The participants in the meeting emphasized, however, that the education of the growing generation is not the concern of veterans alone. It is a matter for all social organizations, for the entire collective. It is the duty of every party member and conscientious worker.

Party member P. Troshin, head of a Komsomol-youth column without a single violation of labor or technological discipline, pointed out the responsibility which locomotive engineers bear for their assistants, who are entirely inexperienced boys who have just made the switch from the school bench to the engine's cabin. He described the way older comrades developed in him and men of his generation love and respect for their profession and shared their hard earned experience in driving locomotive engines.

"Now it is our turn to share our knowledge," the instructor-locomotive engineer said. "Every one of us has the duty to train a fully competent replacement. Only then can we think of our pensions. It is accurately said that there are no bad assistant locomotive engineers but only poor locomotive engineers who are either unwilling or unable to teach anything to anyone...."

The accountability report mentioned an efficient method for training young workers such as sponsorship by experienced cadre workers. The depot currently has 120 sponsors, nearly half of them party members. The names of the best of them were respectfully mentioned at the meeting: party members V. Baniy, Yu. Boldyrev, N. Nosov and M. Golovanov.

The experience in sponsorship work by depot workers at School No 25 and Secondary City Vocational-Technical School No 35 was analyzed. Here again, while noting the most distinguished collectives, the reporter and the speakers criticized the careless ones and suggested ways for improving sponsorship work.

"At the course sponsored by the depot we train annually about 100 assistant engineers and approximately 70 engineers," said M. Nemets, formerly chief of the depot, when it was still known as a steam locomotive depot, and now working as engineer in charge of cadre training. "A great deal of persistent

work is required with our students. They have not become accustomed to our working conditions and regimen. The courses are taught on a voluntary basis, which is quite difficult for workers who have many official obligations but must find the time to prepare for the classes and teach them on a high level. Some of our instructors-locomotive engineers have tried it but have given up after the first class. Others, such as P. Troshin, for example, totally dedicate themselves to such classes. This has not occurred even a single time in the groups headed by the depot chief engineer, although this happens to be his direct duty, and the depot chief comes to us either when he needs people to send to a kolkhoz or to deliver the mandatory talk at the start of their independent work. Our party committee as well did not find the time to discuss the work of the courses. Yet, regardless of our techniques, the success will come from the people, from their attitude toward the work...."

Whatever aspect of enterprise life was discussed at the meeting, the party members focused on the people, the cadres, their selection, placement, training and upbringing. That is precisely the way it should be, for work with the people is the main feature of party organization activities. To learn and to demand, to demand and to learn was the way the depot party members formulated the main content of this work.

Many of the activities of the party organization, which were thoroughly discussed at the accountability and election meeting, have remained, unfortunately, beyond the scope of our story. We can claim with a feeling of full responsibility, however, that their discussion as well was distinguished by the same strict exigency and practicality.

The final document of the meeting--the decree it passed--was short, specific and clear. It made it incumbent upon the new party committee membership to sum up within 3 weeks the critical remarks and suggestions voiced by the party members and to draft measures for their implementation. The decree directed the party committee, its aktiv and all party members in the locomotive engine depot to engage in strictly organized work. No other way is possible today, if we are to master the tasks facing the country's transportation system, our entire national economy and the party and if we remember the difficult international situation in which the Soviet people must work in furnishing their socialist home.

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AUTOMOTIVE TRANSPORT: FURTHER DEVELOPMENT TASKS

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[Article by D. Velikanov, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member]

[Text] The country's transportation system is sometimes metaphorically compared to the cardiovascular system of the human body, which also performs the complex function of product exchange. It would be inconceivable to imagine a modern economy and the country's overall functioning without transportation. In his report "Sixty Years of USSR," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, noted that "in a state as large as ours transportation plays a special economic, political and, if you wish, psychological role." This explains the great attention which the party's Central Committee pays to transportation problems and its concern with the state of affairs in transportation, which was discussed at the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Today motor vehicle transportation plays a special role in the USSR because of its ability to meet most efficiently the needs of the national economic complex for local freight haulage, on a "door-to-door" basis, as a rule, thus reducing the number of transshipments, and its most extensive use in passenger transportation.

I

Today automotive transportation has become particularly important. Although in terms of ton/kilometers the volume of trucking is relatively low, in terms of tonnage the amount of haulage is quadruple that of all other types of transportation combined. In 1981 25 billion tons of freight were trucked, or 82 percent of the overall volume of the entire haulage. Passenger transportation by motor vehicle exceeded that of all other transportation systems combined. As early as 1980 motor vehicles carried 62 billion passengers or 71 percent of the total, and covered 764 billion passenger/kilometers (naturally, this includes not only public bus transportation but departmental buses and all passenger cars, including those privately owned).

The entire automotive transportation personnel welcomed with profound approval the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving the Planning and Organization of the Transportation of National Economic Freight and Passengers and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading the Efficiency of the Work of Transportation Enterprises and Organizations," according to which the overall volume of hauled freight will be assessed as of now in terms of tons. Such assessment

well as the... to take... results... for... operations... will be... of the... of...

...are... people are... to... If we were to include the personnel engaged in... operations, supply... nature... control, accountability and... of transport... the actual labor... (1981) to be significantly higher!

...particular importance in securing the agricultural complex... The May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum clearly... work by the transportation organizations... In addition to the fact that its costs account for 80 to 90 percent of the cost... the preservation of the products depends essentially... A considerable portion of the products... system of bulk hauling, particularly with the... (in the case of potatoes, vegetables and melon crops), not... subsequent storing as well. Because of this,... of working people are shifted from their main work to... and remove spoiled goods. Grain... involves not only quantitative and qualitative losses... but labor-intensive unloading, particularly on open sites. Studies conducted by the Kazakh Scientific... Institute indicate the need for the... means of grain hauling—containerized, which... between cabins and vehicles and their inter... of spoiled food products become un... refrigerated or isothermal trucks.

...transportation is of particularly great social and... in the development of agriculture and retaining cadres... Its task is to provide reliable year-round links to each... This requires, to begin with, small buses with luggage compartments... based on local road and climate conditions. In some cases, in addition to standard fixtures, they would have to have... of the snow in winter and during the thaw, using wide... of the PSV-3201 or PSV-3201... of work.

...industry faces during this five-year plan the task... for the production of specialized... transport vehicles for agriculture.

...the successful solution of the transportation problem... Congress and Central Committee Plenums, we must... effectiveness of automotive transportation... and the most important among the... (1981).

The time has come for the USSR to develop a system of coordinated management of the country's transportation complex, which would encompass all transportation facilities. In my view, above all we should reorganize the control of the entire automotive transportation system by setting up a union-republic automotive transportation and road facilities ministry with the expanded power to implement technical policy not only in the area of public transportation but the individual sector as well, regardless of departmental affiliation.

Unlike other types of transportation, the automotive fleet is scattered among all transport and non-transport ministries and departments. Equally deconcentrated are public-use automotive roads, which are not only under the jurisdiction of the 15 republic ministries but also the cities, where they are under the jurisdiction of the ministries of the communal economy. This is the reason for the lack of uniformity in technical policy regarding their structure, parameters, road and bridge durability and methods for their use and protection from premature destruction caused by the use of trucks carrying excessive loads. The contemporary automotive road is an expensive engineering system which must be treated carefully. Yet all roads and streets are used by all varieties of motor vehicles produced by our industry. The country has no statistical figures on roads allowing maximal loads, covering the entire network of public-use arteries, i.e., including city streets on which the volume of haulage is quite heavy. The average distance freight hauled by truck is 18 kilometers. There is no coordination between the parameters of automotive transport facilities produced by industry and the development of the network of automotive roads, parameters governing the smoothness of roads and maximal axle loads for the various roads, bridges, and other road installations. For this reason the automotive manufacturing industry spends substantial funds in the production of motor vehicles which are not always efficient. The lack of an all-union organ and the scattered nature of the automotive fleet and roads hinder the application of scientific and technical progress in this area.

The existence of a union-republic ministry would make it possible radically to reduce the number of small and unprofitable automotive enterprises, i.e., to resolve the age-old problem which arose back in the 1930s and was included in the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990." Problems of the distribution of freight among public use and departmental transport facilities, the coordination of interblast and interurban hauling and agricultural transportation could also be resolved most successfully and radically. The same applies to regulating deliveries to the various parts of the country with extreme natural and weather conditions with motor vehicles specialized for "northern" or "southern" work, with suitable tires, fuel and other materials, the production of which was stipulated in the resolutions of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses.

The setting up of such a ministry would not infringe on the autonomy of the republics in this matter but would contribute most radically to upgrading the work efficiency and quality of automotive transportation and, in particular, the increased freight hauling by public use vehicles which, as stipulated at

... increased by 30 percent and the passenger ... by 100 percent by 1985 and the implementation of other measures.

... transportation accounts for no more than 29 percent of the ... of motor vehicle haulage. The balance is absorbed by the ... and departments. The establishment of an automotive ... ministry with extended rights would contribute to the ... of a unified technical policy in the development of both public ... transportation. It would ensure uniformity in drafting ... standards mandatory for all owners of transportation vehicles ... operation, technical maintenance, designing garages and other ... transportation systems, accepting new models of automotive equip- ... produced by industry, technical inspection of the condition of the motor ... to use, controlling the skill of the drivers and many other ... production of standardized garage and repair equipment and ... instruments and apparatus, supplied to the entire automo- ... throughout the country, and of spare parts should be legitimately ... in the hands of that ministry.

... of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the most important ... automotive transportation, which demand prime attention, are ... limiting the growth in the number of working people ... of work ensuring the activities of the automotive ... lowering the consumption of petroleum-based fuels, ... their outlay and converting to the use of other energy ... effect of automotive transportation on the ... number of traffic accidents; and radically improv- ... passenger transportation.

II

... possibilities of more radically reducing transportation ... simultaneously reducing the number of workers employed in ... and fuel consumption, is improving the structure of the auto- ...

... economic system makes it possible to control the effi- ... of the country's automotive fleet. This requires a minimal ... models, maximally standardized and quantitatively corre- ... and ... trains of different freight capacity which would ... to haul freight with the lowest possible material and labor ... It is also necessary for all vehicle structures to be maximally ... with the road, transportation and natural and weather operational ...

... of controlling the shaping of the automotive fleet is neither ... It appeared in the 1950s. Work on the problem was done by ... Laboratory of the Institute of Machine Studies (ImM) ... of the USSR Academy of Sciences and, subsequently, ... of Comprehensive Transportation Problems (IKTP) of the USSR

The development of passenger vehicles is being carried out in parallel with the development of passenger vehicles of medium and heavy classes. It is necessary to ensure the development of passenger vehicles in accordance with scientific and technical advances and the requirements of the transportation system. The IKTP developed appropriate passenger vehicle models for the period 1980-1985. The models were based on the USSR territory on the basis of statistical data on passenger vehicles, with a view to the production of specialized vehicle models for passenger vehicles and also stipulated the use of conventional materials.

The IKTP suggested specific recommendations related to changing the structure of the automotive fleet and, respectively, motor vehicle manufacturing, which had been made in the 1970s to the 1980s, in order to ensure the fullest possible utilization of the advantages of the planned economic system. The IKTP recommendations include the need to increase the share of larger trucks, in order to do so without overloading the roads (without exceeding admissible weight limits), this was to be accomplished by increasing the number of support axles, i.e., to increase the use of trailers and semi-trailers, and to convert to the rational use of three- instead of two-axle trucks. This recommendation was the increase of the share of low-capacity trucks (under 2 tons), the majority of which makes it necessary to ship small cargo. The use of small trucks requires a great amount of fuel (triple), and the present (small) number of such units in their construction.

The IKTP recommendations on changing the structure of the trucking fleet were suggested in the course of comprehensive studies (by the IKTP together with the State Scientific Center for Scientific Transportation Institute (NIIT), the Institute of Scientific Research and Motor Vehicle Institute (NAMI) and other scientific organizations), and were included in the resolutions of the 1970 and subsequent State Conferences. The suggestions on the development of the structure of automotive fleets for the forthcoming periods of national economic development have been universally adopted following their approval by the State Scientific Center for Science and Technology.

The implementation of the measures for improving the structure of trucking vehicles will reduce overall fuel consumption by 49 percent, lower the size of the automotive fleet and, correspondingly, the servicing personnel, by 20 percent, and transportation costs by 7.5 billion rubles.

The anticipated effect of the already approved suggestions on further improvements in the structure of the trucking fleet is consistent with the long-term development of the USSR and social development of the USSR in 1981-1990 and the period through 1995. These proposals stipulate an increased share of large and medium trucks and truck trains and, if successfully implemented in the next ten years, would enable us to lower transportation costs by 20 billion rubles, reduce the size of the fleet and the servicing personnel by 20 percent and lower fuel requirements by 29 percent. However, with an improvement in the fleet structure over the next decade would necessitate the solution of such problems such as radically increasing the production of vehicles (such as the MAZ-532, MAZ-534 and MAZ-500 and the new series of MAZ-535, MAZ-536, MAZ-537, MAZ-538, MAZ-539, MAZ-540, MAZ-541, MAZ-542, MAZ-543, MAZ-544, MAZ-545, MAZ-546, MAZ-547, MAZ-548, MAZ-549, MAZ-550, MAZ-551, MAZ-552, MAZ-553, MAZ-554, MAZ-555, MAZ-556, MAZ-557, MAZ-558, MAZ-559, MAZ-560, MAZ-561, MAZ-562, MAZ-563, MAZ-564, MAZ-565, MAZ-566, MAZ-567, MAZ-568, MAZ-569, MAZ-570, MAZ-571, MAZ-572, MAZ-573, MAZ-574, MAZ-575, MAZ-576, MAZ-577, MAZ-578, MAZ-579, MAZ-580, MAZ-581, MAZ-582, MAZ-583, MAZ-584, MAZ-585, MAZ-586, MAZ-587, MAZ-588, MAZ-589, MAZ-590, MAZ-591, MAZ-592, MAZ-593, MAZ-594, MAZ-595, MAZ-596, MAZ-597, MAZ-598, MAZ-599, MAZ-600, MAZ-601, MAZ-602, MAZ-603, MAZ-604, MAZ-605, MAZ-606, MAZ-607, MAZ-608, MAZ-609, MAZ-610, MAZ-611, MAZ-612, MAZ-613, MAZ-614, MAZ-615, MAZ-616, MAZ-617, MAZ-618, MAZ-619, MAZ-620, MAZ-621, MAZ-622, MAZ-623, MAZ-624, MAZ-625, MAZ-626, MAZ-627, MAZ-628, MAZ-629, MAZ-630, MAZ-631, MAZ-632, MAZ-633, MAZ-634, MAZ-635, MAZ-636, MAZ-637, MAZ-638, MAZ-639, MAZ-640, MAZ-641, MAZ-642, MAZ-643, MAZ-644, MAZ-645, MAZ-646, MAZ-647, MAZ-648, MAZ-649, MAZ-650, MAZ-651, MAZ-652, MAZ-653, MAZ-654, MAZ-655, MAZ-656, MAZ-657, MAZ-658, MAZ-659, MAZ-660, MAZ-661, MAZ-662, MAZ-663, MAZ-664, MAZ-665, MAZ-666, MAZ-667, MAZ-668, MAZ-669, MAZ-670, MAZ-671, MAZ-672, MAZ-673, MAZ-674, MAZ-675, MAZ-676, MAZ-677, MAZ-678, MAZ-679, MAZ-680, MAZ-681, MAZ-682, MAZ-683, MAZ-684, MAZ-685, MAZ-686, MAZ-687, MAZ-688, MAZ-689, MAZ-690, MAZ-691, MAZ-692, MAZ-693, MAZ-694, MAZ-695, MAZ-696, MAZ-697, MAZ-698, MAZ-699, MAZ-700, MAZ-701, MAZ-702, MAZ-703, MAZ-704, MAZ-705, MAZ-706, MAZ-707, MAZ-708, MAZ-709, MAZ-710, MAZ-711, MAZ-712, MAZ-713, MAZ-714, MAZ-715, MAZ-716, MAZ-717, MAZ-718, MAZ-719, MAZ-720, MAZ-721, MAZ-722, MAZ-723, MAZ-724, MAZ-725, MAZ-726, MAZ-727, MAZ-728, MAZ-729, MAZ-730, MAZ-731, MAZ-732, MAZ-733, MAZ-734, MAZ-735, MAZ-736, MAZ-737, MAZ-738, MAZ-739, MAZ-740, MAZ-741, MAZ-742, MAZ-743, MAZ-744, MAZ-745, MAZ-746, MAZ-747, MAZ-748, MAZ-749, MAZ-750, MAZ-751, MAZ-752, MAZ-753, MAZ-754, MAZ-755, MAZ-756, MAZ-757, MAZ-758, MAZ-759, MAZ-760, MAZ-761, MAZ-762, MAZ-763, MAZ-764, MAZ-765, MAZ-766, MAZ-767, MAZ-768, MAZ-769, MAZ-770, MAZ-771, MAZ-772, MAZ-773, MAZ-774, MAZ-775, MAZ-776, MAZ-777, MAZ-778, MAZ-779, MAZ-780, MAZ-781, MAZ-782, MAZ-783, MAZ-784, MAZ-785, MAZ-786, MAZ-787, MAZ-788, MAZ-789, MAZ-790, MAZ-791, MAZ-792, MAZ-793, MAZ-794, MAZ-795, MAZ-796, MAZ-797, MAZ-798, MAZ-799, MAZ-800, MAZ-801, MAZ-802, MAZ-803, MAZ-804, MAZ-805, MAZ-806, MAZ-807, MAZ-808, MAZ-809, MAZ-810, MAZ-811, MAZ-812, MAZ-813, MAZ-814, MAZ-815, MAZ-816, MAZ-817, MAZ-818, MAZ-819, MAZ-820, MAZ-821, MAZ-822, MAZ-823, MAZ-824, MAZ-825, MAZ-826, MAZ-827, MAZ-828, MAZ-829, MAZ-830, MAZ-831, MAZ-832, MAZ-833, MAZ-834, MAZ-835, MAZ-836, MAZ-837, MAZ-838, MAZ-839, MAZ-840, MAZ-841, MAZ-842, MAZ-843, MAZ-844, MAZ-845, MAZ-846, MAZ-847, MAZ-848, MAZ-849, MAZ-850, MAZ-851, MAZ-852, MAZ-853, MAZ-854, MAZ-855, MAZ-856, MAZ-857, MAZ-858, MAZ-859, MAZ-860, MAZ-861, MAZ-862, MAZ-863, MAZ-864, MAZ-865, MAZ-866, MAZ-867, MAZ-868, MAZ-869, MAZ-870, MAZ-871, MAZ-872, MAZ-873, MAZ-874, MAZ-875, MAZ-876, MAZ-877, MAZ-878, MAZ-879, MAZ-880, MAZ-881, MAZ-882, MAZ-883, MAZ-884, MAZ-885, MAZ-886, MAZ-887, MAZ-888, MAZ-889, MAZ-890, MAZ-891, MAZ-892, MAZ-893, MAZ-894, MAZ-895, MAZ-896, MAZ-897, MAZ-898, MAZ-899, MAZ-900, MAZ-901, MAZ-902, MAZ-903, MAZ-904, MAZ-905, MAZ-906, MAZ-907, MAZ-908, MAZ-909, MAZ-910, MAZ-911, MAZ-912, MAZ-913, MAZ-914, MAZ-915, MAZ-916, MAZ-917, MAZ-918, MAZ-919, MAZ-920, MAZ-921, MAZ-922, MAZ-923, MAZ-924, MAZ-925, MAZ-926, MAZ-927, MAZ-928, MAZ-929, MAZ-930, MAZ-931, MAZ-932, MAZ-933, MAZ-934, MAZ-935, MAZ-936, MAZ-937, MAZ-938, MAZ-939, MAZ-940, MAZ-941, MAZ-942, MAZ-943, MAZ-944, MAZ-945, MAZ-946, MAZ-947, MAZ-948, MAZ-949, MAZ-950, MAZ-951, MAZ-952, MAZ-953, MAZ-954, MAZ-955, MAZ-956, MAZ-957, MAZ-958, MAZ-959, MAZ-960, MAZ-961, MAZ-962, MAZ-963, MAZ-964, MAZ-965, MAZ-966, MAZ-967, MAZ-968, MAZ-969, MAZ-970, MAZ-971, MAZ-972, MAZ-973, MAZ-974, MAZ-975, MAZ-976, MAZ-977, MAZ-978, MAZ-979, MAZ-980, MAZ-981, MAZ-982, MAZ-983, MAZ-984, MAZ-985, MAZ-986, MAZ-987, MAZ-988, MAZ-989, MAZ-990, MAZ-991, MAZ-992, MAZ-993, MAZ-994, MAZ-995, MAZ-996, MAZ-997, MAZ-998, MAZ-999, MAZ-1000).

The number of such truck trains so far remains insignificantly small. They are the most efficient in terms of exploitation. The labor productivity of their driver is the highest of all truck models and hauling costs, fuel outlay and use of all material resources per ton/kilometer are minimal. Their expanded use would enable us to reduce the need for drivers and fuel. This will not fully cover all possibilities of improving the structure of the trucking fleet. We must reduce further the production of motor vehicles such as the ZIL-130 and KamAZ-53212, whose hauling capacity is inadequate in terms of bulk haulage.

The most important problem today is the all-round reduction in the size of the multi-million-strong army of working people engaged in loading and unloading operations in automotive transportation. Most such work is not mechanized. It is done manually and requires heavy physical labor. This problem must be resolved on a comprehensive basis. We must above all increase the production of all sorts of mechanization and automation facilities for loading and unloading operations, strengthen the floor of the truck body in order to support the weight of mechanized loads, increase the height of the doors and adapt them to the use of containers, cranes and conveyor belt systems, and so on.

Low trucks with a capacity of less than 2 tons are still used in our country. Although their share is gradually increasing, it remains inadequate. All economically developed countries have a considerably larger number of such vehicles. They are essentially handled by nonprofessional drivers, on the basis of combining the skill of driver and service worker or are handled by the truck owner itself.

Naturally, we should not duplicate this example, the more so since we have a socialist type of industrial production, a collectivistic agriculture and organized system of state and cooperative trade, and consumer services. All of this enables us to increase significantly the concentration of trucking and carry it out most efficiently by consolidating and using greater-capacity trucks with circular itineraries and less labor and material outlays. It is natural, therefore, that for this reason lower-capacity trucks will be less used in the USSR than in the capitalist countries. Nevertheless, we have a considerable amount of hauling which, based on the freight forming, consumption and speed of freight deliveries, would be economically inexpedient to consolidate, for which reason, therefore, lower-capacity trucks should be used. The recently adopted CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree lists a number of areas in consumer and cultural services of the urban and rural population, which could be considerably improved with the use of 0.5-0.8-ton capacity trucks. They are needed by enterprises engaged in fire cleaning, laundering, shoe, television, refrigerator, washing machine and other household equipment repairs, services to cafeterias, canteens, post offices, hospitals, polyclinics, sanatoriums, rest homes, kindergartens and nurseries, summer camps, Soyuzpechat newsstands, and many other institutions. They can be applied extensively in agriculture in hauling freight to remote trading centers and, particularly, in agricultural production procurements, construction, communal services, food deliveries, deliveries of lubricants and fuels and tools to work areas of brigades and field camps. Low-capacity

Trucks are needed not only in transportation. They are also extensively needed by health services, such as, for example, giving technical assistance in the case of motor vehicle breakdowns along the roads, accident-technical services for maintaining in working condition all self-propelling industrial, construction and agricultural facilities, and servicing communications, radio-television equipment, and power industry, water and sewer systems. The areas where low-capacity trucks can be used are quite extensive and are expanding steadily.

The gross shortage of trucks with basically less than 1-ton capacity makes it necessary for most freight to be hauled with GAZ or ZIL-model trucks, which have an undeniably greater capacity, as a result of which double and triple the amount of fuel is used and metal and other valuable materials invested in their structure are unnecessarily wasted. The weight of currently used GAZ or ZIL trucks for small shipments exceeds by an average of 2-4 tons the weight of low-capacity trucks. This unnecessary amount of weight is constantly hauled along with freight weighing, for example, 200-400 kilograms. The use of 300,000 low 0.5-0.8-ton capacity trucks instead of the average capacity trucks currently used would save 200,000 to 300,000 tons of gasoline per year and reduce the need for metal and other valuable structural materials in vehicle manufacturing by 25,000-30,000 tons. The cost of hauling freight weighing 0.5 tons, under comparable conditions, with a 1-ton vehicle averages 21 kopeks per ton/kilometer; it averages 30 kopeks for a 2.5-ton vehicle and 70 kopeks per 6-ton vehicle.

There is an acute shortage of drivers in the country. This has become one of the obstacles in expanding the use of low-capacity trucks. The labor productivity of a driver in terms of ton/kilometers for low-capacity trucks is, naturally, less than that for average and higher-capacity trucks. That is why, whenever possible, we should always consolidate hauling and use the largest possible trucks. However, some small shipments cannot be consolidated. Furthermore, the need for drivers for small shipments and service transportation can be radically reduced by extensively promoting a system according to which the driving will be left to personnel of related skills (mechanic, welder, shipper, mail carrier, consumer service worker, head of crop, animal husbandry, construction or other type brigade, drilling foreman, or ecologist). In such cases, naturally, the planned use of vehicles and corresponding accountability should be separated from those applicable to general transport.

Currently, the country's industry produces extremely few low-capacity vehicles (GAZ, ZIL, Yermak). Their wholesale prices are quite high and their design is neither advanced nor based on use by nonprofessional drivers. The problem of developing the mass production of modern low-capacity front-drive vehicles, especially economical in terms of fuel and labor consumption, is extremely urgent. Unquestionably, such vehicles would not only be in demand in the USSR but become competitive on the world market.

In addition to many universally known means of upgrading the efficiency of automotive transportation, there is another problem to which proper attention has not been paid so far. It is economically justified to operate a motor

...driving along with...
...for the length of each road with...
...increasingly...
...the road...
...kilometers per hour...
...The balance of the road...
...is not uniformly smooth...
...with...
...oscillations...
...fuel consumption...
...smooth and even road...
...fuel consumption would be...
...fuel consumption...
...smooth roads...
...particular...
...attention should be...
...network of even roads...
...roadbeds and the...
...per mile.

...possibility of reducing fuel consumption...
...by the use of diesel engines...
...less fuel compared to a gasoline engine...
...extensive work in the...
...diesel...
...to believe that the conversion...
...for motor vehicles of all...
...diesel cannot as yet be...
...some changes in the...
...production of diesel engines...
...possibility of radically reducing...
...transportation and lessening...

...resources are limited. For this reason...
...fuel...
...transportation...
...fuel...
...multiples for the...
...diesel...
...help, it would be...

...priority of...
...extensive use...
...substantial...
...environmental...
...potential...
...preservation...

The use of natural gas in vehicles involves certain difficulties. Under average temperatures and atmospheric pressure natural gas cannot be kept in a liquid state. It must be kept under high compression of 200 kilograms per square centimeter in heavy and cumbersome cylinders. Its use as automotive fuel requires the development of a network of rather complex and expensive gas fuelling compressor stations. Natural gas is kept liquefied at a temperature of -162 degrees Centigrade, which calls for a special technology for its use. Natural gas can be used for the production of methyl alcohol which can also be used as automotive engine fuel. Developments in chemistry make possible the creation of an acceptable technology for the production of methanol (methyl alcohol) from natural gas, economically justified and without significant energy loss. In such a case the automotive transportation system will face the problem of converting to the extensive use of methanol as fuel.

The pollution and toxicity of the air from automotive transportation is becoming an increasing problem in many cities. Automobile traffic along the streets is increasing steadily. Despite the measures taken to protect the environment, the volume of harmful emissions is growing. They are mainly the products of the partial combustion of petroleum fuels--carbon oxides, hydrocarbons, nitrogen oxides, carbon black and particularly toxic lead combinations, which are added to gasolines to increase their octane number. Although maximally admissible norms of harmful emissions have been established, so far they are not applied to all vehicle models. No mass production of control and measuring instruments has been developed for measuring gas toxicity.

The importance and scale of problems which have accumulated in the transportation system and the need for long-term programs for the development of the individual types of transportation are imperatives of our time reflected in the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the subsequent party Central Committee plenums. Unquestionably, their solution will help to enhance the efficiency of the entire automotive transportation system and will improve transportation services to the national economy and the population.

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IN THE INTERESTS OF THE PRESENT AND FUTURE GENERATIONS

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[Article by G. Nuriyev, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission on Environmental Protection and Rational Utilization of Natural Resources]

[Text]

I

Today some of the most important global sociopolitical problems include the need to organize the efficient use of natural resources, the effective and reliable protection of the environment and the establishment of a suitable scientifically based interrelationship between human society and the biosphere.

The USSR Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, which ascribe exceptionally great importance to environmental protection and the rational utilization of natural resources, are consistently pursuing a line of energizing environmental protection activities in the country, mobilizing to this effect all management organs, the efforts of enterprise and organization collectives and all Soviet people. As its economic possibilities increase, the state allocates increasing material and financial resources for such purposes.

All of these activities are consistent with the objectives and tasks formulated and developed in the documents of the communist party, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers, and the laws and decrees passed by union republics.

The constitution as well stipulates the adoption of environmental protection measures in the Soviet Union. The Fundamental Law stipulates, in particular (Article 18), that in the interest of the present and future generations the USSR is taking the necessary measures for the protection and the scientific and rational utilization of the land and the subsoil, water resources and vegetal and animal worlds, the protection of the air and water, the proper reproduction of natural resources and improving the environment.

Under socialism the implementation of such measures is a national statewide project which is reflected in the national economic programs and long-term and annual plans. Ministries, departments and union republics set assignments on the preservation and rational utilization of the land and water,

timber and mineral resources and the air basin, the development of preserves, the reproduction of fish stocks and the reconstruction of projects, installations and adequate capacities for environmental activities.

During the past five-year plan alone 9.3 billion rubles were spent on such measures; 10.3 billion rubles have been planned for the same purpose for this five-year plan.

The main issue is concern for the land and for the preservation and cultivation of its fertility. As we know, as cities expand, new industrial projects are built and the country's population increases, the per capita arable land in the country declines. It was 1.1 hectares in 1955, 0.97 in 1965, 0.89 in 1975 and 0.84 in 1982. That is why the main way for increasing food production and agricultural raw materials is the scientific utilization of the land, the intensification, i.e., the increased productivity per hectare, above all as a result of water and chemical reclamation, the increased amount of arable land and ensuring the preservation of all land suitable for agricultural production.

Scientifically based, comprehensive land assessment work has been completed in the basic agricultural areas in the country. A qualitative economic assessment has been made of some 217 million hectares of arable land and 121 million hectares in natural fodder crops.

Land records have been developed in many areas and are extensively used in natural-agricultural zoning, improving production specialization and location, planning and price setting, and analyzing and objectively assessing the production activities of kolkhozes, sovkhozes and rural rayons.

The planning and agricultural organs make great use of land survey data in the Latvian and Lithuanian SSRs, Krasnodar and Stavropol krays, Mordovian ASSR and Kuvbyshv, Omsk, Vinnitsa, Kiev, Kherson and Cherkassy oblasts.

However, in a number of areas land assessment results are still poorly put to practical use in planning and organizing agricultural production. Data frequently gather dust on shelves. This is inadmissible.

All local soviet organs and the agroindustrial associations must resolve on a scientific basis all problems of land utilization and upgrading agricultural production efficiency, extensively using to this effect data from the objective assessment of the quality of land resources and applying scientific farming systems.

Thanks to the steps which were taken in recent years, the use of land for nonagricultural needs is being reduced. Whereas during the 9th Five-Year Plan every year kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other state farms lost some 500,000 hectares of farmland, during the 10th Five-Year Plan such losses were reduced by a factor of 2.4.

Substantial qualitative changes have taken place in land utilization as a result of the comprehensive and long-term nature of steps taken to improve

them and to find possibilities of farming new areas. During the 10th Five-Year Plan and the first 2 years of the 11th, the amount of farmland in the country increased by more than 1.2 million hectares, reaching 226.7 million hectares in 1983.

During the same period, the size of irrigated farmland increased by 4,069,000 hectares and 3,314,000 hectares were drained. The area in improved hay and pasture crops increased by 1,477,000 hectares. In 1982 alone work on the restructuring of irrigation systems and improving water supplies covered an area of 675,000 hectares. The reconstruction and restoration of drainage systems covered an area of 188,000 hectares. All in all, at the beginning of 1983 the country had 18.6 million hectares in irrigated land and 17.5 million hectares of land had been drained.

Large-scale reclamation is taking place in the USSR. Nearly one-third of all state capital investments in agricultural development are used for reclamation work.

The area on which anti-erosion work is being done is being expanded steadily. For example, last year non-mould board soil cultivation covered an area of 36.4 million hectares; capital investments in building anti-erosion hydroengineering, anti-silt, anti-slide and other installations totaled 128 million rubles; 35,000 hectares were planted in forest protective belts. Currently field and other protecting forest belts cover 2.5 million hectares. More than 40 million hectares in farmland are protected by planted forest areas. Forest protection work is particularly well-organized in the northern Caucasus, the southern Ukraine and the Central-Chernozem area and in many oblasts along the Volga and in Siberia. Everywhere tree belts play an important role in the struggle against drought and water and wind erosion and help maintain farming stability and increased field productivity.

The area of recultivated land has been increased substantially. More than half a million hectares of spoiled land were recultivated during the 10th Five-Year Plan, and another 251,000 hectares were rebuilt and returned to the national economy in the first 2 years of the 11th.

Successful recultivation work is being done by the Estonslanets Association of the USSR Ministry of Coal Industry. During the past 2 years the association has rebuilt some 900 hectares of worked-out areas.

Every year the ore mining-chemical plant of the Fosfaty Association, of the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources restores 170-180 hectares of deformed land, one-third of which becomes recultivated. The Lesnoy Sovkhoz in Voskresenskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast, averages 250 quintals of potatoes, as much as 400 quintals of green corn mass and 30 quintals of grain per hectare on such land.

Purposeful land recultivation work is being done by the Kamysh-Burun Iron Ore Combine and the Ordzhonikidze Ore-Mining Concentration Combine of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy.

These successes should not make us ignore the fact that some ministries and departments are still failing to pay the necessary attention to land recultivation and do not ensure the implementation of assignments. Thus, the enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Construction Materials Industry fulfilled their plan for such work for the first 2 years of the current five-year plan no more than 62 percent.

Chemicals are being increasingly used in upgrading land fertility and in fighting weeds and plant diseases. This requires particular caution on the part of agricultural specialists and workers, for a number of chemicals harm the environment. The machine builders must effectively help agriculture in this matter by supplying the farms with advanced machinery and equipment for limited and stripe application of fertilizers, good spraying machines and other means for the use of toxic chemicals, herbicides, pesticides and so on.

Furthermore, in order to improve crop yields and stable farming, the kolkhozes and sovkhoses apply scientific farming systems and increase the amount of fallow land and the amount of organic fertilizers used. More work is being done in fighting plant pests and diseases with the help of biological means, which are the least harmful or totally safe. Whereas kolkhozes and sovkhoses used such means on an area covering 5.8 million hectares in 1982, the figure rose to 8.3 million in 1983.

Such progressive methods have become particularly widespread in the farms of the Uzbek SSR, where their use increased by a factor of 6 between 1976 and 1982. The biological method is successfully being applied by the farms in Andizhan, Namangan and Fergana oblasts in Uzbekistan, Nikolayev, Kharkov and Cherkassy oblasts in the Ukraine, the Tatar and Chechen-Ingush autonomous republics, Krasnodar Kray and Sverdlovsk Oblast in the Russian Federation.

However, the extensive use of biological methods is held back by the scarcity of a number of biological preparations and the poor quality of some of them.

In the next few years the scientific research establishments and production organizations must improve the methods for developing and applying biological plant protection means and their search for new useful organisms to be used in production. They must expand their research on synthesizing new biologically active substances and creating corresponding preparations.

The chemical industry as well faces major tasks. It must organize the production of contemporary environmentally safe plant protection chemicals.

The land is our priceless resource. The load per productive hectare is increasing with every decade. That is why the most important national economic task is to secure the preservation and multiplication of its productive qualities and to protect it from pollution with substances harmful to man, plants and animals.

II

A great deal has been accomplished in recent years in improving the utilization and protection of water resources. This was helped by setting limits

for water use, reducing water losses in technological processes, and introducing water-savings systems for water supply recycling and sewer water treatment. Charging for water use by industrial enterprises is also contributing to its economical utilization.

It is important to note that today ministries and enterprises which use a considerable amount of water for industrial needs are planning the creation of closed industrial water supply systems.

The average level of water utilization within the recirculated and repeated water supply systems has reached 91 percent for the USSR Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, 89 percent for the Ministry of Gas Industry, 88 percent for the ministries of Chemical Fertilizers and Machine-building for Animal Husbandry and Fodder Production and 84 percent for the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy of the overall requirements of their enterprises for water for industrial use. During the past 2 years alone the amount of recirculated and reused water for the country at large increased by almost 19 cubic kilometers per year.

The extensive use of recirculated water by industrial enterprises enables us to avoid taking more than 200 cubic kilometers of water annually from the reservoirs. For comparison's sake let us point out that the average annual run of the Volga River is 254 cubic kilometers. Currently about 68 percent of enterprise industrial water requirements comes from recycling reuse systems. All of this confirms the significant scale of the efforts made in the USSR for the economical utilization of water resources.

Major consumers, such as agriculture, have improved their water utilization efficiency. New industrial water systems are under construction and others are being reconstructed, enabling us to reduce water losses in canals and field irrigation. New irrigation methods are being applied more and more extensively and spring systems are being updated. Other steps are being systematically undertaken to ensure the more economical utilization of water resources in kolkhozes and sovkhoses with a view to lowering specific water outlays per unit of agricultural output.

Systematic efforts are being made to lower the amount of polluted sewer waters dumped in surface reservoirs. To this effect, installations for the treatment of sewer waters totaling 37 million cubic meters per day were installed during the last five-year plan. In the first 2 years of the present five-year plan treatment facilities for 11.4 million cubic meters of sewage waters per day have been further installed in cities and enterprises.

Currently a number of large enterprises have already attained a high level of organization of water procurement and treatment of sewage waters, which exclude the harmful effect of industry on water projects. For example, the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Plant developed systems for recirculating industrial water, which ensure a minimal dumping of polluted water into the Varonezh River. As a whole, the plant recycles 91 percent of the water it uses for industrial needs and a number of shops use an effluent-free water supply system.

the Passenger Car Production Association, Kirishi Petroleum Refinery and many other large enterprises have been converted to virtually closed (effluent-free) water use. In the country at large, over the past 7 years, the volume of sewer waters dumped into water reservoirs has been reduced by one quarter.

Such measures have improved the quality of the water in the reservoirs along the Volga cascade and the basins of the Ural, Neva, Kuban and Lena rivers, a number of large lakes and the Black, Caspian and Baltic seas.

However, some industrial and agricultural enterprises continue to dump polluted water in reservoirs and allow major water losses in its transportation and wasteful utilization for industrial purposes.

For example, for a long time the Ministry of Chemical Industry failed to see to it that its enterprises located in the Donbass observe environmental protection legislation. It did not ensure the prompt formulation and implementation of measures to stop the pollution of groundwaters and the basin of the Dnyperskiy Donets River with sewage waters. This has greatly intensified the pollution of groundwater, which is the main source of water supply in that area. Thus, currently only one-third of the overall volume of proven groundwater stocks in Voroshilovgrad Oblast meets the state standards.

The USSR Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood-Processing Industry and its contracting organizations are displaying unforgiveable slowness in the construction of treatment systems and other water protection projects at cellulose and paper industry enterprises (in the Sovetskiy, Neman, Visherskiy, Sverdlov and Kalakhna cellulose-paper combines). The USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building are still not doing everything possible to reduce the dumping of raw sewage waters by ferrous metallurgy enterprises located in the Black and Azov sea basins. Insufficiently efficient work is being done to reduce the dumping of polluted water by cities such as Kemerovo, Perm, Kazan, Klaypeda and others.

The organization of the further prevention of water pollution must be improved in the next few years and additional steps taken for the more efficient and economical utilization of fresh water resources.

III

Particular attention is paid to the protection of the air from pollution with harmful industrial effluents and burned engine gas emissions. The following laws and decrees passed in our country are aimed at resolving this problem: "On Additional Measures To Increase Environmental Protection and To Improve the Utilization of Natural Resources" (1978); "On the Protection of Atmospheric Air" (1980); "On Norms of Maximally Admissible Emission of Polluting Substances in the Atmosphere and Harmful Physical Influences On It" (1981); and "On Approving a Regulation on State Control on the Protection of Atmospheric Air" (1982).

Ministries and departments are allocating corresponding capital investments and material and technical resources for steps aimed at preventing air pollution. More advanced technological processes are being applied at all

newly built and commissioned industrial projects; enterprises are being equipped with highly efficient gas treatment and dust-tapping systems. The reconstruction and updating of existing equipment and systems are taking place at a number of operating enterprises with a view to reducing harmful emissions.

Currently air quality over almost 500 cities is kept under steady observation. Systematic control enables us to take both practical steps and carry out extensive capital projects for reducing harmful emissions. As a result, the pollution of the air with dust, sulfur dioxide and hydrogen sulfide has been stabilized or reduced in almost 70 percent of the controlled cities.

We must frankly say, however, that such activities remain obviously insufficient. A number of power plants, enterprises in the ferrous and nonferrous metals, chemical, petrochemical, coal and paper industries and plants for the production of construction materials continue to pollute the air. This is mainly caused by the inefficiency of gas-treating and dust-tapping systems and their unsatisfactory work. Thus, last year 40 percent of the systems of enterprises under the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification were either faulty or ineffective; corresponding figures were 17 percent for the USSR Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, 25 percent for the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, 27 percent for the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy and 25 percent for the Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production. Such an attitude toward the operation of dust- and gas-tapping equipment leads to the fact that in a number of enterprises of these and other ministries there has been no significant reduction in the volume of atmospheric pollution. This applies above all to cities such as Dneprodzerzhinsk, Norilsk, Kemerovo and some others.

In order to increase the struggle against air pollution we must above all tighten up the work of our machine-building industry. We must organize and increase the production of contemporary highly efficient equipment for the comprehensive treatment of gases. We must also ensure the highly efficient work of all systems installed at enterprises for tapping dust and harmful emissions and increase the responsibility of ministries and enterprise managers for air pollution.

IV

In connection with the increased scale of output and the growth of the country's economic and scientific and technical potential, the communist party has formulated new major assignments on intensifying the protection of nature and natural resources, steadily guided by Lenin's assignments. During the first years of the Soviet system V. I. Lenin signed several dozen documents aimed, one way or another, at protecting the environment and ensuring the rational utilization of natural resources.

In terms of present-day conditions, the Leninist line in this matter was defined as follows at the 26th Congress: "to intensify the protection of nature, the land and the subsoil, atmospheric air, water reservoirs and the animal and vegetal world. To ensure the rational utilization and reproduction of natural resources."

The successful implementation of this program calls for the adoption of a scientific approach to harnessing the efforts of the entire society. The party organizations, the soviets of people's deputies, the ministries and departments, our science and the entire Soviet public must concentrate their efforts in that direction. The activities of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission for Environmental Protection and Rational Utilization of Natural Resources are subordinated to resolving these problems.

Above all, we must achieve the more efficient utilization of everything at our disposal in order to ensure the effective protection of nature and the more rational utilization of its resources. In this respect we must seriously improve planning and performing discipline organize the work efficiently and energize the struggle against violations of existing legislation.

The most important and most promising way to resolve the problems formulated by the party is to develop and extensively apply less material- and power-consuming and wasteless technologies in industry and agriculture. Currently we must concentrate the efforts of scientific establishments and design and engineering organizations on the fastest possible completion of the most important projects and their application on a large scale in the various economic sectors.

Many republics, oblasts, ministries and departments have already acquired extensive experience in converting enterprises into wasteless and energy-conserving technologies. An increasing number of such enterprises are appearing in Moscow and Leningrad oblasts, the Urals, Siberia, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. In Irkutsk Oblast, for example, the Angara Cement-Ore Mining Combine processes the ashes and slag of thermoelectric power plants. This not only prevents environmental pollution but lowers the cost of cement by 1.5 rubles per ton.

The USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy enterprises are processing large quantities of blast furnace, steel smelting and ferroalloy slag. This protects the environment and saves the national economy nearly 200 million rubles per year. For the first time in the country, a large electrometallurgical combine is being built in this sector in Staryy Oskol, which will use a process of direct reconditioning of pellets, thus eliminating the dumping of polluted matter in blast furnace and coke chemical production. After the combine has reached full capacity, the ecological result of the application of new technological processes, compared with traditional ones, will be manifested in the reduced dumping of harmful substances in the air totaling 400,000 tons per year.

The development and application at a number of industrial enterprises of low-waste and wasteless technological processes will enable us not only to improve the condition of the environment but to obtain considerable economic results through the more efficient utilization of natural resources and increased output.

Low-waste and, wherever possible, wasteless technologies are being applied more and more extensively at a number of light and food industry enterprises.

Output increases and the quality of fabrics and hides is upgraded as a result of the improved utilization of raw cotton, flax, silk cocoons, hides, and artificial fibers and staples. The production of finished goods increases by improving cutting and ensuring the comprehensive utilization of raw materials.

Substantial changes have been achieved in this area at some meat and dairy, sugar, oil extraction, baking, confectionary, flour-cereal, mixed feed and microbiological enterprises.

We must point out, however, that in some economic sectors some of the waste remains unused and pollutes the environment. Every year the thermoelectric power plants generate some 100 million tons of ashes and slag waste, no more than 10 percent of which is used so far. Ash and slag dumps cover today some 140,000 hectares. The dumping sites of potassium enterprises contain more than 350 million tons of halite waste. At the machine-building enterprises a large number of metal is wasted in shavings. By far not all waste is used in processing timber and some agricultural raw materials. Also inadmissible is the fact that some highly valuable food raw materials continue to be used for industrial purposes. A great deal of released heat is also wasted.

We must look everywhere possible for ways of comprehensively using raw materials and waste. The prompt implementation this five-year plan of the assignments included in more than 40 state target scientific and technical programs on the development and application in the economic sectors of low-waste and wasteless technologies and closed technological processes must become a matter of particular concern. Additional efforts must be made for the implementation of such assignments by the State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Academy of Sciences and ministries and departments.

V

Particular attention must be paid to biological resources and the preservation and multiplication of the flora and the fauna. The Soviet Union has the largest area in timber in the world--792 million hectares. Timber and timber materials are used in virtually all economic sectors and are a major export item. Timber resources must be restored and increased.

The country is already doing extensive work on the reproduction of forests. Our country holds the leading position in the world in timber restoration. This five-year plan such work will cover nearly 11 million hectares in forests of national importance alone. The scale of such work will be increased even further in state-owned forests and the forests of kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other users.

Forests and hunting and fishing facilities yield considerable benefits. Every year 170,000 to 180,000 tons of wild and soft fruits, 10,000 to 20,000 tons of mushrooms and tens of thousands of tons of honey are procured from such areas. The forests yield considerable fur and game output.

The practical experience of many progressive forestry enterprises in the country indicates that forestry has a great potential for increasing procurements of fruits, soft fruits and others. Considerable successes have been

achieved in the comprehensive efficient utilization of forestry food resources in a number of oblasts in the Ukraine and in the Bashkir ASSR and by some enterprises in the Russian, Latvian and other republics. For example, the forestry farms in Rovno and Volynsk oblasts procured 4,000 tons of wild fruits and soft fruits last year, or more than 13 percent of the overall volume of such procurements by all enterprises of the USSR Gosleskhoz.

However, forest fruit and soft fruit resources are insufficiently used in many areas. Data show that on an area in excess of 66 million hectares of forest more than 40 varieties of trees and shrubs producing edible fruits grow: cedars, chestnuts, walnuts, almonds, apples, pears, and others. Scientists and specialists have estimated that the area covered by natural soft fruits exceeds 100 million hectares. Little of their output is used. Thus, in 1982 all procurement centers of the consumer union, the Ministry of Forest Economy, Ministry of Food Industry and other ministries and departments of the Karelian ASSR procured no more than 0.8 thousand tons of whortleberry and cranberry fruits which, as estimated by the Biology Institute of the Karelian branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, accounts for less than 5 percent of their accessible crop.

The enterprises and organizations of Tsentrosoyuz, USSR Gosleskhoz, USSR Ministry of Food Industry, RSFSR Main Hunting Administration, the state industrial farms and other organizations in charge of procuring and purchasing wild fruits and soft fruits are still doing very little to improve the use of forest food products. Insufficient attention is being paid to such problems also by many local soviets of people's deputies. We must considerably expand the procurement system based on available fruit and soft fruit resources and improve the systems for stimulating and organizing the picking of such fruits with the help of students, the retired, people on leave and other citizens.

In recent years, work on protecting and taking biotechnical steps aimed at the preservation and reproduction of rare or vanishing plants, wild animals, birds and valuable fish species has improved in our country. These steps have helped to preserve and multiply rare plant species and subspecies and have led to a significant increase in the numbers of many valuable game species, including sable, beaver, saiga, elk, and others. Substantial successes have been achieved in fish breeding: stable catches have been achieved in the reservoirs of kolkhozes, sovkhoses and interfarm enterprises.

In this respect preserves, reserves, parks and other protected territories play a special role. Our country's preserves stock more than 250 species of 600 wild relatives of cultivated plants growing on Soviet territory. Registering rare plant and animal species in the "USSR Red Book" plays a major role in their protection. The book includes 598 species and subspecies of plants and animals.

However, shortcomings remain in the preservation and restoration of rare animal and plant species. The habitat of animals is frequently disturbed; there have been cases of poaching and violations of preserve regulations. Last April the USSR Council of Ministers passed the decree "On the USSR Red Book," which stipulated measures aimed at the preservation and rational utilization of rare plant and animal species.

The local soviet organs, environmental protection workers and tourist organizations are doing a great deal of work to protect the environment in the course of its use in recreation and tourism. Positive experience has been acquired in this respect, in the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian republics and a number of oblasts in the RSFSR and the Ukrainian SSR. However, the intensive development of mass recreation by the working people, the popularity of various types of tourism and shortcomings in their organization have frequently had an adverse effect on the condition of the environment in recent years. Forest fires, soil erosion, the destruction of the plant cover and the landscape, deterioration of the habitat of wild animals and birds, pollution of water reservoirs and loss of their fish stock, the dirtying of areas and other phenomena which lower the ecological resistance of natural complexes have been noted in areas of mass recreation and tourism. This must not be tolerated.

The USSR Constitution demands of every citizen a careful attitude toward nature and participation in the preservation of its wealth. Wherever negative phenomena exist in the attitude toward nature educational and propaganda work must be intensified and, if necessary, strict steps must be taken against violators of environmental protection legislation.

Environmental protection is not a narrow and short-term, but a comprehensive and long-term task which covers all aspects of production forces and production relations, science, culture and many other aspects of human activities, including population health care. That is why it includes state and regional (republic, kray, oblast, rayon) measures and most effective planning, technological and economic solutions and the passing of effective political international laws aimed at the thrifty utilization, reproduction and preservation of natural resources on earth and in outer space in the interest of present and future human generations.

Preparations for war, militarization of the economy and the arms race, promoted by the imperialist countries, could have a particularly damaging effect to the environment. The unpredictable impact of the military factor on the human habitat is quite comprehensive. Furthermore, it could be catastrophic in terms of the very existence of the earth and human society.

The Soviet Union firmly opposes such a possibility and tirelessly struggles for an end to the arms race and for the nonuse and total elimination of existing lethal stockpiles.

In addressing the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum on the alternative to the arms race, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, emphasized that "we face a number of major problems affecting all countries on earth, the significance of which is rising. This includes the protection of nature on earth, the development of new sources of energy, and the development of space and the resources of the world's oceans."

Such are the party's course and requirements related to further improvements in environmental protection and rational utilization of natural resources toward which our politics and economics are directed.

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NEW PATRIOTIC WAR DOCUMENTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 83 (signed to press 11 Oct 83) pp 90-101

[On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the crossing of the Dnepr]

[Text] August 1943. The Great Patriotic War was in its 26th month. In the course of fierce battles against the German-fascist aggressors, the Red Army had proved its undisputed superiority over the enemy, deprived it of its strategic initiative and created conditions for converting to a general offensive along the entire Soviet-German front.

While the battle for Kursk was still on, Supreme Command Headquarters had already formulated a plan for the further development of the offensive. The forces of the Central (Army Gen K. K. Rokossovskiy commanding), Voronezh (Army Gen N. F. Vatutin commanding) and Steppe (Army Gen I. S. Konev commanding) fronts were assigned to liberate Left Bank Ukraine, reach the Dnepr, cross it on the march and seize operative bridgeheads on the West Bank. The Southwestern (Army Gen R. Ya. Malinovskiy commanding) and Southern (Army Gen F. I. Tolbukhin commanding) fronts were given the task of routing the enemy group in the Donbass and reach the Dnepr in its lower reaches. The coordination of the activities of the five fronts involved in this battle was assigned to Supreme Command Headquarters representatives Marshal of the Soviet Union G. K. Zhukov (Central, Voronezh and Steppe fronts) and Marshal of the Soviet Union A. M. Vasilevskiy (Southwestern and Southern fronts).

In August 1943 the German-fascist command, which had trumpeted throughout the world its imminent victory over the Soviet Union, would only dream of the possibility of stabilizing the situation on the Eastern Front. During the battles for the Kursk Arc it had taken urgent measures to build defense installations, the so-called Eastern Wall, along the Dnepr. After the Soviet troops had mounted their counterattack and chased the enemy off our land, the ruling clique in fascist Germany started a propaganda hullabaloo on the unbreachability of the Eastern Wall. However, the hopes of the Wehrmacht command for a position defense were not justified.

After the Kursk victory, our troops developed successful offensive operations for the liberation of Left Bank Ukraine. The forces of the Central Front advanced north of Kiev in the direction of Chernigov and Nezhinsk; the Voronezh Front advanced toward Kiev and Cherkassy; the Steppe Front toward Poltava and Kremenchug; and the Southwestern toward Dnepropetrovsk and Zaporozhe.

In the middle of August 1943 Supreme Command Headquarters assigned to the Voronezh, Steppe and Southwestern fronts to develop their headlong offensive toward the Dnepr River and to capture crossings along its Western Bank, thus defeating the enemy's plans for stabilizing the front along the Western Bank of the Dnepr (see Document No 1). A similar assignment was issued to the forces of the Central Front. In order to ensure their successful implementation, headquarters reinforced the advancing fronts with its reserves. On 6 September the 37th Army was assigned to the Steppe Front; the Third Guards Tank Army to the Voronezh Front and the 61st Army to the Central Front. The importance which general headquarters assigned to the fast and decisive crossing of water barriers may be seen from its 9 September 1943 directive (see Document No 2).

On 21-22 September, in close pursuit of the enemy, the forces of the Central Front reached the Dnepr and undertook to cross it on the march (see Document No 3). The first to begin was the 13th Army. Almost simultaneously the forces of the Voronezh and, somewhat later, the Steppe and Southwestern fronts reached the Eastern Bank of the Dnepr. By the end of September the Soviet forces had captured 23 bridgeheads along a wide front from Loyev to Zaporozhe: the Central Front seven, the Voronezh Front nine, the Steppe Front five and the Southwestern (Sixth Army) two (see documents Nos 4-7).

The successful crossing of this water obstacle, which was of strategic importance, was ensured as a result of the increased military skill of the personnel, commanders and staffs and the continuing guidance of front activities provided by Supreme Command Headquarters general staff. It was manifested in determining the directions of the main strikes, organizing the efficient interaction among fronts and promptly reinforcing them with headquarters reserves and comprehensive material and technical support.

The exploit of the Soviet forces on the Dnepr was possible thanks to the leading and organizing activities of the communist party, which blended together the efforts of the people and the army and the rear and the front and inspired all Soviet people to heroic accomplishments for the glory of their beloved fatherland. This was greatly assisted by party-political work focused on squads and companies. The political organs and the party organizations paid particular attention to strengthening infantry and tank companies and artillery batteries with party members, mainly those which were the first to cross the Dnepr. The idea of a daring, headlong crossing of the water obstacle ran through all party-political work (see documents Nos 8, 11 and 12).

The partisans who conducted reconnaissance operations, guided the advancing units and prepared crossing facilities ahead of time, were of great help to the troops in crossing the Dnepr.

Many units and formations displayed mass heroism in crossing the river. Tens of thousands of Soviet troops committed heroic exploits and were presented with orders and medals; 2,438 of them were awarded the high title of Hero of the Soviet Union (see documents Nos 9 and 10).

The brilliant victory of the Red Army in the battle for the Dnepr proved to the entire world the invincible strength of the Soviet state, the firm unity among the peoples of the USSR, closely rallied around Lenin's party, which organized, inspired and ideologically armed the people and their armed forces in the struggle for the freedom and independence of our socialist homeland.

The documents offered to the readers are stored in the Central Archives of the USSR Ministry of Defense and most of them are published for the first time. They were prepared for publication by Major Gen V. V. Gurkin and Col O. G. Gurov.

Abbreviations

VA--Air Army
vdd--Airborne division
gv.--Guards
iptap--Artillery fighter anti-tank regiment
msbr--motorized infantry brigade
sb--infantry battalion
sd--infantry division
sk--infantry corps
sp--infantry regiment
tbr--tank brigade
tk--tank corps

Document No 1

From the Directive of Supreme Command Headquarters on the Forthcoming Offensive of the Soviet Forces Toward the Dnepr and the Capturing of Crossings

To the Commanders of the Voronezh, Steppe and Southwestern Fronts and Headquarters Representatives Zhukov, G. K. and Vasilevskiy, AM.

12 August 1943, 0130 hours

In connection with the successful development of the offensive in the direction of Kharkov by the forces of the Voronezh and Steppe fronts, Supreme Command Headquarters orders:

1. The Voronezh Front. A strike by Katukov's First Tank Army in the general direction of Valki and Nov. Vodolaga, together with Rotmistrov's Fifth Guards Tank Army, cutting off the retreat of the enemy's Kharkov group to the south and southwest.

After routing the Kharkov enemy group and capturing Kharkov, to continue the offensive in the general direction of Poltava and Kremenchug and reach the St. Yareski and Poltava line, excluding Karlovka, by 23-24 August.

Subsequently, to advance toward the Dnepr River and reach the Kremenchug, Orlik front with a view to capturing the fords across the Dnepr River with mobile elements....

2. Steppe Front. After capturing Kharkov to continue the offensive in the general direction of Krasnograd, Verkhnedneprovsk and deploy its main forces along the Karlovka, Krasnograd, St. Kegichevka by 24-25 August.

Subsequently to develop the offensive toward the Dnepr River with a view to capturing the fords with mobile elements....

3. The Southwestern Front. To strike with its main forces from Izyum, Bogorodichnoye line in the general direction of Barvenkovo, Pavlograd.

Without delay, the right wing of the front to cross the Sev. Donets River south of Chuguyev and strike at Zamoste, Paranovka and advance to the south, interacting with the 57th Army of the Steppe Front, to breach the enemy defense lines on the Western Bank of the Sev. Donets River. The main forces of the front must reach the Ligovka, Lozovaya, Barvenkovo line by 24-25 August.

Develop the offensive further in the general direction of Pavlograd, Orekhov, with a view to reaching the Zaporozhe, Pologi line and cut off retreat to the west of the Donbass enemy group....

Supreme Command Headquarters

J. Stalin
Antonov

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TsAMO SSSR [USSR Ministry of Defense Central Archives], f. [Archive] 3, op. [List] 11,556, d. [File] 13, ll. [Sheets] 233-234

Document No 2

From the Directive of Supreme Command Headquarters on Presentation of Awards for Successful Crossing of Water Obstacles

To the Military Councils of Fronts and Armies

9 September 1943, 0200 hours

In the course of the combat operations the Red Army forces will have to cross a number of water obstacles. The fast and decisive crossing of rivers, particularly large ones such as the Desna and the Dnepr, will be of great importance to the successes of our troops.

In this connection, Supreme Command Headquarters deems it necessary to inform commanders of armies, corps, divisions, brigades, regiments and pontoon and engineering battalions that the commanders of said formations and units must nominate for high government awards those who have successfully crossed large river obstacles and consolidated bridgeheads for the further development of the offensive....

Said commanders of formations and units will nominate for the title of Hero of the Soviet Union individuals who have crossed rivers such as the Dnepr in the Smolensk area and below it and rivers of equal difficulty....

Supreme Command Headquarters

J. Stalin
Antonov

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TsAMO SSSR, f. 132-A, op. 2642, d. 41, ll. 271-272.

Document No 3

From the Combat Report of the Commander of the Forces of the Central Front on Starting the Crossing of the Dnepr

To Comrade Ivanov¹

23 September 1943, 0100 hours

During 22 September 1943, surmounting increased enemy resistance, the forces of the Central Front stubbornly fought on the bank of the Snov River, capturing individual bridgeheads on its Western Bank; after crushing fierce enemy resistance in the center of the front and on the left flank, they captured the city of Oster and, pursuing their offensive, some elements began to cross the Dnepr....

The enemy, who strengthened his resistance along the Snov River, tried with fire and counterattacks to prevent the crossing of the river and to stop the further advance of our units; after fierce battles in the center and along the left flank, the enemy withdrew from Oster and retreated fighting toward the northwest and the west.

An enemy air force consisting of 18 airplanes bombed the combat deployment of units of the 48th Army in the Kharpovichi area; groups of 10 to 15 airplanes repeatedly bombed the combat order of units of the 13th and 60th armies on the crossings of the Desna and Dnepr rivers.

1. In the course of the day the 48th Army continued its offensive and, advancing with its right flank up to 20 kilometers, reached along the entire front the line of the Snov River. Some elements crossed the river and seized a bridgehead on its Western Bank....

2. With its flank forces, during the day the 65th Army continued to cross the Snov River and engaged in stubborn combat on its Western Bank in order to widen the bridgehead; in the center of the front it engaged in reconnaissance of enemy forces and prepared to cross the river....

3. In the course of the day the 61st Army engaged in heavy fighting against a stubbornly defending enemy, repelling repeated counterattacks by enemy

infantry and tanks and moving its right flank to a point 10 kilometers northwest of the Snov River bank....

4. The main forces of the 13th Army, covered by some of its forces on the north along the railroad tracks, reached the Eastern Bank along the Dnepr and undertook to cross the river....

5. After crushing fierce enemy resistance, the 60th Army captured Oster and after clearing the Eastern Bank of the Desna River, crossed it along the entire front....

6. In the course of the day the 16th Air Army covered our forces along the crossings of the Desna and Dnepr rivers and engaged in combat reconnaissance and bombing....

Kostin,² Fedin,³ Sergiyenko⁴

Original

TsAMO SSSR, f. 226, op. 321, d. 106, ll. 356-362

Document No 4

From the Directive of Deputy Commander in Chief G. K. Zhukov on Accelerating the Crossing of the Dnepr by the Forces of the Voronezh Front

To Comrade Vatutin⁵

25 September 1943, 2330 hours

The enemy will do all he can to throw back across the Dnepr Moskalenko,⁶ Rybalko⁷ and Koroteyev.⁸ Were this to happen, it could disturb all our plans and hinder the exploiting of our success.

As soon as possible, you must:

1. Cross with the 27th Army following Moskalenko;
2. Ensure the crossing of Rybalko's and Kravchenko's⁹ tank corps.
3. If Koroteyev has no crossing, he must cross behind Rybalko and rout the enemy from there;
4. Anti-aircraft units must cross in order to repel enemy air attacks. The crossing area to be strengthened with additional anti-aircraft units....

Yur'yev¹⁰

Original

TsAMO SSSR, f. 48-A, op. 1691, d. 11, ll. 450-452

Document No 5

From the Report by the Commander of the Forces of the Steppe Front on the Start of Crossing the Dnepr

To the Deputy Chief of General Staff of the Red Army Comrade Antonov

28 September 1943, 0135 hours

The front's armies have been assigned immediately to cross the Dnepr on a wide front as soon as they reach it.

The Seventh Guards and 57th and 46th armies have begun to cross the Dnepr. Anti-aircraft army divisions have been moved toward the Dnepr River to cover the crossing....

Konev Susaykov Zakharov

Copy

TsAMO SSSR, f. 48-A, op. 1148, d. 10, l. 102

Document No 6

From the Information Report of the General Staff to Supreme Command Headquarters on Combat Operations of the Central and Steppe Fronts

29 September 1943, 1415 hours

... 4. The Central Front.

Elements of the 48th Army captured the Rudnya settlement (17 kilometers southeast of Gomel).

Elements of the 15th sk of the 13th army recaptured the Parishchev settlement (5 kilometers east of Chernobyl) after stubborn fighting.

Elements of the 77th sk of the 60th Army have crossed to the Western Bank of the Dnepr.

5. The forces of the right wing of the Steppe Front continued their offensive toward Kremenchug since the morning of 29 September and captured the line of the following settlements: Pukhalshchina, Mudrovka (6 kilometers northwest of Kremenchug), the northern section of Peschanoye, Tereshkovtsy, St. Mazurovka, Savino, Sliptsy (6 kilometers northeast of Kremenchug), Lakhni.

Because of enemy counterattacks the 62nd gv. sd. of the 37th Army abandoned Kutsevolovka (on the Western Bank of the Dnepr, 33 kilometers southwest of Kremenchug), but retained a bridgehead on the Western Bank of the river.

Lt Gen Shtemenko, Chief of the Operative Administration of the General Staff

Original

IsAMO SSSR, t. 16-A, op. 1,073, d. 12, ll. 416-417.

Document No 7

From the Operative Report of the Staff of the Southwestern Front on Troop Combat Operations

To Red Army Chief of General Staff

Copy: Southern Front--To Comrade Aleksandrov¹¹, Representative of Supreme Command Headquarters

30 September 1943, 2400 hours

1. On 30 September the main forces of the Southwestern Front maintained their former positions and regrouped.

During the second half of the day elements of the 12th Army resumed their offensive with a view to widening the bridgehead on the right bank of the Dnepr.

2. The First Guards Army remained at its previous positions and areas of concentration. The units were preparing for the offensive.

The enemy fired on the battle formations of the units with artillery and mortars. Individual enemy aircraft reconnoitered.

3. During 30 September the fourth gv. sk of the Sixth Army moved to the right bank of the Dnepr, regrouped and reconnoitered in preparing for offensive operations on the right bank of the Dnepr....

4. The 66th sk of the 12th Army resumed the offensive during the second half of the day....

The enemy opposed stubborn resistance to units operating on the right bank of the Dnepr.

In the remaining sectors he directed infrequent artillery-mortar fire at the combat deployment of the units. Isolated enemy aircraft reconnoitered while groups of 3-4 airplanes bombed the crossing areas....

5. The Eighth Guards Army regrouped and took over the area held by the Third Guards Army. Advance elements engaged in reconnaissance....

6. The bulk of the Third Guards Army remained in its previously held positions. On the right flank it completed the takeover of its lines by elements of the Eighth Guards Army. Advance elements engaged in reconnaissance and destroyed observed enemy targets with general fire....

2. The 17th VA reconnoitered the crossings of the Dnepr, and railroad and highways on the front sector. A total of 109 airplane sorties were made.

Lt Gen Korzhenevich, Front Chief of Staff

Maj Gen Burenin, Chief of the Operative Department, Front Staff

Original

TsAMO SSSR, f. 48-A, op. 1,135, d. 11, 11. 490-496.

Document No 8

From the Political Report of the 61st Army on Party-Political Work During the Dnepr Crossing

To Major Gen Galadzhev, Chief of the Political Administration of the Central Front

10 September 1943

On 29 September the army forces crossed the Dnepr River and engaged in combat to widen the bridgehead on the western bank of the river. The enemy fired at our crossings with artillery, howitzers and machine guns. The troops crossed the river mainly with the help of makeshift means and pontoons. The local population of Gundovka village and others were of great help in organizing the crossing. They say that they are ready to do everything possible to hasten the victory of the Red Army over the fascist aggressors. Old and experienced kolkhoz fishermen are helping to find boats and other available means for crossing and personally haul the troops in their boats and ferries.

All party-political work in army units and formations is focused on the successful crossing of the Dnepr and enhancing the offensive thrust of the troops.

Thus, a special conference of deputy commanders for political affairs of regiments and political department workers was held at the Political Department of the 415th sd, at which the tasks related to giving political support to the crossing of the Dnepr were formulated. Particular attention was paid to the deployment of party and Komsomol forces in the crossing in such a way that party and Komsomol members be present in each boat or ferry.

Company party and Komsomol meetings were held in all division subunits, at which the results of party-political work in the recent combat were summed up and at which party and Komsomol members were issued assignments on the successful crossing of the Dnepr. Talks with the troops were held after the subunit meetings and the question of "how better to cross the Dnepr" was discussed at a Red Army meeting at the 1,326th sp. Furthermore, conferences with the officers were held on the same topic on the battalion level.

Deputy Commander for Political Affairs of the 1,321st sp. Lt Col Comrade Suleymenov and Division Political Department Agitator Maj Comrade Khudysh

gave talks at the Second and Third sb of the regiment on what the troops should know in crossing a water obstacle. The headquarters directive on awards to distinguished troops and commanders in crossing the river were explained in the course of the talks. Combat leaflets and short letters entitled "Beyond the Dnepr" also dealt with problems of organizing the crossing. They described the best examples in crossing the Desna River and advised how to cross the Dnepr better and faster. As a result of this work the division personnel displayed exceptional daring, resourcefulness and courage in crossing the Dnepr. Party and Komsomol members are playing a vanguard role in this operation.

For example, the enemy opened heavy fire while a squad of the First sb, 1,323rd sp was crossing. Lt Dmitriyev, the squad commander, was killed. Company Komsomol organizer Oreshkin assumed command. The boat on which the squad was crossing began to sink. Oreshkin ordered the troops to swim and was the first to throw himself into the water. His squad, numbering 17 men, which crossed to the western shore of the Dnepr, assumed defensive positions and dug in. The entire squad was nominated for government awards. The exploit of the personnel during the crossing was described to the entire subunit and in leaflets.

The units of the 9th gv. sk also held company and battalion party and Komsomol meetings, sessions with agitators and Red Army men meetings on crossing the Dnepr. The divisional press carried articles and notes with advice on how better to organize the crossing. Separate meetings with troops of non-Russian nationality were held at the 77th gv. sd. Furthermore, conferences of party and Komsomol organizations of battalions and companies were held in the regiments of the same division on how to prepare the personnel for crossing the Dnepr. It should be noted that the 77th gv. sd was the first army unit to cross the Dnepr, displaying efficiency and organization, for which reason a citation was issued by the Army Military Council to the command and the division personnel. Many commanders of units and subunits and privates in the division were nominated for government awards....

The increased number of individuals joining the party and the Komsomol clearly confirms the high political activeness of troops and commanders, profound hatred of the enemy, the desire to defeat him faster and infinite love for the homeland.

In the 10-day period of battles, according to very partial data, more than 700 petitions for party and up to 500 for Komsomol membership were submitted by privates, sergeants and officers.

The best Red Army troops, who have repeatedly distinguished themselves in battle, are joining the party and the Komsomol.

Thus, the Kazakh Abdulayev, machine gunner with the Second sb, 1,321st sp, 45th sd, who killed in battle several dozen Germans, was accepted candidate member of the VKP(b). In his application for party membership he wrote the following: "I beg to be accepted as candidate member of the VKP(b). I swear that I shall fight the enemy skillfully and mercilessly and will honorably

justify the high title of communist." He is properly fulfilling his oath. In the battles for a village, after the enemy had counterattacked, Abdulayev set up his machine gun in a suitable position, opened accurate fire at the enemy and destroyed one machine gun nest and more than 10 Germans. The counterattack was repelled successfully....

Col Zykov, Chief, Political Department, 61st Army

Original

T-AMO SSSR, f. 201, op. 334, d. 43, ll. 10-12.

Document No 9

From the Recommendations of the Military Council of the Voronezh Front on Rewarding Personnel Who Distinguished Themselves in Crossing the Dnepr

To Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade Stalin, People's Commissar of Defense

9 October 1943

The Front Military Council petitions that the title Hero of the Soviet Union be awarded to the following officer and rank-and-file personnel of front units which were the first to cross and reach the western bank of the Dnepr through their decisive actions, surmounting stubborn resistance, destroying enemy manpower and repelling enemy counterattacks, and were able to capture a bridgehead and retain it:

1. Sgt Agletdinov Fayzulla Khaziyevich, infantry squad deputy commander, 955th sp, 309th Piriyatinskaya sd.
2. Sgt Akutin Mikhail Dmitriyevich, armored car commander, 11th msbr, 10th Tank Corps.
3. Red Armyman Alfimov Dmitriy Borisovich, submachine gunner, 955th sp, 309th Piriyatinskaya sd.
4. Red Armyman Aminov Minittin Gil'metdinovich, motorized battalion infantryman, 178th tbr, 10th tk.
5. Red Armyman Anisimov Petr Semenovich, submachine gunner, 955th sp, 309th Piriyatinskaya sd.
6. Guards Sr Lt Andreyko Ilya Stepanovich, infantry company commander, 198th gv. sp, 68th Guards sd.
7. Guards Maj Artem'yev, Timofey Nikiforovich, commander of the 198th gv. sp, 68th gv. sd.
8. Capt Balayan Garegim Shegiyevich, motorized infantry battalion commander, 69th Mechanized Brigade.

9. Red Armyman Belov Vasilii Mikhaylovich, telephone operator, motorized infantry battalion, 11th Motorized Infantry Brigade, 10th tk.

10. Red Armyman Besed¹²in Nikolay Fedorovich, scout, 957th sp, 309th Piriyatinskaya sd....

For the Order of Lenin (Award)

1. Guards Major Gen Bobrov Fedor Aleksandrovich, commander of the 42nd gv. sd.

2. Major Gen Bedin Yefim Vasil'yevich, commander of the 253rd sd.

3. Major Gen Kraynyukov Konstantin Vasil'yevich, member of the Military Council of the 40th Army.

4. Senior Lt Kutimtsev Mikhail Filippovich, company commander, 20th Pontoon-Bridge Battalion.

5. Guards Maj Mel'nik Nikolay Andreyevich, chief of staff, 51st Guards Tank Brigade.

6. Maj Gen Perkhovovich Frants Iosifovich, commander, 52nd Infantry Corps.

Order of the Red Banner

1. Major Gen Yepishev Aleksey Alekseyevich, member of the Military Council of the 40th Army.

Army Gen Vatutin, Front Commander

Lt Gen Khrushchev, Front Military Council Member

Guards Lt Gen Ivanov, front chief of staff

Original

TsAMO SSSR, f. 48-A, op. 1,691, d. 284, ll. 247-248, 264-265

Document No 10

Recommendation by the Belorussian Front Commander¹³ on Awarding Honoric Titles and Presentation of Awards to Units and Large Units

To Comrade Stalin, Supreme Commander in Chief

30 October 1943

On 15 October 1943 large units of the 18th and 27th sk successfully crossed the Dnepr at a depth of 5 to 10 kilometers and captured the sites Loev, Kozarogi, Krupeyki, Shittsy and Byvalki.

For successful combat operations in crossing the Dnepr I recommend and petition that the title "Dneprovskikh" be awarded to the following: 106th Zabaykal'skaya sd--Colonel Vlasov; 193rd Red Banner sd--Colonel Frolenkov; 143rd Army Mortar Regiment--Lieutenant Colonel Oleynikov; 218th Army Mortar Regiment--Lieutenant Colonel Novikov; 61st Separate Motorized Pontoon-Bridge Battalion--Major Trusov. I also petition that the Order of the Red Banner be awarded to the following which have distinguished themselves for a second time in the battles against the German aggressors: 14th Novgorod-Severskaya Sappers Brigade--Lieutenant Colonel Gaber; 321st Novgorod-Severskiy Engineering Battalion--Major Popov.¹⁴

Army General Rokossovskiy, Front Commander

Major General Telegin, Front Military Council Member

Original

TSAMO SSSR, f. 48-A, op. 1,149, b. 8, ll. 208-209

Document No 11

From the Political Report of the Political Administration of the First Ukrainian Front¹⁵ on the Heroism and Courage Displayed by the Troops in the Battles for Dnepr

To Colonel General Shcherbakov, Chief, Red Army Main Political Administration

22 October 1943

... The tank personnel of the corps in which Guards Colonel Derevyankin¹⁶ is chief of the Political Department distinguished themselves in the battles for the right bank of the Dnepr.

After reaching the center of the village with his squad, Guards Junior Lieutenant Bobrov, infantry squad commander, dug in and, after repelling two enemy counterattacks, destroyed as many as 60 German soldiers and officers and captured a heavy machine gun....

Stubborn fighting is taking place at the army sector where Voronov¹⁷ is chief of the Political Department. Rallying about two infantry regiments, 56 tanks and 20 armored cars, the enemy is persistently counterattacking the army units, suffering heavy losses.

In 4 days of battle the enemy has lost in killed and wounded more than 800 soldiers and officers. Sixteen Hitlerites have been captured, including two noncommissioned officers. A total of 32 tanks and eight armored cars were hit and set afire.

In repelling enemy counterattacks the infantry company of the unit commanded by Major Kolesnikov distinguished itself. In repelling one enemy counterattack after another, in 4 hours the company destroyed three tanks and one

armored car and killed more than 100 Hitlerites. Company Commander Senior Lieutenant Ogorodnikov, member of the VKP(b), skillfully commanded the battle. Rushing from one heavy machine gun to another, Ogorodnikov had the troops destroy the pressing fascists and inspired the Red Army men with his personal example of fearlessness. Ogorodnikov personally killed 50 Hitlerites....

The fliers of the unit in which Guards Lieutenant Colonel Kutuzov¹⁸ is chief of the Political Department are properly fulfilling their combat assignments. Guards Senior Lieutenant Borodachev, air squadron commander and VKP(b) member, particularly distinguished himself in air combat. He brought down three enemy airplanes. Komsomol member flier Lieutenant Moskovskiy brought down two enemy aircraft in two combat sorties. Talks were held in the formation's units on the topic of Borodachev's and Moskovskiy's exploits.

Within the stipulated period of time the political organs and party organizations in the front units concentrated their entire work on mobilizing the personnel under the slogan "Defend and Expand the Gained Bridgehead on the Western Bank of the Dnepr"...

During 7 and 8 October meetings on the great victories of the Red Army and the combat assignments of our troops for the liberation of Soviet Ukraine from the German-fascist aggressors were held in formations and units of the army in which Comrade Kapnik¹⁹ is chief of the Political Department.

The thorough preparations for the meetings and preliminary conferences of political personnel and party organizers in subunits ensured their high ideological and political standard. All statements reflect the militant and aggressive thrust of the troops and officers, proving that the personnel of units and subunits are ready to carry out their combat assignments and prepare for the offensive....

Lieutenant Altunin, battery commander, 290th Guards iptap, said: "Success and victory depend on us. We must only advance. Behind us is our Dnepr and ahead of us our sisters, brothers and children await us as liberators"...

Private Red Armyman Fedorov said: "The entire world is watching the actions of the Red Army. I am proud of the opportunity to participate in the liberation of the Ukraine and its capital Kiev from the German aggressors. I swear that I shall honorably justify the trust and will fight as demanded by my military oath."

Similar meetings took place in other front units....

Maj Gen S. Shatilov, Chief, First Ukrainian Front Political Administration

Original

TsAMO SSSR, f. 203, op. 2847, d. 43, ll. 46-48

Document No 12

From the Political Report of the Political Department of the 37th Army on Party-Political Work in the Course of Widening the Dnepr Bridgehead

To Major General Tevchenkov, Chief, Second Ukrainian Front Political Administration

22 October 1943

Until 15 October the army forces were engaged in fierce combat with the counterattacking enemy on the occupied bridgehead on the right bank of the Dnepr and, meter by meter, widened the bridgehead. The enemy, who had brought up tactical reserves, tried to throw our units back behind the Dnepr.

Every day the enemy launched from eight to 10 counterattacks with infantry supported by groups of tanks (from 70 to 130) and aviation (from 60 to 100 airplanes). However, as a result of the firmness of our units and the courage and mass heroism of privates, sergeants and officers, all counterattacks were repelled with heavy losses to the enemy. The lines we held were retained and our units improved their positions in a number of sectors.

Fierce battles raged from 11 to 14 October in the course of which the forces were regrouped. The 110th gv. sd was withdrawn from the army. At the same time, active preparations were made by the troops and material facilities were stockpiled for mounting a decisive offensive which was prepared secretly and which surprised the enemy.

At 0700 hours on 15 October, after 1 hour of heavy artillery barrage, army units, despite the fierce enemy fire, breached his defenses and moved ahead along the entire front in heavy combat. They advanced more than 70 kilometers in 5 days. On 20 October alone, in pursuing their offensive, they expelled the enemy from 25 settlements, including Novo-Aleksandrovka, Varvarovka, Zheltyye Vody, Chervono-Ivanovka, Gushevotka and others.

In the course of heavy battles on the bridgehead beyond the Dnepr entire formations and units of our army displayed firmness, mass heroism and efficient combat organization. Exemplary in this respect were units of the 10th gv. vdd, and 62nd gv. sd, who, facing the main direction, fought to the death in repelling enemy counterattacks, holding on to each meter of Soviet soil and causing heavy casualties in manpower and equipment to the enemy....

With their rich experience acquired in the war, the political organs and party organizations of formations and units made full use of it in the combat. They focused all their work on securing the implementation of the combat orders of the command and widening the right bank bridgehead....

A typical measure of its kind was that of the 89th gv. sd in summing up the results of the battles for the Dnepr. On 8 October separate officer and Red Armymen meetings were held in all units. Reports were submitted by unit commanders. The meetings were attended by representatives of the command, the

staff and the Political Department. The spirit at the meetings was very high...

Let me cite as an example the officers meeting at the 270th gv. sp. A meaningful report saturated with heroic events and analysis of individual combat operations was submitted by regimental commander Guards Lieutenant Colonel Comrade Proshunin. The report dealt extensively with the crossing of the Dnepr and the establishment of a bridgehead on the right bank. Proshunin pointed out that the personnel of the regiment fought selflessly and despite the lack of regular-issue crossing facilities, the river was crossed successfully....

Before the offensive, the Military Council issued an appeal which was printed by the Sovetskiy Patriot Army Press in 8,000 copies and distributed among all formations and units. Two hours before the offensive, on 15 October, the appeal was read to the personnel. It inspired all privates, sergeants and officers to new exploits in the name of our homeland. Formations and units jointly mounted the offensive, breached the enemy defenses and began to advance.

In order to create an even greater offensive thrust, the Military Council issued an appeal which was also printed in 3,000 copies within a short time and distributed among the units. It indicated the results of 2-day offensive battles and named the hero-guardsmen who were cited by the Military Council as an example to the entire personnel....

Colonel Yemel'yanov, Chief, Political Department of the 37th Army

Copy

TsAMO SSSR, f. 392, op. 8,900, d. 55, ll. 202-206.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ivanov--J. V. Stalin's pseudonym.
2. Kostin--Army Gen K. K. Rokossovskiy's pseudonym.
3. Fedin--Lt Gen K. F. Telegin's pseudonym.
4. Sergiyenko--Lt Gen M. S. Malinin's pseudonym.
5. N. F. Vatutin--Army general, Voronezh Front commander.
6. K. S. Moskalenko--Lieutenant general, 40th Army commander.
7. P. S. Rybalko--Lieutenant general, Third Guards Tank Army commander.
8. K. A. Koroteyev--Lieutenant general, commander of the 52nd Army.

9. I. G. Kravchenko--Lieutenant general of tank troops, commander of the Fourth (Fifth Guards) Tank Corps.
10. Yur'yev--pseudonym of Marshal of the Soviet Union G. K. Zhukov, deputy supreme commander in chief.
11. Aleksandrov--pseudonym of Marshal of the Soviet Union A. M. Vasilevskiy, chief of Red Army General Staff.
12. All in all, the document recommended that the title of Hero of the Soviet Union be awarded to 158 people.
13. On 20 October 1943 the Central Front was renamed the Belorussian Front.
14. Based on the recommendation, by order of the supreme commander in chief, dated 17 November 1943, said formations and units were awarded the title of "Dneprovskikh," while the 14th Sappers Brigade and 321st Engineering Battalion were awarded the Order of the Red Banner by ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 18 November 1943.
15. On 20 October 1943, the Voronezh Front was renamed the First Ukrainian Front.
16. I. G. Derevyankin--Chief of the Political Department of the Eighth Guards Tank Corps.
17. N. F. Voronov--Colonel, chief of the Political Department of the 13th Army.
18. F. S. Kutuzov--Chief of the Political Department of the Eight Guards Fighter Aviation Division.
19. A. D. Kapnik--Colonel, chief of the Political Department of the Third Guards Tank Army.
20. On 20 October 1943 the Steppe Front was renamed the Second Ukrainian Front.

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IMPORTANT MILESTONE IN THE HISTORY OF SOVIET-VIETNAMESE RELATIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 83 (signed to press 11 Oct 83)
pp 102-107

[Article by Ye. Pavlov]

[Text] The fifth anniversary of the signing of the USSR-Socialist Republic of Vietnam Friendship and Cooperation Treaty falls on 3 November 1983. The signing of this document was a specific reflection of the aspiration of our two parties, countries and peoples not only to lay a legal base under the comprehensive Soviet-Vietnamese relations which had reached a high level, but to continue their comprehensive development and tirelessly to strengthen fraternal friendship and mutual aid. The treaty also became a clear manifestation of the peace-loving foreign policy of the two friendly socialist countries--the Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, a policy based on the inviolable principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, mutual respect, equality and noninterference in reciprocal domestic affairs.

The historical importance of the treaty, which raised the entire set of Soviet-Vietnamese relations to a qualitatively new height, has been fully confirmed over the past 5 years. Today the effect of the treaty is reflected in all areas of cooperation between our two countries--political, economic, scientific and technical, cultural, and so on. It would be pertinent here to recall the words of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, on the subject of the entire socialist commonwealth, at the solemn meeting on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the USSR: "... In assessing the present state of our countries, we can say with satisfaction that we have learned a great deal. The commonwealth of socialist states is a powerful and healthy organism which plays a tremendous and a lofty role in the contemporary world. The mechanism of fraternal cooperation covers all areas of life of our countries and the various lines of our interaction in building socialism. Through joint efforts we are finding increasingly successful ways of combining the common interests of the commonwealth with those of each of its member countries."

This assessment fully applies to Soviet-Vietnamese relations. Indeed, the mechanism for comprehensive cooperation between our two countries, which came into being in the past and was codified in the treaty, operates harmoniously and is in a state of continuing dynamic development. Interparty and intergovernmental relations are becoming increasingly varied. Economic, scientific and technical and cultural cooperation and ties among social and creative

organizations are becoming more and more effective. Foreign policy is becoming increasingly coordinated. Together with the other members of the socialist commonwealth and all revolutionary forces on earth, Vietnam is engaged in extensive and constructive efforts in the international arena.

Therefore the treaty, which reflects the will and aspirations of the Vietnamese and Soviet peoples for friendship and cooperation, effectively serves the peaceful constructive toil of our peoples, and the protection of their revolutionary gains from any outside encroachments. All forces of imperialism and reaction must take its influence into consideration, whether they wish it or not.

The unity between the two fraternal parties--the CPSU and the CPV--is the force which binds Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation. It represents a political and ideological unity based on their loyalty to the immortal Marxist-Leninist doctrine and proletarian internationalism. The course followed by our party of further developing and strengthening the ties between the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries, including Vietnam, was clearly defined in the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and CPSU Central Committee plenums. Comrade Yu. V. Andropov pointed out at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum that the Soviet Union supports friendship with all socialist countries, the further advancement of political interaction, systematic progress toward a qualitatively new level of economic integration, further ideological rapprochement among fraternal peoples and increased exchanges of cultural values.

In turn, unity with the CPSU and the homeland of the Great October Revolution was and remains one of the excellent historical traditions of the Communist Party of Vietnam. As early as the 1920s, when the revolutionary proletarian movement in Vietnam was only gathering strength, in discussing the need to strengthen unity with the USSR, Ho Chi Minh, the great son of the Vietnamese people, emphasized that "without a minute's hesitation, revolutionary Russia came to the aid of the peoples which it had awakened from their lethargic slumber by the very fact of its victorious revolution" (Ho Chi Minh. "O Lenine, Leninizme i Nerushimoy Sovetsko-V'yetnamskoy Druzhbe. Izbrannyye Stat'i i Rechi" [On Lenin, Leninism and the Inviolable Soviet-Vietnamese Friendship. Selected Articles and Speeches]. Moscow, 1970, p 7). Subsequently, noting the tremendous importance of the Russian Revolution, Ho Chi Minh wrote: "Piercing through the twilight, the light of the Great October Socialist Revolution illuminated the horizon and Lenin's concepts on the national and colonial problems became a real guide in our struggle for national liberation and for awakening the Oriental countries. Lenin indicated to our people the path to liberation and the decisive, most powerful and most effective factor for victory--the party" (ibid., pp 211-212).

The Communist Party of Vietnam remains consistently loyal to the behests of its founder. This was reemphasized at the March 1982 Fifth CPV Congress which proclaimed that "unity and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union were and remain the cornerstone of the foreign policy of our party and state."

In implementing the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the Fifth CPV Congress, the peoples of our two countries have done a great deal of late to

ensure the further strengthening of Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation. The base and the heart of this cooperation are found in interparty relations which offer extensive possibilities of reciprocal study of experience in building socialism and party management of economic sectors, culture, art and public organizations. In broadening their exchange of experience in building socialism and party work, our parties proceed from the fact that many possibilities remain in this direction. Their realization will enable us to achieve new successes in building socialism and communism in our countries and thus further contribute to the implementation of the spirit and the letter of the treaty.

Today the treaty is being implemented through the further intensification of Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation, which is characterized by highly dynamic economic relations. Such relations are growing and expanding with every passing year. Today they are of exceptional importance to building socialism in Vietnam, helping the country to resolve many economic problems, develop science and culture and train a powerful detachment of skilled scientific workers and engineering-technical and worker cadres. Hundreds of various projects in industry, agriculture, transportation, science, education and health care have been completed in Vietnam with the technical assistance of the Soviet Union. During the current five-year plan alone our country is assisting Vietnam in the planning, reconstruction and construction of more than 100 projects, including gigantic ones, such as the 2-million-kilowatt Hoa Binh Hydroelectric Power Plant, the 640,000-kilowatt Pha Lai Thermoelectric Power Plant, the Binh Son Cement Plant, with a 1.2-million-ton capacity per year, a number of agricultural projects, the Than Long Bridge across the Red River in Hanoi, and others.

Thousands of Soviet specialists have worked and continue to work in fraternal Vietnam, giving practical aid to Vietnamese engineers and workers in installing the equipment received from the Soviet Union and organizing the profitable and highly productive work of jointly built plants and factories. The Vietnamese orders and medals on their chests confirm the high appreciation shown by the SRV government for the efforts of the Soviet People who are dedicatedly fulfilling their international duty.

Trade relations are expanding along with economic cooperation. Exports to the USSR account for about one-half of total Vietnamese exports. In 1982 SRV deliveries to the Soviet Union were 50 percent higher compared to 1980. Exports of traditional Vietnamese goods, such as tea, coffee, volatile oils, black and red pepper, rubber and crafts, are increasing particularly substantially. The population of the Soviet Far East and Siberia is receiving increasing quantities of vegetables and fruits from fraternal Vietnam. Vietnamese clothing and woolen carpets are particularly popular in the Soviet Union. New methods are being developed and are gathering strength in commercial relations: some SRV enterprises work with Soviet raw materials and ship to our country their output. Cooperation based on compensation is developing increasingly.

The training of skilled Vietnamese workers at Soviet plants and factories has become a new trend in Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation. Today some 18,000 young

Vietnamese men and women are working at Soviet enterprises in nearly 30 krays and oblasts in our homeland. In a few years, having acquired good working skills, they will return home to make their worthy contribution to building a socialist society in Vietnam.

Our countries have gained rich experience in scientific and technical cooperation as well. Today scientists from the two countries are jointly working on dozens of scientific programs closely related to economic development.

The problem of training national cadres for the various Vietnamese economic sectors is of particular importance in Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation. In the course of such cooperation more than 60,000 highly skilled Vietnamese specialists have been trained in Soviet training institutions, including more than 15,000 university graduates. Within that period more than 2,000 candidates and more than 40 doctors of science have been trained. Graduates of Soviet VUZs and technical schools are working today in various SRV economic sectors. They include ministers, heads of large enterprises, party, state and economic workers, scientists and teachers in Vietnamese higher and secondary schools. The SRV leadership highly values the aid provided by the Soviet Union in this exceptionally important area. As Vietnamese scientists Chan Thiong and Chan Dinh Bhut write in PRAVDA, "the experience of the CPSU and the Soviet state during the most important stages in building socialism--Lenin's new economic policy, industrialization and agricultural collectivization--was thoroughly studied and analyzed in order to extract from it anything which could be useful under the actual circumstances of economic construction and management in Vietnam."

The completion of the publications in Vietnamese of V. I. Lenin's "Complete Collected Works" in 55 volumes is of major political importance. This long and difficult project was completed by a large collective of Vietnamese and Soviet specialists and translators, with the active participation of scientists from the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the CPV Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism. The publication of V. I. Lenin's "Complete Collected Works" in Vietnamese became, as the newspaper NAN THAN wrote, "an important event in the political and spiritual life of Vietnamese society. It was a vivid confirmation of the friendship and comprehensive cooperation existing between the two countries. This publication is, to a certain extent, also the fulfillment of the dream of Ho Chi Minh who had himself translated into Vietnamese many of Lenin's works and who wrote that "to the Vietnamese revolutionaries and the entire Vietnamese people Leninism is not merely...a compass. It is a sun which illumines our path to final victory, socialism and communism" (Ho Chi Minh, op. cit., p 191).

Fruitful Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation in this important area was manifested also in the joint preparation for the recently published book by Izdatel'stvo Nauka "Rasprostraneniye Marksizma-Leninizma vo V'yetname" [The Spreading of Marxism-Leninism in Vietnam]. Its authors quite justifiably write in the preface that "the study of the spreading of Marxism-Leninism in Vietnam re-emphasized the greatest significance of the October Revolution, which inaugurated a new era in the development of mankind and in the liberation movement of the peoples" (Moscow, 1983, p 5). The experience of the CPV in

preparing and carrying out the National People's Democratic Revolution and its growth into a socialist revolution and in resolving the many political and socioeconomic problems related to these processes convincingly proves the brilliant Leninist prediction to the effect that all nations will inevitably reach socialism, but each one of them will bring characteristic features in the socialist reorganization of the various aspects of social life (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 30, p 123). This experience is also an important contribution to the common treasury of the international communist and national liberation movements. The appearance in this connection of joint work by Soviet and Vietnamese scientists, which is an attempt to bring to light and study one of the most important stages in the development of the revolutionary movement in Vietnam and the process of shaping the ideological base of this movement, may be unquestionably considered a major step in the study of contemporary Vietnamese history. The authors note the historical merits of Ho Chi Minh, the great son of the Vietnamese people and great friend of the Soviet Union, who "found and brought to his homeland and his compatriots the necessary ideological weapon--Marxism-Leninism--as a result of which a decisive turn" took place in the national-liberation movement in Vietnam.

In this connection, let us mention among recently published books in the Soviet Union, the collection of Ho Chi Minh's works "Razmyshleniia ob Afrike" [Reflections on Africa] published by Izdatel'stvo Progress. In this work the outstanding Vietnamese revolutionary shows up as a consistent internationalist who felt as his own and was touched by the pain of others--of the oppressed peoples of Africa.

As we pointed out, Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation includes a tremendous number of ties. They contribute to the efforts of the VCP and all SRV working people to turn their homeland into a modern socialist state with a highly developed industry, agriculture, progressive science and culture.

Our parties and countries fully realize that socioeconomic development and implementation of assignments set at party congresses are taking place today in an international situation which has greatly worsened as a result of the actions of American imperialism. Imperialism and the reactionary forces are trying to impose economic warfare on the socialist countries and are resorting to various types of boycott and other subversive activities. Under such circumstances the strengthening of the economic and defense power of the members of the socialist commonwealth and the further development and intensification of their interaction in resolving their national economic problems and in the international arena become particularly important. The Vietnamese communists well realize and prove this through their practical activities. In presenting the CPV Central Committee accountability reports to the Fifth Congress, Comrade Le Thun, CPV Central Committee general secretary, emphasized that "strengthening the ties of friendship and expanding cooperation relations with the fraternal socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism are tasks of primary importance to the foreign policy of our party and state."

In the course of implementing these tasks, in recent years the SRV has taken a new major step toward developing relations with the socialist countries.

Today these relations have become a many-sided set of party, state, trade-economic, scientific and technical, cultural and social ties. One of the reflections of the profound quantitative changes in these relations was the coordination of national economic plans for 1981-1985. This provides a good foundation for the further development of specialization and cooperation on a bilateral and multilateral basis within the framework of CEMA, i.e., a good foundation for the development of new organizational forms of operation and comprehensive coordination of economic policy.

The peaceful foreign policy of the SRV has been reflected also in a positive program drafted by Vietnam together with Laos and Kampuchea for settling disputes with neighbors, in order to convert Southeast Asia into an area of peace and stability. Recently the governments of these countries have repeatedly proclaimed their desire to establish good neighborly relations with all countries in Southeast Asia and to struggle for reducing international tension in this region through joint efforts. This aspiration was expressed once again in the documents of last February's summit meeting in Vientiane of the three Indochinese countries and the materials of recent conferences of ministers of foreign affairs of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

In reflecting the desire of the peoples of their countries, the leaders of the CPV, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and the National Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and the ministers of foreign affairs of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea called upon the Southeast Asian countries to normalize relations and expressed their willingness to develop relations of friendship and cooperation with the countries in the area, based on reciprocal respect for national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and noninterference in reciprocal domestic affairs.

This constructive policy gained extensive international support, for it is fully consistent with the vital expectations of all nations fighting for peace on earth, disarmament and a cloudless future for their children. It is irritating only to those who would like to retain in Southeast Asia a permanent hotbed of tension which does not bring the peoples of the area either peace or tranquility, those who, for the sake of their selfish purposes are trying to galvanize political corpses cast on the dumping grounds of history, and to recreate or reanimate the old military and political alliances. As the communication on the conference of secretaries of central committees of fraternal parties of socialist countries points out, "the imperialist circles, American above all, do not shy at provocatory actions aimed at poisoning the international atmosphere even further and implementing their missile plans."

The Soviet Union and Vietnam, together with the other members of the socialist commonwealth and all peace-loving forces, are actively and consistently struggling against this peace-threatening policy. After reviewing the results of the meeting of secretaries of central committees of fraternal parties of socialist countries, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo emphasized that "the Soviet Union will continue, closely interacting with the other members of the socialist commonwealth, to firmly oppose the aggressive imperialist plans and work for lowering the threat of war and for strengthening the peace and security of the peoples."

This consistent line of strengthening peace and firmly opposing the aggressive policy of imperialism and its accomplices is convincingly reflected in the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the Fifth CPV Congress, and in the speeches of the leaders of the two fraternal parties. This position was reflected also in the recent Soviet-Vietnamese summit talks. Vietnam firmly supported the constructive disarmament proposals formulated by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, and the proposals included in the Prague Political Declaration of Warsaw Pact Members, as well as the Joint Declaration of the Participants in the Meeting of Leading Party and State Leaders of European Socialist Countries, held in Moscow on 28 June 1983. In turn, the Soviet Union fully supports the course charted by Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea of further strengthening relations of friendship and comprehensive cooperation, which have linked these three fraternal countries for many decades and are the most important factor in their successful progress in building a socialist society and defending the national sovereignty of their respective countries against all foreign encroachments.

In celebrating today the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Soviet-Vietnamese Friendship and Cooperation Treaty, we can say with full justification that the friendship and cooperation between our parties and peoples have gained a new comprehensive development during these years. They have become an important and indivisible part of the social life of our two countries and a permanent active factor which exerts a positive influence on all aspects of building socialism and communism in the Soviet Union and Vietnam. The Friendship and Cooperation Treaty between our countries has become the reliable foundation for such fraternal relations.

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OUTER SPACE MUST BE PEACEFUL

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pp 108-118

[Article by Academician V. Avduyevskiy]

[Text] The conquest of near space is one of the global problems the successful and comprehensive solution of which can only be the result of the collective efforts of mankind. This insurmountable conclusion stems from the accomplishments of the space era, which was opened by the Soviet Union, for the past 2.5 decades and the tasks which are today entirely possible to resolve from the scientific and technical viewpoints. Such is precisely the approach which our country takes to these tasks, as it fruitfully cooperates with many countries in space research. More than anything else, already today space opens a field for joint activities by the nations, where no encrustations of the past can hinder the implementation of international projects for the good of the human species. Space is a global environment spread over all nations and countries. Its utilization for peaceful purposes can contribute to the unification of all peoples on earth and opens the way to improving their lives. The further development of cooperation in space research by countries with different social systems could become an important step in the practical development of cooperation on earth itself.

Meanwhile, man continues to inhabit the planet which has given him life. His daily living conditions and social habitat cannot fail to affect his entire attitude toward the universe, including his future in outer space. It is precisely at this point that appear the basic differences in the approach of the two opposite social systems to problems facing mankind in the conquest of near space and the objectives and tasks of activities in outer space. Our country is invariably guided in space matters by the principle that everything must be for man and for his future. The interests of ready money and the use of any means in an effort to preserve obsolete social customs are proving to be the main incentive governing the activities of the overseas "patrons" in this area.

As in strictly earthly matters, the situation with space research continues to be adversely affected by a line not of cooperation but of confrontation with the socialist world, currently pursued by the other space power--the United States. The unattainable aspiration of the U.S. ruling circles to gain military superiority over the USSR, to destroy socialism and to establish global domination of monopoly capital does not simply adversely affect possibilities of further expanding and intensifying space research but creates

new grave threats to the future of mankind. "It is becoming increasingly obvious," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, noted, answering the questions asked by the journal DER SPIEGEL, "that the development of space warfare weapons is a structural component of American preparations for war. They would like to take weapons to outer space and threaten mankind from there. This must not be allowed."

The Soviet Union--the pioneer in space--does not only call for preventing the extension of the arms race to outer space but formulates practical and already attainable proposals and initiatives which would reliably block the path of such weapons to outer space.

Space can and must remain peaceful. Such is the demand of all peace-loving forces on earth. Such is the objective prerequisite for further human progress.

I

The penetration of outer space was a legitimate consequence of the development of our civilization. Man went beyond the limits of the earth both literally and figuratively. On the one hand, today in orbit he works as a researcher, studying more closely the solar system and observing the earth, which is so far the only known celestial body in the universe on which life exists. On the other, he has begun to think in categories exceeding the range of conventional earthly concepts.

It was no accident that the Soviet Union gained priority in space research. The creation in the USSR of the first rocket-bearers and space apparatus and the rapid development of cosmonautics were a splendid example of the use of the advantages of the socialist system in scientific and technical progress, which was achieved through the joint efforts of a number of designers and scientists and industry.

The achievements of cosmonautics are well-known. Studies of natural resources on earth, environmental control, communications, navigation, television broadcasting, meteorology, geodesy, cartography and other applications of space technology are making a tangible contribution to the national economy and contributing to the solution of topical economic, social, cultural and other problems. One could hardly imagine modern life today without space activities. The introducing of scientific equipment beyond the atmosphere opened to astronomers and physicists an essentially different universe which is sending to earth a tremendous amount of information in ultraviolet and X- and gamma rays, of exceptional value in the study of natural laws. Interplanetary flights by automatic stations have radically changed our concepts of the solar system, the planets in particular, including the earth.

The time is coming of an even more intensive use of outer space. According to forecasts, future achievements in space for the sake and good of man, will be even more impressive compared to the present. The main task of cosmonautics will be fulfilled: the industrialization of near space, i.e., the total blending of space complexes of various purposes with the earth's economy and

the combined development of production forces on earth and in outer space. The operation of orbital factories and plants, created for the production of new materials and industrial commodities under the conditions of profound vacuum and weightlessness, will become possible. The virtually inexhaustible resources of outer space, including those of the celestial bodies and solar energy, will be extensively used.

The time is not far when all mankind will be covered by a single information network which will make it possible, through the help of space instruments, to receive at all times and anywhere practical data on all problems of interest. This could include various fields of knowledge, technical recommendations, disease treatment, and so on. Travelers and researchers, ships, airplanes and other transport facilities will be able to determine their position and velocity with high accuracy. Solar energy systems and large telescopes will be placed in outer space. Large manned ship-stations will become work bases with the help of specialized autonomous modules for various purposes.

We have mentioned merely a few of the possible future trends of development of cosmonautics. They are striking in their greatness and complexity of the problems which will have to be resolved. In order to carry out such projects the development of space complexes must reach a qualitatively new scientific and technical and organizational level. Large systems or supersystems will have to be created. They should connect space subsystems, combine ground with space flight control centers, and data reception and processing; they must gather information received from satellites and store it in data banks accessible to consumers the world over.

As we can see, cosmonautics will increasingly contribute to the cooperation among countries and peoples on earth and to the awareness that mankind is one. As one of the trends of scientific and technical progress, in the future it will become one of the important means for the solution of global energy, ecological, demographic and other problems. The development of international cooperation in space will enable us to make fuller and more rational use of the resources of the land and the world's oceans and efficiently to resolve problems of environmental control and protection, upgrading the living standard of the population and uprooting backwardness, disease, hunger and poverty.

Interesting results were obtained in the fields of space technology, astrophysics, the study of natural resources and medicine during the flights of international crews aboard Soviet space ships and orbital stations with the participation of representatives of the socialist commonwealth and France. Other countries are also launching satellites with the help of Soviet carriers. Successful scientific and applies studies are being conducted within the framework of the Intercosmos international program with the participation of the socialist countries, France, India, the United States, the FRG, Austria, Sweden and others. The Western countries are participating in the Vega project, developed by the Soviet Union in cooperation with the socialist countries, for the study of Halley's Comet and Venus. An agreement is being drafted on the exchange of information during the Viga and Jotto experiment,

which is conducted by the Western European countries and the United States, for the study of the comet. All of this proves that the Western scientists are supporting the Soviet policy of developing mutually profitable contacts in the conquest of space.

Significant progress has been achieved in the development of comprehensive cooperation in space with a view to the development and operation of large systems. Currently international space systems of communications and navigation satellites are successfully functioning, such as Intersputnik, Intelsat and Inmarsat. Preparations are in full swing for the development of international space systems for telecontrol sounding of the earth with the help of the Landsat (United States), SPOT (France), MOS 1 (Japan), Meteor (USSR) and other satellites. The international COSPAS-SARSAT system for human rescue is already in operation. The system consists of satellites which are always watching in orbit and ground reception stations in the USSR, the United States, Norway, France and Canada. Although the system is still experimental, it has already proved its possibilities. In only 9 months of work, with the help of the Kosmos-1383 and Kosmos-1447 satellites, within the system, 22 catastrophes were detected and 48 people in various parts of the globe, on land and sea, were rescued.

The activities of the individual countries within the United Nations and its specialized institutions are contributing to the development of international space cooperation. The UN Committee on the Utilization of Outer Space for Peaceful Purposes is especially dealing with all problems related to the development of space.

International cooperation not only yields direct benefits to participating countries but has a beneficial impact on the international situation by contributing to the utilization of the results of space activities for the good and in the interest of the entire global community of countries and peoples.

II

Historical experience confirms that the conquest of new areas (with the exception of Antarctica) has always led in the final account to their use as theaters of military operation. Technical achievements have led to improvements of existing and development of essentially new types of combat materiel and weaponry. Therefore, geographic discoveries were paralleled by wars of conquest and the establishment of colonial empires and led to the building of powerful navies. The conquest of the air brought about the creation of powerful bombing, diving, fighter and other strategic and tactical aircraft. The discovery of the energy of the atom and the development of rockets led to the creation of nuclear missiles.

All wars on our planet have brought the people catastrophe and privation. It is only now, however, that for the first time in history nuclear missiles and other armaments which can destroy not only all achievements of human civilization but also life on earth, have been developed. Such a self-destruction of mankind, should a nuclear war appear, may occur within a relatively short

period of time or, in terms of history, virtually instantaneously. It is exceptionally important under such circumstances for space activities of all countries to have a peaceful direction, for international cooperation to develop and intensify and for the conclusion of international agreements which would reliably block any attempts at turning outer space into an area of arms race and military confrontation. Today outer space is free of weapons and the necessary prerequisites for keeping it peaceful exist. With agreements which would ban the deployment of weapons in outer space verification could be relatively simple.

At the present time, on the initiative of the USSR and the members of the socialist commonwealth and the support of all peace-loving forces, a number of international agreements have been initialed which, to a certain extent, limit the possible use of outer space for military purposes. Thus, the 1963 Treaty on Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, Outer Space and Under Water removed outer space from the realm of nuclear tests. The placing in orbit around the earth of any object carrying nuclear weapons or similar other types of mass destruction armaments or the deployment of such weapons on celestial bodies and in outer space in any fashion are forbidden by the 1967 Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States on the Study and Utilization of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies. Corresponding norms which limit the military aspects of space activities of states are included in the 1977 Convention on Banning Military or Any Other Hostile Utilization of Means of Affecting the Natural Environment; the 1972 USSR-U.S. Treaty on Restricting Antimissile Defense Systems (PRO) made it incumbent on the parties neither to create, test nor deploy PRO systems or components based at sea, in the air, in outer space or mobile on the ground.

Nevertheless, currently suborbital flights of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and other objects carrying nuclear weapons as well as other types of mass destruction weapons flying across outer space, deploying in outer space objects or in any other fashion in outer space other types of weapons not covered by the "mass destruction weapon" term, or the use of anti-satellite systems are not forbidden. A number of other problems remain unregulated.

Bearing in mind the importance and relevance of the problems of preventing the militarization of outer space to the fate of the world and mankind, in 1981 the Soviet Union submitted for consideration by the 36th UN General Assembly a proposal on concluding an international treaty which would ban the deployment in outer space of weapons of any kind. This problem is currently on the agenda of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva.

The suggestion formulated at the Prague Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact Members in January 1983 of concluding a treaty on the reciprocal nonuse of military force and maintaining peaceful relations between the members of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, was an important initiative. Such a treaty would include, among others, stipulations on the nonuse first of military force against the sea, air and space ships of either side or other sites belonging to them, wherever they may be located, and the obligation not to threaten the security of sea, air and space communications

crossing areas on which no national jurisdiction has been extended. In his answer to the appeal of a group of American scientists and public personalities, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov assured them that "the Soviet Union will continue to apply maximal efforts to prevent the sinister plans of shifting the arms race to outer space from becoming reality."

III

As a result of the U.S. counteraction, practical work on reaching an agreement on the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes has not been initiated so far. Meanwhile, the U.S. ruling circles are engaged in a feverish search for the possibility of wrecking the currently existing military-strategic parity and are paying increasing attention to outer space. Work on the development of outer space military equipment has long become one of the basic elements of the Pentagon's scientific research, with its large number of scientific centers, laboratories, testing grounds and stations.

According to the U.S. National Science Foundation, today more scientists are engaged in scientific research in the American aerospace companies than in the chemical, medical, petroleum, automobile, rubber and machine-building sectors combined. U.S. civilian space agencies, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) above all, are also working for the Department of Defense. Expenditures for the militarization of outer space are steadily, constantly growing and are currently substantially outstripping outlays for civilian space programs, which have lately been subjected to repeated cuts.

The creation and utilization of space technology for military purposes is becoming one of the important trends in the activities of the U.S. Department of Defense. The already developed and operational applied military outer space systems ensure the coordination of activities of U.S. armed forces on a global scale (communications, combat control, meteorology, navigation, geodesy, detection of nuclear explosions, missile launches, observation of navy vessels in the oceans, photoreconnaissance, radio interception, and so on). More than 70 percent of the overall amount of U.S. military communications is through satellites. Satellites are also used to gather most of the intelligence information.

During the aggressive war against the peoples of Indochina, the Pentagon extensively used American reconnaissance, communications, meteorological and navigational satellites. Satellite data were used in the planning and implementation of the failed, thoughtless operation for the liberation of the hostages from the American Embassy in Teheran in 1980. During the Anglo-Argentine military conflict for the Falklands (Malvinas), intelligence data obtained with the help of satellites were given to the British command. Information from U.S. reconnaissance satellites was also supplied to the Israeli aggressors during the 1967, 1973 and 1982 Arab-Israeli conflicts.

However, the launching of artificial satellites with limited tasks of supporting military operations on earth no longer satisfies the American military. It considers them merely as the initial steps to the comprehensive militarization of space.

We know, for example, that as early as 1948 the Pentagon was showing a great deal of interest in studies which included plans for the deployment of huge orbital stations in near space. In the 1960s the American military did not conceal that in its opinion it would be precisely manned and maneuvering space facilities which would become the nucleus of the already planned anti-space defense by Washington and the main strike force in combat operations in outer space. For a number of years the U.S. Department of Defense worked on the development of the MOL military orbital laboratory, efforts which were interrupted following the reorientation of the American space program toward the creation of other systems. Nevertheless, the experiments aimed at the development of a military laboratory were carried out with the Mercury, Gemini and Apollo spaceships and the Skylab orbital station.

The Pentagon's interest in manned space flights became even greater toward the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. It announced that the U.S. Air Force was to play an increased role in the country's space program. It was assigned to draft various plans for military operations in space, including some manned. Such plans ascribe a special role to the system of space transport ships of the Space Shuttle type, developed by the United States, the program for the utilization of which has been subordinated to the Pentagon's interests from the very beginning. In addition to launching military artificial satellites, the Space Shuttle ships will be used also to assemble large orbital military projects for purposes of reconnaissance, inspecting the space projects of other countries and their tracking, testing the equipment of military satellites, developing and testing new weapon types and systems, and so on. Interest is being shown in the use of said spaceships as space command centers which would replace the air command centers in controlling nuclear weapons in a war.

Furthermore, the United States is developing plans for new highly maneuverable apparatus, which are the smaller variants of the current Space Shuttle ships (the "Minishuttle, Cruiser, Spaceline, and others). A fleet of military manned ships is planned for the future, which could take off from ground airfields and, having carried out their assignments in outer space, return to their bases. Also planned is the creation of manned or visited space stations, orbital depots, workshops and testing complexes for military purposes.

However, the Space Shuttle-type ships will be used only for the deployment of military systems prior to the beginning of combat operations. They themselves are not specially equipped for such activities. That is why the United States is preparing to develop means for launching in near space orbital ships of other models, which would be equipped with defense facilities and could be launched secretly and suddenly into orbit in wartime.

In recent years the U.S. Department of Defense has also been studying the possibility of using nuclear weapons in space and from space. Existing international treaties notwithstanding, the Pentagon is concocting sinister plans for orbiting modified Minuteman II intercontinental ballistic missiles armed with nuclear warheads, and launching an unmanned object on which Minuteman III missiles could be deployed. Nor is the possibility excluded of converting space shuttles into space bombers by installing nuclear weapons in

them. As it is hoped overseas, the deployment of such weapons in space would make it possible to strike targets on earth within 3 to 5 minutes.

In connection with the growing dependence of the U.S. armed forces on space systems, the Reagan administration took a number of organizational steps aimed at increasing the coordination of programs related to the military utilization of space. The air force is strengthening its respective material and technical facilities. Although the United States already has a flight control center for military satellites in Sunnyvale, while NASA has in Houston a flight control system for space shuttles, the creation of a joint center in Colorado Springs is planned for the flight control of military satellites and space shuttles. The U.S. Department of Defense is building its own launching pad for space transport ships based exclusively on military programs at the Vandenberg Air Force Base. The complex will begin operations in 1986.

The armament program of unprecedented scale, adopted by the Republican administration in October 1981, stipulates in addition to the further growth of nuclear forces the continued militarization of outer space. The 4 July 1982 U.S. presidential directive on the new policy in the study and utilization of space legitimizes U.S. military preparations in space. The U.S. Air Force command has been given the necessary powers as the executive organ of the Department of Defense in the military utilization of space. On 1 September 1982 a special space command was set up within the air force. In June 1983 the air force submitted a plan for setting up a joint space command which will control all space facilities of all the branches of the armed forces. By decision of the U.S. President a special group was set up to draft recommendations on the conquest of space, chaired by the President's national security adviser. Currently three-quarters of all federal scientific expenditures in the United States are for military and military-space research. The Pentagon's space budget for the next fiscal year will total \$9.4 billion.

Military space programs ensure fabulous profits to the American corporations participating in their implementation. For example, initially a single launching of a Space Shuttle was estimated at under \$10 million; actually, it was slightly over \$200 million. The Pentagon will pay some \$5 billion to private companies to make four orbital ships belonging to that system. Here capitalism has reached the type of profits for which, as T. Danning said (as cited by Marx in "Das Kapital"), "there is no crime it would not risk to commit even if the punishment is hanging" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 23, p 770). These words fully apply to the present military space activities of the United States. In accelerating the development of the most lethal nuclear systems, American monopoly capital is committing a terrible crime against mankind.

IV

The United States is engaged in intensive research in the area of antisatellite systems in accordance with its military programs.

A self-guiding antisatellite launched from an F-15 fighter, consisting of a two-stage, 6-meter-long missile (ASAT system) has reached the stage of final

flight tests. Its purpose is to strike at space ships with the help of self-guiding warheads. Preparations are currently being made for testing this system with the use of targets launched into orbit. After the tests, two fighter squadrons will be equipped with antisatellite missiles, the first of which will be deployed at the Langley and McCord air force bases.

Supported by their desire to achieve military superiority over the USSR, the American strategists are greatly relying on the development of antisatellite space weapons systems using new principles in physics. The creation and deployment of laser and beam space-based weapons play an important role in the plans of the aggressive U.S. circles. The development of such weapons may become reality in the near future. In California the U.S. Air Force is already trying to hit airplane-launched missiles with a laser beam. The principal dream of the American military, however, is the launching of a powerful laser in space. The United States has completed a series of ground tests of prototypes of high-power laser weapons which use the energy of hydrogen and fluoride combustion. Efforts to develop targeting and directing laser beams in space with a diameter of up to 4 meters of the mirror are nearing completion. Such weapons will be used as antisatellites within the U.S. antimissile defense system and in striking ground, sea and air targets.

According to the American military, the laser weapon is the most efficient and should be mainly applied precisely in space, for here it has a very long range of action, ranging from 2,000 to 4,000 kilometers, and could strike at moving targets in a short period of time.

The United States ascribes great importance to the Space Shuttles in developing the laser weapon. Launching, sighting and other key elements of this weapon are being tested during Space Shuttle flights. By the mid-1980s, during one of the Space Shuttle flights, experiments will be conducted with demonstrations of the possibilities of laser weapons in outer space. The purpose of such experiments is the comprehensive testing of the combat efficiency of the weapons, for purposes of political blackmail and frightening the peoples on earth.

The ray weapon being developed in the United States has the same characteristics as the laser weapon, based on the use of elementary particles (electrons, protons and neutrons), moving at velocities close to the speed of light and destroying the target through heat and mechanical action.

For a number of years the supporters of the arms race in the United States have been working on the development of third-generation "superweapons," meaning by this the atom bomb as the first generation and the hydrogen bomb as the second.

The X-ray laser, which converts the energy of an exploding atomic bomb into a laser beam in the X-ray range, is an example of third-generation weaponry. The prototype of such a laser has already been tested in an underground explosion at the Livermore Laboratory in the United States, under the supervision of E. Teller, the "father" of the American hydrogen bomb. In his words, an X-ray laser could be created which could strike immediately an entire group of missiles flying at a distance of several thousand kilometers.

This includes systems for directing into the guided beam radioactive particles, neutrons and gamma and X-ray radiation. Also studied is the possibility of using the electromagnetic pulse (EMI) which appears in a nuclear explosion and which could create an overloading of power grids and destroy or put out of use any kind of electronic equipment. According to the American specialists a 50-megaton hydrogen bomb exploded at an altitude of 300 km above the earth could destroy electronic systems and power transmission cables over an entire continent. The EMI could stop radio and television transmissions and telephone communications, break down communications satellites, electronic control systems, computers, and so on, and disturb air and ground traffic.

V

What other types and systems of space weapons may be developed in the Pentagon's laboratories and scientific centers remain unknown. However, the examples we cited convincingly confirm that the current official U.S. circles and those who support them, hiding behind hypocritical rhetoric, are firm believers in the concept of the inevitability of nuclear war. In an effort to satisfy the insatiable appetites of the military-industrial complex and conceal the tension to disturb the existing strategic parity and stupefy the population in the United States and other countries, on 23 March 1983 President Reagan delivered a totally misleading and demagogic speech. He announced the decision to develop a widespread system of antimissile defense (PRO), deployed on earth and in outer space, shamelessly describing it as the "future which promises hope." The PRO space system was proclaimed as allegedly ensuring a transition from the doctrine of "mutually guaranteed destruction" to the doctrine of "guaranteed survival" (of the United States--the author).

The charges which Reagan made against the Soviet Union in his speech, the "acceptable" model of nuclear war he painted and the soothing terminology were found adequate by the U.S. President and those who back him for the purpose of surreptitiously opening a new channel in the deadly arms race. The demagogic blabberings about "space defense" were also aimed at drawing the attention away from the increased U.S. first-strike nuclear potential and blunt the indignation of the peoples of Western Europe and the aspirations of the oversease military to turn their territory into a nuclear war theater.

However, Reagan clearly failed in the role of "savior of the world" and of mythical "Western values." The world press, including that of the United States, condemned the "space war" scenario presented by the president and written in accordance with the military-political "high-level" plan drafted by the extreme rightists Heritage Foundation organization. In order to ensure "survival," according to this plan, hundreds of satellites armed with lethal systems were to be put into orbit, equipped with third-generation weapons, for the destruction of launched Soviet missiles. Furthermore, satellites which could blind or destroy the satellites of the other side, "space mines," and so on, were to be orbited as well.

The U.S. military specialists, who support this delirious program, perfectly realize that they will be never be able to destroy all launched missiles and

that a minimal number of surviving missiles would suffice to deal a crushing retaliatory strike against the United States.

In reality, the concepts of "survival" and "space defense" are based on plans according to which the United States will deal the first strike, the purpose of which will be to destroy a maximal number of Soviet missiles on the ground and so that the U.S. space antimissile defense would strike at the missiles which have escaped the first strike of the American missiles. Therefore, "the future which gives hope" and the concept of "survival" with the help of space defense will grant the United States safety on the assumption that it will win by dealing a first strike in a nuclear war.

"The adventurism and danger of this entire idea," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov said, "is that it rests on impunity, on dealing a first strike with the assumption that a retaliatory strike could be avoided. This increases the temptation to press the launching button. This is the main danger of the new American military concept which can only take the world closer to the nuclear precipice."

With his fables on "space defense," President Reagan is misleading the American people as well, promising them safety and "a hopeful future." The deployment of a U.S. space armada with lethal weapons on board will inevitably lead the other side to develop weapons for protection and counter-action. Everyone is well familiar with the position held by the USSR on this problem, as presented in Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's statements. The Soviet Union will never allow a U.S. military superiority and will never find itself disarmed in the face of any threat. That is why the efforts to implement the new decision of the U.S. President can only mean the start of a new and even more dangerous round in the arms race.

The creation and maintenance of a space armada would cost hundreds of billions of dollars. Peaceful activities in outer space would come to an end. It will become exceptionally difficult or impossible to control and restrain the arms race. These would be the consequences of the implementation of the military-space plans of the American administration.

The development of space troops would immeasurably increase the likelihood of an accidental start of a nuclear war and the possibility of preventing it would be reduced, for there would be virtually no time left to assess the situation should a wrong signal be received. Everyone recalls the incidents of American nuclear weapons and cases of false alarms because of technical failures in the U.S. antiaircraft defense systems. Reagan's call for the creation of space weapons and space forces factually doom mankind to a passive expectation of its death.

This position is countered by the clear and specific peaceful proposals made by the Soviet Union, aimed at preserving peace for mankind and offering the people the prospect of developing civilization on earth and inspiring them to new accomplishments on earth and in space. "Space must remain peaceful," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov said in answering the questions of the journal DER SPIEGEL. "We have called for the conclusion of an international treaty on

the nondeployment of any kind of weapons in outer space. We are convinced that we should go even farther: we should agree on banning in general the use of force in outer space as well as from outer space to earth."

In an effort to give a new impetus to the talks on preventing the militarization of space, last August the Soviet Union submitted exceptionally important initiatives. At his meeting in the Kremlin with a group of American senators, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov confirmed his previously expressed proposals and voiced our country's readiness to resolve most radically the question of antisatellite weapons--that an agreement be reached on the elimination of already existing antisatellite systems and banning the creation of new ones. He also stated that the Soviet Union has assumed the obligation not to be the first to introduce any kind of antisatellite weapons in outer space, i.e., it introduced a unilateral moratorium on such launchings as long as other countries, including the United States, would abstain from deploying in outer space any kind of antisatellite weapons.

The Soviet Union has submitted a draft treaty on banning the use of force in outer space and from outer space to earth for consideration by the 38th UN General Assembly session. This treaty calls for banning the use of force or threat of force in space and from space and the assumption by participating countries of a number of other obligations aimed at preventing the militarization of space. The practical implementation of the Soviet initiatives would make it possible reliably to block the efforts of imperialist forces to turn space from an area of international cooperation into an arena of confrontation and military struggle.

Scientists and public personalities concerned by the dangerous development of the international situation and who are sincerely and seriously concerned with the basic interests of mankind, as well as all honest people on earth, warmly support the Leninist humane policy of the Soviet Union. The Soviet people have confidence in their future. We firmly believe that mankind will not undertake its self-destruction and, in the final account, will ensure the peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems.

People aspire toward distant trips in space, to planets and stars. Nevertheless, they still must return to the earth which must be preserved.

The peace movement is expanding. Many millions of people in all countries are opposing the growth of armaments with increasing resolve.

The cause of peace will win and space will remain peaceful and open to all countries for the good of all peoples on earth.

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5003

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INTERNATIONALISTS OF THE OCTOBER SCHOOL

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 83 (signed to press 11 Oct 83)
pp 119-120

[Review by Candidate of Historical Sciences F. Krotov, director of the USSR Central Museum of the Revolution, of the book "Iskry Velikogo Oktyabrya" [Sparks of the Great October]. The contribution of the internationalists to the revolutionary worker movement in Central and Southeastern European Countries (1917-1921). Politizdat, Moscow, 1982, 288 pp with illustrations]

[Text] The international significance of the October Revolution and its influence on the worker, peasant, general democratic and national liberation movements abroad have been extensively covered in many books, pamphlets and articles.

One of the most interesting aspects of this topical problem is covered in the monograph under review. The author has chosen as his research topic the contribution made by the revolutionaries-internationalists -- eye-witnesses and participants in the struggle for soviet power in Russia -- to popularizing the ideals of the October Revolution in their homelands, the countries in Central and Southeastern Europe. As coparticipants in the birth of the new social system free from exploitation and oppression, they became exposed to V. I. Lenin's great ideas and their implementation in building a socialist society and protecting the revolutionary gains. Back home, the participants in the historical events in Russia made use in the revolutionary struggle of the lessons of the October Revolution and contributed to making "the word 'soviet' understandable in all languages" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 38, p 37).

By virtue of the prevailing circumstances, at the start of the October Revolution considerable numbers of foreigners found themselves on Russian territory. They included more than 4 million prisoners of war, refugees and emigres. They were mainly prisoners of war from Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria, totalling some 2.1-2.3 million soldiers and officers, about 2 million Poles, refugees or military in the Russian army, no less than 150,000 workers, peasants, soldiers and seamen from Romania, evacuated to the south of Russia, thousands of Bulgarian emigres, seasonal workers from Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan, and emigres and workers from other countries.

The author traces the complex process of the development of a revolutionary consciousness among the progressive element of this mass of workers and peasants, who found themselves on Russian soil, and their gradual adoption of the ideas of Leninism and the October Revolution. In analyzing the various factors which influenced this process, the author proves that the preponderant role in it was played by the great liberation struggle itself, which was waged by the Russian working class and toiling peasantry, and the explanatory work conducted among the foreign working people by the bolshevik party. The broad masses of prisoners of war, refugees, seasonal workers and emigres felt the powerful influence of the revolutionary movement of the Russian proletariat and peasantry and joined the struggle for peace, land, freedom and socialism under the direct leadership of the Leninist party. Loyal to the banners of proletarian internationalism, the bolsheviks had started their agitation work among the foreign workers and peasants cast on our soil while the imperialist war was still on. They familiarized them with the Leninist program related to the questions of war, peace and revolution and strengthened the fraternal solidarity between them and the Russian working people.

Organizations of former prisoners of war-internationalists appeared with the victory of the Great October Revolution. The activities of the Polish revolutionary social democratic and socialist organizations operating on Russian territory -- the social democratic groups of Poland and Lithuania and the Polish Socialist Leftist Party -- which had appeared as early as the spring of 1917, entered a new stage of activities. In the spring of 1918 the Hungarian, Romanian, German, Southern Slav, Czechoslovak and other groups of foreign communists were set up on the basis of the communist nucleus which had been established within the revolutionary organizations. They united into a Federation of Foreign Groups in May 1918. The bolshevik party gave comprehensive aid to the organizations of foreign revolutionaries in the land of the soviets. The author describes the way the RKP(b) Central Committee helped the internationalists in choosing the right directions to follow and methods of work among the foreign proletariat and peasantry on Russian soil. We read with great interest about the meetings between Lenin and the leaders of the internationalist movements: the Hungarians Bela Kuhn, T. Samuelli, D. Farago and L. Nemeti, the Czech I. Schneeberg, the Slovak M. Krsiak, the Poles Yu. Markhlewski, S. Budzinski, S. Bobinski and Yu. Leszczinski, the Bulgarian S. Cherkezov, the Serbian I. Milkic, and others. Their discussions dealt with problems of the international labor movement, the situation in Central and Southeast Europe, and the participation of the internationalists in the revolutionary struggle in their homeland. A meeting of particular importance was held in April 1918 between Lenin and the leaders of organizations of foreign communists in Soviet Russia -- the Hungarian F. Jancik, the Czech R. Rayter and others -- in the course of which the leader of the world proletariat explained the tremendous harmfulness and erroneousness of the views disseminated among some leaders of the internationalist movement of "moving" the revolution to the West through armed force, as the former prisoners of war and the refugees returned to their countries. Explaining to the broad masses the meaning and purpose of the October Revolution became the main line of activities of the foreign revolutionaries in assisting the worker and peasant movement in their respective homelands.

With the help of abundant facts the author proves the way in which the foreign workers and peasants, who had witnessed and participated in the October Revolution, disseminated at home the ideas of a just democratic peace, the elimination of all social and national oppression, putting the working people in power, establishing a proletarian state, giving the landed estates to the peasants and establishing relations of friendship and fraternity among working people of all nationalities. Very interesting information is supplied on the participation of the former prisoners of war in the soldiers' uprisings which shook up the Hapsburg army in the spring and summer of 1918 and the clandestine groups they set up in order to prepare the broad popular masses for the arising revolution.

The author particularly concentrates on the contribution made by the foreign communists, who had experienced the October Revolution, to the organization of communist movements in Central and Southeastern European countries. He writes that the return of foreign revolutionaries, who were members of foreign communist groups in Soviet Russia, particularly intensified in the autumn of 1918, following the military defeat of Austria-Hungary and Germany in World War One and the victories of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in these countries. The monograph describes in detail the role they played in acquainting the left wings of the worker movements in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia with Lenin's ideas on the socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the party of a new type.

The monograph proves that the appearance of communist parties was a manifestation of the profound need experienced by the proletariat for a revolutionary vanguard in the struggle for the overthrow of bourgeois rule and establishment of a socialist system. The author notes that the roots of the revolutionary parties which appeared could be traced to the history of the worker movement and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against exploitation and oppression. At the same time, the creation of an organized revolutionary vanguard in foreign countries developed under the powerful ideological influence of the theory and practice of Leninism and the experience of the Great October Revolution, in the course of which the process of interaction and reciprocal ideological enrichment of the individual detachments of the revolutionary proletariat developed differently in the individual countries, with its specific manifestations based on specific conditions and circumstances. The internationalists, who had returned to their homelands, became forces in the revolutionary worker movement which, together with the other advanced detachments of the working class, helped to establish communist parties in their own countries. They helped to acquaint the revolutionary proletariat with Lenin's doctrine and the experience of the October Revolution and actively fought against reformism and right-wing opportunism. Together with the other forces within the worker movement, the foreign revolutionaries played a major role also in the establishment of the first proletarian states in Central Europe -- the Hungarian and Slovak Soviet Republics.

The members of the great cohort of foreign internationalists made a substantial contribution to strengthening proletarian solidarity between their own countries and the first socialist state in the world -- the Soviet Republic -- and to consolidating the international relations between the left-wing forces of the worker movement and the bolshevik party and the Comintern.

The author convincingly criticizes the views of various falsifiers and particularly hostile fabrications of bourgeois and right-wing socialist politicians and historians according to which, after returning to their respective countries from the land of the soviets, the foreign revolutionaries supported the "export of revolution" and allegedly introduced in the working class of their homeland "alien" ideas and methods inconsistent with national conditions and clashing with historical traditions. Conversely, the author proves that the organizations of internationalists in the Soviet republic were an inseparable part of the revolutionary wing of the proletariat in their own countries, both in terms of structure and tasks and objectives.

The monograph is based on extensive data and reveals many unfamiliar facts related to the deepest ideological influence which the October Revolution had on the liberation movements of the working people in foreign countries. Unquestionably, it will be useful in the field of internationalist education.

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5003

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PERFECTING PLANNED MANAGEMENT IN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

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pp 121-122

[Review by Prof R. Yevstigneyev, doctor of economic sciences, of the book "Kollektivnyy Opyt Sovershenstvovaniya Upravleniya Sotsialisticheskoy Ekonomikoy (po Materialam S"yezdov Kommunisticheskikh i Rabochikh Partiy)" [Collective Experience in Perfecting Socialist Economic Management (Based on the Experience of Communist and Worker Party Congresses)]. Edited by R. A. Belousov and G. B. Khromushin. Ekonomika, Moscow, 1983, 232 pp]

[Text] The congresses of ruling parties of a number of socialist countries, which were held at the beginning of the 1980s, paid great attention to perfecting planned economic management and the entire economic mechanism as they converted to intensive reproduction. The reciprocal study of the results achieved in this area and their utilization are of tremendous importance.

The work under review sums up the experience acquired by the CEMA countries during the 1970s. The study of the main trends of such activities in terms of the conditions of the individual countries, the difficulties and the means used to surmount them, the features of the developing economic mechanisms, the means of upgrading the efficiency of organizational structures and expanding the participation of the toiling masses in management reveal the wealth and variety of methods used in managing international labor cooperation. The work was written by an international group of authors: the individual chapters are the work of leading scientists from the respective countries.

The analysis of the specific methods used in resolving a number of common problems, described in this work, is of unquestionable scientific and practical interest. Despite differences related to the specific historical conditions of the individual countries, their principal meaning is reduced to the profound restructuring of the tools for and methods of influencing the nationwide cooperation of labor and the significant changing of the content of planned management in which production efficiency is given priority along with proportional (balanced) economic development.

The importance of strengthening the orientation toward end results with the lowest possible resource outlays, upgrading the organization and coordination among all management units, qualitative improvements in planning and interaction between the plan and economic levers and incentives was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress and the November 1982 and June 1983 Central Committee

plenums. Similar problems were considered at the party congresses of the fraternal countries. This applies to the better organization of the collective work of millions of people successfully pursuing the common strategic course of upgrading public production efficiency. This calls for coordinating the specific forms of economic relations with structural and other shifts in productive forces and finding and utilizing additional sources for economic growth and improved living standards of the nations.

The authors convincingly prove that this course expresses the common nature of the initial principles and tasks involved in the functioning and advancement of the planned management system. The objective targets and motive forces of the socialist economy and the stable and essential interconnection between its most important elements are the same for all CEMA members. However, in no way does this commonness lead to a monotony or impoverishment of its forms or to standardized style and methods of the guiding and regulating influence of the planned management of socioeconomic processes. To the contrary, the common laws governing the development of national management systems offer great opportunities for the application of several variants of their specific forms, methods and instruments. The extensive exchange of experience in this area reciprocally enriches the theory and practice of perfecting planned management in CEMA countries. In its search for the most efficient methods for real production socialization, each one of them perfects its planned management system in accordance with the specific circumstances of economic construction, the historical stage and national traditions.

The work also extensively reflects pertinent practical experience. Let us consider for example the means of expanding enterprise autonomy. On the one hand, combines in the GDR yield good economic results. They are powerful production and economic complexes which have achieved a real organizational combination of science with production. Nine tenths of all applied scientists currently work in combines. On the other hand, Hungary has acquired a different experience: here, for the past 15 years planned enterprise management is achieved primarily through economic controls and the extensive use, particularly in agriculture, of various contractual production and economic cooperation methods. Similar processes have been taking place in Bulgaria lately.

Many other examples of positive experience are cited in the book, worth special consideration with a view to their creative application in the USSR in the areas of price setting, crediting, stimulating the conservation of fuel-energy and raw materials, managing the agroindustrial complexes and developing the private auxiliary plots.

The reciprocal study and use of the experience gained in socialist economic management helps the gradual rapprochement among the structures of the economic mechanisms. This opens additional opportunities for production and scientific and technical integration and particularly the establishment of direct relations among associations and enterprises.

This collective monograph will help in the practical discussion of a number of important problems currently facing the CEMA countries.

One of them is the need for further coordination of the plans for economic and scientific and technical policy, thus making fuller and more efficient use of

the intercomplementing nature of their scientific and production potentials and natural resources. To this effect the most efficient trends in international production specialization, rational unification of scientific research, and concentration of forces in the main sectors of scientific and technical progress are being followed. Our countries ascribe great importance to interaction in key economic sectors which revolutionize the production process and are basic in terms of scientific and technical progress and the growth of the people's well-being. This makes cooperation in activities such as the creation, production and utilization of microprocessors and industrial robots particularly important.

Intensification is related to the systematic solution of the fuel and energy problem and the conservation of fuel, raw materials and energy. In recent years the GDR and Hungary have increased their output while reducing their power consumption. Efforts are being made within CEMA to popularize this experience and to convert to energy-saving technologies. Intensified comprehensive international specialization and cooperation in producing equipment for nuclear power plants plays an important role in resolving energy problems.

Consistent with the economic strategy for the 1980s, as defined by the congresses of ruling parties, the CEMA countries are limiting the growth of capital investments, rechanelling them into the most effective and technically progressive production facilities in the processing industry, the fuel and energy complex, the production and social infrastructure and agriculture.

The reader will gain from this work new knowledge on the work being done in the fraternal countries on the comprehensive solution of social problems. It proves that the enhancement of the scientific and technical level of output and its efficiency are a base and a means of upgrading the population's living standard. It also clearly proves the feedback: the increased well-being and development of human capabilities are an important factor in the enhancement of production forces and the acceleration of social progress.

The practice of the socialist countries indicates, as summed up in the book, that upgrading the scientific level of management, planning, economic incentive and organization and development of the production and social activeness of the working people play an important role in the implementation of programs aimed at perfecting economic and social relations.

The book offers a study of the economic situation in Poland at the turn of the 1980s and the steps taken by the PZPR to stabilize production and ensure a gradual turn to economic growth.

The monograph offers a broad idea of the initial steps taken for the implementation of the socioeconomic strategy for the 1980s, as defined at the congresses of communist and worker parties in some socialist countries. Despite many objective difficulties and the worsened international situation, the fraternal parties ensure the continuity of economic policy and with the help of a flexible choice of levers engage in large-scale economic maneuvering for the implementation of their economic and social programs.

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SOCIOPHILOSOPHICAL PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

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pp 123-126

[Review by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. Burov of the following books: (1) "Sotsial'no-Kul'turnyye Traditsii i Obshchestvennoye Soznaniye v Razvivayushchikhsya Stranakh Azii i Afriki" [Sociocultural Traditions and Social Consciousness in Developing Asian and African Countries] by B. S. Yerasov. Nauka, Moscow, 1982, 279 pp; (2) "Sotsial'no-Filosofskiye Problemy Obshchestvennogo Razvitiya" [Sociophilosophical Problems of Social Development]. By Yu. M. Pavlov (based on the South Asian Continent). Moscow State University Press, Moscow, 1982, 296 pp; (3) "Sotsial'noye Obnovleniye: Skhemy i Real'nost'" [Social Renovation: Plans and Reality] by B. S. Starostin (critical analysis of bourgeois concepts on modernizing developing countries). Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 183 pp; (4) "Levoradikal'naya Sotsiologiya v Latinskoy Amerike. Kritika Osnovnykh Kontsptsiy" [Left-Radical Sociology in Latin America. Critique of Basic Concepts] by A. V. Shestopal. Mysl', Moscow, 1981, 207 pp]

[Text] In recent years Soviet scientific publications have shown a growing interest in the study of social processes occurring in the developing countries. An increasing number of books deal not with individual aspects of life in Asian, African and Latin American countries but with their overall social structures, and aim at analyzing problems related to the social progress achieved by these countries and determine the interaction among the socio-economic and ideological processes, internal (national) and external (international) factors in their development, dynamics of social developments and its reflection in theory in their dialectical interconnection. Such studies include the monographs under review.

A very partial list of the problems critically analyzed by the authors include the nature of the social revolution and change in socioeconomic system; the mechanism of relations between the economic basis and the political and ideological superstructure under the condition of the existence of different structural elements; the characteristics of the class structure, political power and statehood; the nature of the influence of the development of the class struggle and social relations on the development of social thinking; methods and means of influence of the two global social systems on social life; and methods for the elimination of poverty, backwardness and dependence on the imperialist countries. Also interesting is the way they consider a

broad range of problems on the correlation between contemporary and traditional factors of spiritual production and their influence on the activities of political leaders and the shaping of social theories, mass consciousness and religious life. The authors try to provide their own answers to questions actively discussed in the literatures of the developing countries: Do forms of dependence change? What determines backwardness? Is backwardness the result of the preservation of archaic institutions or capitalist development? What is the dialectics of the old and the new in social processes? And does economic progress contribute to making proper changes in the social consciousness and in upgrading the standard of political activeness?

The problems discussed in the books under review are related to the theoretical interpretation of the specific historical position occupied by Asian, African and Latin American countries in the global community, the socio-economic prospects of the specific group of countries, their chosen path of social development -- socialist or capitalist -- and the available experience in this connection.

During the 1960s-1970s important political, economic, social and cultural changes continued to take place in the developing countries. However, the gap between them and the developed countries widened even further. This was due to a number of reasons, such as the influence of global (raw-material, energy, food) problems, a significant scarcity of modern technology, equipment and cadres, durability of conservative traditions, customs and prejudices and the subjective errors of some leaders. Unquestionably, however, the main reason was the adverse effect of imperialist neocolonialist policy. The crisis in the world capitalist system, noted in the past few years, not only exposed its inherent organic weaknesses and trends but shed light on the historical futility of extending to the young countries the capitalist production method. Their development experience convincingly proved that capitalism was unable radically to restructure their material production. Instead, it was interested in preserving obsolete production relations.

The crisis in neocolonialist policy is forcing the bourgeois ideologues to resort to a search for new theoretical arguments. Side by side with the concepts of "Europeanization," "Americanization" and "Westernization," new theories are beginning to be promoted, which acknowledge the independent role of the liberated countries in the world community; the West-centered and strictly economic approaches are beginning to be replaced by a broader view of the problems facing that group of countries, taking their social gains and cultural values into consideration. Ideas of guidance by the capitalist West of the restructuring of the entire system of socioeconomic relations have begun to be enlarged with the type of prescriptions for social renovation in which no official proposals are found calling for the direct application of the methods of capitalist industrialization and norms of bourgeois culture to the developing countries.

The same is observed in the case of the myth of the so-called "East-West" dichotomy. Ignoring reality, in the past the bourgeois theoreticians tried to prove the existence of total opposites: the static, mystical and passive East and the dynamic, rational and active West. In other words, everything Western was given a plus and everything Eastern a minus rating. Incidentally,

supporters of such dychotomy may be found also among Asian and African scientists and ideologues. In this case, however, the contrasting follows the line of support of 'perfect' moral values allegedly inherent in Eastern civilization and opposition to the decline in the mores and the greed, corruption and so on, characteristic of the Western way of life.

A rejection of the ideas of spiritual universality is obvious today. It has been replaced by the neocolonial "model" of cultural pluralism, in which the "original" values of the East can also have a place. Furthermore, some members of the Western intelligentsia turn to Afro-Asian culture in an effort to find in it a means for "curing" the spiritual conflicts within capitalist society. As a result, "denaturalized offshoots of the Orient and Africa, such as mysticism, zen-Buddhism, yoga, sufism and negritude have begun to move to the West in a quasiscientific, aestheticized or, in general, paracultural form, finding a place in its differentiated consciousness although, as a whole, not violating the systemic determination of its culture and foundations of social life" ((1), p 184).

In recent years the ideological credo of neocolonialism has been manifested most vividly in all kinds of "modernization" concepts. In itself, this term sounds quite innovative and even progressive. However, this nicely sounding term conceals a reactionary political and ideological "content," for "modernization" presumes the implementation of a set of economic, social, political, cultural and psychological measures aimed at keeping the Asian, African and Latin American countries within the imperialist sphere of influence. A detailed analysis of the meaning and origins of the "modernization" concept leads to the conclusion that its creators proclaim "industrial civilization" to be the "aim" of global history, allegedly possible only through capitalist development, and once again insisting on the need for the liberated countries to borrow the experience of the Western bourgeois countries in resolving their sociopolitical problems. On the basis of a thorough analysis, Yu. M. Pavlov and B. S. Starostin prove their theoretical groundlessness and ideological nature, for in the final account they are all reduced to giving priority to socioantropological, politological and psychological factors and the defense of "Western thinking" which, allegedly, is ready to engage in purposeful constructive activities and is the only acceptable type of thinking in terms of building an industrially developed society.

One of the qualities of the books under review is that they are not limited to the critical analysis of all sorts of variants of the "modernization" theory authored by scientists in the developed capitalist countries but subject to a thorough study concepts of different political orientations, ranging from bourgeois-nationalistic to revolutionary-democratic, formulated in the developing countries themselves. Whereas previously, interpreting the socio-philosophical problems of Asian, African and Latin American countries was primarily the concern of Western bourgeois theoreticians, now, under the conditions of the strengthened national independence and socioeconomic and cultural changes, the scientists in the former colonial and semicolonial countries themselves are showing an unusually high interest in problems of their social development. In recent years national sociological schools have developed in these areas and a liberation from "academic" colonialism and the ideas of bourgeois sociology has been noted.

Yu. M. Pavlov analyses the concept of social progress essentially through the works of the ideologues of the South Asian subcontinent, which plays a particular role in clarifying the development of sociophilosophical thinking in the liberated countries. The culture of the peoples of this subcontinent has deep historical roots. Furthermore India, the largest country in the area, is one of the founders and leaders of the nonalignment movement and exerts a strong influence on the development of sociological thinking in Asia; the variety of social relations in it is essentially a duplication of the socio-economic conditions prevalent in other countries. The Latin American countries as well play an important role in the development of sociological thinking in the developed countries. The social thinking in Latin American countries is strongly linked to the spiritual processes taking place in the Asian and African countries. Thus, the influence of Latin American reformism on economic and sociological thinking in Asia and Africa and the reverse influence of Afro-Asian radicalism...on petit bourgeois ideology are unquestionable" ((4), p 8). The books by B. S. Yerasov, Yu. M. Pavlov and B. S. Starostin trace the development of sociophilosophical thinking in Asia and Africa, where it has been undergoing a tempestuous upsurge of late. Actually, the works under review cover all basic sociological trends and directions in the young countries and study the doctrines of many sociologists working in the developing countries.

In considering the shaping of ideas related to social progress, the authors discuss the origins of sociology, including that of culture and the specifics of politology. They indicate the positive and negative aspects in the development of sociological thinking in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In describing the class nature of the analyzed concepts, the authors pay particular attention to the ideological and theoretical positions of Asian, African and Latin American scientists who are sincerely concerned with the fate of their nations and are trying to clarify the profound reasons for their socioeconomic backwardness and to earmark means for surmounting it.

The authors classify among the positive aspects in resolving sociological problems efforts to become free from "spiritual" colonialism, the view of society as a system, surmounting the limitations of the structural-functional approach, the development of an individual research methodology based on or with the help of Marxist concepts, the selection of a way of development which rejects the capitalist production method, the formulation of problems related to real human values, humanism most of all, and so on.

Let us note that in the Latin American countries the process of conceptualizing sociological thinking is more apparent than in Asia and Africa. Clearly, this is determined as a whole by their higher level of capitalist development. Two approaches to social development have taken shape in Latin America, less distinguishable in the other continents. The first is the "desarrollist" (from desarrollo -- development), involving enduring concepts of national exclusivity and elitism, according to which some countries are invariably the leaders in social progress, while the others receive from them the resulting benefits. The second, the "independist" (from independencia -- independence), is mainly concentrated on problems related to the independence of these countries, and the rights and equality of nations, frequently conceived

metaphysically, as manifestations of a perpetual "natural" law outside actual socioeconomic and political relations.

At the same time, a general turn to the left may be noticed in the ideological and theoretical areas of Latin American social life -- a transition from moderate reformism to left-reformist and left-radical concepts and searches for solutions beyond the framework of capitalist relations. As A. V. Shestopal justifiably notes, however, the testing stone in the assessment of left-radical and social-utopian ideological and theoretical concepts is their attitude toward two problems: the theory and practice of the world socialist system, and the single anti-imperialist front of democratic forces (see p 13).

The works under review are distinguished by the study of the qualitative characteristics of the functioning and development of spiritual culture and, above all, existing traditions. In this connection, B. S. Yerasov and Yu. M. Pavlov point out that this problem is an essential part of the social development process. As Yu. M. Pavlov writes, "the sharpest and most open struggle should be waged on the subject of these traditions. One could hardly overestimate their role in the coordination and management of social activities, which would include the new generations, social psychology and common awareness" (pp 132-133). Unquestionably, the introduction of new economic, social and political institutions and, above all, the need to select a path of development inevitably presumes a proper assessment of traditional sociocultural elements and the adoption of positive and elimination of conservative traditions.

In his study of real social processes, V. I. Lenin pointed out that tradition can play a double role and may be used by both progressive and reactionary forces during some historical periods. "In the developing countries traditions perform an important integrative role in unifying the people. The accumulation and transmission of experience and values from generation to generation contribute to the socialization of the individual and to giving individuals and social groups specific social features related to the reproduction and preservation of ownership relations, stabilization of economic relations and formation of the basic means and rules of political struggle" (ibid., p 134).

In his report "Sixty Years of USSR," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov said: "...We must remember that the spiritual legacy, traditions and way of life of any nation contain both good and bad and obsolete features." This stipulation is methodologically very important. It is obvious that the future socioeconomic development of Asian, African and Latin American countries largely depends on abandoning conservative traditions. That is why one cannot fail to agree with the criticism in (1), (2) and (4) of the political doctrines and sociological and philosophical concepts formulated by some ideologues and leaders of developing countries, which take the shape of blanket denunciation of anything related to "industrial civilization" while, conversely, praising anything "aboriginal." We find in some publications an exaggerated positive assessment of traditional forms of social organization. However, in the actual practices of Asian and African countries such forms, closely related to the underdeveloped nature of production forces, sometimes turn into obstacles to their further economic growth. In our view, communal structures hardly offer any

advantage compared to more developed social systems from the production viewpoint.

Nationalistic ideologues in Asian, African and Latin American countries have borrowed much from Marxist theory in their rejection of capitalism: The concept that capitalism, based on the exploitation of man by man, triggers acute social conflicts, suppresses the development of the personality, triggers the alienation of man from the real process of social life, and so on. However, one should not overestimate the antibourgeois content of such criticism which deals essentially less with the contradictions inherent in capitalism itself than with the consequences of its penetration into a backward environment, i.e., the destruction of traditional production forms and related relations. Another interesting phenomenon is noteworthy in this connection. The influence of colonialism on the social life of colonial countries was contradictory: the imperialists frequently relied on the "bad traditions" and helped to preserve them. One of the currently effective means of pursuing a neocolonialist policy is promoting tribal, racial and national conflicts. The petit bourgeois and bourgeois circles in the developing countries suffer from parochial patriotism, separatism and tribal, national or racial egotism, which clearly affects the activities of their political organizations. This circumstance is advantageously used by the politicians in the imperialist countries and their agents.

The problem of the universal nature of Marxism is an essential aspect of the ideological struggle in the developing countries. Some nationalistic and religious leaders try to prove the unacceptability of its principles in resolving the vital socioeconomic problems of Asia, Africa and Latin America due to alleged disparity between it and local cultural traits and traditions. Ideas are voiced on the limited nature of Marxism allegedly because it emphasizes the role of class or economic factors. Marxism is frequently identified only with violence and depicted as an antihumane doctrine.

As we know, having discovered the material unity of the universal-historical process and formulated the overall laws governing social development, Marxism has always emphasized the importance of the study of the specific forms of this process. In their works the Marxists have paid and are paying close attention to the study of the specific features of the socioeconomic and political organization in oriental countries, to the various types of pre-capitalist societies, and so on. The very specifics of the developing countries are largely determined by the fact that they have reached levels of socioeconomic development different from those of the Western countries. Marxism does not tolerate a stereotyped approach to the specific conditions prevailing in the various Asian, African and Latin American countries. This is confirmed by the dialectical nature of the general theoretical concepts used in designing "models" of noncapitalist development in these countries. As B. S. Starostin emphasizes, "Marxism arms the revolutionary democrats in the developing countries not with illusory social plans but with real social strategy which encompasses the most important development factors" (p 180). The successful implementation of progressive change largely depends on the extent to which the revolutionary democrats rely in their social policies on profound knowledge of the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

The energizing of the ideological struggle covering a broad spectrum of social processes occurring in Asian, African and Latin American countries and the reflection of such processes in theoretical concepts face Marxist scientists with major research problems. Essentially, a separate area of social studies is developing within Marxism, related to the study of the sociophilosophical problems of developing countries. The monographs under review are a new step in that direction. Naturally, by far not all of their content is of equal value and many problems require further study. It would be valuable, above all, to extend the thorough theoretical study of the distance covered by countries with a socialist orientation, the difficulties they are encountering in their development and the possible means of surmounting them. As a whole, however, the monographs are a definite contribution to the interpretation of the sociophilosophical problems of the developing countries.

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SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 83 (signed to press 11 Oct 83) p 127

[Text] "Pod Znamenem Oktyabrya" [Under the Flag of October].
Collection of documents and materials in two volumes. Politizdat, Moscow; BCP Publishing House, Sofia, 1980-1981.
Reviewed by Academician I. Mints.

Proletarian internationalism is one of the most important Marxist-Leninist principles. It is no accident that it became the target of bourgeois hatred from the very moment when the founders of scientific communism proclaimed it in the effective slogan "Workers of the World, Unite!" The bourgeois ideologues proclaimed it a "betrayal of the nation" and "national egotism," and did everything possible to distort its meaning and erode its class foundations. In his firm and consistent support of internationalism, V. I. Lenin gave it a precise definition which tolerated no different interpretations or distortions. "Internationalism in action," Lenin wrote, "can be one and one only: dedicated work for the development of the revolutionary movement and revolutionary struggle in one's own country and support (propaganda, sympathy, material) of that struggle and line, of it alone, in all countries without exception" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 31, p 170).

This Leninist thesis is at the base of the new work on proletarian internationalism published jointly by the CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the BCP Central Committee BCP History Institute. This is the first time that the history of the movement of fraternal international solidarity of the working people of the USSR and Bulgaria in defense of the gains of the Great October Revolution is covered by Soviet and Bulgarian historiography so extensively in this two-volume work. The book includes 723 documents the overwhelming majority of which previously unpublished. The comments and footnotes cite almost as many sources. Therefore, all in all, the collection introduces in scientific circulation some 1,500 documents. Together with rare documents the illegible text of which was difficult to decipher we find many unique photographs.

On the basis of extensive data, the first volume describes the political and combat activities of the Bulgarian internationalists in Soviet Russia during the foreign military intervention and the civil war, the participation of Bulgarians in the struggle waged by the Russian proletariat for establishing

and strengthening the Soviet system in the center and the local areas, such as Moscow, the Ukraine, Moldavia and other areas in the south of Russia and the founding and activities of the Bulgarian group within the RKP (b). Many documents deal with the heroic mutiny of the crew of the Bulgarian cruiser "Nadezhda," who refused to act against Soviet Russia.

The use of such an extensive number of new sources and their thorough study have made it possible to refine and correct a number of aspects of this problem, which had been improperly interpreted in Soviet and foreign historiography.

The second volume deals with the role of the October Revolution in the development of the revolutionary movement in Bulgaria. It describes in detail the upsurge of the revolutionary movement in Bulgaria under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the process of the establishment and organization of the party of left-wing socialists and its rejection of the influence of Western European social democratic reformists and centrists and the passing of the BCP and its leaders -- D. Blagoev, G. Kirkov, V. Kolarov, Kh. Kabakchiev and G. Dimitrov -- under the banner of the October Revolution and Leninism. The profound process of bolshevization of the BCP is clearly traced in the works of the leaders of the Bulgarian communists and the party documents included in the collection.

This joint work describes on an extensive documentary basis the first steps of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Worker Party (left-wing socialists) -- the Bulgarian Communist Party since 1919 -- in its creative application of the experience of the October Revolution under Bulgarian conditions. Many documents convincingly prove the establishment of direct contacts between the bolshevik party and the BCP, Lenin's encounters and close contacts with noted leaders of the Bulgarian communist movement and the support which the bolshevik party, headed by Lenin, gave to the struggle waged by the Bulgarian proletariat for national independence and social liberation.

The work under review shows the collective creative work of the scientists in both countries, and will unquestionably contribute to the strengthening of Soviet-Bulgarian friendship.

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BOOKSHELF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 83 (signed to press 11 Oct 83) p 128

[Text] 1. "Plenum Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS, 14-15 Iyunya 1983 Goda" [CPSU Central Committee Plenum, 14-15 June 1983]. Minutes. K. M. Bogolyubov and B. I. Stukalin responsible for publication. Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, 222 pp.

2. "Resheniya Partii i Pravitel'stva po Khozyaystvennym Voprosam" [Party and Government Resolutions on Economic Problems]. Collection of Documents. Vol 14. April 1981 - December 1982. K. M. Bogolyubov and M. S. Smirnyukov general editors. Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, 703 pp.

3. Zagladin, V. V. "KPSS i Mezhdunarodnoye Kommunisticheskoye Dvizheniye" [The CPSU and the International Communist Movement]. Znaniye, Moscow, 1983, 64 pp ("CPSU -- Vanguard of the Soviet People Series").

4. Zadokov, K. I. "Tri Revolyutsii v Rossii i Nashe Vremya" [The Three Russian Revolutions and Our Time]. Third revised and enlarged edition. Mysl', Moscow, 1983, 640 pp.

5. Ivanov, Ye. A. and Kotov, F. I. "Sovetskaya Ekonomika v Odinnadtsatoy Pyatiletke i v Perspektive" [The Soviet Economy During the 11th Five-Year Plan and in the Future]. Ekonomika, Moscow, 1983, 216 pp.

6. Il'ichev, L. F. "Istoricheskiy Materializm" [Historical Materialism]. Problems of methodology. Nauka, Moscow, 1983, 255 pp.

7. "Kratkiy Politicheskiy Slovar'" [A Short Political Dictionary]. By a group of authors. L. A. Onikova and N. V. Shishlina compilers and general editors. Third enlarged edition. Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, 367 pp.

8. "Kuba: Stroitel'stvo Sotsializma" [Cuba: The Building of Socialism]. Economic and sociopolitical aspects. A. D. Bekarevich responsible for publication. Nauka, Moscow, 1983, 288 pp.

9. Nenarokov, A. P. and Proskurin, A. V. "Voley Narodov" [By the Will of the Peoples]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, 238 pp with illustrations.

10. "XI S'yezd Kommunisticheskoy Partii Gretsii" [Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of Greece]. 12-19 December 1982. K. A. Shemenkov general

translation editor. Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, 142 pp (Documents and materials of foreign communist and worker parties).

11. "Pis'ma Slavi i Bessmertiya" [Letters of Glory and Immortality]. Letters by revolutionaries who fell in the struggle for a proletarian revolution and victory of the Soviet system in Russia between 1905 and 1922. Compiled by V. A. Kondrat'yev. Third enlarged edition. Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, 286 pp with illustrations.

12. "Povysheniye Roli Pervichnykh Partiynykh Organizatsiy v Razvitii Obshchestvennoy i Proizvodstvennoy Aktivnosti Trudyashchikhsya, Ukrepleni Distsipliny, Sovershenstvovani Stilya Raboty" [Upgrading the Role of the Primary Party organizations in the Development of the Social and Production Activeness of the Working People and Strengthening Discipline and Improving the Work Style]. Materials of the All-Union Practical Science Conference. Tbilisi, 7-9 April 1983. General editors: V. M. Nikiforov, P. K. Luchinskiy, N. A. Zolotarev and I. A. Shvets. Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, 319 pp.

13. "V S'yezd Kommunisticheskoy Partii V'yetnama" [Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam]. Hanoi, 27-31 March 1982. General translation editor Ye. P. Glazunov. Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, 287 pp (Documents and materials of foreign communist and worker parties).

14. "Rabochiy Klass v Mirovom Revolyutsionnom Protsesse" [The Working Class in the World Revolutionary Process]. Yearbook. A. A. Galkin responsible editor. Nauka, Moscow, 1983, 340 pp.

15. "Razoruzheniye -- Veleniye Vremeni" [Disarmament Is the Imperative of the Times]. Documents and materials. Issues 1 and 2. Compiled by N. Prozhogin. Pravda, Moscow, 1983. No 1, 96 pp; No 2, 128 pp.

16. "Sed'moy S'yezd Pisateley SSSR" [Seventh USSR Writers' Congress]. 30 June - 4 July 1981. Minutes. Editors: G. M. Markov, Yu. N. Verchenko, V. M. Ozerov et al. Sovetskiy Pisatel', Moscow, 1983, 607 pp.

17. Sergeyev, F. M. "Yesli Sorvat' Masku..." [Tearing Down the Mask...]. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency as it Is. Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, 320 pp.

18. "Sovetskaya Demokratiya" [Soviet Democracy]. Essay on its establishment and development. By a group of authors headed by V. M. Ivanov. Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, 288 pp.

19. Fedoseyev, P. N. "Filosofiya i Nauchnoye Poznaniye" [Philosophy and Scientific Knowledge]. Nauka, Moscow, 1983, 464 pp.

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