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JPRS-UKO-86-017

7 NOVEMBER 1986

USSR Report

KOMMUNIST

No 10, JULY 1986

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Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

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USSR REPORT

KOMMUNIST

No 10, July 1986

[Translation of KOMMUNIST, the Russian-language theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).]

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PUBLICATION DATA

English title : KOMMUNIST, No 10
July 1986

Russian title : KOMMUNIST

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Publishing House : Izdatelstvo "PRAVDA"

Place of Publication : Moscow

Date of Publication : July 1986

Signed to press : 25 June 1986

Copies : 1,026,000

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"Kommunist", 1986

INFORMATION REPORT ON THE PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 86 (signed to press 25 Jun 86) pp 3-4

[Text] The regular CPSU Central Committee Plenum was held on 16 June 1986.

The following questions were discussed at the plenum:

On the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the tasks of the party organizations, related to its implementation;

On the results of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact Members, which was held in Budapest on 10-11 June 1986.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee delivered a report on these questions.

The following participated in the plenum debates:

Comrades V.I. Vorotnikov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; V.V. Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee; B.N. Yeltsin, first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom; V.M. Malykhin, head of electricians' brigade at the Volga Automotive Vehicles Plant imeni 50-Letiya SSSR; V.G. Kolesnikov, Minister of Electronics Industry; Yu.F. Solovyev, first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom; S.V. Kolpakov, USSR minister of ferrous metallurgy; N.N. Slyunkov, first secretary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee; Yu.N. Trofimov, first secretary of the Kazakh CP Aktyubinsk Obkom; V.S. Murakhovskiy, chairman of the USSR State Agroindustrial Committee; N.S. Yermakov, first secretary of the Kemerovo CPSU Obkom; V.N. Golubeva, director of the Ivanovo Weaving Factory imeni S.M. Kirov; B.K. Pugo, first secretary of the Latvian CP Central Committee; V.I. Kalashnikov, first secretary of the Volgograd CPSU Obkom; G.I. Usmanov, first secretary of the Tatar CPSU Obkom; M.S. Shkabardnya, minister of instrument making, automation equipment and control systems; D.I. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee; and B.V. Balmont, minister of machine tool and tool building industry.

The plenum approved the draft State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the concepts and conclusions of the

CPSU Central Committee Politburo presented in Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's report, aimed at the implementation of the party's economic strategy formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress. The submission of the 5-year plan for consideration by the USSR Supreme Soviet was deemed expedient.

The plenum participants unanimously adopted an appeal by the CPSU Central Committee to the working people in the Soviet Union on mounting a nationwide socialist competition for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plans for the 12th 5-year period.

The plenum highly rated the results of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact members, which was held in Budapest, and fully approved the activities of the Soviet delegation to that conference.

The decrees adopted by the plenum on said items are published in the press.

The plenum considered and approved motions submitted by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo on organizational problems related to holding the fifth session, 11th convocation, of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

With this the CPSU Central Committee Plenum concluded its proceedings.

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CSO:1802/16

SPEECH BY M.S. GORBACHEV, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE. ON THE 5-YEAR PLAN FOR THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR IN 1986-1990 AND THE TASKS OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS RELATED TO ITS IMPLEMENTATION.

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 86 (signed to press 25 Jun 86) pp 5-36

[Report by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary]

[Text] Comrades:

Today we shall discuss the implementation of the general line formulated at the congress, sum up preliminary results, draw lessons from the post-congress work and define the forthcoming party tasks.

Naturally, a short time has passed since the congress. However, this has been a very important period and the tasks which face society today are too important not to keep steady track of the pulse-beat of changes, and check our thoughts and plans with the real course of life. Briefly, it is a question of the essence of the time, of the way the energy of thought turns into the energy of action, a question of the obstacles and difficulties we are encountering and of the way we must act in the future.

Soviet society was set into motion in all areas--political, economic and spiritual--after the 27th CPSU Congress. Social development was given a powerful dynamic charge, which led to an influx of political self-consciousness by the masses. The atmosphere of strictness, exigency and truthfulness which prevailed at the congress is having a mobilizing effect on all practical matters. The Soviet people are warmly responding to innovative initiatives, supporting them and firmly seeing to it that reorganization is comprehensive and practical. All of this proves that the ideas expressed at the congress are firmly becoming part of the public consciousness and are objectively predetermining the irreversibility of processes under way.

Today we are even more convinced that the decisions which were passed at the congress were correct and consistent with the crucial nature of the present. They must play a special role in the destinies of the country and socialism as a whole which, naturally, will have far reaching consequences in all global developments. We have a complete and specific concept of the scale and depth of the changes initiated on the party's initiative and the various

difficulties which are as yet to be surmounted. We are also able better see our present and potential possibilities.

Interest in the congress is not diminishing abroad. It is particularly deep in the socialist countries. The decisions of the congress have become an efficient incentive in the struggle for peace and social progress. The approval and support of our friends convince us of the accuracy of our chosen course and remind us of our high responsibility for its systematic and purposeful implementation.

Realistically thinking people in the nonsocialist part of the world as a whole were able to see yet once again that our extensive plans for socioeconomic development are inseparably related to a type of foreign policy aimed at peaceful building and all-round international cooperation.

A different reception was given to our plans by the forces of militarism and aggression, headed by U.S. reactionary circles. Today they are fighting against the Soviet initiatives aimed at improving the international situation and shaping the type of international relations consistent with the nature of the nuclear-space age with increased hostility.

In general, comrades, taking into consideration internal tasks and external conditions, we must consider the key problems of the 5-year plan, which is the main frame of our work for the next few years and in the longer term.

We have entered a stage of post-congress activities in which we must display the ability to reorganize and build, to seek new ways and methods and not be satisfied with accomplishments even for a minute. Today the main criterion of assessments is attaining a dynamic pace of economic development, high-efficiency indicators and major positive changes in the social area. We will be judged not only by our plans but above all by the real changes in society, by the practical results.

I. First Lessons of the Reorganization

Comrades: We must approach our assessment of the activities of all party committees and soviet and economic bodies, social organizations and labor collectives from the viewpoint of practical accomplishments and results.

It is this specific approach that will enable us accurately to find our way not only in what is taking place but also in how to shape practical accomplishments in the future. This is necessary also because in real life, as we can see, not only positive trends develop although, naturally, they predominate in society, but there also are hindering factors encountered in the course of the reorganization. Occasionally they objective; most frequently, however, they are the products of inertia, old customs and a stagnant mentality.

Today those who have firmly adopted the views of the 27th Congress, who have energetically joined in the work, who spare neither time nor efforts, who seek and find their proper place in the reorganization process, are actively proving themselves. There also are many comrades who politically realize the

need to adopt a new work style but are simply ignorant as to how to accomplish this in practical terms. They must be given comprehensive assistance. Nor can we ignore those who have still not understood the essence of forthcoming changes and who are either waiting out or questioning the success of the economic and political change planned by the party.

The congress' stipulation of developing the creativity of the masses as the basis of acceleration is having a deep impact on society. This concept is most closely related to the struggle for social justice, development of democracy, total openness, and eliminating all manifestations of petit bourgeois mentality from life. The Soviet people are becoming more interested in politics, economics, culture, morality and social life. This is having a noticeable influence on labor and political activeness and on strengthening discipline and order in the country.

The organization and patriotism of the Soviet people was manifested with exceptional strength during emergencies, as was the case with Chernobyl. The breakdown at the nuclear power plant was a severe trial. Workers, fire fighters, engineers, physicians, scientists, militia personnel and soldiers proved their firmness, dedication and courage during that difficult period.

The entire country rose to the elimination of the consequences of the accident. The CPSU Central Committee and the local party and soviet organizations are receiving a tremendous number of petitions requesting assignment to Chernobyl. A voluntary collection of funds for families in trouble has become widespread. Many labor collectives have pledged to work several shifts the proceeds of which will be donated to the victims.

Allow me, on behalf of our plenum, to express my profound condolences to the families of those who died and the warm gratitude to all those who, risking their lives, struggled with the accident and are dedicatedly eliminating its consequences today.

Comrades: difficult problems arise in front of us in all areas of socioeconomic development. Naturally, it would be naive to expect that the lagging and shortcomings which took years to accumulate can be surmounted in a few months. The trend toward an increased pace of economic development is noticeable, however. We relate this above all to the active efforts of the people and the positive processes taking place in the society.

Compared with the same period in 1985, in the first 5 months of this year industrial output increased by 5.7 percent. Changes have taken place in sectors which had been lagging for many years, such as the coal mining industry, ferrous metallurgy and railroad transportation. Enterprises in the timber, timber processing and cellulose-paper industry have begun to work better. So far the petroleum workers are not coping with their difficulties but here as well encouraging trends have appeared. A number of sectors in the machine building complex are developing dynamically. Intensive work is taking place in the agrarian sector.

Energetic work has been deployed by the party, soviet and economic bodies and labor collectives in a number of oblasts and krays in the Russian Federation,

the Ukraine, Belorussia, the Baltic area and elsewhere, proving in fact what can be achieved with the development of initiative and the establishment of a creative practical atmosphere at the enterprises.

What is the most essential feature now? It is to consolidate the growth rates which have been achieved and to increase them further. This is realistic but will require great efforts, particularly if we take into consideration the fact that we are at the very beginning of the reorganization: not everything has already been accomplished on the organizational level; the economic levers and incentives which must have a decisive impact on the course of further changes for the better in the national economy are still not operating at full capacity.

The study of changes in the economy would be by no means complete if, along with unquestionable successes we failed to point out weaknesses, aspects which are hindering us. I would say that the reorganization itself is still being sluggish. As in the past, rushing is blossoming at many enterprises and the old slogan prevails: Fulfill the plan at all cost. A turn toward quality, efficiency and new management methods is taking place with difficulty and painfully. Today, however, it must be made extremely clear that the Central Committee will firmly follow a line of supporting anything that is healthy, anything consistent with the decisions of the congress, which, in fact, means reorganization and progress. We shall struggle with equal firmness against anything which hinders this process.

The new developments which were initiated at the April 1985 plenum and were expanded in the resolutions of the 27th Congress are related to a profound restructuring not only of the economy but the entire society. This process is not simple. It demands the efforts and major changes in the mentality of cadres and all working people. To a certain extent we have been able to surmount the passiveness, to enhance responsibility and organization and to provide greater scope for initiative. Nevertheless, at enterprises, in management, in scientific institutions and creative collectives and in the activities of party and soviet bodies the reorganization process is experiencing hitches, the old approaches are pulling things back and the inertia remains powerful.

We encounter cases in which words take the place of actions, criticism is not followed by practical conclusions and self-criticism assumes the form of self-flagellation. Some managers are generous in their statements about openness and accurately discuss the role of the collective and the development of democratic principles in life; the trouble is that it all ends there. It is precisely thus that the illusion of reorganization develops: in words everything seems in order but no real changes take place. That is what makes the reorganization inefficient.

The time since the congress has indicated that the pace at which we are advancing and mastering new economic management methods is greatly slowed down by the cumbersomeness and inefficiency of the administrative apparatus. The reassigning of rights and obligations among central economic departments and ministries, on the one hand, and enterprises, production associations and labor collectives, on the other, is taking place rather painfully.

Although the functions of management bodies have been changed, some managers are trying by all possible means to preserve command rights, although by now everyone should have understood the clear and simple concept that not even the most skilled machinery of a ministry or a department, considering the present scale of the economy, can undertake the successful solution of all problems and replace the creative thinking of labor collectives.

Another proof of the blind faith in the omnipotence of the apparatus is the fact that to this day requests for the creation of new management bodies and for additional personnel continue to be received by the central authorities. A number of republics, who are unjustifiably trying to duplicate the central management structure, have submitted proposals to the USSR Council of Ministers on setting up new ministries and departments, despite the fact that they already have 50 or more ministries and departments and other management bodies.

The past few months have convincingly proved that a reorganization in society is impossible without a reorganization of the party style and work methods on all levels. These problems must be discussed in greater detail and I intend to return to that.

For the time being, I would like to emphasize the tremendous role of the managers of party bodies in asserting the new style. The consistency and energy with which party work will be restructured greatly depend on their viewpoints and on their actions and behavior.

In this connection, let us particularly mention the role of the first secretaries of central committees of communist parties of union republics, kraykoms and obkoms and, naturally, the first secretaries of city and rayon party committees. It is precisely they who must set the tone in the work, demonstrate their broad political outlook and depth of understanding of the problems, their organizational capabilities, high degree of responsibility, criticism and self-criticism in their assessments, and party-mindedness in the loftiest meaning of the term. Only then could we rely on successful results and on the development of a creative atmosphere in the rayon, city, oblast or republic.

Comrades, what are the main conclusions from the first months of our work after the congress?

The main feature is that the party and the people are actively supporting the political line charted at the congress. The party itself is reorganizing as it organizes and unifies the working people. The past few months have proved yet once again that the reorganization affects everyone, from the rank-and-file party member to the Central Committee secretary, from the worker to the minister, from the engineer to the academician. It can be completed only if it becomes a nationwide project. Anything which hinders this must be firmly rejected.

Here is another important conclusion: directives, even the best of them, cannot replace the creativity of the masses. The reorganization presumes the all-round development of the initiative and autonomy of labor collectives and

all cadres. It is inadmissible under contemporary conditions for the center to resolve all problems. Furthermore, this is also practically impossible. Everyone must master this truth. The main responsibility for solving practical problems must be assumed by the labor collectives of enterprises and associations. Therefore, the creation of the necessary economic, legal and social conditions for successful activities and for the development of scientific and technical progress is the direct obligation of the central management authorities.

Finally, the post-congress period and recent events have confirmed most persuasively the principal significance of the lesson of truth which was discussed at the congress. Whatever the situation, we must remember Lenin's warning that "...Illusions and self-delusions are terrible and fear of truth is lethal" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 44, p 487). The party and the people need the entire truth, in major and minor matters. Truth alone can shape people with a developed sense of civic duty, whereas lies and half-truths distort the consciousness and the personality and prevent the formulation of realistic conclusions and evaluations, without which no active party policy is possible.

II. Decisive Stage in the Implementation of the Party's Economic Strategy

Comrades: We must consider the 5-year plan and the problems which the party and all working people in the country must solve for its implementation.

The 12th 5-Year Plan has been assigned a special role. The foundations that we shall lay during this period in the implementation of radical changes in the national economy and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress will determine the pace of socioeconomic development and the level of the people's well-being.

As you know, the drafting of the 5-year plan was no simple matter. The older methods of economic management and planning "from the base," as computations proved, had led the economy into a dead end. We spent a whole year in the persistent search for new approaches which would create conditions for increasing production intensification and upgrading the pace at which the achievements of science and technology could be put to practical use. The Basic Directions, which were consistent with the requirements of party contemporary economic and social policy, were submitted at the 27th Congress.

In drafting the 5-year plan we were consistent with the upper level of the assignments included in the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development in terms of the majority of quantitative and, above all, qualitative indicators. The draft plan was discussed profoundly and comprehensively by the Central Committee Politburo. It was approved and is being submitted to this plenum for its consideration.

What are the features of the plan to which we should pay attention?

Above all, let us point out that as a whole the plan is consistent with the stipulations of the 27th Congress. It calls for the concentration of forces and facilities on the key trends in the development of the economy, and

changes in structural and investment policy in the interest of public production intensification. The plan aims at upgrading national economic efficiency, active resource conservation, increased influence of economic levers and incentives, use of long-term norms and application of new methods in economic management.

The absolute increases included in the plan give a comprehensive idea of changes which will take place in the economy. The most important among them are 50 percent higher than the ones included in the preceding 5-year period. For example, the national income will increase by 124 billion rubles as against 79 billion reached during the 11th 5-year period. The growth of industrial output will total 200 billion rubles as compared to 133 billion and the average annual gross agricultural output, 29 billion as compared to 10 billion. It is important to emphasize in this connection that such increases are planned from the very first years of the 5-year period.

These high figures required a new approach to identifying the sources of economic growth. In this case, radical improvements in production efficiency indicators, based on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, will be decisive. This, comrades, is the base of the entire plan.

During the new 5-year period the share of the accumulation fund within the national income will be raised to 27.6 percent. This will create real prerequisites for increasing the absolute growth of capital investments. For the entire national economy, their growth rates will be increased from 15.4 percent for 1981-1985 to 23.6 percent. The plan stipulates an extensive program for the technical retooling and reconstruction of operating enterprises. Appropriations for such purposes will reach 70 percent, and their share in the overall volume of industrial capital investments will exceed 50 percent by the end of the 5-year period.

Production mechanization and automation will be developed on a broad scale and new technologies will be applied. All of this will create prerequisites for improving working conditions and relieving more than 5 million people from manual labor by 1990, which will be more than double the figure reached during the previous 5 years. Major steps have been taken for the conservation of energy and material resources.

As a whole, comrades, the set of steps contemplated in the plan on implementing the achievements of science and technology and perfecting administrative and economic management methods will enable us to increase the average annual growth rates of the national income to 4.1 percent, or by nearly one-third compared to the preceding 5 years.

The implementation of a broad social program is planned on the basis of the accelerated development of the economy. Real per capita income will increase; the availability of food and consumer goods will improve; consumer services will be expanded and further improvements will be made in health care and education.

Particular attention is being paid to solving the housing problem. A total of 595 million square meters of better quality and more comfortable housing will

be built. Priority will be given to housing construction in the countryside. These are substantial steps which, however, should not pacify us. The search for ways of improving the housing conditions of Soviet people must be continued. All means and opportunities must be used and cooperative and individual construction must be actively encouraged.

Approximately four-fifths of the national income will be channeled into upgrading the well-being of the people. The country's defense power will be maintained on the necessary level.

Briefly, the 12th 5-Year Plan is a major step in the implementation of the economic and social policy formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress. Essentially, it is a program of activities for each sector and republic, for the entire national economic complex and the entire society. The Politburo believes that all the necessary reasons exist for the Central Committee plenum to approve this plan and to instruct the Council of Ministers to submit it for consideration at the USSR Supreme Soviet session. N.I. Ryzhkov will report it to the deputies.

a. The Errors of the Past Must Not Be Repeated

In objectively assessing the plan, we must frankly say that intensive work will be required for its implementation. We must reach the planned levels and carry out the new reconstruction of the national economy in such a way as to create conditions for the further growth of its efficiency. All of this, comrades, must be accomplished within the next 5 years.

Of late we have been able somewhat to improve work results. However, this was accomplished above all with the help of reserves which, as the saying goes, were on hand. In order to ensure long-term and stable success, we must be concerned with taking more radical steps. Experience in building socialism teaches that during crucial times of social development we must boldly make sharp turns and have no fear of decisive changes.

All of us know what Russia's economy was on the eve of the Great October Revolution. Its volume of industrial output did not exceed 12.5 percent of the U.S. level. It was entirely clear to Lenin and the Bolshevik Party that socialism will be able to come out victorious only through a radical restructuring of the economy and reaching the highest possible labor productivity. From the very start of the Soviet system the party launched a struggle for the radical renovation of the national economy using all opportunities to this effect. On the basis of the Leninist plan for building socialism, within a short time our people laid a material and technical foundation for industry, the nucleus of which consisted of plants operating with equipment considered advanced at that time. Sectors which ensured faster technical progress were created and large-scale retooling of the production process was energetically carried out. The all-round development of progressive science and education and the training of skilled scientific and technical cadres assumed high national economic priority.

It was precisely on that basis that a high pace of economic and social development was made possible. The once backward peasant country emerged

among the leading industrial states in the world within an extremely short historical period. By the 1950s, despite the tremendous losses suffered in the war, our volume of industrial output had reached 30 percent and, by 1970, 75 percent of the American level. The Soviet national income reached two-thirds of the U.S. level.

During the 1970s and 1980s, however, to a certain extent we lost our former dynamism. The economy was unable promptly to convert from extensive to intensive development. National economic planning was carried out by inertia, on the basis of the "attained level." Departmental interests hindered the transfer of capital investments and resources into promising sectors. The gross-output approach to economic assessments distorted the real situation and gave false indications concerning its status.

Our production structure remained unchanged and inconsistent with the requirements of scientific and technical progress. The Soviet Union is extracting iron-ore and smelting steel in amounts significantly higher than in the United States but with significantly lesser volumes of machine building output; it procures an equal amount of timber yet the volume of timber products is lesser. Each unit of growth of the national income and of industrial and agricultural output demands of us greater resources under the existing circumstances.

In order to correct the situation we must clearly see the reasons for the lagging which was allowed to occur. Essentially, they are found in the major errors made in the policy of capital investments. Totally without justification, one 5-year period after another, the growth of investments was being reduced. As a result, basic machine building sectors, such as machine tool and instrument building, computers and the production of advanced construction materials were not developed as they should. Furthermore, capital construction was inefficient, completion time for projects was lengthened and amounts of uninstalled equipment mounted.

We consider the fast growth and accumulation of basic production capital in the country a major accomplishment. Generally speaking, this is accurate. However, comrades, we cannot fail to see that for a number of years negative trends in their reproduction increased. The unjustified attraction to building new enterprises and neglecting the needs of operating ones became a firm aspect of the practices of the planning bodies and many ministries. Most machines and equipment went to the new projects while obsolete equipment was virtually not replaced on time at operating plants and factories. The process of renovating capital assets was too slow and their obsolescence worsened.

Excessive increase in the volume of repairs was one of the negative consequences of the extensive reproduction of capital assets. In industry alone equipment repairs amounted to 10 billion rubles; more than 3 billion of that was on maintaining over-aged equipment.

Let us also point out that this approach slows down the turnover of the country's metal availability. Instead of promptly resmelting obsolete machinery, the metal remains frozen in ineffective equipment which undergoes repeated expensive repairs. In order to produce new equipment we are forced

to increase the production of pig iron, steel and rolled metal and the extraction of iron ore, coal and other minerals.

Finally, the extensive forms of increasing basic production assets led to a fictitious scarcity of manpower. To this day some people are holding on to this life belt in explaining the reasons for low growth rates, failure of contract procurements and nonfulfillment of plans. Naturally, we are aware of the country's demographic situation. We could legitimately ask, however, why is it that if there is a scarcity of manpower are they continuing to build ever new enterprises, based on obsolete equipment at that, and frequently producing outdated goods?

The actual situation this: today industry alone has some 700,000 vacancies, with an almost total system of one-shift equipment use. Should the shift coefficient reach the figure of 1.7, the number of vacancies in industry would exceed 4 million. Tens of billions of rubles have been spent to develop up such capacities. Meanwhile, the old equipment continued to be used at the operating enterprises and there are no workers for the new enterprises. The funds have been used without proper returns. Comrades: I deem it necessary at this plenum to draw particular attention to the fact that shortcomings in investment policy have had their worst effect on the development and technical standards of machine building sectors.

In terms of the overall volume of investments, the share of capital investments in machine building was unjustifiably reduced. Both planning bodies and ministries had a hand in this. The prestige of engineering work was undermined and world-famous domestic schools of developers of technology went to waste. A vicious philosophy of imitation and mediocrity developed, as the result of which some commodities are below modern scientific and technical standards.

What is the matter, comrades, what are the roots of the current situation with the technical standard of the machines we are making? They lie, above all, in the fact that, essentially, so far we have failed to make a systematic study of the latest accomplishments throughout the world. Reaching the high level of quality and reliability was virtually ignored in designing new equipment. It is true that of late analogies have been applied in assessing the quality of equipment. However, the adopted standards did not include the latest foreign models. This is a sad example of antediluvian thinking and whitewashing on the part of those who are responsible for the creation of the necessary equipment. Who are these people misleading? Their own people, apparently.

To a certain extent, the orientation toward a medium and even a low technical quality of output was legitimized by existing standards. The system of standards did not mobilize the designers to seek new solutions. It did not prevent the production of obsolete equipment. Clearly, the fact that in a number of scientific research institutes and design bureaus a kind of inferiority complex had developed also played a role. The low creative results were justified by the fact that it is allegedly impossible to work better. Furthermore, not everything was satisfactory in stimulating the work of scientists, designers and engineers.

For many years no proper attention was paid to the development of scientific research and experimental facilities and the necessary capital investments and resources were not channeled into these areas. Understandably, all of this could not fail to influence the technical standards of machine building and the pace of scientific and technical progress.

Such was, comrades, the situation which preceded the April plenum. It was comprehensively analyzed by the Central Committee and the measures which were formulated were approved unanimously by the plenum and the party congress. Let me once again tell those who are trying to pull us back: we cannot and shall not tolerate such efforts and must block any effort to duplicate the previous approaches and errors, above all in the realm of scientific and technical progress.

I am convinced that the Central Committee plenum will adopt a principle-minded line on this basic problem of our domestic policy and support all the necessary steps which will be taken by the Politburo and the government to revolutionize the development of our economy and take it to the cutting edge of scientific and technical progress. We have already had the opportunity to speak of the responsibility which is assumed in this connection by the members of the Central Committee, who were elected at the 27th CPSU Congress. Comrades, we must not avoid this historical responsibility.

What must be done first of all to fulfill in the best possible way the stressed 12th 5-Year Plan and to create the necessary prerequisites for the further acceleration of scientific and technical progress?

b. Accelerate Reconstruction and Energetically Develop Machine Building

We directly link the main aspects of the implementation of the party's economic strategy with a reorientation in our investment and structural policy: increasing the share of capital investments in reconstruction and technical retooling of existing enterprises, accelerating the development of machine building and shortening the investment cycle.

We have recently taken substantial measures relative to the radical problems of economic development. This applies to decrees on the radical reconstruction of metallurgy, the further chemization of the national economy, modernization of machine building, faster development of computers, use of flexible production systems, rotary lines and automatic design systems, industrializing capital construction, and perfecting cost estimates. The main areas in resource conservation were defined. The implementation of an array of measures aimed at upgrading production quality in all economic sectors is of tremendous significance. Finally, good prerequisites have been established for converting to the new economic management methods.

The purpose of the decisions which were made is to convert our economy to intensive development on the basis of the accelerated application of the achievements of science and technology. Comrades, all such work must be carried out decisively and in all areas. Naturally, now we must operate within the stipulations of the 5-year plan. Within this framework we have .pa

tremendous possibilities of further increasing the processes of economic intensification and upgrading its efficiency.

Speaking of reserves, let me begin with the problems of the better utilization of basic production capital and optimizing its reproduction. This, comrades, is a decisive part of the wealth of the socialist society and the material base of our economic potential. We must bring order in the utilization of capital assets as well, and ensure a truly proprietary and efficient attitude toward them and toward efficient reproduction.

We must significantly improve the quality of economic indicators, above all in the growth of labor productivity and capital returns, by accelerating the modernization of production capital, getting rid of its obsolete part faster and making more intensive use of technically advanced machines and equipment, which would include an increase in the shift coefficient. By radically updating productive capital and reducing the scale of new construction we shall be able to release substantial capital funds for the accelerated development of the social area, housing construction above all.

Comrades, it is a question of possibilities on a tremendous national economic scale, existing in the main areas of the party's contemporary economic policy. They are not the result of abstract considerations but of real practice, proven, in particular, by the initiative of the Leningrad party organization.

In developing ways for further production intensification, the Leningrad Party Obkom analyzed the draft economic plans of industrial enterprises for the 12th 5-year period. It turned out that the overwhelming majority of ministries were pursuing their line of extensive development of subordinate enterprises in the oblast. About 40 percent of capital investments were allocated for new construction and expanding existing capacities. Meanwhile, the scale of technical retooling of output remained clearly inadequate. After a comprehensive study of the situation, the CPSU obkom reached the right conclusion that the new and progressive share of the productive capital must be used in two- or three-shift work and, on this basis, fulfill the 12th 5-Year Plan. The obsolete equipment must be written off and the released areas used for the development of contemporary production facilities. According to the estimates of the Leningrad comrades, this amounted to about 3 million square meters of production area. The share of progressive equipment in the machine fleet of the city and the oblast will double by the end of the 5-year period through the renovation of machines and equipment. The quality of industrial indicators will be improved.

Decisively curtailing new construction will allow the people of Leningrad to reduce capital investments for such purposes. Some of the saved funds will be used for the technical reconstruction of enterprises but mainly for increasing housing construction and improving the urbanization of towns and settlements. This is how major technical-economic and social problems are being solved on a comprehensive basis. As you know, the Central Committee Politburo considered and approved the suggestions of the Leningrad Party Obkom and believes that they provide a very promising possibility of accelerated development of public production. This initiative is of national significance. It is an efficient way which must be followed by industry elsewhere in the country.

Today we consider a conversion to two-shift work an important initiative. Let us point out that in many countries this working system has long been the norm. Enterprises at the leading edge of scientific and technical progress work, in such countries, in two or even three shifts. This is a manifestation of the aspiration to make maximal use of progressive equipment and quickly replace it with even more efficient one. People on the evening and night shifts receive wage differentials. Our central departments must study this problem without delay and submit suggestions on material incentives for people working the afternoon and night shifts. We are relying on the active and constructive participation of the AUCCTU in this important national project.

At the very beginning of the discussion of the Leningrad initiative, occasionally, the view was expressed that converting machine building enterprises to two- or three-shift work would be no simple matter. The task is indeed difficult. However, we have the right to ask the following: Why is it that people can work in three shifts at an uninterrupted production facility, such as metallurgy and chemistry and even in the food and textile industries in which, incidentally, female labor predominates? Therefore, why is it that enterprises in machine building and metal processing, where labor conditions are by no means worse, work as a rule on a one-shift basis?

The Politburo believes that all ministries and departments, with the participation of local party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol bodies, must immediately engage in practical work on production intensification, with the Leningrad initiative in mind. It is important in this respect to reorganize the work system in transportation, schools, kindergartens and the entire social area, in order to create the necessary conditions for efficient work.

Obviously, it makes sense in converting to multiple-shift work to guarantee to the oblasts, krays and republics that they can have the same overall volumes of capital investments for the 5-year period and the right to use the funds saved by reducing the amount of new industrial construction for the reconstruction of enterprises and the development of the sociocultural area. In turn, they must guarantee the implementation of the 5-year assignments. Incidentally, some party and soviet managers have already formulated such suggestions. I believe that they deserve our support.

One of the gravest problems of the new 5-year period is the accelerated technical retooling of existing production facilities. The plan calls for drastically upgrading the share of capital investments for such purposes. Here as well a number of additional levers and opportunities become available. The CPSU Central Committee highly rated the initiative of AvtoVAZ and the Sumy Scientific-Production Association which, by mobilizing internal sources for improving the organization and method of economic management, set themselves the task of reaching the leading edge of technical progress, upgrade the quality of output and, at the same time, achieving high economic indicators. A number of other enterprises are undertaking to follow their experience. Next year, more than 200 large industrial enterprises will convert to the principles of self-financing and self-recovery of investments.

The labor collectives of production associations such as ZIL, Leningradskiy Metallicheskiy Zavod, the plant for synthetic rubber in Voronezh, the Knitted

Goods Association imeni Roza Lyuksemburg in Kiev, the Ekranas Plant in Panevezhis, LiSSR, and hundreds of other collectives are successfully applying possibilities of upgrading efficiency at each work place.

Many enterprises in the machine-tool building industry are being reorganized for the production of the most advanced machines and equipment which can comprehensively increase productivity and ensure high production quality. They include machine tool building associations and enterprises in Leningrad, Ivanovo, Gomel, Odessa and Ulyanovsk.

The collectives of sectors in the instrument manufacturing and electronics industry have energetically joined in the accelerated development of computer and microprocessor equipment. Here real prerequisites have already been established for quickly solving the problem of mastering the production of high-efficiency computers and ensuring the large-scale production of means for the electronic development of machine building and other economic sectors. The number of computers which will be produced during the 12th 5-Year Plan will exceed that of the previous 5-year period by a factor of 2.4; this will include the manufacturing of 1.1 million personal computers.

The experience of the Belorussian railroad workers is becoming increasingly popular. Today 10 railroads in the country have converted to the new methods of labor organization and incentive. The implementation of this initiative of national importance will make the work of the transportation system stabler and, at the same time increase labor productivity and release about 100,000 working people. Such an innovative attitude shown by the labor collectives deserves high appreciation and active support. Generally speaking, a creative search is taking place in all economic sectors throughout the country.

However, industrial retooling and reconstruction, comrades, demand new approaches. You know what extensive reconstruction took place in the past at the big enterprises. Billions of rubles were spent on replacing obsolete equipment. Nevertheless, the necessary results were frequently absent. The low quality of design was one of the main reasons for this. Frequently they called for ineffective technology and backward organization of the work, and in many cases the only difference between new and old equipment was the year of its manufacturing.

What is the attitude of ministries toward problems of technical retooling now, during the reorganization period? What projects will be implemented during the new 5-year period?

A selective evaluation of reconstruction plans of enterprises of several industrial ministries was conducted on Central Committee instructions. What did it indicate? By no means can all plans be considered consistent with modern standards. Many of them must be reworked. Some of them are so obsolete that stopping the work already in progress on their implementation was recommended.

Here are a few example: the Ukgripromash Institute of the Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry designed the reconstruction of the Voznesensk Hydraulic Presses Plant. Look at its indicators: the size of its personnel

will more than quintuple while labor productivity will increase by no more than 70 percent. Furthermore, one-third of this growth will be the result of technical solutions and two-thirds of higher production prices.

Such actions are taking place elsewhere as well. The State Institute for Designing Textile Industry Enterprises drafted a plan for the reconstruction of the Cotton Fabrics Printing Factory of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry; one-half of the equipment here will consist of machines produced without any updating for more than 15 years. Such machinery cannot produce high-quality goods in the necessary variety or allow high labor productivity.

The question is: Where do such apologies for designers and ministry personnel who approved these designs want to take the country? Obviously, such designs can only compromise the idea of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and burden the economy with expenditures.

Generally speaking, comrades, the necessary lessons must be drawn from all of this. We must immediately, within the shortest possible time, submit to expert evaluations all plans for technical retooling and construction planned for the 12th 5-year period. Those which are inconsistent with the acceleration of scientific and technical progress must be firmly rejected and their implementation banned, and the released resources channeled into the production of advanced equipment.

It is above all the ministries, which must act as true technical headquarters of their sector, that must assume the greatest responsibility for the standards of plans for technical retooling and reconstruction. The attention of the ministers was drawn to such problems as early as during the June 1985 conference at which they were directly instructed to review the technical retooling and reconstruction plans.

Comrades, the approach to this matter must be changed decisively. We cannot allow for money in the billions to be invested in morally obsolete projects based on unsuitable technical solutions. It is not thus that we can achieve a contemporary world standard. We can no longer or, to put it more strongly, we have no right to accept this.

Everyone knows the gravity of the question of supplying the people with light industry goods. Some specialists have suggested that new enterprises be built to this effect. No one excludes this, particularly when it is a question of producing modern materials and goods. Essentially, however, the problem of increasing the production of such goods can be solved only on the basis of the technical retooling and reconstruction of light industry enterprises. The main thing is to find the proper solutions.

Here is what computations indicate: with the reconstruction of enterprises involving the utilization of the latest equipment and technology, we could increase their efficiency by 30-40 percent. Obviously, here is the way we should proceed: wherever such equipment is available, the reconstruction should be carried out energetically; wherever it is lacking, the reconstruction should take 2 to 3 years and the production of efficient equipment should be organized and delays be caught up on the basis of the new

production facilities. Generally speaking, the ministries and departments must approach such problems with a high degree of responsibility. They must not cling to the old methods if they wish to avoid being considered bankrupt in the eyes of the people.

Comrades: You well understand that the plans for the reconstruction of the national economy on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology are depend, in the final account, on machine building. It is precisely there that all topical economic problems are concentrated today. Without updating machine building rapidly or reorganizing it for the production of new systems of machines and progressive equipment for all economic sectors we shall be unable to solve the problems set at the congress.

The recently held conference between heads of machine building sectors and the CPSU Central Committee was to consider this problem. The discussion with the ministers was serious. It indicated that we cannot limit ourselves to the steps which were earmarked in the familiar decree on the development of machine building. Additional and no less extensive efforts must be made for the radical updating of the machine building complex. Suggestions on additional steps for accelerating the development of machine building were drafted on Central Committee instructions.

To begin with, the main trends were earmarked for considerably upgrading the technical standards of machines, equipment and instruments, increasing the production of items equipped with automated control facilities, drastically upgrading the production of specialized technological equipment for enterprise needs and substantially increasing the capacities of preparatory shops. Steps were taken for the further intensification of integration between science and production and for strengthening the experimental facilities of scientific research institutes and design bureaus.

The implementation of these measures will enable us to increase the share of the basic variety of goods by 80 to 95 percent by the year 1990, and that of newly developed items to virtually 100 percent. The conversion to the production of goods meeting the strictest possible requirements will take place in full between 1991 and 1993.

The share of equipment using microprocessors and the level of automation of design and engineering work will be increased sharply. The needs of the instrument manufacturing industry for modern electronic items will be met fully.

The pace at which machine building enterprises will be retooled will be accelerated; as much as 38-40 percent of the equipment produced in the country will be channeled into such purposes. By 1990 the production of special technological equipment for enterprise needs will total 4-4.2 billion rubles rather than 2.5 billion as initially planned.

The allocated capital investments for the development of the machine building complex are fully backed by funds allocated for contracting work, evenly broken down among by year within the 5-year period. With a view to concentrating capital investments on the most important areas of scientific

and technical progress and meeting stipulated construction deadlines, more than 100 construction projects in the machine building industry, the designs of which do not meet contemporary requirements will be temporarily halted.

Major steps will be taken to improve the economic mechanism in machine building. As of next next year the number of approved assignments aimed at intensifying the role of general indicators and standards, such as profits, increased labor productivity and reduced specific outlays for basic materials and resources will be drastically curtailed. Planning the production of machines and equipment in terms of tons will be eliminated. Solutions have been found to most problems which govern the interaction among sectors within the machine building complex, and other reserves for the further enhancement of technical production standards have been brought to light. The machine building industries were asked to complete the formulation of plans for the technical retooling of each enterprise and the sector as a whole on the basis of the extensive application of advanced scientific and technical achievements by 1986. The solution of problems related to ensuring the machine builders with high-quality advanced materials will require the additional development of capacities in related enterprises. This too shall be done.

The Politburo considered all such proposals, which it supported and which it is submitting for approval by the Central Committee Plenum.

You realize, comrades, that the implementation of such an exceptionally responsible and difficult program will require inordinate efforts and intensive and competent work. It must be done, for we have no other choice. Any other way would mean surrendering our positions and falling behind. The CPSU Central Committee cannot accept this.

We hope that the heads of the machine building ministries and the labor collectives will undertake the implementation of this most important governmental assignment with a feeling of complete understanding and proper responsibility. In remembering the lessons of the past, we must warn in advance anyone involved in implementing the program for updating machine building that no retreats from plans, no references to objective and subjective reasons will be admissible.

Comrades, in speaking of our work on the radical technical retooling and reconstruction of the national economy, we must not ignore the problems of capital construction. During the new 5-year period its volume will be tremendous. Nearly 1 trillion rubles will be allocated for such purposes. The cost of construction and installation work alone will exceed 500 billion rubles, or 20 percent above the amount spent during the 11th 5-year period.

Nevertheless, the situation in construction remains unsatisfactory and the reorganization process is dragging. Merely one-half of the construction trusts chronically fail to fulfill their plans and to meet deadlines for the completion of capacities and projects. The organizational structure of the management of construction projects suffers from serious defects. The creation of design-construction associations and firms for mass complete industrial construction of standardized projects has not exceeded the level of pious wishes.

In general, comrades, we must thoroughly undertake to perfect all construction work and make more extensive use of progressive experience.

Everyone is familiar with the successes of the Belorussian construction workers. During the 11th 5-year period the number of simultaneously constructed projects in the republic was reduced by 21 percent and the average construction time was reduced by a factor of 1.4. Substantial savings in labor and material resources were achieved and the commissioning of all target capacities and projects was secured. The overall volumes of capital construction increased by 19 percent and the installation of capital assets by 23 percent. This was done on the scale of the entire republic. However, this very successful experience has not gone beyond the Belorussian borders for the time being.

Good examples may be found in other parts of the country as well. In 1979 a construction brigade headed by Nikolay Ilich Travkin was set up in the Moscow area. Cost accounting principles, and self-management elements brought to light extensive opportunities and ensured good results. In 1983 a new general contracting organization was created on the basis of this collective--the PMK-96. Subsequently, the entire Mosobltselstroy Trust No 18, headed by N.I. Travkin, converted to cost accounting. Here are the results: last year the trust's collective had a construction output 50 percent higher than during the preceding year. Labor productivity increased by 25 percent and production costs declined by 12 percent. This trust, which operated at a loss in the past, earned nearly 1.5 million rubles in profits. Average wages increased by 11 percent.

It is also important to emphasize that the successes of the Belorussian and Moscow construction workers were achieved with virtually unchanged material facilities. That is why when we hear that shortages in capital construction are related to lack of manpower and transport facilities, such statements are of little value. Practical experience indicates that with available possibilities capital construction can be successfully carried out. All that is necessary is skillfully to handle whatever is available today to the construction workers and to display creativity and economic initiative.

It is obvious that capital construction must be radically reorganized. The time has come to consider responsible anyone in charge of mastery of progressive experience in this sector. Changes must be made in planning and organization of construction work and, naturally, material facilities must be updated.

c. Thrifty and Skillful Economic Management

Comrades: The 5-year plan includes many other reserves which could accelerate our progress. When we speak of the need for a profound reconstruction of the economy, we consider as one of its most important results a substantial improvement in production quality. The party congress formulated the problem of quality as a nationwide task. The CPSU Central Committee addressed a special letter to all working people. Today we can say quite confidently that the majority of Soviet people realize the need for finding an urgent solution of this most important problem.

Many labor collectives have gone firmly to work. Without particular outlays, and largely through a conscientious attitude toward the work, strengthening labor and technological discipline and implementing a number of urgent organizational and technical measures, of late enterprises, such as the machine tool building plant in Alma-Ata, the Machine Building Plant imeni I. Lauristin in Tallin, the Elektroizolit Association in Moscow Oblast, the Bakelektrobytpribor Production Association and others, have drastically reduced the number of complaints and ensured commodity output strictly in accordance with standards. Let me particularly emphasize that here changes in upgrading the quality of output have been obtained with virtually the same equipment.

Therefore, as of today, without waiting for the new equipment, one can and must take firm steps to improve the quality of machines, equipment and consumer goods. As you know, a special decree was passed by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers. The purpose of the technical and economic steps, production standardization and certification, price setting and the system of moral and material incentives is aimed at upgrading production quality. A governmental extradepartmental system of acceptance of commodities is being introduced at the enterprises.

It is very important for the party committees actively to support the activities of production collectives and state control and acceptance authorities, so that matters can show serious improvements within the shortest possible time. The experience of enterprises at which the system of extradepartmental acceptance was applied last year on an experimental basis indicates the realistic nature of this step.

Decisive changes must be made also in the utilization of material resources. A decree was also passed on that matter recently by the Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, formulating stressed assignments concerning the conservation of raw and other materials. Resource conservation is a decisive source for satisfying the growing needs for raw materials, materials, fuels and electric power. We are relying on such conservation for more than three-quarters of the growth of the national income this 5-year period.

This is an important task. However, not all economic managers, trapped by their old concepts, understand it. The Ministry of Automotive Industry, Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, USSR Ministry of Coal Industry, USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification and USSR Ministry of Light Industry are systematically failing to fulfill their assignments on the conservation of many types of resources. A large number of enterprises continue to permit losses of most valuable raw materials and products. Every year 13 billion cubic meters of petroleum gas is being uselessly burned. Millions of tons of coal are being lost in railroad transportation. There are substantial losses in agricultural commodities reaching, as a whole, nearly 20 percent of the total. And how much electric power, heat and water are wasted? The recycling of secondary resources remains poorly organized.

Let us openly say that we have reached a level beyond which such irresponsibility is not only intolerable but also unbearable. Scientific and technical policy, planning, and administrative and economic levers must be

applied to eliminate these established faults. We must mount a merciless struggle against waste and establish the strictest possible system of thrift. We must see to it that implementing assignments on resource conservation and level of utilization become one of the main criteria in assessing the work of each enterprise and collective.

We must supervise and encourage the conservation of raw and other materials more actively. Can it be considered normal that payments for resource conservation literally amount to a few kopeks? Naturally, this is totally unsuitable. It is also necessary to make thrift a habit, an organic feature of every working person. A feeling of thrift must be steadily developed among the growing generation at home and at school.

Comrades: The 5-year plan particularly emphasizes the development of the agroindustrial complex. Its indicators support the line adopted at the May 1982 Central Committee Plenum. The volumes of capital investments, output and material and technical supplies for the agroindustrial complex are essentially based on the level of the assignments of the Food Program. Enterprises engaged in processing and storing produce, and agricultural machine building will be given priority. In general, favorable conditions are being created for increasing the potential of the agrarian sector. Unquestionably, this is justified. However, we must also clearly realize that the huge resources directed into this area are still not yielding proper returns. The overall indicators with which the 11th 5-Year Plan was completed were low. This affected food supplies to the people and the pace of the country's economic development.

For the sake of objectivity, we must point out that of late positive changes have been noted in the agrarian sector. However, they are not taking place in all APK sectors and by no means in all oblasts, krays and republics. We are facing the urgent task of ensuring stable crop production, grain and feed crops in particular. This is the main problem the successful solution of which greatly determines the stable development of animal husbandry, kolkhoz and sovkhoz income and the economy of processing enterprises.

More work is needed in the agrarian sector in order decisively to change the situation for the better. Extensive possibilities to this effect exist, comrades. They are found, above all, in the tremendous potential which has already been created. In virtually all areas we have gained experience in efficient farming. Thanks to the steps taken to perfect the economic management system, the economic and organizational prerequisites for upgrading the labor activeness of the rural working people have been established.

Without going into details, let me reemphasize the main thing: the way to high productivity in fields and livestock farms runs through the extensive use of intensive technologies. This is not only the most realistic but also the most efficient way of achieving better results in crop growing and animal husbandry.

We must continue to concentrate our forces and funds on the decisive sectors of the APK. This is a reliable prerequisite for obtaining substantial returns on investments in the countryside. The experience of our country and others

proves that it would be expedient to concentrate resources in farms and areas in which the best results can be expected both from the viewpoint of the volume of output and of economic efficiency. In this connection, it makes sense to consider once again the reallocation of resources on the basis of specific volumes of output.

Work must also be done on the creation of scientific-production associations on the oblast and, wherever possible, even the rayon level, so that they must become catalysts for the accelerated development of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses in their zone and help them to apply progressive technologies and farming methods. This approach guarantees the efficient utilization of the economic potential and high end results.

Such experience is already available in Moldavia, the Ukraine and other republics. Here associations were established on the basis of zonal institutes and training and experimental farms. Similar experience has been acquired in a number of fraternal socialist countries. It would be expedient to make a profound study of it and to apply it more energetically.

If we intend to achieve major results in agroindustrial production we must not follow exclusively traditional methods. It is only by concentrating resources, giving priority to decisive areas and making skillful use of the advantages of the new economic mechanism and management structure that we shall be able to act efficiently, rapidly develop production and successfully implement the USSR Food Program.

Finally, comrades, our successes in the 12th 5-year period will depend on the further work to perfect management, the entire economic mechanism. The principles of this work have been defined. On the one hand, we must continue to strengthen the centralized principles in national economic management, to enhance the role of the Gosplan and the other economic departments and to refine the functions of ministries. On the other, we must comprehensively broaden the rights and economic autonomy, and enhance the responsibilities of enterprises and associations for the results of their work.

I think that everyone would agree with this now. However, the practical work aimed at implementing the principle of democratic centralism in management is not consistent with the present situation. We experimented and obtained encouraging results. However, we frequently remain idle at the point of their extensive dissemination. Many features of the economic mechanism system have already been tested and new developments must be put to practical use more daringly, acting along the entire front, as the saying goes. To this effect, in accordance with the basic stipulations of the 27th Congress, the central economic departments must draft and adopt the necessary documents for converting to the new economic management conditions faster.

The large number of instructions, regulations and methods which have accumulated in our country for decades must be revised in accordance with the requirements of the congress and the decrees passed subsequently; those which conflict with the restructuring must be decisively eliminated. Without this, comrades, we cannot advance. True centralism in management has nothing in common with comprehensive bureaucratic control over the life of production,

scientific and design collectives. The procedure which developed over a long number of years of confusing them with far-fetched instructions and methods deprives managers and developers of the opportunity efficiently to solve arising economic and technical problems.

As the result of this, the benefits lost to the state amount to many billions of rubles. Such phenomena are encountered at every step. They were written up by V.P. Belyakov, general director of the Kriogenmash Scientific-Production Association, B.I. Fomin, general director of the Elektrosila Association, V.I. Radin, chief designer at the Zavod imeni Vladimira Ilicha Association, and many other experienced economic managers, scientists and developers.

Order must be brought into this area and we must be concerned with the actual increase in the rights of labor collectives. To this effect we must complete drafting the Law on the Socialist Enterprise (Production Association) as soon as possible. This document must be based on the new conditions of economic management. It must sum up the experience acquired of late and consolidate the best features in pursuing the line of all-round expansion of economic independence and upgrading the role and responsibility of enterprises and production associations.

We shall thus lay the beginning of the optimal allocation of rights and obligations among ministries and enterprises. We shall legislatively protect labor collectives from petty supervision and bureaucratic administration and unjustified interference in their daily economic activities. This, comrades, will represent a major step forward in democratizing the management of our economy and enhancing the initiative of the working people.

As you know, the 27th Congress called for truly mastering economic methods in managing the national economy. In this connection, we must above all develop progressive norms and standards. The Gosplan must head this most important project, with the extensive participation of ministries, departments, scientists and specialists in associations and enterprises. This must not be delayed. We shall not be able to eliminate the oppression of the various types of instructions which paralyze activities of enterprises and we shall find it difficult to convert from administrative to economic management methods without developing substantiated economic standards. The lack of such standards would hinder the utilization of the principles of self-recovery and self-financing which we intend to apply increasingly.

Finally, let us mention the key importance of price setting in the development of economic management methods. A number of unsolved problems have accumulated in this area. The cost of machines and equipment and construction costs is being increased under the pretext of modernization. In frequent cases a variety changes and pursuit of "gross output" lead to unjustified price increases of consumer goods as well.

Unfortunately, state and economic bodies frequently shut their eyes at this and themselves become interested in increasing volumes of output as a result of playing "games" with prices. Investigations have shown that last year alone more than 100 million rubles illegally earned by enterprises were confiscated for violations of price-setting procedures.

Let me caution you, comrades, that this is an exceptionally dangerous trend. The artificial increase of prices does not cure an economic ill but merely corrupts the workers and hinders technical progress. Higher prices based on outlays conceal shortcomings in production technology and organization and lead to neglecting the search for efficient economic management methods.

A price increase is justified only if it is the result of substantial improvements in consumer quality or higher efficiency of goods. We must bring order in price setting. In this respect, the USSR State Committee for Prices must pursue a more efficient and principle-minded policy. Problems exist in perfecting the system of credits, bank loans above all. In converting to the new economic management methods, we must increase the role of the bank as the most important management body.

Let me particularly single out a problem without the solution of which we would hardly be able successfully to apply conservation technologies and eliminate economic work based on outlays. This applies to the notorious "gross output." A variety of assignments based on gross output indicators are among the most important ones in assessing the activities of sectors, regions and enterprises. In this case, for the sake of increasing the "gross output" frequent use is made of expensive materials, the weight of machines is increased, ton/kilometers pile up, intraeconomic turnover is inflated, etc. We may be struggling for efficiency but consider the truly stupid situation in which economic managers find themselves: if they produce an inexpensive item they are scolded for production shortfalls in terms of rubles; if they apply an innovation and save resources, once again they put the enterprise and even the entire sector at a disadvantage.

Let me cite the following example: 2.5 years ago an economic experiment was undertaken at automotive transport enterprises of a number of ministries. Its participants began to plan their work in such a way as to interest the people not in ton/kilometers but in the timely delivery of all types of freight based on orders at the lowest possible cost. The reasons which motivated economic managers to add fictitious tons and kilometers to their accounts were eliminated.

The results were the following: the implementation of orders--the most important indicator--reached 100 percent. The need for trucks and drivers declined and fuel outlays dropped by 18 percent. The comprehensive dissemination of such working conditions would enable us to release thousands of trucks and drivers on a national scale and save more than 5 million tons of motor fuel.

We may have expected that the planning bodies would adopt the new method. This did not happen. Some senior workers of the USSR and RSFSR gosplans took up the defense of the obsolete planning system. The point is that the already planned "gross output" and amounts of haulage would disappear. The planning workers were unwilling to acknowledge the fact that their estimates were unsuitable. This is an example of the rejection of the new, of unwillingness to undertake the restructuring of the economic mechanism and to abandon obsolete work methods.

Gross output indicators continue to dominate in many sectors. Furthermore, in construction, for example, efforts are being made to restore the "gross output," not without the approval of the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Ministry of Finance, as the basic evaluation indicator, despite the fact that the experience of the progressive construction organizations precisely proves that activities must be assessed and rewarded for finished output and for completing projects rather than for the volume of construction work. I believe, comrades, that the time has come to unravel this "gross-output knot." Otherwise we shall be unable to eliminate the mechanism based on outlays.

In considering management problems we must mention the responsibility of the USSR Gosplan for solving national economic problems raised by life. The Gosplan, which was intended to be the brain center of economic management, is largely continuing to perform the functions of a dispatcher. It frequently undertakes the solution of problems which could be quite properly solved by managers of sectors or even by enterprise directors. Meanwhile, it is failing in fulfilling its main purpose, that of being the country's strategic planning authority.

Current affairs distract it from seeking ways of solving basic socioeconomic problems, choosing proportions and priorities in national economic development, defining structural policy, deploying production forces and balancing the economy. That is why we have ignored a great many things. Generally speaking, planning must be substantially restructured.

Let me make particular mention of our foreign economic activities. Their structure and forms are inconsistent with contemporary conditions and the requirements of economic intensification. We must undertake without delay the profound restructuring of our foreign economic relations. We must upgrade the export potential of the processing industry within the shortest possible time.

These problems are not only economic but also to a great extent political. They affect the basic interest of our country and the other fraternal countries. In our relations with the socialist countries we must broaden the practice of establishing stable cooperation ties. We must more daringly convert to progressive types of production and close scientific and technical cooperation. As to strengthening the positions of the Soviet Union in the world market, the main problem here is drastically upgrading the competitiveness of Soviet goods by improving their quality and their technical and functional characteristics.

We know that the governments of all countries are granting maximal privileges to export enterprises. We should be no exception. We have promising sectors which, given proper attention and support, could offer their goods on foreign markets more actively. This, however, requires a profound restructuring of the forms of foreign economic relations. The existing mechanism is insufficiently flexible and is slow to react to the requirements and possibilities of the foreign customer. It is poorly adapted to efficient cooperation methods. The producers of goods for export are separated from the foreign market by departmental barriers and the economic and moral incentives for developing exports are weak.

The managing of foreign economic activities must be restructured as well. Participants in conferences of diplomatic personnel of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have sharply and, let us admit, justly raised the question of improving coordination among the activities of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the GKES, the GKNT and the other departments in that area. Briefly, there is urgent need for radical measures to improve foreign economic activities and to upgrade their efficiency and influence on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

Comrades: While discussing problems of the country's long-term planning and earmarking steps for the future, we must not ignore current tasks. Their proper implementation will determine the successful fulfillment of this year's plan and, consequently, of the entire 5-year plan. The rural working people today are particularly concerned. The results of the present year in the agrarian sector are of exceptional importance to us. As you know, in animal husbandry the results of the first 5-months of the year have been good. They must be consolidated.

The main task, however, is to grow and fully harvest the grain, fruit, vegetable, fodder and industrial crops. This is a nationwide project and that is the way it should be approached in our daily work. It is particularly important, despite the difficult conditions prevailing in many areas, to harvest and preserve everything that has been raised and to protect it from losses.

This is a crucial period in the activities of industry, capital construction and transportation. We must not allow any lowering of results in their work. We must try to increase the growth rates of output and strictly fulfill all plans. Timely preparations must be made for work during the winter period. Lessons must be drawn from the past. With this in mind, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers recently passed a decree defining specific steps aimed at preparing the national economy for the forthcoming autumn and winter season.

The party, soviet and economic bodies must concentrate as of now on its implementation. We must provide the necessary condition for ensuring full availability to town and country of vital necessities: reliable electric and heat supplies, repair of power units and the planned start-up of new capacities, and timely stockpiling of fuel at enterprises and in the communal economy. In a word, we must organize matters in such a way that regardless of circumstances the population would not be inconvenienced in its daily life, labor collectives would work under normal production conditions and the economy would develop on a stable basis, gathering speed.

Comrades, these are the views on essential and daily problems of economic policy, the solution of which will determine to a decisive extent the implementation of the broad program for the reorganization of the national economy during the 12th 5-Year Plan. The implementation of the 5-year plan will become a new proof of the dynamism and vital strength of the socialist system and a major step toward the implementation of the line formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress.

III. Active Reorganization of Party Work

Comrades: Whenever it became a question of the destinies of the country and the solution of vitally important problems affecting its present and future, Lenin emphasized that "the party is responsible" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 50, p 17).

Ours is a ruling party which holds powerful levers with which to influence social processes. The powerful party potential consists of theory and politics, and the ideas and strength of organization of millions of party members in production, management, science, technology and culture.

The activeness of millions of working people and the scope and depth of people's creativity, which is the decisive force of acceleration, greatly depend on the actions of the party organizations. It is only by putting man in the center of the party's work that we can solve the problems formulated at the congress. The principal meaning of the radical restructuring of our party work is that of turning to the people, to live action.

What has the time since the congress shown? The majority of party cadres accepted with understanding the ideas of reorganization and are beginning to put them to practical use; a new atmosphere of interrelationships has been developed between local and central party, soviet and economic bodies. Many practical problems are being solved faster, with better understanding. As far as openness and sharpness in the formulation of problems and the level of criticism and self-criticism are concerned, we have taken a step for the better.

The Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Donetsk, Chelyabinsk, Sumy and Tatar party organizations are engaged in production intensification on a profound and broad scale. Problems of developing the economy and the social area are being solved energetically and purposefully by the party members in Brest, Volgograd, Ulyanovsk, Kharkov, Irkutsk, Lipetsk, Rostov and many other oblasts, krays and republics.

Major steps are being taken by all party organizations. The search itself for new ways and means of work consistent with the present is not easy. We come across views that the stipulations formulated at the congress apply to the area of high politics while practical work should move along a usual. Let us note that such moods can still be found in party circles.

Let us take as an example the Kursk Oblast Party Organization. By no means have all of its rayons become imbued with a spirit of a creative attitude toward the work, criticism and self-criticism. The command work style has proved to be quite strong. In the Oktyabrskiy Party Raykom, for example, first secretary Comrade V.A. Anpilogov and other party workers were intolerant of criticism, protected "convenient" people and tried to conceal failures and, in order to present the real situation in a better light, frequently encouraged economic managers to pad figures, showing little concern for the development of initiative in the party organizations and in the labor and social activeness of the people. All of this was described to the central

newspaper by Comrade M.S. Shevelev, party organization secretary at the Krasnoye Znamya Kolkhoz.

Such faulty work methods could not be kept secret from the party obkom. Obviously, however, the buro and Comrade A.F. Gudkov, obkom first secretary, turned out not to have been on the level of the situation. The obkom was most generous in praising Comrade Anpilogov, almost setting him as an example to others. When the Central Committee instructed personnel from the apparatus to study the situation at the site, it turned out that what Comrade Shevelev had written was the absolute truth and that the view of the party obkom leadership was unfounded.

In the final account, the results of this event put the raykom members in a spot. They expressed their lack of confidence in Comrade Anpilogov and decided to relieve him from his position. Why was the obkom unable promptly to note and suitably to appreciate the improper work style of the raykom secretary and the existing situation at the rayon party organization? Obviously, the party obkom secretaries themselves and its buro are in no hurry to change. They continue to apply an obsolete style in which the initiative of the working people is not properly supported.

After the congress the Soviet people have been showing increasing interest in party affairs and in social processes; they are seeking their proper place in the nationwide struggle for the implementation of the congress' ideas and would like to help in the reorganization. It is precisely this that comes out in the numerous letters received by the Central Committee and the press, with some of which you are familiar. It may seem that the task of the party committees is entirely clear: they must give full support to the social and labor activeness of the people. In many areas, however, everything remains unchanged: initiative crashes against a wall of indifference or even open resistance.

At the Irbit Chemical-Pharmaceutical Plant, Sverdlovsk Oblast, the party buro and the management, with the support of the party gorkom, essentially took care of a shop chief who was promoting progressive forms of labor organization and wages. The initiative of this party member, a man searching for better ways, faced double-dyed bureaucratism. Considering its exceptional importance, we deemed it necessary for the CPSU Central Committee to discuss this fact. You are familiar with the decision of the Central Committee Secretariat on this matter. I believe that the people of Sverdlovsk should not be the only ones to draw lessons from this case.

The congress directed the party committees to master political management methods. However, the aspiration of the party bodies to perform administrative functions is not abating. Listen to conversations among some party leaders. They discuss willingly and knowledgeably the current agricultural campaign, milking, weight increases, tons, etc. However, they frequently become confused when the discussion turns to the political analysis of social phenomena, socioeconomic problems, scientific and technical problems and possibilities of the human factor.

Frankly speaking, we must reorganize ourselves and get rid of bureaucratic elements on all levels, from the primary organizations to the Central Committee apparatus. It is only the all-round political, organization and ideological activities on all levels of party leadership that will ensure the implementation of the congress' tasks. Upgrading the combativeness of the primary party organizations becomes particularly important in this connection. We have repeatedly been made aware of their inexhaustible possibilities. I would say that we must begin the reorganization of the work by developing the autonomy, activity and aggressiveness of the primary organizations and the initiative and activeness of the party members. This is the main aspect of the work which must be firmly undertaken.

This must be accomplished by the party raykoms and gorkoms, which are the closest to the labor collectives and are familiar with the forces and possibilities of the primary party organizations. We have many party committees on the rayon and city level which, under the new circumstances, are providing greater scope for the initiative of cadres and shifting the center of gravity of control over their work to lower levels and to the public and the press.

Nevertheless, a yearning for the habitual management methods and even for administering remains. All of this, comrades, was necessary in the past as a sort of compensation for faults in the economic mechanism. Today such practices are not only unnecessary but even harmful. We must most boldly stop performing the functions of dispatchers. The main realm of activities of the party raykom secretary and party official is the labor collective, the people.

Of late I have met a number of times and held talks with enterprise managers, workers, engineers and party committee secretaries. All of them agree with the view that initiative is being promoted sluggishly. This is a manifestation of bureaucratism, the blood-brother of red tape and fierce enemy of the broad participation of popular masses in administrative affairs.

Let us take the management bodies as an example. A direct study of their activities shows that some ministers and heads of main administrations and enterprises have totally forgotten how to talk to each-another and establish direct business contacts: everything is done by correspondence. The reason is that either the comrades are unable to use the telephone and meet in order to solve a problem or else that they try to protect themselves from responsibility with a piece of paper.

To a certain extent this applies to the party bodies. For example, in 4 months the Tashkent gorkom and the city party raykoms issued to the primary party organizations 50 to 100 percent more decrees than they had for the same the period last year. Such paper shuffling exists in other areas as well.

Paper shuffling is not a technical but a political problem. Look at the way we conduct an investigation. We reduce it to references, tables, minutes, plans for taking steps and determining whether the question was discussed and whether a proper decision was made. In a word, we have become accustomed to working with paper rather than people and we even look at people through pieces of paper. As to the way they work and live, what they think, what are

their problems and their moods, all of this seems to be shunted aside. Yet this is the core of party work.

No reconstruction would be possible unless the party and all its organizations establish an atmosphere of intolerance of shortcomings, stagnation, ostentation and verbiage. That is why we must intensify critical discussions in the spirit of the congress. We need principle-minded criticism of specific cases, showing the reasons for shortcomings and omissions and means of their elimination; a criticism which would encourage a spirit of restlessness and a healthy dissatisfaction with accomplishments.

Comrades: The concept of acceleration is inseparable from active cadre policy. The 5-year plan stipulates radical measures in the field of cadre training and developing a continuing education system. Their purpose is to staffing each sector in the material and spiritual areas with professionally competent workers.

This problem must be solved not only in the schools, where we have undertaken major changes. Our time demands of everyone a steady updating of knowledge, improved skills and broadening of their ideological-political, scientific and technical and economic outlook. No efficient utilization of the latest equipment, knowledgeable economic management and able administration are possible without this.

We are especially discussing today work with leading cadres, with those who must reorganize their assigned sectors. As you know, a number of unsolved cadre problems had accumulated by the time of the April plenum. This had triggered critical remarks on the part of party and nonparty members. The Central Committee drew the necessary conclusions. A number of trained and mature party members, who had proven themselves in basic practical work and were well aware of the situation were promoted in the course of the accountability and election campaign. The deployment of cadres must be improved further.

I noted in my Togliatti speech that today, when we are developing the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, people who display a spirit of innovation must be particularly valued, the more so since we are calling upon everyone not to wait but to act. We cannot fail to see that a person with initiative frequently clashes with obsolete instructions which conflict with the new tasks. Everything possible must be done for people who search, who are creative, not to find themselves in a difficult situation or to fail. This is not an abstract consideration.

Let me illustrate this with a scandalous example. In Cherkassy the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry has a plant and a scientific research institute dealing with the same type of problems. The institute, headed by Comrade A.I. Chabanov, developed new types of machine tools and control systems for them. They drew attention at international exhibits and orders began to be received from domestic and foreign enterprises.

Meanwhile, the plant, which should have been the first to make use of such achievements, stubbornly ignored the new equipment. When in July of 1985

Comrade Chabanov was made interim plant director, without waiting for approval of the technical specifications for the new item, he decided to organize its production. Progressive technology was applied and the financial situation of the enterprise improved. There were officials, however, who began to report that the new manager had violated instructions and allowed figure padding. How did the ministry and the party obkom react?

Not exactly in a spirit of innovation. The director was removed from his position and his file was given to the investigation authorities. The CPSU Central Committee and the prosecutor general had to intervene to settle the case. No misuses, not to mention crimes, were found. Everything seemed clear. However, even after the truth was established, the party buro expelled Comrade A.I. Chabanov from the party. Furthermore, when the party members took up his defense and sent a letter to the congress, the letter never reached Moscow, for the local authorities had intercepted it at the post office.

Such are, comrades, cases we come across. We have instructed the Party Control Committee to deal with this case. Justice seems to have prevailed. The question, however, which arises is, where was the oblast party committee? Why did it fail to take a deep look at the case and to prevent violations of Soviet laws and reprisals against party members?

We must most firmly declare at our plenum that the party committees must protect the honor of the party rather than that of the uniform. Everything in party work is important and not the least important is the way a person should be received by a party committee, the way he will be addressed, the way problems affecting him will be solved and, finally, the way the committee participated in solving his problems.

For the following also occurs: at the gorkom or kraykom a party member may express his own view or share his doubts; instead of being answered in substance, he is told: "Do not forget where you are!" Actually, where is he? He is at home. Where would he go with his own concerns and problems if not to his own party committee? Here he has the right to expect a responsive and attentive attitude rather than a formal reception, for party comradeship is a bolshevik standard in relations among communists, regardless of position and title.

A spirit of comradeship must imbue our entire party life. Although becoming more demanding as far as assignments are concerned, we must always clearly distinguish between party principle-mindedness and abuse which denigrates human dignity. Violations of this rule--we know of such cases--can break a person down spiritually; uncertainty develops in the collective and the people's social interest and activeness drop. This cannot be tolerated.

We must continue to work persistently and tirelessly to strengthen the healthy atmosphere in our society and to let it sink deep roots. I would say, in this connection that, as in the past, the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism remains one of the most urgent tasks. In this struggle we must be guided by the opinion of our people, rather than by those who are partial to

drinking. We have pledged to our people to wage a decisive struggle against drunkenness and obeying the instruction of the Soviet people is our party duty.

We must also implement the instruction of increasing the struggle against unearned income. The major decisions which were recently made concerning this matter were welcomed by society with satisfaction. Their practical implementation must be carried out in such a way as to uproot this phenomenon which is alien to socialism and to improve the living conditions of the working people.

Generally speaking, comrades, we must strictly observe our main socialist principle of comprehensively supporting and encouraging honest and conscientious toil and wage an uncompromising struggle against all parasitical elements, against those who are trying to live at the expense of others, at the expense of society.

We must proceed from the fact that demands concerning ideological work will increase along with the complexity of problems in the socioeconomic and spiritual areas. Let me note today the major contribution of the press, television and radio, of all mass information media, in the restructuring process. They are doing a great deal to increase the openness, the practical application of democracy in our society, and the formulation of major and socially significant problems. It is particularly important today for our press sensitively to detect new developments and the progressive features created by the reorganization of all areas of life and to help in making them available to all. Objectivity, high exigency and responsibility of the mass information media are the inviolable principles of the party press, which ensure their authority.

The newspaper is the face of the party committee. It reflects the style and methods of its work, level of leadership and attitude toward all topical problems. As the party committee is restructured so is the press. Let me point out that the extent of openness and efficiency of many local newspapers is still significantly behind that of the central press. A study of the problem shows a direct connection with the views held by the party committees. Consequently, accurate self-critical conclusions must be drawn by both party committees and editorial boards. I am confident that this will take place.

Briefly, we are relying on further improvements on the ideological front and on the organizing force of the truthful ideas which rally millions of people for the sake of the common cause.

IV. On the Results of the Budapest Conference of the Political Consultative Committee

Comrades: Let us now move on to the second item on the plenum's agenda.

The documents of the recently held conference of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact Members have been published. What should we say on the significance of this meeting? Let us note, above all, that it was held immediately after the series of congresses held by the fraternal parties and

that, naturally, the foreign policy ideas of the high party fora were the focal point of the collective discussion. This made it even broader and predetermined the emphasis on problems of a strategic, of a global nature.

It was particularly emphasized that the course of acceleration of socioeconomic development taken by our party and the other fraternal parties had originated a broad international response and that its implementation, will be having a growing influence on the entire course of global social developments. It was pointed out that it is precisely this that concerns our class enemy the most.

An exchange of views was held on the course of events in Europe and in the international arena for the period since the Sofia conference of the Political Consultative Committee and the Soviet-American Geneva Summit. The comrades unanimously agreed that the situation remains difficult and that for the time being there are no reasons to speak of detente.

You are familiar with the steps we took to prevent the positive line developed in Geneva from disappearing or being diluted in the whirlpool of international life. This included a specific plan for the elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of the century, a moratorium on nuclear explosions and a suggestion on the elimination of chemical weapons. Our initiatives have been and will remain aimed at improving the international climate.

However, it is precisely the prospect of detente that is considered in the West, by the reactionary U.S. leadership above all, as a threat to their interests. In the past few months and weeks there have been a series of rejections of Soviet proposals on major problems of contemporary development: a refusal to put an end to nuclear tests; a rejection of the existing agreements on strategic armaments; a refusal of letting outer space remain free of weapons. Let us add to this the unwillingness to hold conscientious talks in Geneva and Vienna.

The self-sufficient scorn for the interests of all countries in Europe, and not in Europe alone, was confirmed by Washington's actions in Bern, the result of which was the failure of reaching important agreements on human rights. Only the absolute rejection of contemporary realities can explain the reliance of the U.S. leadership on naked force, on the nuclear fist, on terrorist piracy, heavily mixed with ideological intolerance and hatred. They continue to consider the global contemporary world situation in terms of the categories of "star wars" and nuclear warheads, the arms race and military blackmail, thereby increasingly undermining the security of the entire world and their own country.

The fact that the real threat to U.S. security does not come from outside forces is becoming increasingly obvious. One major such threat comes from the military-political elite of that country and its adventuristic behavior in the world arena. The 27th CPSU Congress suggested sensible solutions to the problems facing mankind. Our objectives are extremely clear: accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, extensive international cooperation, advantageous to all, disarmament and elimination of nuclear weapons and peace for mankind. This shapes our political course within the country and in the

international arena. The more people on earth find out the truth of the policy pursued by the Soviet Union, the more supporters it gains.

It is precisely all of this that concerns the imperialist ruling circles. They saw in the Soviet initiatives a powerful obstacle to the implementation to their imperial plans based on world domination and social revenge. Unable to offer the peoples a peaceful historical alternative consistent with the common interests, they are intensifying the militaristic psychosis which, in their view, could freeze historical progress and help them to preserve their economic and political power. Furthermore, they are relying on the possibility, illusory though it might be, of blocking the implementation of our plans, hindering the development of the socialist countries, leading us astray from the course set by the 27th CPSU Congress, and keeping us on the path of the arms race.

Understandably, comrades, the main objective of our foreign policy must be to foil such dangerous plans. The Soviet Union will continue persistently to implement its initiatives, which are consistent with the profound hopes of our people and all peoples on earth. However, we shall never allow a U.S. nuclear-missile superiority. Here as well our Leninist foreign policy course and defense power are based on the reliable foundation of the strategy of acceleration of socioeconomic development, formulated by the party and expanded in the draft 12th 5-Year Plan we are discussing.

Imperialism must not be permitted to control the fate of the world. We must not allow imperialist reaction to be able to impose upon mankind the intensification of a military-political confrontation. The only thing this could accomplish would be slipping into nuclear war. This conclusion was heard in the speeches of all participants of the Political Consultative Committee Conference.

Together with our friends we discussed the situation developing at the Geneva talks with the United States. The question now is the following: Should we continue to hold our position at the Geneva talks, squabbling with the Americans, which suits them perfectly, or seek new approaches which would make it possible to clear the way to a reduction in nuclear armaments? Having resolved firmly to follow the line of practical search for a mutually acceptable agreement in Geneva, we have offered to the Americans the following intermediary alternative:

- a. Reaching an agreement on the nonabrogation of the Antimissile Defense Treaty, at least for 15 years, and limiting SDI to laboratory work, i.e., to the threshold which the United States has already actually reached;
- b. Equalizing the levels of strategic offensive armaments (ICBM, missile-carrying submarines and heavy bombers). In this case, the problem of medium-range weapons which can reach the territory of the other side, including long-range land-based cruise missiles to be settled separately.

This alternative proves yet once again the desire of the Soviet Union to reach a mutually acceptable agreement. Although, naturally, we would prefer

immediately to reach an agreement on a radical 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons which can reach the other side.

We also submitted a draft agreement on medium-range missiles in Europe. We agreed on the fact that should a zero ratio of this type of weapons be achieved between the Soviet Union and the United States in the European zone, the number of British and French nuclear missiles would be kept at its present level. We also stated that we shall not increase the number of medium-range missiles in Asia.

In other words, the Soviet Union has taken new steps to facilitate the search for mutually acceptable agreements in Geneva. Time will show what the U.S. response will be. It should be made clear, in any case, that if the American side were once again to ignore our initiatives, this would make it obvious that the present U.S. administration is playing an unworthy game on a most serious problem on which mankind's future depends.

The problem of ending nuclear tests has become particularly grave today. To a certain extent, this is also the result of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident. This accident proved that even a small release of radioactive substances brings troubles and worries to thousands of people.

All honest people, who have expressed to us their sincere sympathy and offered selfless aid, saw in this misfortune a much greater threat. They are asking themselves and others, what would happen if the military atom becomes uncontrollable, either accidentally or intentionally? The explosion of even a single nuclear bomb would be a much more terrible tragedy to the nations of many countries. It is precisely about this that the people on our earth are increasingly thinking.

The United States is assuming the gravest possible responsibility to mankind by refusing to halt nuclear tests and join in the Soviet moratorium. The planet is worried by the American behavior. However, the seriousness of the situation also demands that efforts aimed at halting all nuclear tests and eliminating nuclear weapons be doubled and tripled.

The Chernobyl trouble was our trouble. We have the strength to surmount it. We are grateful to all for their sympathy and aid on that occasion. We thank them sincerely, from our hearts, but may Chernobyl as well as other cases in which the atom did not obey man, be a stern warning to those who are still not completely aware of the nuclear threat hanging over the world, and who continue to consider nuclear weapons a political tool.

Let me particularly mention the new Soviet-American summit. We savor a dialogue with Washington. We are not closing the door: a new meeting with the U.S. President is possible. Understandably, however, this requires the type of atmosphere which would open a possibility of reaching real agreements. We mentioned this to President Reagan and the entire world. This position is meeting with the understanding of our friends.

But what are the actions of the U.S. administration? It is sabotaging disarmament talks and has proclaimed its intention not to observe the SALT-2

Treaty and declared the treaty "dead!" Actions which will aggravate the international situation even further are being taken throughout the world.

The legitimate question which arises is the following: Does Washington want a new meeting? Or are talks about a meeting merely an attempt to mislead world public opinion?

As we know, the importance of Political Consultative Committee conferences is largely determined by the new initiatives formulated at such meetings. The jointly drafted expanded suggestion on reducing conventional armaments and armed forces throughout Europe--from the Atlantic to the Urals--was the crux of the Budapest meeting. You are familiar with its content: it calls for reducing the armed forces of both sides by 25 percent in the next few years. This eliminates the speculative argument that a nuclear disarmament in Europe if the current level of conventional armed forces is retained would put the Western European countries at a disadvantage. It is indicative that the West has not found it possible to brush offhand this proposal.

Some other important initiatives as well were agreed upon in Budapest. The idea of uniting the efforts of all countries for the peaceful utilization of space and the creation of a special international organization to this effect, expressed on the eve of the conference, in the Czepele speech, was approved. This idea has already been expressed in the suggestion addressed to the UN secretary general. Problems of further developing the concept of creating a comprehensive international security system were discussed.

Let us particularly note the lively and constructive atmosphere of the Budapest conference. All comrades--which is a sign of the time--considered the specific problems through the lens of the common foreign policy strategy of the allied socialist states. In a word, the unity and creative cooperation which enriches the international policy of socialism and gives even greater weight to its activities in the world arena, was manifested in Budapest.

All participants in the congress noted with satisfaction that greater dynamism and efficiency have been displayed of late in the work of this superior body of the Warsaw Pact. The decisions made in Budapest are a major contribution of the socialist countries to the struggle for improving the international situation.

Generally speaking, comrades, we have taken and will continue to take all possible steps to preserve and strengthen peace. In this noble cause as well our position is actively supported by our friends and by all peace-loving forces on earth.

Comrades: Such are the basic lessons and conclusions of our post-congress development, which we must master to their fullest extent in order to advance successfully. Such are also the domestic and international conditions under which we have begun to implement the resolutions of the 27th Congress.

The political tasks of the 5-year plan are to restructure our economy, to create a modern material and technical base, which will ensure the accelerated development of Soviet society, to solve the major social problems and the

reliable defense of the country. Time will not wait for us. We must accomplish everything we plan on time, for it is a question of the power and blossoming of our state, the positions of socialism in the international arena and the strengthening of peace the world over.

We are approaching a noteworthy date--the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It is our common patriotic and international duty to welcome this outstanding holiday with a sharp economic and sociopolitical upsurge and with achievements and successes worthy of the homeland of the October Revolution.

I think that in behalf of the plenum we must address ourselves to all working people with the appeal to mount a broadly nationwide socialist competition for the successful implementation of the 12th 5-Year Plan and for converting the daring plans into the energy of practical action. The Central Committee calls upon every Soviet working person to join the ranks of the participants in the competition, to be an active fighter in the labor front of the 5-year plan and to make a substantial personal contribution to the common cause at his job.

The attention of party committees and all party organizations must be concentrated on how to solve the problems set at the congress and how to carry out political, economic and organizational-educational work in order to attain and surpass the levels set by the 5-year plan. This is the crux of the matter. That is why we need greater analysis, more action and practicality, and less general discussions and references to objective circumstances.

The party expects of every manager and party member not oaths and assertions but real actions which take us forward along our planned path. The Central Committee will support the initiative and innovative searches of party organizations, labor collectives, ministries and departments aimed at achieving the best results. What life demands today of everyone, of all of us together, is to act with initiative, persistence and energy and with a high feeling of responsibility. I am confident that the appeal of the plenum will meet with the understanding and response of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia and will be embodied in the heroism of the daily ordinary labor of millions of people. It is this, comrades, that will solve everything!

(The report was heard with great attention and welcomed with sustained applause).

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CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM DECREE. ON THE 5-YEAR PLAN FOR THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR IN 1986-1990 AND THE TASKS OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS RELATED TO ITS IMPLEMENTATION.

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 86 (signed to press 25 Jun 86) p 37

[Text] Having heard and discussed the report by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, "On the 5-Year Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Tasks of the Party Organizations for its Implementation," the CPSU Central Committee Plenum resolves the following:

1. To approve the stipulations and conclusions of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo presented in the report and aimed at the implementation of the party's economic strategy formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress.
2. To approve the draft 5-year plan for the economic and social development of the USSR in 1986-1990.

The USSR Council of Ministers shall submit said draft for consideration by the USSR Supreme Soviet. Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Council of Ministers chairman, is instructed to submit a report at the session.

3. The plenum considers the 5-year plan a specific program of action by party committees, state and economic bodies, party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, labor collectives and leading cadres for accelerated socioeconomic development. It is of essential importance to approach the plan indicators as minimal assignments which must be reached by sectors, republics, krays, oblasts, cities and rayons and each production unit.

The CPSU Central Committee expresses its confidence that the Soviet people, having accepted the constructive ideas of the 27th Congress with their minds and hearts, will ensure the successful implementation of the 12th 5-Year Plan and the further advance of our society in all areas of building communism.

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CSO:1802/16

CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE APPEAL TO THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION. THE
12TH 5-YEAR PLAN -- INSPIRED CREATIVE TOIL OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 86 (signed to press 25 Jun 86) pp 38-43

[Text] Dear Comrades:

Our country is in a period of sharp change. The 27th CPSU Congress set to the Soviet people major and difficult problems. We must move ahead faster, reach new levels and conquer new heights in all realms of social life.

The 12th 5-Year Plan is a decisive stage in the implementation of the party's strategic stipulations. The June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum approved the draft State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990. The 5-year plan becomes the law with its ratification by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

What do we expect of this 5-year plan? What are the results we are hoping to achieve?

We must eliminate the adverse trends in the development of the economy, make it more dynamic, upgrade the growth rates of output and obtain higher end results on the basis of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the technical retooling and reconstruction of the national economy and the intensive utilization of the created potential.

We must radically restructure the economic mechanism and create a flexible and efficient management system which will enable us comprehensively to ensure an efficient organization of the labor process and make fuller use of the reserves and possibilities of socialism.

We must implement urgent social programs, accelerate the development of the sociocultural sphere, substantially improve the working and living conditions of the Soviet people and achieve a further upsurge in the people's well-being.

In solving these problems under difficult international circumstances, we must at the same time maintain the defense capability of our state on the necessary level.

As you can see, comrades, the new 5-year plan will mark a turning point in all areas of the country's development.

The plans can be implemented only with the stressed efforts of all Soviet people. Conscientious work for the common good, initiative, a responsible attitude toward assignments and a proprietary concern for the interests of the state are demanded today of everyone.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union appeals to you, comrades--communists and Komsomols, workers and kolkhoz members, scientists and specialists, men of culture and the arts, and all working people--extensively to develop the nationwide socialist competition for the successful fulfillment of the assignments of the 12th 5-Year Plan and to convert the bold plans and projects into the energy of practical action.

The main objectives of the competition today are upgrading labor productivity, improving production quality and conserving resources. In Lenin's words, we must produce "better than before, less expensively than before, and more than before."

The main question is that of increasing labor productivity. The main way for the solution of this problem is to accelerate scientific and technical progress. The long-term program for action in this decisive area has been formulated. Its implementation will enable us to carry out the new technical reconstruction of the national economy. However, we have no right to wait. It is important as of now significantly to upgrade the level of work at each enterprise and work place. Substantial reserves, which are literally at hand, exist here.

This means increasing the load of operating capacities, machines, equipment and machine tools.

It means efficiently ensuring the rhythmical nature of production, strengthening procurement discipline and working as economically as possible.

It means certifying and improving the efficiency of work places, improving the organization and incentive of labor, actively applying progressive experience and upgrading discipline and exigency.

The labor collectives can do a great deal themselves to reduce manual labor and to promote production mechanization and automation.

Comrades, we shall persistently upgrade labor productivity! Today this is the most important area in adopting a new work style.

Competition is a powerful lever in upgrading production quality. It would be no exaggeration to say that in the struggle for high quality competitiveness and collective search are truly boundless! Unfortunately, by no means are the possibilities of the competition used to the fullest extent. The current standards of many goods are still inconsistent with contemporary requirements. This creates major difficulties in all areas of life.

Let us achieve high quality, let us block all forms of duplication of technical backwardness, drabness, tastelessness and waste through the joint efforts of workers, kolkhoz members, engineers, specialists and personnel on all management levels! The good reputation of a trademark, the loving creation by a pair of working hands and the production of reliable, economical and necessary items are matters of honor and conscience of every working person and objects of professional and patriotic pride of the Soviet people.

Our country is rich in fuel, energy, mineral and raw material resources. However, they are not endless and are becoming increasingly expensive. Taking this into consideration, the 5-year plan includes an essentially new approach to meeting the needs of the economy for material resources. Whereas in the past their increase was met essentially by increasing extraction and production, now this will be achieved to a large extent through thrift. That is why it is so important today to use raw materials, materials and energy thriftily, to apply wasteless technologies more actively, to use financial resources with maximal efficiency and to reduce production outlays.

It is those who save metal, fuel, timber and electric power, who care for the people's good more than others, who will win the competition.

An efficient economy is inconceivable without firm planning and labor discipline, organization and order. Many of us know from personal experience the high cost of violating the labor rhythm, the foundering of planned assignments and contractual procurements, shortages in material and technical supplies and the slovenliness of some workers.

Look at the way the working time is used in some collectives. What a great deal of time is lost as a result of absenteeism, idling and smoke breaks! We still have workers who receive their wages and sometimes even bonuses less for real accomplishments than merely for showing up for work. In developing the competition we must ensure the strict observance of its first order: working time is for work. We must improve the attitude toward the work in the shop, plant, construction projects, kolkhoz and sovkhov. We must firmly eliminate rushing and work on an emergency basis, showiness and figure padding. We must collectively ensure the efficient organization of the work. This is the urgent requirement of the time.

Competition is inseparable from strong labor discipline. Let everyone of its participants set the example of industriousness, lofty morality and organization!

The Soviet people have someone to look up to, they have an example to draw on. This applies above all to the labor guard of the country--production frontrankers and innovators, the people with high professional skills, questioning minds, daring creative search and active civic stance. As the tireless fighters for everything new and progressive and against obsolescence and sluggishness, they prove through practical accomplishments the meaning today of working and living in the rhythm of acceleration.

Such people exist in all sectors, in any collective. It is very important for every worker-innovator to have his following, his school. Let the ranks of

frontrankers and production innovators greatly multiply in the course of the competition!

Valuable initiatives appeared at the start of this 5-year period. A turn was noted in the competition toward quality indicators. The frontranking collectives have the task of achieving a higher increase in the volume of output through technical progress and maximal utilization of equipment, without increasing outlays of raw and other materials or the number of workers. It is precisely such an approach to the competition that is particularly necessary. Tens of thousands of working people pledged to fulfill their plans for the first 2 years of the 5-year period for the growth of labor productivity and with high-production quality by the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The movement of working 4 days without pay this year, building housing, schools, hospitals, clubs and sports installations is spreading. Such specific initiatives and actions deserve comprehensive support and extensive promotion.

In a word, the reorganization of the competition has started. However, these are merely the initial steps. A number of examples indicate that not only individual workers but entire collectives work differently although their circumstances are the same. Why is it that different crop yields are obtained from the same type of land? Why is it that some save while others waste the people's wealth? Why is it that some enterprises produce good-quality items while others send to consumers obvious rejects? Why is it that although familiar with progressive experience it is not applied?

Obviously, a great deal is wrong with the competition mechanism. Unfortunately, the suggestions of the participants in the competition themselves are not always being listened to on how better to do the work, what to consolidate and what to abandon. It is only on the basis of collective experience and only by supporting the valuable thoughts and new approaches, as Lenin said, that one can "trigger the competition and activity of the masses so that they may immediately take up the project."

Let us frankly say that some forms of competition have become obsolete and inconsistent with the times. Frequently it is as though the competition is developing all by itself, separated from the nationwide efforts to turn the economy to intensive development, to accelerate scientific and technical progress, to reorganize the economic mechanism and extensively to apply collective forms of labor organization. Many obligations are merely carbon copies of others; there are many office-originated initiatives and loud reports of very modest successes. Many obligations require no particular stress and are assumed regardless of existing possibilities and reserves. All of this depreciates the labor rivalry and turns it into formality.

To remove the rust of formalism from the competition means to restore its feeling of inspiration, true competitiveness and combativeness without which the person cannot fully display his skill and ability. In the final account, the growth of the economy and improvements in the living standard depend on the labor contribution of each collective and individual working person to the common project. No one has the right to hope that the acceleration will take place automatically, by itself.

The struggle for high rates of economic growth and production efficiency must be persistent and consistent. That must be the purpose of the socialist competition. We shall have and live according to what we accomplish, create and build. There simply is no other way for the creation of goods and the fuller satisfaction of growing material and spiritual needs.

The decisive factor of acceleration is our Soviet person and his attitude toward his assignment. In the course of the competition we must more daringly remove existing canons; we must not replace live work with people with a set of reports on paper; we must uproot the practice of summing up the results of the work behind closed doors; we must provide scope for the manifestation of the creative initiative of every working person.

The strength of the competition lies in its openness, the objective comparison among results of economic management, efficient summation and application of advanced experience and comradely cooperation and mutual aid. End results rather than intermediary indicators are the criteria of true competition. The country and the state need actual plants, factories, housing, schools, stores and movie theatres completed on time, reliable transportation and harvesting and preserving the crops, and good quality consumer goods.

It is very important for the entire system of moral and material incentives to rest on practical results achieved in the course of the competition and on the principle of social justice. It is inadmissible to name among competition winners those who, with better possibilities and conditions at their disposal, merely create the appearance of active work while essentially remaining idle. All participants in the competition must be considered in summing up its results. It is precisely the socialist competition that must become the antidote for various manifestations of immorality, whitewashing, departmentalism and parochialism.

Comrades: The CPSU Central Committee is relying on the fact that the working class, the working people in the agroindustrial complex, the engineering and technical cadres, the intelligentsia and all participants in the competition for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the 12th 5-Year Plan will display high creative activeness and will give the efforts to accelerate the country's socioeconomic development a specific and meaningful content.

The party is confident that, as always, the heroic working class will be in the vanguard of the nationwide socialist competition. Its high awareness, organization, labor and political activeness, and intolerance of phenomena alien to the Soviet way of life are a reliable guarantee for our progress. The present guidelines of worker collectives are a sharp increase in labor productivity, world-class output, highest quality and reliability, reduced material- and power-intensiveness and total cost accounting.

Under the new economic management conditions the working people in the countryside, the entire agroindustrial complex, must multiply their efforts for the implementation of the Food Program. They must compete under the slogan of fully ensuring the country with food within a short time. The better the kolkhozes and sovkhoses and the auxiliary farms of enterprises and all units of the agroindustrial complex work, the more goods will appear on

the shelves of stores and markets and the more milk, meat, vegetables and other produce will be available to the population.

The country expects of scientists, designers and engineers new discoveries and inventions, progressive designs and engineering developments which will enable us radically to upgrade labor productivity, improve quality and conserve resources. Let us accelerate the practical utilization of progressive achievements of scientific and technical through the joint efforts of scientific and production workers!

The task of all workers related to providing services to the population is to meet the needs of the people for a variety of services more completely and on a high-quality level, to develop their modern aspects and to upgrade labor standards. It is precisely this that determines the meaning of the competition in the nonproduction area. The mood and, in the final account, the results of the work of the Soviet people greatly depend on the work of stores, cafeterias, work shops, studios, polyclinics, hospitals, public transportation and communications enterprises and the entire leisure time and recreation industry.

The CPSU Central Committee calls upon all party members to be in the leading ranks of the competitors and to inspire the people for the implementation of the 5-year plan through their personal example. This is the duty and obligation of every party member!

Dear Comrades:

The 12th 5-Year Plan is gathering strength and scope. The beginning of a major project has been started. A tremendous number of vast, interesting and important projects lies ahead.

The main thing now is not to waste time, to increase the pace of the advance, to eliminate breakdowns in the work of the national economic sectors, in associations, enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhoses both in the heat of summer and the cold of winter, and to ensure the strict implementation of the planned assignments for 1986. The first year of the 5-year plan is a test for all labor collectives, an investigation of the practical implementation of the reconstruction and of the extent to which its ideas have been profoundly accepted and implemented. Passing this test means laying the foundations for the success of the entire 5-year plan!

The 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution will be an important landmark in the advancement of the Soviet state on the path of economic and social progress. Unquestionably, the Soviet people will welcome this great date with new successes in labor and in perfecting all aspects of life in our society.

The CPSU Central Committee calls upon every Soviet working person, whatever his job, to join the ranks of the participants in the all-union socialist competition, to be an active fighter on the labor front of the 5-year plan and to make a worthy personal contribution to the common project at his job.

We shall work so that the Soviet people may live a richer material and spiritual life, so that the country's economy may become steadily stronger and its defense shield firmer. Each one of our successes on the path earmarked by the 27th Party Congress is a new step toward strengthening the positions of socialism and the cause of peace on earth.

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CSO:1802/16

CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM DECREE. ON THE RESULTS OF THE WARSAW PACT MEMBER STATES POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE CONFERENCE, BUDAPEST 10-11 JUNE 1986

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 86 (signed to press 25 Jun 86) pp 44-45

[Text] Having considered the results of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact Members (Budapest, 10-11 June 1986), the CPSU Central Committee expresses full approval of the activities of the Soviet delegation, headed by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and of the documents adopted at the conference.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasizes the importance of the collective analysis of the developing international situation and the main reasons for the current tension caused by the dangerous foreign policy course and imperial ambitions of the U.S. administration, unwilling to take into consideration the will of the peoples and to act in the spirit of the Geneva agreements. Under these difficult circumstances, the fraternal countries will not allow themselves to be drawn into increased confrontation; they deem it their duty persistently to continue the search for possibilities of reducing armaments and improving the international situation, and for constructive cooperation among countries. This principled line is defined by the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the congresses of the ruling parties of the other socialist countries, which indicated the ways and real means of building a secure peace.

The plenum notes with satisfaction the resolve of the allied states to promote the joint course aimed at ending the arms race and the radical restructuring of the entire system of intergovernmental relations on the basis of comprehensive security equal for all. The Warsaw Pact members are united in believing that even greater dynamism and a daring approach to solving old and new problems related to the struggle against the threat of war and for establishing peaceful coexistence in intergovernmental relations are needed.

Today upgrading the standard, quality and scale of interaction among fraternal countries is a source of further acceleration of the development of each one of them and a necessary prerequisite in the struggle for the international interests of world socialism.

The foreign policy line formulated at the 27th Party Congress and the congresses of the other fraternal parties, a line of strengthening peace, eliminating mass destruction weapons and creating a comprehensive international security system, was fully approved at the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact Members.

The further coordination of positions and practical actions by the Warsaw Pact members on basic problems of current policy: ending nuclear tests, total elimination of Soviet and American medium-range missiles in the European zone on a reciprocal basis, Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space armaments, elimination of chemical weapons and strengthening the international regimen for the safe development of the nuclear power industry, was a substantial result of the conference.

The joint initiative on the wide-scale reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, is of particular importance. The appeal adopted at the conference on this item substantially supplements and strengthens the program for the total elimination of nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons.

The conference emphasized the importance of further strengthening the defensive military and political alliance of the socialist states, the development of their cooperation in all areas, the importance of more active interaction among fraternal countries in international affairs and in the formulation and implementation of a coordinated foreign policy course aimed at ensuring security, eliminating the threat of nuclear war and strengthening universal peace.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum makes it incumbent upon the corresponding Soviet departments and organizations to draft and adopt measures for the implementation of the resolutions of the Budapest conference and the extensive publicizing of its documents within the country and abroad, ensuring the coordination of actions with the fraternal parties and implementing other steps of international diplomatic nature.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum expresses its conviction that the friendship and cohesion among the fraternal socialist countries and the further development of their interaction with all peace-loving states and broad social forces will bring about the further growth of the peaceful offensive mounted by socialism and the organization of international cooperation with a view to achieving mutually acceptable agreements in the limitation of armaments and for the sake of the development and progress of all mankind.

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CSO:1802/16

EDITORIAL -- GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT OF CONTEMPORARY MARXIST-LENINIST THOUGHT.
ARTICLE 5

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 86 (signed to press 25 Jun 86) pp 46-62

[Text] The 27th CPSU Congress, at which resolutions of historical significance and scale were adopted, proved in fact the increased role of the party in the life of our society; during the present sharp turn in history as well, the party was able to concentrate and express the will and wishes of the working people and their needs and aspirations. The party proved itself the collective mind and collective conscience of the people, combining their intellectual and moral forces into a powerful charge of love of peace, creativity and humaneness, the effect of which, as is already clear, will be felt for many years and decades to come. There is no problem, more or less important, affecting the internal life of the country or the international situation, which the party has bypassed, which it has ignored, and which it has not subjected to its profound and comprehensive analysis. The CPSU has applied this analysis to itself as well.

The party is a steadily developing organism. Its development is based on objective laws. As it advances toward its final programmatic objective, it changes and perfects the forms of its organization and means of activities, taking the specific historical situation into consideration. The documents of the 27th CPSU Congress develop the Marxist-Leninist theory of the party, enrich the standards of party life drafted by V.I. Lenin and make a substantial contribution to the theory and practice of party building.

Mandatory Prerequisite for Acceleration

International experience clearly proves that the proletariat can successfully carry out its historical mission only if it is headed by a Marxist-Leninist party. Ever since its founding, the revolutionary party created by Lenin was ready to assume the role of the people's leader. In itself such readiness by the party alone is insufficient. On the basis of their own practical experience and struggle, the masses of working people become convinced that the policy of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class is, in the final account, the manifestation of their needs and expectations, and that they have in the party a true leader who knows where and how to lead the people. This demands of the party members tremendous efforts and boundless heroism, including the heroism of "boring" daily organizational and educational work.

The CPSU program provides a brief description of the distance covered by the Leninist party in slightly over 8 decades of life. Guided by Lenin, the party headed the Great October Socialist Revolution, which marked a radical turn in universal history. It was only the party's authority, which rallied all toiling strata, organizations and institutions, that helped our country to stand its grounds in the civil war imposed by the imperialist and the domestic counterrevolution, to surmount the greatest possible economic and political difficulties of the transitional period, to build socialism under the incredibly difficult conditions of capitalist encirclement, to defend its gains in a mortal battle against fascism, to restore the economy dislocated by the war and confidently to pursue the building of socialism and communism.

The successes achieved by the working class and all working people in the struggle for the elimination of the bourgeois-land owning system and in building the new world and ensuring its armed defense were inseparably related to the increased role of the Leninist party in social life to instilling a socialist consciousness among ever broader toiling strata and involving them on the side of the working class. Without becoming the most influential force in the country, the party would have been unable to lead the tremendous majority of the people who gave it power and entrusted to it the destinies of socialism and communism.

Today, when the urgent task of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and the qualitative renovation of socialist society on this basis stands before the Soviet people in its entire magnitude, as the CPSU program emphasizes, the leading role of the party increases in its life, and increasingly strict requirements are set concerning the level of its political, organization and ideological activities.

We know that although in the course of building and strengthening socialism the class interests of the workers and the nonproletarian toiling strata did not entirely coincide, they became so close to each other that success in the implementation of the historical mission of the proletariat became their joint personal cause, their common material and spiritual interest. That is precisely why all working people in our country accepted the working class as the leading force of the progressive development of society, and the Communist Party as its vanguard leader. It is thus that, while remaining in terms of its class nature the ideology of the party of the working class, the Communist Party became the party of the whole people. This is stated in the new edition of the party program and it is this that predetermines the revolutionary continuity and class nature of CPSU domestic and foreign policy.

The increased role of the subjective factor at the present stage of development includes both increased consciousness, activeness, organization and discipline of all working people, who are the main productive force of society, as well as the increased standard of scientific, and political leadership in all realms of social life and all state and public organizations, and perfecting the management of the unified national economic complex which has been developed in the country.

What gives the party, a voluntary social organization, the right and possibility of determining the ways of development of society and of demanding

of party and nonparty members and of all organizations and departments the strict observance of its formulated policy, and not the bureaucratic-mechanical but creative implementation of their obligations in all work sectors? This right was earned in the course of a lengthy and dedicated struggle waged by the party for the interests of the people, a struggle which will continue until the final victory of communism. It is strengthened and confirmed through all of the activities of the party, which is developing the eternal aspects of bolshevism and is imbued with the greatest possible responsibility for the future of socialism, peace and human civilization.

"The strength of the party," M.S. Gorbachev said at the 27th CPSU Congress, "is that it is aware of the time, of the pulse-beat of life, and that it is always acting in the thick of the masses. Whenever new problems face the country the party finds ways to solve them. It reorganizes and changes its leadership methods, demonstrating its ability to be on the level of historical responsibility for the fate of the country and the cause of socialism and communism." The more significant the tasks which face the country, which is laying a path to communism, become on the historical level, the greater are the demands formulated toward the party which guides this historical process and the greater the role it plays in the life of society.

The five basic factors described in the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Congress, included in the new edition of the party program and reflected in the CPSU statutes, necessarily determine the increased leading role of the party.

First, this applies to the increased scale and complexity of the tasks of perfecting socialism and accelerating its economic, social and spiritual progress. It could be said that the scale and complexity of the tasks which have faced Soviet society from the very first days of peaceful construction have always been great, particularly if we bear in mind the real possibility of their solution which the society has had at each specific time. This is true. However, it is not merely a question of quantitative growth, although its pace will be inordinately high. In 15 years we must double production capacities, i.e., accomplish as much as we have accomplished during the entire preceding history of the Soviet system, and increase labor productivity by a factor of 2.3-2.5. As a result, Soviet society will rise to a qualitatively new level of development and solve problems the solution of which was long postponed "for later," but which can no longer be postponed; nor can they be left to the future generations without endangering the safety of the country and the strength of the positions of socialism in the world.

The formulation of a scientific policy which would ensure attaining the planned levels, taking into consideration the interests of all social, demographic and national groups and strata, can be accomplished only by a political party free from any kind of group, departmental, regional and other private interests, a party which proceeds from the interests of the development of society as a whole and its communist future.

Second is the development of the political system, the intensification of democracy and socialist self-management by the people on the basis of upgrading the political and labor activeness of the masses, extensively

involving them in the management of production and governmental and social affairs. The process of building socialism and its advancement and growth into the higher communist phase is the result of the conscious activities not only by the vanguard but by the entire people. This precisely is the meaning of socialist (rather than formal!) democracy, the development of which, as Lenin thought, must be manifested from the very first days of the Soviet system in the fact that "in addition to gradual and cautiously selected yet firmly implemented steps, the entire working population must become involved in independent participation in the administration of the state" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 38, p 93). It is entirely obvious that the greater the level of consciousness and political and labor activeness of the toiling masses is, the stricter will be the demands which life will formulate to the political leader of these masses--the Marxist-Leninist party whose activities encompass all realms of society. The more actively it is supported by the people, the greater the influence of the party becomes on the course of social development.

Third, the increased leading role of the CPSU is dictated by the need for the further creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, the purpose of which is to provide a scientific substantiation and prompt answer to problems formulated by life and the collective renovation of all efforts related to the communist upbringing of the working people.

Relying on Marxism-Leninism, our party steadily cautions both against the danger of revising its foundations as well as that of the dogmatic ossification of theoretical thinking and its alienation from the real conditions of social life. "We do not claim that Marx or the Marxists know the path to socialism in all of its specifics. This is stupid," Lenin wrote. "We know the direction of this road. We know the class forces which lead along this road; as to how, specifically and practically, this will be indicated only through the experience of the millions of people once they have taken up this cause" (op. cit., vol 34, p 116).

Lenin tirelessly kept reminding the devisers of impractical schemes and smooth talking Manilovites, who have always existed in large numbers, that "no single sensible socialist who has written about the future has ever even conceived that we could issue some kind of decree and formulate in one fell swoop the forms of organization of the new society," and that "collective experience alone, only the experience of millions of people can offer decisive indications in this respect" (op. cit., vol 36, pp 379-380).

The results of the process of comprehensive advancement of socialism in the foreseeable future and the specific ways of transformation of socialist into communist social relations are included in the programmatic documents of the 27th CPSU Congress in a theoretically impeccable form but by no means in excessive detail. Here as well the experience of the millions of people, and theoretical summations and interpretations are providing the "decisive indications." We feel, the CPSU Central Committee political report to the congress noted in this connection, the urgent need for philosophical summations, for profound economic analyses and historical research. The 27th Congress emphasized that "it is only the scientific trends which stem from practical experience and return to it, enriched with profound summations and

practical recommendations, that are viable." The entire experience in the struggle for the revolutionary reorganization of the world proves that underestimating the role of Marxist-Leninist theory, insufficient creative development of basic problems and opportunism or scholastic theorizing could cause most serious ideological and political harm.

It is a question of extremely important and responsible work. Life urgently formulates new theoretical problems which yesterday were considered in most general features and, most frequently, not even suspected. Such problems must be solved. Furthermore, problems resolved in the past need, under the new conditions, a profound reinterpretation and rejection of what is obsolete and is inconsistent with present requirements.

The documents of the 27th CPSU Congress, which contain a dialectical-materialistic analysis of the real phenomena in domestic and international life and ways of the further development of socialist society offer a clear idea of the scale and depth of this work, which contain a dialectical-materialistic analysis of real phenomena of domestic and international life and was of the further development of Soviet society. The congress reminded all party organizations of the need to develop in the party members a taste for theory. "Without some independent work," Lenin taught, "the truth about any serious problem will not be found, and whoever fears labor deprives himself of the possibility of finding the truth" (op. cit., vol 23, p 28).

Fourth, an increase in the leading role of the CPSU in society is demanded by the need to intensify all round cooperation and strengthen the cohesion among socialist countries and in the international communist and worker movements and the cohesion with the forces of national liberation. It is demanded by the interests of the struggle against bourgeois ideology, revisionism and dogmatism, reformism and sectarianism.

Ever since it was founded the CPSU has been a party of internationalists and a segment of the great universal army of labor. Our party has invariably opposed any manifestations of national exclusivity, separatism and national boastfulness. It never has nor will it ever make concessions to nationalism, for, as Lenin said, the tactic of division and splintering turns into naught "the great behest of convergence and unification of the proletariat of all nations, races and languages" (op. cit., vol 7, p 325). The CPSU shows particular concern for the unification of the members of the socialist community and real socialism, which is the greatest gain of the international working class. In this connection, the congress emphasized the need to use actively a socialist advantage, such as its ability to learn. It must learn how to prevent crisis situations which our class enemy tries to create and use, to counter efforts to splinter the socialist world and to pit some countries against others, and to prevent clashes of interests among socialist states, to harmonize their relations, and to find mutually acceptable solutions to even the most difficult problems.

Unity within variety is also the CPSU approach to problems which arise within the international communist movement. Our party, which considers itself an inseparable part of this movement, is far from dramatizing differences and disputes which arise within the movement. The CPSU believes that variety

within the communist movement is not synonymous with estrangement and that obviously, there cannot be a unity of view among its participants on all problems without exception. As to unity within the movement, which is consistently favored by the Soviet communists, as was pointed out at the congress, it has nothing in common with uniformity, hierarchy, or interference of some parties into the affairs of others or else the aspiration of any given party to a monopoly on the truth.

Fifth and finally, the increased leading role of the CPSU is related to the worsening of foreign political conditions, caused by the increased aggressiveness of imperialism and the need to secure the safety of the country, curb the forces of aggression, halt the arms race, rescue mankind from the threat of nuclear catastrophe and strengthen peace on earth.

For the first time this thesis has been included in the CPSU program, although the question of preserving peaceful conditions for the sake of building the new society has been a key aspect of the foreign policy of the socialist state ever since it was founded. In his address to the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, Lenin suggested that the first order of our policy is "...to remember that we are surrounded by people, classes and governments which are openly expressing their greatest hatred toward us," and "to remember that we are always within a hairbreadth of invasion" (op cit., vol 44, p 296). We remembered this and that is why, at the cost of unparalleled sacrifices and by stressing all our efforts, we were able to defeat the assault forces of imperialism in the face of German fascism and its satellites. Today, in the nuclear age, the problem of war and peace has become a key problem in the destinies not only of a given country or political alliance of countries but of human civilization as a whole.

The CPSU has repeatedly proved its readiness to take any mutually agreed upon steps to ease the international situation and to prevent the militarization of space and promote disarmament on earth, including a suggestion for the total elimination of all nuclear arsenals by the year 2000. However, the CPSU has most firmly proclaimed and proclaims to anyone who "expresses his greatest hatred toward us" and toward our allies that it will not allow any military superiority over the Soviet Union by any capitalist country or any superiority of any imperialist bloc over the socialist community.

Lenin called for waging an irreconcilable ideological and political struggle against the bourgeoisie, for which reason one must always know "the strength of the enemy and his organization and political trends in his camp" (ibid., p 39). This struggle of ideas, which the communists, who defend peace, have not abandoned and will not abandon, is particularly difficult and stressed today.

All of this together is what determines the objective need for the enhanced leading role of the party in socialist society.

Basic Law of Party Life

The resolution on the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Congress makes it incumbent upon all party organizations to proceed from the fact that the party's influence on social processes becomes the stronger and

more efficient the more varied and saturated intraparty life becomes and the stricter the Leninist principle of democratic centralism is observed.

The congress noted the further growth and strengthening of party ranks precisely on the basis of this guiding principle of organizational structure and life and activities of the party, the essence of which, briefly, is as follows: electivity of all leading party bodies, from top to bottom; periodical accountability of party agencies to their party organizations and to superior agencies; strict party discipline and obedience by the minority to the majority; unquestioned observance by lower bodies of decisions made by superior agencies. This formulation characterizes the principle of democratic centralism which has been included in the party statutes since 1934. The 27th Congress deemed it necessary to add to this characterization, "collective work by all organizations and leading party bodies and individual responsibility of every party member for the implementation of his obligations and party assignments." Not the least reason for this addition was confirmed by the negative experience of our and many other fraternal parties. The point is that the cult of personality and subjectivistic and voluntaristic decisions caused a great deal of ideological-political and material harm to the building of the new society, hindered cadre initiative and autonomy and increased thoughtless bureaucratic execution.

In the final account, any amendments and supplements to the CPSU statutes are aimed at the development of intraparty democracy and upgrading responsibility for assignments. These are two sides of the same coin. The nature of these changes may be traced most clearly in the parts of the statutes which deal primarily with the obligations, rights and responsibilities of party organizations and party members.

The most important duty of party committees on all levels, primary party organizations and individual party members is concern for truly upgrading the party's role in the life of society, strengthening and cleansing its ranks and intensifying its combat capability and combativeness. This is determined less by numerical strength than by the quality of the party organizations. Even under tsarist conditions, when party membership promised nothing other than most fierce persecution, Lenin firmly demanded the following: "Better for 10 working people not to call themselves party members (the true working people are not after titles!) than for one loafer to have the right and possibility of being a party member" (op cit., vol 7, p 290). Under contemporary conditions this makes even more censurable cases in which some organizations encourage the growth of party ranks to the detriment of quality and fail to display the necessary exigency toward newcomers.

By including in its ranks the best representatives of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia, the party demands of each organization to become more exigent regarding new CPSU members and to block any attempt at joining the party for careeristic and other selfish considerations. The existence in the new members of qualities, such as political firmness, ideological convictions, honesty and decency and readiness to dedicate themselves to the struggle for the ideals of communism is what gives party comradeship its great power. In order to protect the party from those who would like to acquire a party card "just in case," or who have not

weighed entirely their possibility of becoming true communists, Paragraph 2 of the statutes, which discusses the obligations of the party member, has been expanded substantially. First among the obligations is that of "promoting the party's general line and directives firmly and steadfastly." The supplements introduced in the statutes also make it incumbent upon the party member "actively to contribute to increased socialist self-government by the people," and "comprehensively to contribute to enhancing the consciousness and the ideological and moral growth of the Soviet people," and to struggle "against hues and mores alien to the socialist way of life." Therefore, the refined and expanded stipulations contained in the second paragraph emphasize the role of the party member as a fighter for the party cause, as the organizer of the masses and as a model of honest and dedicated work, civic-mindedness, moral purity and ideological convictions.

In order to ensure the higher ideological and political preparedness of those who join the party and to enhance the role of the Komsomol as its closest aid and reserve, the congress deemed necessary that young people under 25 join the CPSU only through the Komsomol.

Openness is a Leninist tradition of party life. Loyalty to this tradition was clearly demonstrated by the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress. It is one of the reliable guarantees blocking the penetration of party ranks by unsuitable or simply self-seeking elements. In accordance with the Leninist tradition, it is recommended to the party organizations to discuss problems of accepting new members as a rule at open meetings, in order to determine the opinion of the collective about those who would like to become communists.

The nonparty public plays a great role in assessing the work and behavior of CPSU members, frontranking workers in particular. In emphasizing the need "to purge the party from elements which alienate themselves from the masses (naturally, let us not even mention elements who shame the party in the eyes of the masses)," Lenin noted that the views of the nonparty masses are extremely valuable in assessing the people, in showing a negative attitude toward those who "attach themselves," who "court the commissars" and who "turn into bureaucrats." "The toiling masses," Vladimir Ilich further stressed, "can sense extremely well the difference between communists who are honest and dedicated and those who instill disgust in the person who earns his bread with the sweat of his brow, the person who has no privileges and no 'ways toward command positions'" (op cit., vol 44, pp 122-123). This was written during the difficult year of 1921, when the majority of amateurs of a peaceful life as well as, actually, the careerists, had put a respectable distance between themselves and the party. With even greater justification we have the right and obligation to follow the advice of the great Lenin today, when the party of the working class he founded has become the party of the whole people.

A number of suggestions for a mass party purge were heard during the pre-congress debates. As we know, the party congress did not deem this necessary, justifiably assuming that the struggle for the cleansing of party ranks from all unsuitable or corrupt people, who had lost the right to call themselves communists, was not a campaign, however thoroughly prepared it may be, but the prime daily statutory obligation of each primary organization.

The CPSU intends steadily to become more demanding of every party member concerning his attitude toward duty and maintaining the honest and pure image of the party member, assessing him according to his actions and steps. As the CPSU statutes now stipulate, "A communist who has committed a violation is answerable for it above all to the primary party organization. Should the party member be taken to task by a superior body, the primary party organization must be informed of this fact. The statutes also stipulate that the CPSU member bears double responsibility for breaking a Soviet law: to the state and to the party.

All of this makes the life of the party organization open to the labor collective. In turn, regular reports on the problems discussed by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the publication of the most important Central Committee decrees and addresses by leading party committee personnel to labor collectives at work and at home make the party's thoughts, concerns and decisions and, frequently, the very process of their formulation and adoption open to the entire people.

The party member has no privileges but only additional obligations. This Leninist thought, which was heard once again at the 27th CPSU Congress, must become a starting point in the activities of each party organization. It is important always to remember that there is no vanguard role of party members in general; this role is performed through specific actions and practical accomplishments.

One of the mandatory prerequisites for the real growth of the leading role of the Communist Party is its ideological and organizational unity. Any manifestation of ideological divergence and organizational slackness can lower the prestige and influence of the political vanguard, as has frequently been the case in history.

In undertaking the creation of a party of a new type, Lenin deemed absolutely necessary that it rally exclusively people who share common ideological views. He repeatedly emphasized that "the cause of the workers needs the unity of Marxists and not unity between Marxist and the opponents and corrupters of Marxism" (op cit., vol 25, p 79).

Organizational unity does not mean in the least some kind of depressing monotony in which everyone thinks and acts in the same manner. Different viewpoints on different problems can and must exist within the party. The 27th CPSU Congress directed the party committees and organizations toward the comprehensive development of initiative and enhanced activeness and involvement of the party members in collective discussions on all problems of party policy and party life without exception. However, once a problem has been discussed and a decision reached in an organization or throughout the party, all party members must act as one. This is the meaning of organizational party unity, without which one can speak as much as one likes, write and formulate good plans but not act. This has always been true and is a thousand times truer and more important today, when the complete ideological unity of the party on the basis of the political platform formulated with the resolutions of the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and at the 27th Congress, has been defined with unusual power, and when these decisions have

been given true nationwide support. Today the entire party and every individual party member must act, act and, once again, act! They must act in an organized and initiative-minded way, with all their strength.

The party is the vanguard of the people. It exists precisely for the sake of not adapting itself to the average condition of the masses but of leading the masses and pointing them the way. In order successfully to implement its function, the vanguard must not separate itself from the main forces or mark time, thus hindering the general movement. In this connection, Lenin demanded of the party "soberly to follow the real state of consciousness and preparedness of precisely the entire class (rather than its communist vanguard only), and precisely the entire toiling masses (rather than merely their progressive people)" (op cit., vol 41, p 42).

Fully in accordance with these Leninist ideas, the party proclaims in its program that it exists for the people, that it considers the meaning of its existence as serving the people, that its objectives and tasks express the expectations and the basic interests of the Soviet people, and that it will continue to act in a spirit of high responsibility to the people, steadily expanding and intensifying its ties with the masses and living with their needs and concerns. The CPSU deems it its duty always to consult with the working people on the most important problem of domestic and foreign policy, attentively to consider public opinion and involve more extensively nonparty members in the work of the party organizations.

M.S. Gorbachev, who in the CPSU Central Committee Politburo report to the 27th Congress based the economic and social strategy of the party for the 12th 5-year period and until the year 2000, on the concept of acceleration, particularly emphasized the need for interconnection between progressive ideas and practices in building the new society and combining them with the social activeness of the masses. "The most essential feature on which today the entire power of party influence must be concentrated," the report reads, "is making every person understand the gravity of this moment and its crucial nature. All our plans will amount to nothing if the people remain indifferent, if we are unable to awaken the labor and social activeness of the masses and their energy and initiative. Turning society to address itself to the new tasks and turning the creative potential of the people, of each labor collective to their solution are the prime conditions for the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development."

A work style in which the party members, whatever their position, speak frankly with the people, do not avoid acute or sensitive problems, and see to it that every person is not simply an obedient and conscientious worker but also a conscious participant in social life, contributes to strengthening ties with the masses. To this effect, the congress demanded of all party organizations and committees to abandon noisy campaigns and computations of percentages of people's "participation" in various types of undertakings far removed from life.

It is true that the innovative ideas of the 27th Party Congress fall on ground prepared by the April plenum and bolshevik traditions. It is equally true, however, that the encrustations of the past, when the gravity of vital

contradictions was ignored and when economic and social errors were concealed, cannot be eliminated in one fell swoop. Such encrustations are manifested in the minds of the people, in their actions and in their behavior. This requires a serious restructuring of all party work so that it may be addressed to the specific individuals, who are educated, thinking and questing, and to directing the efforts, initiative, cunning and skill of such people to solving the problems formulated at the 27th Congress.

Mastering the Leninist work style means systematically implementing the principle of collective leadership, enhancing the role of party committee plenums and buros and collective leading bodies, uprooting from work practices bureaucratic management and manifestations of bureaucratism and communist boastfulness systematically, on all levels and in all leading party units.

The congress drew most serious attention to the need to shift the center of gravity of party work to the primary organizations and labor collectives, where production, scientific and technical, social and educational problems are resolved directly, and to create in the party organizations an atmosphere of exigency and party comradeship. Actually, how can whitewashing, showiness, figure padding, toadiness, subservience, bribery and slander exist wherever the party organization is firmly watching over the party and national interests and without conniving with the bearers of negative phenomena, strictly implements its statutory obligations, which were significantly increased by the 27th Congress!

The brief but very essential amendments and supplements dealing with the content of the work of the "political nucleus of the labor collective," as the statutes now describe the primary party organizations, deserve the closest possible attention. They indicate, for the first time, that the primary organization "actively participates in the implementation of the party's cadre policy," that it opposes "backward views and moods" and is concerned not only with upgrading the vanguard role of the party members in labor and sociopolitical life but "with their model behavior in life; it hears reports submitted by CPSU members and candidate members on their implementation of statutory obligations and party assignments."

Point "D" of Paragraph 58 of the statutes, which deals with the production assignments of the party organizations, has been redrafted in the spirit of the requirements of the 27th Congress. It particularly emphasizes the fact that the party organization is the organizer of the working people in solving problems of economic and social development; it heads the socialist competition for the implementation of state plans and obligations and production intensification and enhanced labor productivity and production quality, and the extensive practical utilization of the achievements of science and technology and progressive experience; mobilizes the working people in the search for internal reserves, promotes the efficient and economical utilization of material, manpower and financial resources and is concerned with the preservation and multiplication of the public wealth and with improving the working and living conditions of the people.

For the first time the statutes stipulate that the party organization "contributes to promoting in the party members and all working people the

habit of participating in socialist self-government. It ensures the enhanced role of the labor collective in the administration of the enterprise or establishments, and directs the work of the trade union, Komsomol and other public organizations." Also for the first time the struggle for a sober way of life has been made a statutory obligation of the party organization.

Therefore, all problems of the life of the labor collective, ranging from party cadre policy to the development of a healthy psychological climate, which is an important factor in solving economic, social and educational problems, have been included in the range of activities of the party organization and its control.

The short but essentially important additions directly pertaining to their work require the particular attention of secretaries of party organizations in ministries, state committees and other central and local soviet and economic establishments and departments. Now it is a question of actively influencing not simply the education of the personnel but also their selection and placement. The party organizations of departments have the right to demand today of any official, including the minister, the reason for the red tape in which an active suggestion has become entangled, the sluggish implementation of technical policy and the nonfulfillment of the plan for social development and cultural building, and pass judgment on the suitability or unsuitability of a given official.

In substantiating the need to think and work in a new way, which has by no means been realized by everyone and everywhere, the congress raised this question sharply, with Leninist directness and frankness. "We cannot advance by even a single step," the Central Committee political report stipulates, "unless we learn how to work in a new way, unless we are able to surmount sluggishness and conservatism in all their manifestations, or if we lose the courage soberly to assess the situation, to see it as it is. In order for irresponsibility to become a thing of the past we must adopt the rule of calling things by their names, and judging anything without equivocation. It is time to stop displaying unsuitable delicacy wherever exigency and honesty and party conscience must be displayed. No one has the right to forget Lenin's stern warning that 'a false phrase and false boasting are the equivalent of moral death and a real prerequisite for political death'."

No party member, primary organization or committee or party is guaranteed from errors. What matters is the attitude toward errors. Our experience and that of all other fraternal parties proves that without a close critical analysis of accomplishments, of what remained unfinished or what was done not entirely and, sometimes not at all as it was planned, no scientific decisions can be made and no sensible plan for the future can be drafted.

We are marching forward remembering Lenin's words that "all revolutionary parties which have perished in the past did so because they became conceited and were unable to determine where their strength lies and feared to speak of their weaknesses. We shall not perish because we are not afraid of speaking of our weaknesses and we shall learn how to surmount weaknesses" (op cit., vol 45, p 118). Criticism and self-criticism have long been elevated to the rank of statutory rights and obligations of the party members. Bearing in mind the

need for a radical restructuring of all areas of party activities, the 27th CPSU Congress reminded us once again that "wherever criticism and self-criticism are suppressed party work is deformed. An atmosphere of tolerance and impunity is created, which leads to stagnation in the work and the degeneracy of the workers. In the party there must be no organization without control, or closed to criticism."

Developing a principled attitude toward criticism and making it clear to every party member that he must meet the strictest requirements and that criticism in the interest of the party itself must, as Engels said, have "a most frank nature" is the most important task of today. As to people who suffer from excessive arrogance and tolerate no objections even on the part of their closest associates, it is absolutely counterindicated for such people to hold any kind of leading position or, in particularly severe cases of "fear of criticism" do remain within the party, a provision which is also included in the CPSU statutes.

The development of criticism and self-criticism in the primary organizations assumes particular importance. The best way of strengthening relations of party comradeship is the creation within the collective of an atmosphere in which openness, exigency and the well-wishing discussion of any member of the party organization and the criticism of, shall we say, the director of the enterprise by a worker or a minister by a rank-and-file specialist is considered not something exclusive and extraordinary but an ordinary phenomenon, a norm of life.

Criticism is a sharp weapon and one must know how to handle it. It must be a manifestation of specific concern for improving the work and correcting shortcomings. It must not hinder the implementation of what has already been discussed and codified in a party decision. The principle of democratic centralism, as Lenin pointed out, means "precisely freedom of criticism, total and comprehensive, providing that this does not violate the unity of a specific action, as well as the inadmissibility of any criticism which undermines or hinders the unity of an action based on a party decision" (op cit., vol 13, p 129). In developing criticism and self-criticism, the CPSU is against fault finding--blanket censoring and slandering that which has been achieved and gained by the people at the cost of long efforts.

The most important means of enhancing the leading role of the party and its prestige in society is cadre policy, the organization of control, so that all that has been decided is carried out efficiently and quickly and all that is unsuitable, obsolete and obstructive is rejected unhesitatingly.

The party and the Soviet state have many competent cadres, loyal to their work, who can think and act as demanded by the present circumstances. However, it is no secret that there is a large number of people in numerous institutions who love a tranquil life and have taken an attitude of expectancy, hoping that the reorganization in the way of thinking and ways and means of work will become just one more campaign and somehow pass them by. Conversely, previously marginal observers are displaying today an ostentatious activeness, making fiery speeches on the need for reorganization and speeding up paper shuffling to prove their usefulness.

The time has come to start clearing up office labyrinths in which any project can disappear and to raise loudly the question of the official unsuitability of such paper shufflers. All the necessary prerequisites to this effect are available. In 1919, recommending the involvement of "workers and peasants on the middle-level or even below it" in soviet work (to help the thin stratum of the old bolshevik guard which "had overstrained itself during the past struggles, overworked itself and done more than it could") (op cit., vol 38, p 145) Lenin did not doubt the realism of this task. And yet the average level of literacy at that time was extremely low. The average general education level of raykom party secretaries even in prewar times was significantly lower than the educational level of workers today. In our time there are entirely adequate reserves to replace those who are either unwilling or unable to work in a new style. The efficiency with which the party will be able to organize under contemporary conditions the struggle against red tape and bureaucratism, which are nested in our establishments and departments, which poison the lives of the people and mark the death of any live action, will have a highly positive impact on the party's reputation. We know how intolerant Lenin was toward this most severe evil in the period of the establishment of the new management system. The essence of Lenin's approach remains unchanged. We must recall that red tape and bureaucratism cannot be eradicated by any kind of decree or law. Their elimination requires unyielding daily efforts. The scale and efficiency of such efforts determine to a tremendous extent the solution of our main problem: accelerating the socioeconomic development of the country and the related reorganization of the economic management mechanism. In this connection, it is important to remember that bureaucratic distortions are stronger wherever efficiency, openness, control from below and accountability for assignments are absent.

Let us add the following consideration to this. The party and the state and their committees and agencies pursue a single project. Their efforts are directed toward a single objective. However, they act through their specific methods. In real life, however, their functions frequently become mixed. This leads to duplication in the work and the substitution of Soviet and economic by party agencies. Therefore, for the first time the CPSU statutes introduce a separate Section VI "Party and State and Public Organizations." It defines comprehensively and briefly the party's functions concerning these organizations. Paragraph 60 of the statutes is of essential importance. It reads as follows: "Acting within the framework of the USSR Constitution, the CPSU provides political guidance to state and public organizations and directs and coordinates their activities."

The sections in the statutes dealing with the local party bodies assert their role precisely as agencies for political management. The party organizations and the party members working in state and public organizations must fully implement their constitutional rights, and their statutory rights and obligations; they must extensively involve the working people in management and in solving political, economic and social problems.

The congress ascribed great significance in improving the work style to the struggle for unity between words and actions in the activities of the entire party and of each one of its individual members and for such activities, as

was emphasized in the political report of the CPSU Central Committee to the congress, "not to be replaced by phrase-mongering and a great deal of talk at numerous sessions and conferences." The communists have always been respected for their purposefulness and practicality. Today these qualities are valued exceptionally highly.

After the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and, naturally, in the course of the accountability and election campaign which preceded the 27th Congress many new, energetic workers, with a modern way of thinking, assumed responsible positions. This triggered a highly positive reaction among all social strata. It is important to continue systematically to assert as the only criterion for all cadre promotions and transfers the political and practical qualities, the abilities and the real achievements of a person and his attitude toward people.

A proper cadre policy is the most important means of upgrading the party's leading role and mastering the great traditions of bolshevism and raising in the spirit of such conditions cadres infinitely loyal to the cause of communism, marching in the vanguard of the struggle for the implementation of the party's political line. This is the most important, the most valuable party possession. It is precisely such cadres who must assert always and everywhere the innovative and revolutionary--Leninist--work style and see to it that in each party unit principle-mindedness and party comradeship become inviolable standards. "It is only such a stance," the congress emphasized, "that can ensure the moral health of the party which is a prerequisite for the health of the entire society."

"The party of revolutionary Marxism," the resolution adopted at the 10th RKP(b) Congress on party construction problems stipulated, "radically rejects the search for an absolutely accurate form of party organization, suitable for all levels of the revolutionary process, as well as such work methods. Conversely, the form of organization and work methods are entirely determined by the features of a specific historical situation and the tasks directly stemming from this situation." Throughout its entire history Lenin's party has been distinguished by its creative attitude toward theory and the forms and methods of organization of practical work.

This was brought most emphatically to light at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The plenum realistically weighed the lessons of the past and called for the preservation and enrichment of the Leninist and bolshevik standards and traditions in party life. In asserting the plenum's course, the 27th Congress earmarked with revolutionary scope and sober practicality the strategy to be followed in the country's accelerated development.

As a ruling party with powerful means of influencing social processes and aware of the degree of its historical responsibility for the fate of the country, world socialism and civilization, the CPSU is fully resolved firmly to perfect the style and forms of its activities and daringly to renovate them in order to be on the level of the great and revolutionary problems it is solving. The need for energetic restructuring of party work, concentrating it on the person, was reemphasized at the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee

Plenum. The main purpose of the radical restructuring of party work is precisely making a turn to the people, to true action.

As was pointed at at the plenum, the ideas of the reorganization were welcomed with understanding by the majority of party cadres and are beginning to be refracted in practical accomplishments. A new atmosphere of relations between local and central party, soviet and economic bodies was created. A number of practical problems are being solved more quickly, with greater understanding. We have advanced in terms of openness and sharpness in the formulation of problems, the level of their discussion and criticism. A number of oblast, kray and republic party organizations are engaged on a profound and broad scale in production intensification; they are solving problems of economic and social development energetically and purposefully. However, the quest for new forms and methods of party work is not easy. Many party organizations are either totally unwilling or unable to abandon the beaten track and to surmount for force of inertia and feelings of tolerance and complacency. The command style in the work of some party committees is displaying rare durability; occasionally intolerance of any kind of serious critical remark from below is manifested; the protection of unsuitable personnel which superior managers find convenient still exists. Frequently the initiative of communists and nonparty working people encounters a wall of indifference or even open opposition.

Under such circumstances, the June plenum emphasized, upgrading the combativeness of the primary party organizations becomes particularly important. It is precisely the development of their independent thinking, aggressiveness and initiative and activeness by every party member that are the starting point, the main link in the reorganization. Our party's Central Committee Plenum calls precisely for truly undertaking the development of these features.

The powerful party potential consists of theory and policy, and the ideas and power of the organization and of millions of party members in production, management, science, technology and culture. The main task is to convert sooner and to the fullest extent this potential into the constructive energy of practical action. Today the theoretical summations and conclusions of the 27th CPSU Congress are converted into specific policies. This underscores their scientific and vital nature and their ability efficiently to serve our main project--the country's accelerated development.

In concluding this cycle of editorials, which is an effort to analyze the new features contributed by the 27th CPSU Congress to the party's theoretical arsenal and which entitles us to describe the documents it adopted as most important accomplishments of contemporary Marxist-Leninist thinking, let us sum up some results.

The first and most general result which is based on the study of the congress' documents is that the party today is equipped with an accurate, scientific and practically tested knowledge of the main, the basic problems of our age in their internal interconnection and causal determination, as well as knowledge of the optimal ways, means and methods of solving such problems at the present crucial, inordinately difficult and contradictory stage of history.

Based on the new internal and external conditions and features which characterize the contemporary stage in the development of socialism and relying, in this case, on the basic scientific and humanistic principles of Marxism-Leninism, through its collective creative thinking the party developed, above all, a contemporary system of political, socioeconomic, spiritual and moral priorities. Man, with his all-round harmonious development as the prime self-seeking objective of the progress of socialist society, and the human factor, as its main and decisive force, were given priority in this updated system of value coordinates.

Furthermore, all the necessary reasons exist to speak of the development and renovation of the universal traditions of humanism, fully inherited from Marxist-Leninist theory, which is perfectly clearly detected in the further enrichment of the Leninist concept of the contemporary age and the intensified class analysis of any significant contradictions of the current interdependent and largely integral world, the expanded characterization of the historical role of socialism, its accomplishments and advantages and the sober conclusion of the possibility of protecting mankind from the threat of total nuclear catastrophe, which has come very close to it, and, therefore, which instills substantiated hopes. This optimistic yet essentially realistic forecast is supported by other innovative conclusions drawn by our party concerning the significant broadening of the front of the forces of peace and social progress. In the past 20 years they have developed as a new powerful force consisting of mass democratic movements which rally for the sake of the struggle for peace on earth and against the arms race millions of people of different political persuasions and social affiliations. The merit of our party and its significant contribution to theory also include the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of global, of universal problems, the characterization of their place in the historical confrontation between socialism and capitalism, the substantiation of the scientific strategy of solving such problems in the spirit of the profoundly humanistic Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence and good neighborly cooperation among countries belonging to opposite social systems. It is precisely all of this that enabled the 27th Congress to formulate an essentially new concept of the socioeconomic content of peaceful coexistence as a an international order which calls for subordinating human activities exclusively to constructive objectives, to the broad exchange of achievements of science and technology and the values of culture, facilitating for all nations which have taken the path of independent development their advance toward national and social upsurge and the joint and interested solution of the vital problems which are facing mankind today.

Having put an end to the passive-contemplative recording of the levels reached by real socialism in its development and the doctrinary classification of the features of its maturity, contemporary Marxist-Leninist thinking, having totally subordinated itself to the needs of practical requirements, undertook the profound study of the topical problems and further historical prospects of socialism, a study based not on starry-eyed wishes but on the historical lessons of this practical experience, bringing to light the leading trends of social progress. Based on the communist future and relying on the now greatly enriched understanding of socialism as a dynamically developing integral organism in which an entire series of profound and qualitative changes take

place in the course of its growth into communism, the party's collective creative thinking formulated an innovatively revolutionary concept of acceleration of the socioeconomic development of the country and, on this basis, of reaching a qualitatively new societal status.

The concept and strategy of acceleration presume an essentially new quality of economic growth and new approaches to the solution of the problems of our further development. This means, above all, the all-round development of production forces on the basis of the extensive utilization of the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress, the shaping of mature socialist production relations and the radical updating of the economic mechanism. The increased theoretical maturity of the party was precisely manifested above all in the fact that the profound restructuring of the economic mechanism and the further upsurge of production forces are considered in the programmatic documents of the 27th Congress not separately, or independently but in a state of inseparable dialectical unity with the needs governing the development of socialist production relations. This approach was the direct theoretical answer to the lessons of practical experience, which proved the groundlessness and harm of concepts according to which, as a progressive social system, socialism excludes any whatsoever contradictions between production forces and production relations. Concern for achieving their increasing consistency dictates the increased attention of Marxist-Leninist social science to specific problems, such as perfecting the forms of socialist ownership by the whole people and distribution relations, which are called upon to have a tremendous influence on enhanced collective and individual interest in the advancement of public production and the assertion of social justice in all areas of life in socialist society.

Having condemned long-lasting prejudices against commodity-monetary relations, which play an important economic role under socialism, and the underestimating of the law of value, the 27th CPSU Congress emphasized the need of ensuring their normal and healthy functioning on a socialist basis with a view to upgrading social production efficiency, perfecting distribution, trade and consumption and thereby greatly increasing the material interest of production collectives and individual workers in better end results.

All of this contributes to the enrichment of the real content and implementation of the basic law of socialism. This is achieved thanks to the enhanced well-being of the Soviet people to a qualitatively new level, which presumes the use of efficient standards and structures in personal consumption and the increased transformation of public labor into the main realm of human activities, and the manifestation and growth of the various physical and spiritual forces and capabilities of the workers into the prime vital need of every member of society.

Finally, the concept of a strong social policy, inseparably linked with the idea of socialist self-government by the people, which determines the contemporary party approach to problems of the development of the political system of Soviet society, is a major creative contribution by the CPSU to the concentrated sociopolitical doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. The new approach to solving the problems of further progress in the social area and the new assessment of its increased significance are related to the more profound and

specific Marxist-Leninist understanding of humanism, consistent with the realities of our dynamic age. The CPSU proceeds from the fact that the solution of problems in this area will determine, above all, the conversion of the energy of the party's plans into the energy of the practical actions of millions of working people. The party considers the active and efficient participation of the working people and their collectives and organizations in solving problems of governmental and social life the real meaning of the process of development of socialist self-government, a concept which, as applied to the first phase of the communist system, is yet another major contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory.

Therefore, the 27th CPSU Congress was an exceptionally important step in asserting the new style of theoretical activities--proceeding from life and related to life, rather than based on abstract speculations and scholastic theorizing. The congress organically related the problems and tasks of ideological education and the development of science and culture to the concept and strategy of acceleration; it formulated with inordinate urgency the question of strengthening the ties between ideology and life. The implementation of this requirement will mean the qualitative renovation of all aspects of party ideological activities.

The party's increased theoretical maturity was also manifested in the intensification of the process of self-knowledge during the post-April period, and the critical analysis of its experience and laws governing its internal development. The Leninist theory of the revolutionary party of a new type was given a new interpretation in the congress' documents, free from bookishness and dogmatic encrustations. Therefore, we can speak today with full justification of the creative enrichment of the theory of party construction by the 27th CPSU Congress.

The increased leading role of the party and the further strengthening of its unity with the entire Soviet people are the best guarantee for the successful solution of the problems of building communism. The CPSU is proving its rights to be the vanguard of the people also by concentrating within itself the intellectual potential of the working people and displaying in action its ability and skill to find scientific answers to the most difficult problems of our time. This is convincingly confirmed by the programmatic documents of the 27th CPSU Congress, for which reason they are also the greatest accomplishment of contemporary Marxist-Leninist thinking.

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STRATEGY OF ACCELERATION: THEORY AND PRACTICE

DEVELOPMENT PROSPECTS AND PRIORITIES IN THE MACHINE BUILDING COMPLEX IN THE 12TH 5-YEAR PLAN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 86 (signed to press 25 Jun 86) pp 63-74

[Article by Dr of Technical Sciences G. Stroganov, USSR Gosplan deputy chairman]

[Text] Today Lenin's conclusion that "socialism is inconceivable without...equipment based on the latest word of most modern science..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Completed Collected Works], vol 36, p 300) is more relevant than ever. Attaining the levels earmarked by the 27th CPSU Congress for the development of Soviet socialist society by the start of the third millennium will depend on the speed with which a turn toward intensive economic growth factors will be completed and the extent of implementation of plans for the reconstruction of the national economy on the basis of the latest scientific and technological achievements. In this connection machine building, in which all topical economic problems are focused today, assumes a decisive significance.

The problems posed by the congress cannot be solved without the fast updating of the sectors within the machine building complex and without restructuring so that they may produce new systems of machines and advanced equipment consistent with world standards. This, precisely, is the way the problem was formulated at the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Today the efficient means of solving the main problems of development of machine building are found in the alliance between science and practice (see, for instance, the article by Academician K.V. Frolov, USSR Academy of Sciences vice president, "Machine Building and Science in the Strategy of Acceleration," KOMMUNIST No 6, 1986). Work in this area can be purposefully developed on the basis of science. Domestic machine building must produce systems and sets of machines, equipment and instruments with high technical and quality standards and have an extensive scientific and production potential at its disposal. Suffice it to say that available specialized capacities in machine building allow us to produce goods worth more than 150 billion rubles annually. In the past 5-year period the sector's basic industrial-production capital increased by a factor of 1.4. A broad network of scientific institutions, scientific-production associations, engineering bureaus and design and technological institutes enable us to carry out basic

research and development, to create the latest models of machines, equipment and instruments and to develop progressive technological processes and management systems. About 700 large scientific research and design-engineering organizations are working independently or within scientific-production associations. Every year they create 2,200 models of new types of equipment. Associations, such as ZIL AvtoVAZ, KamAZ, Elektrosila and Uralmash, the Machine Building Scientific-Production Association imeni M.V. Frunze in Sumy, the Machine-Tool Building Association imeni 50-Letiya SSSR in Ivanovo, the Leningradskiy Elektromekhanicheskiy Zavod and Krasnyy Proletariy associations and others have become world famous. Their output enjoys a deserved reputation at home and abroad.

Nevertheless, the contemporary level of machine building and its scientific and technical and production base are as yet by no means entirely consistent with the requirements of converting the economy to intensive development. A trend toward a slowing down of the faster growth rates of output in 11 machine building ministries, compared with the growth rates of industry as a whole, has existed since 1975. Thus, in the 9th 5-year period output was faster by 15 percent; it was faster by 9 percent in the 10th and dropped to 4.5 percent in the 11th. Furthermore, industrial capital investments channeled into the machine building sector were lesser by a factor of 15-20 compared with sectors for which machines, equipment and instruments were being produced. This led to certain disproportions in the development of the national economic sectors which, in turn, affected the level and quality of the output of machine builders and adversely affected the renovation of the active share of basic production capital and the growth of social labor productivity.

Active efforts were made after the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum to surmount these negative trends. A long-term strategy for the development of machine building was formulated. Several decrees were passed by the party and the government earmarking specific steps for the radical reorganization of machine building, the further development and advancement in the management and organization of the machine building complex and for ensuring the total conversion of enterprises and associations to the new economic management methods and conditions. A serious discussion with the heads of machine building ministries took place at the CPSU Central Committee conference on problems of the further development of machine building sectors and upgrading the technical standard and quality of output (May 1986).

The USSR Council of Ministers set up a USSR Council of Ministers Machine Building Bureau as a permanent body, for the main purpose of ensuring high-level management of the complex of machine building sectors, and radically transforming machine building production into a highly developed scientific industrial base, capable of rapidly ensuring the technical reconstruction of national economic sectors on the basis of the maximal utilization of scientific and technical achievements.

As of 1986 all machine building ministries have been working under the new economic management conditions. The results of the implementation of the 1985 State Plan for Economic and Social Development of the USSR indicate that some progress was made through their implementation. At the same time, greater opportunities appeared for the further enhancement of production efficiency

and quality of output, as confirmed by the experience of AvtoVAZ and the Sumy Machine Building Scientific-Production Association imeni M.V. Frunze, aimed at perfecting the economic mechanism and converting to the principles of self-financing and self-support.

The increased autonomy of associations and enterprises, and the application of new economic management methods laid the foundations for making organizational changes in all sectorial management units, reorganizing the work of machine-building ministries and turning them into headquarters of scientific and technical progress. General management systems were approved for all machine-building ministries by the USSR Council of Ministers in December 1985.

The general systems call for further enhancing the level of production concentration and the creation of new and consolidating operating scientific-production and production associations capable of developing integral technological systems. Such associations will account for up to 70 percent of the total output. A major prerequisite to this effect is the increased integration of science with production by including in their structure scientific research, design-engineering and technological organizations. The initial steps in this direction have already been taken. At the beginning of 1986 machine-building scientific-production associations employed 55 percent of the personnel working in this sectorial science.

In order to ensure the closer interconnection between basic and applied sciences and production and the extensive practical implementation of progressive scientific achievements in machines, technologies and materials, intersectorial scientific and technical complexes (MNTK) were created, which encompassed the leading trends of technical progress. A great deal more remains to be done, however, to carry out the further reorganization of sectorial science, improve its interaction with academic and VUZ science and strengthen its plant sector.

In formulating the 12th 5-Year Plan, the machine-building ministries paid particular attention to updating machine-building output through technical retooling and reconstruction, based on advanced high-efficiency equipment, the latest technologies and advanced forms of organization of labor, production and management.

Solutions were found to major problems determining the interaction among sectors within the machine-building complex. Possibilities of further enhancing the technical standards of output were identified, both through the accelerated application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and perfecting management style and structure, and upgrading state, planning and performing discipline.

As a whole, we can say that machine building is reaching the status of a stable operational system.

The development of the machine building complex will be distinguished by a number of features in the 12th 5-Year Plan.

In the 12th 5-year period, the volume of machine-building output will increase by 43 percent, or outstrip industry as a whole by a factor of 1.7. The accelerated development of machine building will be achieved on the basis of an even distribution of growth rates in the volumes of output by individual year within the 5-year period and, above all, by remaining on the upper limit of the assignments of the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000.

During the 12th 5-year period, the volumes of output in instrument and machine-tool making and the production of electrical engineering items will increase by a 1.5-1.7 factor. This approach is of essential importance in implementing the strategy of the country's social and economic development, for it will enable us to speed up the active share of capital assets on a qualitatively new basis. It will ensure within the national economic sectors the increased application of progressive basic technologies and upgrade the level of production automation by a factor of 1.5-2.

As we know, the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress called for a new approach to the formulation of the 5-year plan and its structure and system of indicators. In order to ensure the further broadening of the rights of ministries, production associations and enterprises in planning and economic activities, the number of approved indicators and assignments included in the 5-year plan was reduced sharply. The role of economic standards was enhanced and approved for the entire 5-year period, along with that of economic indicators, such as profits, higher labor productivity and reduced specific outlays of basic materials and fuel and energy resources. Planning will no longer be based on tons of output of machines and equipment. The plan's structure has been simplified and all of its sections are directed at accelerating the utilization of scientific and technical achievements. A new title--"Building Complex"--has been added to the plan for the first time.

During the 12th 5-year period particular attention will be paid on all management levels to problems of upgrading technical standards, and quality and competitiveness of machine building output. Persistent and systematic work is already being done in this area.

The steps approved by the USSR Gosplan are, above all, economic. The plan section on "Development of Science and Equipment," includes the most important indicators, such as updating currently produced commodities and the share of output consistent with global technical standards, and applying progressive basic technologies and new models of equipment. There will be a connection between the quality indicators of the most important types of manufactured commodities and the scale of their output. For example, an indicator, such as the share of machines, equipment and instruments equipped with automated control systems has been introduced (including those based on the use of microprocessor equipment) in the volume of output of the most important "designed list" of commodities. Characteristically, this section of the plan now includes only the type of equipment which ensures the following: upgrading labor productivity and reliability by no less than a factor of 1.5-2; lowering specific metal-intensiveness by a minimum of 12-18 percent and specific power intensiveness by 7-12 percent.

The "Development of Science and Equipment" section in the plan is now being drafted much faster than the other parts of the 5-year plan. It is considered basic in terms of the latter.

The machine-building ministries are implementing a program for comprehensive standardization and metrological support, aimed at upgrading the quality, reliability and design of the most important items. Stricter standards are being applied. The machine-building sectors are certifying commodities on the basis of two quality categories, and today the state Emblem of Quality is awarded to items meeting world standards. A system of tests and acceptance of items for production-technical and cultural-consumer purposes is being developed, which should prevent the production of obsolete and substandard items.

According to the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree on measures for radically upgrading production quality, the assignment issued to organizations developing new equipment is that newly developed machines, mechanisms, equipment, materials and instruments must be either superior or equal to the best worldwide standards. It is forbidden to submit for production purposes projects which fail to meet this requirement. Developers of finished products are given the right to formulate assignments relative to the technical standards, reliability and quality to developers of complementing items and materials.

Steps have been earmarked to ensure the radical restructuring of the system of technical control of quality. The role and importance of the respective services in associations and enterprises is being upgraded.

With a view to reliably blocking the production of substandard items and to control the efforts of associations and enterprises in doing quality work, it was deemed necessary to set up special extradepartmental bodies--State Acceptance--under Gosstandart jurisdiction. At the same time, a procedure is being drawn up according to which, in cases of repeated deliveries of substandard items, the consumer has the right unilaterally to break the procurement contract. The impact of economic levers on upgrading the quality and technical standards of output will be strengthened.

During the 12th 5-year period tasks in the area of technical standards and quality of output are being formulated in an entirely new way for the machine-building complex. As was noted at the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, some items do not meet contemporary scientific and technical standards due to the existence of a faulty philosophy of imitation and mediocrity. Its decisive rejection is the base of the efforts to correct the existing situation regarding the technical standard of produced machinery.

A tremendous amount of work must be done in this main area of development of the machine-building complex. The situation here is changing with inadmissible slowness. It took more than 10 years for the share of superior quality output in machine building to reach 39.2 percent of the total output. Basic technical and economic parameters of many types of equipment fall substantially short of the requirements of customers and scientific and technical developments widely applied abroad.

Hence the second essential feature of the 5-year plan in terms of machine building: accelerating the pace of utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress. It is stipulated, in particular, that the period for updating produced commodities will be reduced by a factor of 3-4. This means that whereas previously equipment produced by the machine-building industry was updated each 32 years, by 1990 it will not exceed 7-7.5 years. The share of output of advanced types of equipment will thereby significantly increase. Unit capacity, productivity, reliability and economy will increase, and power intensiveness and specific material intensiveness of machines and equipment will be lowered. By 1990 up to 32 percent of machine-building output will be equipped with electronic control systems, including microprocessors. In the case of some of the most important models this figure will reach as high as 70 percent.

The 5-year plan calls for sharply upgrading the quality and enhancing the technical standard of completed scientific and design developments, reducing development time by a factor of 3-4, mastering new equipment models and upgrading the technological standards and quality of execution.

By the end of the 5-year plan the share of output of basic items produced on a serial basis, consistent with world standards, will reach 80-85 percent and that of newly developed items, almost 100 percent. The main task will be to organize the production of new-generation equipment, which can considerably upgrade labor productivity, open the way to the automation of all stages in the production process and improve the efficiency of utilization of labor, material and financial resources.

We know that contemporary achievements in microelectronics offer essentially new opportunities for automating machine and equipment and control and upgrading efficiency. In 1985 the share of machines, equipment and instruments equipped with electronic control facilities and microprocessors did not exceed 5 percent of the volume of output of the most important items produced by the machine-building industry. This most important trend in scientific and technical progress will be applied on the broadest possible scale during the current 5-year period. The use of microprocessor controls in instrument and machine-tool manufacturing and the electrical engineering industry will increase reliability and machine-life indicators by a factor of 3-5; material- and power-intensiveness will be reduced by 20-40 percent; in the automotive industry and in agricultural, heavy and power machine building fuel and energy outlays will be reduced by 10-20 percent, labor productivity will be increased by 20-50 percent and reliability and the service life of machines will be doubled or tripled.

The 5-year plan calls for accelerated production of computer and instrument equipment and upgrading its technical standard. Whereas the volume of output in instrument manufacturing will be increased by a factor of 1.7 and modernization by 70 percent, the production of computers will increase by a factor of 2.6 and means of programmed control of machine tools and robots and command instruments for automated lines by a factor of more than 3.5. The reliability of ChPU systems will be increased by a factor of 3-5. This will enable us fully to meet the planned substantial increase in output (a 2-10 factor) of machining centers, ChPU-equipped machine tools, robots and robot-

technical complexes for adjustable production systems and systems for automated design and microprocessors. At the same time, deliveries of complete technical and programming facilities for automated control systems for technological processes will be increased more than tenfold.

During the 5-year period the production of instruments for scientific research--electron microscopes, mass spectrometers, chromatographs, measuring-computer sets for the automation of scientific experimentation and other apparatus will be increased by one-half. The production of means for automated design, based on new modern computers with greater productivity (by a factor of 5-10), expanded memory capacity and greater reliability will be increased significantly. This will lay a firm base for upgrading facilities for engineering work, technical retooling of design bureaus and institutes and experimental production facilities, reaching the necessary technical standards and substantially reducing the time spent on research and development.

Frequently many domestically produced machines, equipment and instruments do not meet contemporary reliability and machine-life requirements. This entails substantial operational costs due, above all, to the huge cost of equipment repairs, increased use and systematic shortages of spare parts, the production of which takes up to 20 percent of the total amount of ferrous metals consumed in machine building.

The 5-year plan calls for the virtually entire elimination of this major negative phenomenon. In particular, full operating time of performing mechanisms, power control instruments, mainline electric locomotive engines, grain harvesters, adaptable production modules, hydraulic and compressed-air equipment and milk separators will be increased by a factor of 1.5-2; digital programming control systems, analog electric measuring devices, industrial robots with cyclical control systems and other types of equipment will be increased by a factor of 2.5-3 or even more.

The production and rebuilding of parts with coat hardening will more than double over the 5-year period. This will enable us substantially to reduce the need of the national economy for the respective types of machines and spare parts.

Production quality is directly related to technological improvements. Some new machine tools, equipment and systems enhance the level of production efficiency. However, revolutionary changes can take place in the production process only when such equipment is part of a progressive technological process based on comprehensive technological systems and lines.

Organizing the mass manufacturing of new-generation equipment, which can increase labor productivity manifold and open the way to automating all stages in the production process is a task of particular importance. The 12th 5-Year Plan calls for increasing the production of such equipment. In particular, the production of automatic revolving and revolving-conveyor lines will be increased substantially. Such lines enable us to increase labor productivity by a factor of 5-10, and reduce the need for production equipment space by a factor of 2-3 and the number of transport operations by a factor of 15.

The plan also calls for increasing the production and developing a new significant amount of multiple-function machines which will increase labor productivity by a factor of 3-5. Thus, the production of processing centers will be increased by a factor of 4.3; that of adaptable automated systems will triple and of adaptable production modules will increase by a factor of 2.8.

Deliveries of complete sets of technological equipment will be increased significantly. The variety of such equipment will be increased by a factor of 2.5 and its share in the overall volume of output of corresponding types of equipment will be increased by 20-40 percent.

With a view to meeting the requirements of the national economy for progressive types of machines, equipment and instruments better, the 5-year plan calls for making major structural changes in the production of machine-building items.

Latest and most modern equipment will be supplied on a large-scale to sectors in the fuel-energy and agroindustrial complexes, for industrializing construction and transportation, to ferrous and nonferrous metallurgical enterprises, the chemical and light industries and other economic sectors.

Although the 5-year plan calls for the production of machines which will increase labor productivity by several hundred percent, the more complete solution of this problem in each individual year of the 5-year period will require the additional efforts of the machine-building ministries and their scientific research and design organizations and industrial enterprises. The available stock of designs for such equipment is insufficient. The amount of testing and studies is very small. Ministry computations indicate that the average productivity of the corresponding types of equipment, developed so far, will increase by no more than a factor of 1.4-1.6 for machine-tools, forge-and-press and agricultural machinery, ore mining equipment, and some models of lifting, chemical and petroleum extraction and refining equipment. This means that the average productivity of the operational amount of such equipment will increase by no more than 15-20 percent. Hence the need for drastically increasing work on the accelerated development and production of new equipment which will comprehensively upgrade labor productivity and match world standards.

Special commissions have established the technical standards of developed machines, equipment and instruments which will be produced by the machine-building sector during the 12th 5-year period. Obsolete developments will be halted, and economic levers will put a stop to the production of obsolete items.

A number of problems must be solved if machine building is to meet world standards. Most of all the very procedure used in developing and testing new machines must be changed. The designer, with his design tool [kuhlman] cannot solve such a problem. Today's methods for testing and finishing new equipment prototypes, used by a number of design bureaus and experimental production facilities, are 10 to 15 years behind contemporary requirements. The experimental and testing shops and services in charge of preparing models for production must be substantially developed and retooled.

In order to achieve maximal benefits from the installation of automation facilities, the ministries must accelerate the creation of systems for the joint use of SAPR systems and standardized programs for various plans within the same sector and by type of commodity produced in the various machine-building sectors. The SAPR will undertake not only the development, completion and finishing of designs but also technological preparations for production and for the production process itself.

Special mathematical support departments must be set up at enterprises of the Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry producing sets of industrial robot and adaptable production systems. Their personnel will develop packets of applied standardized blocks of data banks and mathematical programs for collective use; an all-union center for retraining and upgrading the skill of engineering cadres in the development and operation of sets of industrial robot, automated revolving and revolving-lines and flexible production systems in machine building, with powerful testing facilities, must be set up. This will contribute to the implementation of a unified scientific and technical policy in mastering contemporary equipment, make it possible to train specialists at the proper time and end the noted process of development of disparate approaches to the solution of this problem. The center would also provide expert evaluation of designs of sets of industrial robot and adaptable production systems developed in the Soviet Union and offer consultations on their application.

Reducing the time needed for the development of high-quality machine-building items, particularly mass-produced ones, calls for increasing the production of prototypes, and reducing the time and drastically upgrading the reliability of testing. Contemporary test benches enable us comprehensively to duplicate all parameters and the most extreme conditions under which the new equipment will be used. Only thus can the high reliability of machines be essentially ensured even before their production has been organized. In this connection, during this 5-year period the machine builders will promote the accelerated development of testing-experimental bases, and the creation and use of contemporary testing equipment and grounds. The further strengthening of ties between higher schools and production facilities and the use of their developments on the basis of perfected contractual relations and the development of testing and experimental production facilities are contemplated.

The 12th 5-Year Plan contains an integral system of measures aimed at radically improving the efficiency of scientific research and experimental design organizations in machine building, drastically reducing research and development time and radically strengthening testing and experimental bases through reconstruction, construction and outfitting more than 150 of their most important enterprises. During the 12th 5-Year Plan no less than 8-10 percent of the funds allocated for technical retooling and capital construction will be channeled into such purposes, as the result of which the capital-labor ratio of scientific workers will be increased by one-half.

Not all managers of enterprises and organizations have yet accurately assessed the need to solve this important problem within the shortest possible time. This error may lead to the nonimplementation of planned assignments on

upgrading quality, and lengthen development time which, in the final account, will adversely affect the reliability of output and its consistency with contemporary standards and work dependability.

The significant increase in the volume of output of equipment with virtually no increases in the amount of metal consumption is the most important feature of the 5-year plan. The priority output of goods with reduced metal-intensiveness per unit of consumer benefits of machines and equipment, and the increased utilization of progressive technological processes and new materials are mandatory prerequisites for the implementation of this assignment.

Such technologies include the manufacturing of items made of metal powders, which will be increased by a factor of more than 6, and a technology for rolled pieces, the use of which will be increased by a factor of 2.3. The technology of optimal computerized heat-cutting of metals will be applied extensively. Essentially new technologies will be used and developed further in machine building, such as electron-ray, laser, impulse, membrane, superhigh pressure, high-temperature convection synthesis, shaping in superplastic mode and others, which will yield substantial increases in labor productivity and conservation of material resources. As a whole, the planned application of progressive equipment and technology will enable us to increase the work-life and reliability of machines and mechanisms, lower their specific metal-intensiveness and save 140-150 million tons of standard fuel over the 12th 5-year period.

The pace at which the production potential in machine building will increase will be based on the restructuring of investment and structural policy and the accelerated application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress. Compared with the previous 5-year period, capital investments to this purpose will be increased by a factor of 1.8; 52 percent of industrial capital investments will be channeled into technical retooling and reconstruction of operating enterprises. The pace at which production facilities in machine-building enterprises will be retooled will be increased. As much as 38-40 percent of metal-processing equipment will be used for this purpose. The volume of work done through the efforts of the enterprises themselves will increase by a factor of 1.9 compared with the 11th 5-Year Plan and its share in the overall volume of construction and installation work will reach about 19 percent. We should point out, however, that on 1 January 1986 the utilization of production development assets equaled 72 percent for the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, 74 percent for the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry, and 85 percent each for the Ministry of Machine-Tool and Tool Building Industry and Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building. These are major reserves underutilized by the ministries.

The rate of renovation of the active part of basic industrial-production capital will be about 60 percent for the 5-year period as a result of the implementation of the steps for the radical reconstruction of machine building; it will be about 84 percent for the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems and 71 percent for the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building. The capital-labor ratio will be increased by a factor of 1.4 and return on capital will be higher.

The 5-year plan also calls for a increasing the load and shift work of metal processing equipment, to the standard 1.7 level. The shift coefficient of automatic lines, ChPU equipment and adaptable production modules and systems will reach the 1.9-2.5 level. Such shift coefficient increase in the work of the equipment, its increased productivity and updating will account for the entire increase in machine-building output without increasing the number of workers. The initiative of the Leningrad party organization of using new and advanced production assets on a double- or triple-shift basis has met with the comprehensive support of machine builders.

The major steps planned to accelerate the development of the machine-tool manufacturing industry will nevertheless be insufficient in terms of producing the necessary volume of technological equipment under the conditions of the highly dynamic pace of the forthcoming reconstruction of machine building. For that reason the production of specialized technological equipment for house needs will substantially increase within the sectors. Within the 5-year period it will be increased by a factor of 5.7. Shops for the production of instruments and tools will be substantially strengthened and developed and the production of modern equipment for such shops will be increased sharply. In the 12th 5-Year Plan the capacity of these shops and production facilities must be increased by a factor of 2.5 compared with the current level.

Priority in reconstruction and technical retooling within the reproduction structure of capital investments in machine building is dictated by vital requirements of technical progress, such as perfecting production technology. To this effect more advanced types of technological equipment will be used, and new ways for increasing labor productivity will be found.

Furthermore, the reconstruction of operating enterprises enables us to increase production capacities and output as a rule without increasing the number of workers and engineering and technical personnel, using experienced collectives with established labor traditions.

Highly efficient programs for technical retooling have already been developed and are being implemented in a number of enterprises within the machine-building complex. Thus, at the Moscow Electrical Engineering Plant imeni Vladimir Ilich, the comprehensive automation of technological processes, based on the radical reconstruction of the plant, will result in higher production capacity by a factor of 3.3, while personnel strength will be reduced by 12 percent, including 46 percent among workers engaged in transport and loading and unloading manual operations. This will make it possible substantially to upgrade the shift coefficient of the equipment.

However, technical renovation is not being carried out with the necessary energy and purposefulness everywhere. Thus, the Stakhanov Railroad Cars Manufacturing, Yuzhnouralskiy Machine Building and Ivano-Frankov Fittings Plants, the Dnepropetrovsk Plant for Heavy Presses and others are not ensuring the timely start-up of rebuilt capacities. Today this type of attitude toward such a most important work sector is totally inadmissible.

It is exceptionally important, as was particularly emphasized at the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, for reconstruction, technical retooling and new

construction to be based on cost estimates consistent with all requirements of scientific and technical progress. Let us note the largely formalistic attitude toward solving this problem taken by the Ministries of Machine-Tool and Tool Building Industry, Electrical Equipment Industry and Automotive Industry. In the 12 5-Year Plan the expansion and intensification of intersectorial specialization and cooperation becomes the main trend in shaping capacities and developing the flexibility of machine building output. Practical experience indicates that labor productivity at specialized plants is several hundred percent higher than at nonspecialized production facilities. For example, it is higher by a factor of 7-10 in the production of reduction gear, 3-4 in hydraulic equipment, and 15-20 in reinforcing items. Tremendous reserves remain in this area. The level of assembly and part specialization must reach 40-50 percent, compared with the current 7-10 percent.

The organization of domestic machine building, largely based on the principle of universality and comprehensiveness of enterprises working with a closed technological cycle, is inconsistent with the contemporary requirements of scientific and technical progress and hinders technical retooling. The present level of intersectorial cooperation does not exceed 1 percent for semifinished parts and 3 percent for assemblies and parts. The dispersed and ineffective nature of the production of identical goods is characterized by the fact that 63 percent of machine-building enterprises producing ferrous and steel castings account for no more than 9 percent of the total volume. These figures indicate economically unjustified labor, material and energy outlays.

The assignments of the 5-year plan make it possible to accomplish a major change in specialization. The further expansion of assembly and part specialization will be directed by the head machine building ministries which are responsible for the technical standards, quality and meeting the need for items for general machine-building use. The production of such items at specialized enterprises will be increased from 1.1 billion rubles in 1985 to 3.45 billion rubles in 1990 or by a factor of 3.1; the main variety of such items will be increased from 8 to 26. The implementation of measures to develop production specialization will make it possible already in the 12th 5-year period to increase labor productivity in machine building by 12-15 percent as the result of this factor alone.

The plan stipulates substantial steps to develop the social aspect of machine building. Considerable funds will be channeled into the construction of children's preschool institutions, cultural clubs and vocational technical schools.

In planning the development of domestic machine building we pay particular attention to disseminating the experience of frontranking collectives in our country and in CEMA member countries. Their experience proves the existence of tremendous possibilities for acceleration and tremendous initiative and creativity in collectives, offering all possible opportunities for tangible progress in the fields of economics, science, production and organization.

The further development of cooperation with CEMA members in machine building is assigned a major role in solving key problems of our country's

socioeconomic development. One of the main features of its current stage is converting to cooperation based on the comprehensive solution of the most important sectorial and intersectorial problems, from scientific research and design to the development of new equipment and the organization of its specialized and cooperated production and reciprocal procurements. In this case the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress Among CEMA Members Until the Year 2000 is scheduled to play an important organizing role. Great attention will be paid to establishing direct relations among enterprises, associations and scientific and technical organizations of fraternal countries. Some experience has already been acquired in this area.

A decisive restructuring has been initiated in the machine building complex. Priority tasks have been set for the radical improvement of the technical standards and quality of output. A long-term development strategy has been defined. The purpose of the earmarked steps will be to make a decisive contribution to converting the economy to intensive development and upgrading public production efficiency.

As was noted at the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, violations of plans or references to objective and subjective reasons will be totally unacceptable in the implementation of a most important state task such as the machine-building modernization program. Within a short time, displaying full understanding and responsibility, the heads of machine-building ministries, associations and enterprises, labor collectives, scientists and specialists must do everything necessary to advance domestic machine building to leading positions in the world.

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NEW WAY OF THINKING AND WORKING

RELYING ON THE POWER OF THE BRIGADE CONTRACT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 86 (signed to press 25 Jun 86) pp 75-86

[Article by G. Ulanov, first secretary of the Kaluga CPSU Obkom]

[Text] The problem which the party organizations in Kaluga Oblast are solving today, together with the rest of the party, is to include the broadest possible masses, each labor collective and every person in the process of accelerating socioeconomic progress. We consider the further development of collective forms of labor organization and incentive, which have become widespread in our oblast, a major lever for upgrading the labor and social activeness of the working people. The brigade method, which was brought to life by the dynamics of the popular masses themselves and their social creativity, offers extensive opportunities for perfecting socialist production relations.

I

We justifiably credit the turbine plant for starting the brigade method in the Kaluga area. More than 15 years ago, the plant found itself in a difficult situation. Its collective was not fulfilling the state plan. The plant's party organization and management persistently sought a solution to the developing situation. In the final account, they agreed on the fact that streamlining the organization of the production process should begin with bringing order into each work place, for which no clear plan existed. This complicated management, caused a great deal of lack of coordination in the work and hindered the fullest and most efficient utilization of capital assets and raw, material and manpower resources. The plant undertook a search for the type of labor organization within which all parts of the individual worker's plan could be coordinated with the plans of the shop and the enterprise while, at the same time, increasing the interest of the workers in upgrading labor productivity and ensuring the efficient use of each equipment unit and hour of working time. Practical experience indicated that the brigade of a new type was such a method--the prime labor collective to which extensive rights in managing production affairs were granted.

The comprehensive machine-tool brigade headed by Viktor Yakovlevich Chernov was among the first brigades created at the Kaluga Turbine Plant by decision of the party committee, in February 1970. As the result of a more efficient

use of the equipment, the condensation of working time and combination of skills, the brigade shortened the parts machining cycle by 13-15 percent. It fulfilled its assignment with half the number of people stipulated in the norms; the shift coefficient of equipment work reached 1.8 and nearly all brigade members mastered a related skill.

The period of experimental testing indicated the high efficiency of the new method. However, it also called for refining and making some changes to it. Collective management bodies, such as brigade councils and councils of brigade leaders, were created. In addition to production problems, they also solved problems of cadre selection and deployment, rating workers and determining the sizes of bonuses and wages.

The party committee and the economic managers accurately assessed the possibilities of the brigade method and began systematically to convert to this progressive labor organization method. In order to be successful, they considered exceptionally important the strict observance of the principle of voluntary participation in applying this innovation. They relied mainly on extensive explanatory work. During the initial and most difficult period, the party organization was able to develop within the collective an atmosphere of creative search. It helped to disperse the doubts of those who questioned the success of this project and to convince the collective of the accuracy of the selected method. Party members headed the first brigades set up at the plant. Economic training was organized for foremen, chiefs of planning bureaus and shop managers. The brigade leaders took a course in the foundations of the brigade organization of labor. By the end of 1973 the organization of brigades had been essentially completed. By that time their number at the plant had reached 327, accounting for 90 percent of all production workers.

The "Kaluga variant" of new-style work was given a high rating by the party's committee. In his report at the December 1984 All-Union Practical Science Conference, in discussing the practical experience of the turbine makers, M.S. Gorbachev noted: "The brigade form of labor organization and competition had here an essential influence on accelerating the growth rates, upgrading production efficiency, reducing the need for workers and strengthening discipline, reciprocal exigency and mutual aid in the collective and improving the entire moral-psychological atmosphere."

During the 11th 5-year period, the collective of this enterprise, which had now already become the Kaluzhskiy Turbinnyy Zavod Association, increased its volume of output by a factor of 1.6 with a virtually unchanged number of personnel; all in all, since the beginning of the use of the brigade method the enterprise's volume of output has nearly quintupled. Last year the association was awarded the Order of Lenin for applying and mastering the production of new progressive equipment.

Let us note that as early as 1973 the CPSU Oblast Committee had approved the initiative of the turbine makers which called for converting the entire collective to the brigade labor method and recommended to the oblast party organizations to make extensive use of the experience of the frontrankers. Ever since then the efforts to apply brigade forms of labor organization have remained in the center of attention of the party committees. The course of

the project is regularly discussed at meetings of the party obkom buro and by the CPSU gorkoms and raykoms and the primary party organizations.

Like in any new project, there were mistakes and shortcomings. Initially, some enterprises emphasized the quantitative aspect of the work to the detriment of quality. In a number of areas the organization of brigades was formalistic and organized like a campaign. Sometimes the creation of brigades was not accompanied by improving intraplant planning and production technology and organization or the labor norming and wage systems. Some managers of shops and sectors and engineering and technical personnel remained uninvolved in the project. Naturally, all of this held back the development of the brigade method at our enterprises. Such shortcomings are still easily noticeable. However, we can now say with complete confidence that the new type brigades have become an established part of our life.

Thanks to the purposeful work of the oblast party and trade union organizations and the economic managers, the brigade method has become the main form of labor organization and incentive in industry, where nearly 80 percent of the workers are members of brigades. This method is applied in construction, transportation and consumer services as well. In accordance with the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers Decree "On Further Perfecting the Economic Management Mechanism in the Agroindustrial Complex of the Country," work is being done in the oblast to convert all agricultural enterprises and sectors processing farm output to the collective contracting method.

This progressive form of labor organization and incentive contributed to the positive changes which were achieved in the production area. Thus, the marketing plan for industry for the 11th 5-year period was fulfilled 20 days ahead of schedule, by the day of the opening of the 20th oblast party conference. The volume of industrial output increased by nearly one-third and the number of enterprises which failed to fulfill their contractual obligations was reduced by a factor of 4.

In the past 2 years, in the course of which, according to the decision of the last party conference, the collective contracting method was intensively applied, the agroprom was able partially to surmount the negative trends which had appeared at the beginning of the 11th 5-Year Plan of reducing the volume of output and sales to the state of basic types of agricultural commodities.

Naturally, the oblast CPSU Committee clearly realizes that these facts prove more eloquently the tremendous amount of unused reserves and possibilities of our economy than the successes it has achieved. That is why, while reorganizing our work in accordance with the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, today we are focusing the practical activities of the party organizations in economic managements on upgrading returns on the existing production potential and, on this basis, ensuring the accelerated pace of development of the oblast's economy.

During this 5-year period which, as was noted at the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, must become a decisive step in the implementation of the party's economic strategy, we must increase the volume of industrial output by

35 percent and upgrade the average annual gross agricultural output by a factor of nearly 1.2. In accordance with the program approved by the CPSU Obkom Plenum, over the next 5 years the pace of social reorganization in the countryside must be accelerated by more than 50 percent. More than one-half of capital investments allocated for the development of the oblast's industry will go into enterprise reconstruction and technical retooling. The growth rates of the volume of output in sectors which determine scientific and technical progress, such as machine building and instrument making, must be increased by a factor of 1.6.

In fulfilling our assignments, we firmly rely on the tested collective forms of labor organization and incentive. Recently, the CPSU Obkom Buro heard reports on this subject submitted by the Kaluga Party Gorkom, the party committees of the Kaluzhskiy Turbinny Zavod and the Yermolino Cotton Fabrics associations and the oblast Heavy Machine Building Workers Trade Union Committee. The decrees passed on the basis of the reports earmarked the practical steps aimed at developing and intensifying the brigade form of labor organization. The same topic was discussed at the plenums held by the Kaluga, Obninsk, Lyudinovo and Kirov party gorkoms and the Sukhinichskiy, Maloyaroslavetskiy, Dzerzhinskiy and many other party raykoms.

II

It is entirely legitimate to ask if it is realistic to expect a further somewhat significant increase in benefits from the brigade method, considering that it was mastered quite some time ago by the majority of oblast labor collectives. Indeed, the brigade method helped us to solve many problems of economic and social development. However, this has not "exhausted" it. Furthermore, it is only now that we are intensively approaching the creation and "start-up" of the mechanism which will enable us more fully to develop the capacity of brigades and make more efficient use of their creative potential.

For example, let us consider a lever such as brigade cost accounting. Its application is the essence of the present work done by the party organizations in the oblast to perfect the new collective labor methods. Already now about one-half of all brigades in the oblast's industry are working on a cost accounting basis and the wages of 70 percent of brigade workers are computed on the basis of end results.

In a word, the organizational work done by the party committees is already yielding good results. However, we cannot fail to see the tremendous difficulties in our own unfinished projects and omissions in the application of new advances. We are also burdened by the old concepts and the inertia of tranquillity in the economic way of thinking displayed by some managers.

It may be assumed that the brigade method and cost accounting would be applied quickly, considering their unquestionable advantages. Naturally, this is what many managers are doing. Others are being sluggish, however, afraid of changes. The point is that converting to collective forms of labor organization presumes upgrading the overall level of enterprise management. A cost accounting brigade requires optimal conditions for highly productive work. Such a brigade needs timely deliveries of materials, proper and

faultless technical documentation and equipment operating without breakdowns. All of this calls for tightening up the procurement and engineering services of the plant and for improving the entire management system. Metaphorically speaking, once the genie has been let out of the bottle it is no longer obedient and begins powerfully to dictate its own conditions to the managers and to keep them on the go.

It is this fear of additional difficulties that motivates some economic managers to adopt a restrained attitude toward the brigade order. Some of them think roughly as follows: So far, we have worked somehow without a contract, why spoil the established order? Some party committees silently agree with this backward view. This makes it necessary for the party obkom to work on its elimination.

Developing the collective contract and increasing its benefits are, naturally, seriously hindered by the current imperfection of the economic mechanism. The lack of stable economic standards, and shortcomings in planning and material and technical procurements frequently fetter the initiative of labor collectives. The reorganization of the economic mechanism and the orientation toward long-term economic standards and upgrading their role in production management will unquestionably have a beneficial influence on the strengthening and development of cost accounting relations in brigades. In the immediate future, in accordance with the "collective forms of labor organization" program, which was approved by the party obkom, we are planning to add cost accounting to the brigade contracting method in most of the oblast's economic sectors.

The Kaluga Party Organization pays particular attention to perfecting the economic management mechanism and to introducing cost accounting in the agroindustrial complex. This is not mere talk. The contract collectives have already been assigned 80 percent of the arable land in crops and about one-half of the dairy cattle.

The study of the work of our best farms, brigades, livestock farms and links proves that the collective forms of labor organization and wages are having a tremendous impact on the psychological restructuring of the workers. An increasing number of people are accepting the contracting method and cost accounting as the most necessary prerequisites for further progress.

The new work style has yielded good results in Zhukovskiy Rayon, where 83 percent of the arable land and about one-half of the young cattle were assigned to contract collectives in 1985. Compared to 1983, grain production in the rayon increased by 20 percent and the production and sale of animal husbandry goods to the state rose significantly. Other collectives could use its experience. It is not accident that the CPSU Obkom declared this rayon and a number of farms within it basic in terms of the study and dissemination of the collective contract in the countryside.

Thanks above all to the collective contract, positive changes are being achieved by other oblast rayons in their production activities. For example, Baryatinskiy Rayon was considered by us economically weak. In the past 2 years, however, the work indicators of kolkhozes and sovkhoses in this rayon

have shown significant improvements. Compared to 1983, here grain and meat production has increased by one-half.

However, the collective contract does not always yield positive results. As a rule, this happens wherever a formalistic attitude is adopted toward the organization of contract collectives and where the foundations of the new type of work and cost accounting principles are poorly known. Thus, there are two neighboring farms in Ferzikovskiy Rayon: the Kolkhoz imeni V.I. Lenin, headed by L. Ziborov and the Bebelevo Sovkhoz, whose director is V. Kargashin. Grain and feed-crop yields and livestock productivity are increasing with every passing year in the former. Meanwhile, the Bebelevo Sovkhoz is trampling on the same spot. At the Kolkhoz imeni V.I. Lenin, the link in charge of potato growing, headed by S. Luzgachev, delegate to the 27th CPSU Congress, working on the basis of a collective contract, increased potato yields from 160 to 230 quintals per hectare; at the Bebelevo Sovkhoz, potato yields declined after the link headed by S. Fedosov converted to the contracting method. Unfortunately, for the time being many more such examples could be cited.

The most frequent reason for this is that the farm managers and specialists get their full salaries and show little concern for the work results of links and brigades; they neither give them the necessary help nor share their concerns. In this connection, the party obkom decided to promote the use of a comprehensive collective contracting method in kolkhozes and sovkhoze's, making the salaries of managers and specialists directly related to the results of the work of links, brigades and livestock farms. In 1985 19 farms had already converted to the complete collective contracting method. The initial results of their work prove that we made the correct decision. The attitude of the specialists toward their obligations changed and a common interest in end results of productive activities developed.

Following is a typical example. The 45-Let Oktyabrya Kolkhoz, Yukhnovskiy Rayon was among the backward farms. After A. Nikolayev, its young chairman, took over, the kolkhoz began to pay greater attention to the use of new and progressive developments. It was among the first to convert to the comprehensive collective contracting method. It began to pay the salaries of managers, specialists and employees on the basis of rates determined by the quantity and quality of goods produced and marketed. Work on the basis of a comprehensive contracting method led to a fast improvement in production indicators. Whereas between 1981 and 1984 its annual losses reached 200,000-250,000 rubles, for the first time in 1985 it ended the year with a net profit of 130,000 rubles.

All production and economic indicators improved during the very first year of work based on a comprehensive contracting method at the sovkhozes Za Mir, Zhukovskiy Rayon, Marinskiy, Maloyaroslavetskiy Rayon, and Polyudovskiy, Zhizdrinskiy Rayon. Within a single year here, as in other farms which had converted to the new work system, labor productivity increased by an average of 12 percent.

In promoting the development of cost accounting in the brigades, the party organizations include a type of cost-blocking mechanism which makes it possible to intensify manpower savings and the conservation of fuel and

energy, for the production cost of a specific commodity is not a matter of indifference to a brigade operating on a cost accounting basis.

For example, the Gigant Production Association achieved good results in improving the efficiency of the utilization of timber and timber processing waste and in producing consumer goods from such waste. This was greatly assisted by the conversion to the brigade form of labor organization involving cost accounting elements. The brigades adopted a significantly thriftier attitude toward the utilization of raw and other materials and is persistently seek ways of utilizing production waste.

In 1985 alone, the use of resource-saving technology enabled the association to make use of more than 50,000 cubic meters of timber waste and to produce goods worth some 600,000 rubles. The work of the Gigant collective on the extensive use of recycled timber and timber processing waste, approved by the CPSU Obkom Buro, met with widespread support among and was adopted by other oblast enterprises.

Cost accounting brigades in transportation are turning into a real training course for collective economic management. The individual savings accounts of the brigades, and the skillful organization of the socialist competition enabled the Kalugaavtotrans Association to save 615 tons of gasoline the first quarter of this year alone. High professional skill, good knowledge of itineraries, reciprocal support, unity and discipline are the main components of the success achieved by a brigade of taxicab drivers, headed by party member I. Ganzhoy. This brigade has saved 3,200 liters of fuel.

The efforts of thousands of contracting brigades are flowing like little streams into the big river of savings, providing additional opportunities for acceleration. Last year the oblast's industry worked 3 days on saved materials and fuel and power resources. Substantial savings are planned for the current 5-year period as well. Particular mention should be made of the new opportunities for improving quality, which appear with improvement in the brigade method. The current restructuring is introducing major changes in the scale of priorities which have governed the activities of labor collectives for many years. A good feature today is the preference shown by contracting brigade collectives for production quality of all work rather than for increasing the infamous "gross output." Let us point out that it is precisely in the brigades of a new type that a moral climate develops in which the honest and conscientious worker can work with calm and confidence, enjoying the support of his comrades, whereas the waste makers find themselves in an uncomfortable position, condemned by the collective and tangibly penalized through wages. It is not astounding that the first to appeal to all oblast labor collectives to mount a struggle for upgrading production quality, after the 27th CPSU Congress, was the comprehensive brigade at the plate-frame shop of the diesel locomotives construction plant in Lyudinovo, headed by G. Kretov, CPSU Gorkom member. In reviewing its pledges, which called for raising the share of output without claims to 99.9 percent, the brigade announced its decision to work for the right to have its own brigade quality seal. This initiative was supported by a number of contracting collectives.

The party organization at the Obninsk Construction Administration has also been able to find efficient methods for collective responsibility for the high quality of projects under construction. Here the closest possible attention is being paid to the development of brigade contracting. Currently more than one-half of all construction work is being done on the basis of this method. The number of consolidated brigades is increasing, technologically linking collectives producing building structures with automotive transportation workers. The competition is based on the "Worker Relay Race" principle. A comprehensive quality control system has been in effect since 1982, which directly determines the amount of worker bonuses. The application of the brigade contracting method and the comprehensive quality control system led to a 50 percent reduction in the cost of repairs and elimination of various errors in the cost of construction work over the past 5 years. In recent years all construction projects are being delivered with ratings of "good" and "excellent" only. The practical experience of the Obninsk administration in improving construction quality is gaining an increasing number of followers among the oblast's construction organizations.

I became particularly interested in a specific brigade in one of the shops at the Radio Tubes Plant imeni 50-Letiya SSSR, whose accountability and election party meeting I attended. Here everything was like in the other brigades: the work was based on end results, and earnings on the labor participation coefficient. What distinguished this brigade was that it included the engineers as well. Let us note that because of technological features, complex one-of-a-kind equipment, saturated with computer technology, accounts for a great deal of the facilities used by that enterprise. Naturally, graduate specialists have been assigned the care of such complexes.

Previously the engineers were members of the shop technical bureaus and their bonuses were paid on the same basis as that of other engineering and technical personnel at the plant. Although their previous attitude toward their obligations was not irresponsible, after the party committee decided to include these specialists in the contracting brigade operating such unique equipment, their material incentive in improving the end work results of the labor collective increased tangibly. Today the engineers are concerned not only with ensuring the uninterrupted work of the equipment but also with problems of upgrading the productivity of the complexes and their technical updating.

Such brigades are no exception today. Naturally, so far not everything planned has been accomplished. However, the experience already gained enables us to say confidently that it is within such brigades that the shoots of qualitatively new collective relations appear and that the daily creative alliance between science and labor is strengthening. The party organizations in the oblast's industrial enterprises are steadily spreading the acquired experience in order to solve faster problems related to the new technical reconstruction of production facilities.

This development of the brigade method. For the time being, collectives in which workers and engineers work hand-in-hand even lack a name, unlike the creative cooperation brigades which appeared quite some time ago and which, naturally, enjoy the steady support of the oblast's party organizations.

For example, the "Engineering Support for Worker Initiative" movement has become widespread at the Kaluga Machine Building Plant. Here 270 engineering and technical workers signed contracts for creative cooperation with 105 brigades, as the result of which economic benefits for 1986 will be no less than 120,000 rubles and labor intensiveness of output will be reduced by 18,000 norm/hours.

Virtually all workers can become involved in creative searches through the brigades. Are there many innovators currently participating in such searches? Judge for yourselves: currently the oblast industry has about 15,000 inventors and rationalizers; 70 percent of them are engineers, although the new type brigades number some 90,000 workers.

The experience in the formulation of plans for scientific and technical progress by the brigades themselves, acquired by the Kaluga pipe builders, indicated that brigade leaders and members of contracting brigades submit a large number of valuable suggestions which substantially influence the growth of labor productivity. Thus, on the initiative of the parts machining brigades, headed by A. Shaurin and G. Nikolayev, the system of multiple-machine-tool servicing was developed at the association. This lowered labor intensiveness by more than 40,000 norm/hours. Together with engineering and technical personnel, the shop workers manufacturing turbine propellers have applied high-efficiency equipment and fittings and have considerably broadened multiple machine tool servicing. This enabled the shop's collective to triple its labor productivity and to save more than 150 tons of stainless steel.

The initiative of creating provisional creative collectives based on the creative cooperation brigades, approved by the party committee, has become widespread at the Tekhnologiya Scientific-Production Association in Obninsk. A group of workers and engineering and technical personnel is set up for particularly important assignments; the group signs a contract with the enterprise administration on achieving end results within an extremely short time. Such assignments are carried out by the temporary creative collectives within half the time needed according to regulations, on an extremely efficient basis. The use of such a flexible production structure has enabled the enterprise to become frontranking in the sector in the area of special technological developments and to fulfill its 5-year plan ahead of schedule.

All of this, we believe, allows us confidently to say that brigades working on the basis of a collective contract are actively contributing to restructuring the means and methods of economic management and achieving the highest possible national economic results.

III

The new type of labor organization motivates the steady search by the oblast party committees for efficient ways and means for organizing educational work in the labor collectives, consistent with the time, and to shift the center of gravity of such work to the brigades, which are the primary production cells. Life itself makes it necessary to select the proper "key to the education" of every individual, for common results directly depend on whether a person works energetically or lazily, whether he assumes initiative or hides behind his

comrades' backs, whether he persistently tries to master his skill or is satisfied with his accomplishment, and whether he supports collectivism or not. That is why the party groups, brigade councils and enterprise ideological aktiv persistently seek possibilities of upgrading individual education, the methods of which are begin steadily enriched. The experience acquired in this area was summed up at the recently held practical science conference, at which ways of further upgrading ideological and educational work under the conditions of collective forms of labor organization and incentive were formulated.

In the final account, the purpose of all the means of educational influence used in a brigade is to develop high standards in the workers, without which the accelerated progress toward building communism is totally inconceivable. A high ideological-political standard, an active conceptual, moral and civic stance and professional skill are mandatory components of the standards of the contemporary worker. Today the brigades have a rich potential of educational influence in developing such personality traits.

As we know, socialist competition provides extensive opportunities for shaping the high ideological and moral qualities of the working person and developing within him the ability to combine personal with social interests. Interesting experience in organizing the competition has been acquired by the party committees in Kaluga, Obninsk, Lyudinovo and other oblast cities and rayons.

For example, competition among brigades within a technological sequence, on a contractual basis, has become quite widespread in our oblast on the example of the turbine manufacturers. This form of competition enables us to convert from filing mutual claims to mutual aid and comradely reciprocal guarantees. The collective contract helps to ensure the multipurpose nature of labor rivalry. The competition serves not only the growth and improvement of output but also the development of the social aspects in the life of the collective and its cohesion, organizational strengthening and discipline. This is exemplified by the "Good Order Protects Property," movement, which developed in the oblast in answer to the appeal of Hero of Socialist Labor I. Yevstigneyev, CPSU Obkom Buro member and head of a brigade of blacksmiths at the Kaluga Machine Building Plant, or the initiative of the frontranking collectives in the country known as "Collective Guarantee of Social and Labor Discipline," which was supported and developed further at our enterprises. Currently 2,000 brigades are actively participating in this movement.

In our view, the fact that the managers of many enterprises and their subdivisions and of public organizations have become members of brigades and, side-by-side with them, assume responsibility for discipline and order in these collectives is useful. Discipline and order are among the basic indicators in summing up the results of the socialist competition.

The educational force of the brigades is also greatly multiplied as it converts into an essentially collective tutor. The common interest in the strict and efficient implementation of plans and the collective responsibility which arises on this basis make it necessary to seek optimal ways for helping young people reach the peaks of professional skill and experience. This is clearly exemplified by the photolithographic brigade headed by I. Polivanov at

the Kaluga Radio Tubes Plant. In 1984 the plant received 11 young workers and each one of them was assigned to an experienced tutor. By the following year they had already become real specialists. Today the output norms in the brigade are being fulfilled 120 percent. The brigade successfully fulfilled its 1985 plan and is ahead of schedule this year.

The experience of many oblast enterprises proves that tutorship effectively helps in the upbringing and professional development of the young reinforcements of the working class. For example, as a rule the time needed to master professional skill is reduced by one-half and correspondence and night school is substantially encouraged. At the same time, many novices learn from their elder comrades a conscientious attitude toward the work, ideological convictions and labor and social activeness.

The main thing which turns the brigade collective into an irreplaceable educator is that it implements the democratic principles of activity which are intensified within the framework of socialist self-management. The brigade form of labor enables every worker directly to participate in production organization and management. This applies to work in brigade councils, joint discussions of the plan, problems of shift work, distribution of earnings and many other components of collective life. Daily participation in management allows the working person to become aware of his value as first-class member of the collective. As he asserts himself, the worker brings his own capabilities to light, increasingly and generously dedicating his experience, strength and knowledge to the common cause.

Under the conditions of increased self-management and under circumstances of growing reciprocal responsibility and mutual aid, the moral tone of the brigade becomes significantly higher and a special moral climate appears within it, known as socialist collectivism. The personnel of contract brigades no longer request of the brigade leader more profitable work. Cases of hoarding semifinished goods and parts have come to an end. Conversely, an interest has developed in preparing the work for the next shift. Questions are being asked boldly and openly and the reaction of the collective, one can say, is consistent with the circumstances.

The many faceted and most extensive constructive and educational opportunities of socialist self-management have still not been entirely brought to light. The oblast party committee considers it its task to ensure the further development of democratic principles in production management and the systematic implementation of the stipulations of the USSR Law on Labor Collectives. It is important comprehensively to reach a situation, as V.I. Lenin said, in which "the conscious worker will feel himself not only the master of this plant but also the representative of the country and will feel responsible for it" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, pp 369-370).

IV

The further development of collective forms of labor organization and incentive is the most important sector in the activities in the oblast party organizations.

Today they show particular concern for improving the structure of the primary party nuclei and making it consistent with the new deployment of forces in the production process and with intensifying the party's influence in the brigades. Wherever production conditions permit and wherever the necessary number of party members is present, party groups are created. Some of them, as has been the case at the Kaluzhskiy Turbinnyy Zavod Production Association, are based on two or three brigades which are closely related technologically. At the Kaluga Motors Building Production Association and many other enterprises, small brigades have been consolidated with a view to setting up within them a stronger communist nucleus, which can actively affect all aspects of life of the collective and set the tone at work. In such brigades trade union and Komsomol groups work more actively. It has become the rule in many labor collectives that requests for becoming candidate party member are discussed in advance at the brigade's party group. Currently the brigades have 1,265 party and 1,070 party-Komsomol groups. These numbers are continuing to increase.

In small collectives, where conditions prevent the creation of party groups, party organizers are appointed. Today they are found in more than 6,000 brigades. The party organizer works with the brigade council, of which he is a member, the brigade leader and the trade union and Komsomol groups.

In our view, the experience of the Obninsk Construction Administration is noteworthy. Here it has become the practice of assigning to the brigades party members among the engineering and technical personnel and who, in addition to performing their obligations as party organizers, give the workers the necessary help as specialists.

We try comprehensively to support and strengthen the prestige of party groups and party organizers and to give them daily assistance. It is indicative that secretaries, buro members, department heads and other senior personnel of the CPSU obkom, gorkoms and raykoms participated in the last accountability and election campaign, attending the meetings of brigade party groups.

The frank and honest discussion held at one such meeting by the Kaluga machine builders made a big impression. Initially, our presence had a restraining effect on the brigade party members. However, as the meeting proceeded, the tension eased. The people discussed their concerns. How to accelerate the work at the individual work places? How to improve production discipline? It was these problems on which the discussion was centered. Naturally, not all questions could be answered at that time. As a whole, however, the party members formulated a good program for practical action. Meanwhile, I was thinking of something else: somehow, we have become accustomed to discussing primarily the education of the working people. But does the comradesly atmosphere which is found in the best worker collectives not help our own education? It has still not been determined who benefits more: the manager or the brigade. In any case, the usefulness of such intercourse is mutual.

Work with cadres of brigade leaders is a subject of particular concern of the party organizations. At first it is as though the leader of a primary production cell has the single obligation of managing a relatively small collective. Actually, the demands placed on him are quite high. Under

contemporary conditions, the role of the brigade leader is defined by the increased complexity of the equipment and of production relations and personality interrelationships. Today the brigade leader must be a high-grade specialist, experienced organizer, fine psychologist and skillful instructor as well as bold innovator. The most important thing is to set the example to his fellow workers in all matters.

The people of Kaluga are quite familiar with the name of Valeriy Stepanovich Volkov, honored machine builder of the RSFSR and head of a drilling and coordinating brigade at the turbine plant. He is best known, naturally, to his brigade. They know him, they trust him and follow him in everything. When it became necessary to gain further mastery of a new type of complex equipment, Volkov was the first to do so. Today multiple machine-tool servicing in the brigade is the standard. The brigade leader enrolled in a machine building technical school and was joined by three of his comrades; he enrolled at the Marxism-Leninism University and two other workers followed him. When Volkov undertook to meet the standards for GTO he was followed at the stadium by the entire brigade.

I repeat, in order to be able to lead the people in this manner, the brigade leader must know and be able to do a great many things. That is why the party committees paid the closest possible attention to their training. Special courses for brigade leader training and practical studies with experienced brigade managers and brigade leader rallies, sponsored at large enterprises, have proved their worth.

In order to ensure the successful promotion of lower-level managers, it is important to take the opinion of the collective into consideration and informally to recommend candidates for such positions. We have established a procedure according to which the name of a reserve candidate for promotion is cleared with the brigade collectives and production managers and selected, as a rule, from the ranks of among assistant-brigade or link leaders.

The enterprise party organizations and administrations are always studying the practical qualities of brigade leaders and their assistants and conduct certification tests on the basis of which they are rated. The best among them are recommended for party membership. The party stratum among brigade leaders in industrial, construction, transportation, communications and trade enterprises is 25 percent. More than 80 percent of brigade leaders in most machine building enterprises are graduates of higher or secondary schools. Many brigade managers are members of oblast, city and rayon party committees and local party committees and party buros, and are deputies in local soviets.

The use of collective forms of labor organization in production substantially changes the functions of one of the junior commanders--the foreman who, as a rule, is a young specialist. The role of the foreman as the direct manager and production organizer has been significantly enhanced. It is as though the foreman is given a promotion, in the course of which he transfers some of his rights and obligations to the brigade leader, who is usually an experienced production worker. Whereas previously work assignments were issued by the foreman, under the collective contract method, he deals essentially with planning brigade activities and organizing cooperation among brigades.

Relieved from some of his previous obligations, he thus acquires the possibility of dealing with the technical preparations for the production process, the implementation of the plan for technical progress and the development of rationalization, while performing all the functions specified in the regulation on foremen. Meanwhile, those who have been unable to reorganize their work fall behind. The party committees studied the problems in this area, including the reasons for conflicts which initially broke out between foremen and brigade leaders and, together with the economic managers, drafted the necessary recommendations which, essentially, are that under the new circumstances the foreman remains the central figure in the production process. Normal circumstances in production greatly depend on his ability to work with people, to acquire a reputation among them, and to rally the workers within a united collective and establish a healthy moral and psychological climate in it.

The brigade form of labor organization is a powerful lever for the acceleration of socioeconomic development. The party committees and organizations in the oblast have a great deal of work ahead of them in order to make use of all its possibilities and put them most efficiently on the service of the 12th 5-Year Plan.

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CSO:1802/16

In My Opinion ... Letters to the Editor

NEW WAY OF SEEKING RESERVES FOR GROWTH OF LABOR PRODUCTIVITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 86 (signed to press 25 Jun 86) pp 87-88

[Letter to the editors by V. Balan, candidate of economic sciences]

[Text] In my opinion, today many reserves for labor productivity are not taken into consideration and, therefore, not used in the formulation and implementation of construction plans.

Here is an example: In one of the specialized trusts of the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work the program of steps for the growth of labor productivity (output of construction and installation work per worker) called for a 13.1 percent increase. The 1985 plan called for no more than 0.45 percent increase as a result of organizational and economic factors out of a total of 3.4 percent increase in general output. This group included only steps related to upgrading worker skills, applying the brigade contracting method and increasing the use of progressive wage methods. Many other factors remained either totally or largely ignored. This included reserves related to upgrading work concentration, specialization, improved production rhythm, etc.

A study has indicated that in that trust the level of manual labor is significantly higher than in the frontranking organizations. Yet the steps planned for the 5-year period called for upgrading labor productivity through the mechanization of manual labor by no more than 0.43 percent. This fact indicates that under the current planning method the search for labor productivity reserves is taking place essentially blindfolded. The current planning of the pace of labor productivity is based on the computation of labor saving per organizational and technical step. In accordance with this approach, planning starts at ground zero regardless of the results achieved through the efforts of the collective, for which reason reserves related to different levels of labor productivity in lagging or frontranking collectives are neither identified nor used.

By the current method, computations are made for each factor (measure) separately, i.e., regardless of the effect of the remaining factors. Such assessment, considered by itself, leads to the repeated or, to put it more accurately, to the multiple consideration of the effect of the same factors, which leads to errors in computations of the planned growth of labor

productivity. Theoretically, the number of such errors could be infinite. They are based on the fact that in complex matters, such as socioeconomic processes, the overall effect of the factorial influence is not equal to the simple sum of individual effects, as the current method for planning labor productivity requires.

The current situation is one in which plans for technical development and increased production efficiency (plans for organizational and technical measures) are being fulfilled and even overfulfilled, while in terms of the growth of labor productivity of organizations, ministries and departments planned assignments may even not be met. This is due to the fact that some factors and the erroneously computed extent of their influence on the growth of labor productivity have been ignored.

Furthermore, theoretical studies and practical experience indicate that organizational-technical measures must be formulated only after the factors governing labor productivity have been studied and the extent of their influence determined. It is on the basis of such studies that the various alternatives of forecasts and planned assignments on the growth of labor productivity can be formulated.

Unfortunately, today the study of the data and factors which affect the level and dynamics of labor productivity is conducted sporadically and the connection between them and management decisions, such as those made in construction for instance, is virtually absent. The stable and dynamic development in this area calls for the steady observation and study of said factors.

The acceleration of the socioeconomic development of our society demands qualitatively new approaches to controlling the growth of labor productivity and the search for reserves in this area. The organizations within the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work have done some work in this area. Together with scientists, ministry specialists drafted a work program for the study of the factors influencing labor productivity, with the application of modern methods and computers. The initial data on labor productivity and its factors were applied to 61 organizations with a total volume of work of almost half a billion rubles. The computations which were made on the basis of a computer "data analysis" program and multiple regression revealed the existence of 20 most essential factors affecting labor productivity.

Each factor was given a quantitative rating. Thus, for example, computations indicated that output per worker increases by 50.6 rubles per 1 kw increase in the power-labor ratio; it increases by 30 rubles per 1 percent decrease in the percentage of workers performing manual labor; it increases by 2.99 rubles per 1,000 ruble increase of labor concentration on one project; it increases by 23.3 rubles per 1 percent increase in specialization in a given project. Output increases by 677.2 rubles by reducing unrhythmical work by 1 percent; again output increases by 826 rubles per 1 percent reduction in absenteeism or absence from work by permission of the administration, etc.

Once the effect of the individual factors has been established quantitatively, determining the possibilities of growth of labor productivity (i.e., the underutilization of each factor) presents no difficulty. All it takes is to compare the actual against the standard value of the indicator of a given factor. The planned values may be used as standard indicator levels (such as, operational data of machines, mechanisms and equipment, etc.).

At the present time there are no standardized indicators for a number of factors. In such cases, reserves are estimated on the basis of the best indicators reached by the advanced organizations in the sector. This can be determined on the basis of histograms of factorial breakdown with the help of computers.

The suggested approach could play a significant role in improving the economic mechanism in construction. Practical experience has confirmed that the use of the new method by a number of trusts of the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work provides favorable conditions for the display of initiative by labor collectives. Thus, specialists in the trust we mentioned were able to identify reserves which would make it possible to double output rates during the 12th 5-year period compared with the planned figures based on the currently used method. Totally new measures were formulated allowing the use of a variety of factors, mainly organizational. Possibilities were found within the group of factors related to the organization of production, labor and management, making possible a 14.2 percent increase in the growth rate of output, which accounts for more than 60 percent of the overall growth for the 5-year period (22.8 percent). Let us note, for the sake of comparison, that previously the planned increase in the rate of output did not exceed 3.85 percent. Steps were formulated for better concentration and more rhythmical work and improvements in engineering preparations. Previously reserves in such most important organizational factors were virtually ignored although, as the trust's specialists determined, they could be quite substantial (during the 5-year period output increases will total 6.7 percent). The new method of raising the value of the factors of lagging enterprises to the level of the advanced ones enables us to determine the full size of reserves and thus make the search for such reserves more active. Thus, as a result of the more extensive use of the brigade cost accounting method, the growth rates of output will be increased by 2.3 percent during the 12th 5-year period. According to the current method, the planned steps call for upgrading output for this factor by slightly over 1 percent. Whereas previously the trust was planning to increase output through the mechanization of manual labor by no more than 0.43 percent for the 5-year period, the new program led to the formulation of additional steps which will increase the growth rates of output by 6.9 percent.

As indicated by the computations, the potential for increasing overall labor productivity for the 61 organizations is substantially higher than the planned and actual growth rates within the ministry's organizations. More than four-fifths of reserves involve perfecting management, the organization of production and labor processes and the social development of the collectives.

In our view, the aforementioned considerations support the conclusion of organizing a task force to develop an intersectorial method of factorial

analysis and identification of reserves for increases in labor productivity, under one of the economics institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences or the USSR Gosplan, in accordance with the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures to Accelerate Scientific and Technical Progress in the National Economy" and the "Regulation on Temporary Collectives." The results of such work could be used in the practical activities of management bodies on various levels as early as the 12th 5-year period.

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CSO: 1802/16

FROM PROJECT TO IMPLEMENTATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 86 (signed to press 25 Jun 86) pp 89-90

[Letter to the editor by Dr of Technical Sciences Professor O. Vernyayev, head of the Agricultural Machinery Department, Dnepropetrovsk Agricultural Institute]

[Text] In my opinion, the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building should take immediate steps radically to improve the practical use of existing scientific potential of higher schools. In this connection, I would like to share the experience of the Dnepropetrovsk Agricultural Institute in the development of new highly efficient models of machinery for the countryside and draw attention to the problems we face in the implementation of plans.

Together with the best-trained students, our scientists are working on the development of technologically advanced machinery with active yet "soil-sparing" implements for the thorough cultivation of the soil: deep-stratum loosening of the ground, inter-row crop cultivation and application of chemical fertilizers as the soil is loosened. Intensive research is also in progress to perfect the drive of the working parts using the tractor's engine.

However, a contradiction, which is worsening with every passing year, has appeared between manufacturers, on the one hand, and inventors and scientists, on the other: the ministry's enterprises are currently unable to master the production of a large number of new designs of agricultural machinery, even models which have already passed state tests (not to mention simply new models). Therefore, substantial efforts and funds are wasted on the study, production and testing prototypes with no benefits to the national economy. What is the reason for this situation?

We know that converting large plants to the production of new items is no easy matter. Indeed, the moment an enterprise has mastered the latest model, scientists and inventors have already come up with a more advanced one. The ministry and the plants then compromise: they create a "safety-valve" for the innovators, who are offered the opportunity of introducing minor improvements. As a rule, however, the latter do not substantially improve the technical and economic indicators of the machines, but are more of a "cosmetic" nature, a "gloss." Under such circumstances, the enterprise can go on for a long time

manufacturing a constantly updated old machine, as is currently the case, for instance, with some grain harvesters, soil cultivation and other types of agricultural machines and implements.

The result of all of this is the following: instead of undertaking the solution of essentially new problems, scientists and designers working in the area of agricultural machine building are working on minor items. In the final account, this offers them the opportunity of somehow applying the results of their creative efforts and officially reporting on the implementation of their plans for scientific research and experimental design.

Some may find incredible and others normal the fact that since 1957 (for 29 years!) we have been unsuccessfully "fighting" with the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building on the question of making experimental models at its enterprises and applying soil-processing machinery with working parts developed by our scientists.

Soil cultivation with working parts directly powered by the tractor's engine helps the better loosening of the soil, reduces erosion, protects soil moisture, helps in the radical elimination of weeds and lowers the traction drag 25-30 percent and, as special 3-year tests have demonstrated, upgrades crop yields. The new design has been granted several invention authorship certificates and prototypes have passed state tests. Dissertations have been written on this new scientific area. According to both Soviet and foreign scientists active working parts show exceptional promise.

Having realized the difficulty of establishing creative relations with design bureaus of the ministry's big enterprises, we turned to the Dnepropetrovsk party obkom for help. The decision to involve several machine building enterprises in Dnepropetrovsk with our work was made at a joint meeting of the obkom buro with the oblispolkom. In 1 month, based on our designs, these enterprises produced a model of a flat-cutter cultivator with working parts, which made possible the timely laboratory-field testing of the new machine driven by a power-saturated tractor.

Let us consider one more important aspect of the problem. In order to ensure the successful implementation of the USSR Food Program, the country's scientists recommend that particular attention be paid to zonal farming. Naturally, this presumes the development of new specialized agricultural equipment for use in the different soil and climatic zones in the country. It is entirely obvious that the huge agricultural machine building plants with a rigid technology aimed at the production of a limited variety of machines are simply unable to develop experimental prototypes.

We have realized that small batches of experimental agricultural machinery, developed by inventors, mechanizers and scientists on the basis of zonal soil and climate conditions, can be manufactured at local well-equipped enterprises. As to the big agricultural machinery production plants, in our opinion, they require a bold radical restructuring of their now obsolete and inefficient system of relations between inventors and scientists, on the one hand, and production enterprises, on the other. To this effect, it is important (as soon as possible) for the management of the design bureaus and

departments of the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building to be strengthened with personnel fully competent to meet the contemporary requirements of innovative managers. It would also be expedient to separate the special design bureaus engaged in the development of new equipment from the rigid administration of plants, which have, incidentally, also "absorbed" the experimental shops. Today the latter frequently work on the implementation of the main production program and on current production assignments.

Let us also point out that the assembled parts of virtually all models of agricultural machines currently produced in large series require large amounts of manual work before they can be automatically assembled, because of poor technological finishing.

Only a structurally and technologically complete model of a machine should be offered to a plant for manufacturing purposes. The entire organizational work for familiarizing the plant's collective, including the plant's inventors, with the prototypes of the machines of the future should be assigned to the plant's rationalization and invention bureau. This should take place before production of an experimental model has been undertaken and not afterwards, as is the current practice.

We believe that the application of an essentially new idea in industry can be done only by people who are able to assess it competently, who have taken part in its development or else, at least, have first-hand familiarity with it. Otherwise, as Academician M.A. Lavrentyev justly wrote, we believe, "sometimes an idea is presented to production workers in an aspect which makes its application simply impossible. Lack of understanding of the range of a discovery results in a so-called 'partial application,' in which the heart of the new idea is transplanted into the body of an old one. What happens then, as in biology, is a reaction of 'rejection.' It is said that the novel development is not working, that it is inefficient, etc."

In his meeting with the working people of Togliatti, M.S. Gorbachev pointed out that shortcomings in planning frequently lead to various lacks of coordination in the national economy, which adversely affect end results.

Obviously, a kind of "tractor slant" was allowed to take place in planning the development of agricultural machine building. The accelerated production of tractors was practiced for many years, without supporting it with proper efforts to increase the production of agricultural machinery and tools. As a result, today the kolkhozes and sovkhoses have a huge tractor fleet at their disposal, which can rarely be put to efficient use. This adversely affects the timeliness and quality of farm work and, in the final account, crop yields.

The newly created USSR Gosagroprom, VASKHNIL, the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building and the Ministry of Machine Building for Animal Husbandry and Fodder Production have been called upon to change the existing situation in relations between developers of new ideas and production facilities, relations which are obviously inconsistent with modern requirements.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Further Improvements in the Management of the Agroindustrial Complex" notes that the Ministries of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building and Machine Building for Animal Husbandry and Fodder Production must closely coordinate their work with the USSR Gosagroprom. Let us hope that the close work ties between the Gosagroprom and the managing authorities in industry and science will contribute to faster progress in the development of the agricultural machinery of the future from project to implementation.

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CSO: 1802/16

EVERYTHING WITHIN MAN -- EVERYTHING FOR MAN

THE MOST IMPORTANT ROLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 86 (signed to press 25 Jun 86) pp 91-96

[Article by Donatas Banionis, people's actor of the USSR]

[Text] It has become a platitude to say that the actor lives his role. However, it seems to me, that it has become such because of its frequent and thoughtless use. People unrelated to the arts can hardly imagine how difficult, happy and painful this truth is for the actor himself. Every new character in a motion picture or on the stage is an entire world which one must not only become familiar with and feel but, to a certain extent, turn into one's own. In addition to imagination, this also requires the painstaking study of everything which surrounds your character and his time and the customs of his age.

All of this is complex and unpredictable; scholasticism stands next to elements of scientific work; research rationalism becomes mysteriously interwoven with intuition. One must master a mass of new information and interpret it in a very specific manner.

During the proceedings of the 27th CPSU Congress I played a character in the picture directed by A. Saltykov, "The Cry of the Dolphin." Among the huge number of thoughts and facts presented in the speeches and reports by the delegates, everyone culled that which touched upon his concerns and actions. It so happened that this event of historical importance, which was taking place in the Kremlin, my entire career in the theater and motion pictures and my current work, at the Mosfilm studio naturally and quite specifically led me to consider the place which art must assume in the reorganization undertaken by Soviet society.

As I work on my current role, I study not only the period during which my personage lived but his character as well. Naturally, the actor does not adopt the new character to the point of changing his personality for a while. He does not. However, the destiny of someone else must capture his imagination and he must master the organic way in which the character thought and, to the best of his ability, show to the audience the complexity of the character's feelings and, something which is quite important, explain the logic of his behavior. The result, otherwise, would be a sketch and not an artistic character.

Whenever our theater in Panevezhis performs "Department Meeting," and we know that the public includes scientific workers, the first, although by no means the decisive indicator of success is found in conversations such as "It's just like what happens with us. This one is the twin image of our professor. And that one uses the same words as our manager. Their characters match precisely." If the play deals with kolkhoz life and we are performing in a rural club and the audience can recognize in the characters their fellow-villagers, this means that here as well my colleagues and I have created recognizable characters. This, however, as everyone knows, is not enough.

The CPSU Central Committee political report stated that society expects of the writers (I take this to mean the theater and the motion picture as well) artistic discoveries. This was quite accurately put.

Therefore, "recognition" is not a discovery but merely a necessary prerequisite for discovery, its cover. To play a recognizable character is half the job. One must play the character in such a way that the people will not simply identify fellow workers but also be able to compare their own lives with the problems suggested by the actor, to think and, above all, to judge independently of the situations developing on the stage or the screen and situations in real life. If a writer or actor has been able to reach a great truth, in the final account, this becomes his personal accomplishment. If the results of his efforts becomes familiar to thousands and millions of people, only then can there be a question of a truly artistic discovery. The only discovery in art is one which has social significance. It must help the person to achieve a better knowledge of himself and the world in which he lives.

The creation of a character which helps to improve the personality of the viewer and to develop his thoughts, analytical ability and social activeness is the great happiness of the actor. By its very nature art has always been a fine instrument for restructuring the human mentality. In our days this is a very relevant quality which demands serious study by specialists. I am not one of them but I feel the urgent need to interpret this feature of my profession.

True art is inconceivable without empathy and, therefore, without an emotional assessment. It teaches us to weigh the actions of the people on the sensitive scale of our conscience. In other words, we must develop within the audience the type of quality which today is needed by everyone and without which no real psychological restructuring--the honest assessment of reality, of one's own nature and actions--is possible.

Why are modern plays and motion pictures so important today? Because they better than others can involve the public in an interested and self-critical analysis of the touchy problems of the present. In accepting a work of art, to one extent or another man becomes involved in the clash of reality. He lives within it. He agrees or disagrees with the actions of the character. He mobilizes his own practical experience and becomes better aware of himself, his concerns at work and in life, which he interprets in broader terms.

Economic managers learn how to make knowledgeable decisions by taking part in "business games." In such games they model a crucial production situation which they must solve through their knowledge and working and practical experience. It is said that such lessons are very useful. Art as well teaches lessons to the people, forcing everyone on the basis of his own practical wisdom to make important decisions, to make his moral assessment of events and phenomena and to formulate his own stance toward them. In my view, it is precisely thus that art can enhance the maturity of the mind and enrich man's spiritual world. Achievements in this field could be quite significant, as I have learned from the experience of our Panevezhis theater.

Slightly more than twenty years ago a theater which was subsequently destined to become known throughout the country and abroad announced its appearance in a small city (which now has more than 100,000 people). Long before that Yu. Miltinis had challenged the city: he began to produce plays which were inconsistent with the then requirements of many citizens and were not aimed at entertaining them. He did not try to play up to the backward or average audience.

A rather acute contradiction developed: the theater was deeper than some members of the audience at that time could understand. Not everyone understood the plays. Voices were heard, such as "Give us something lighter, to relax." Yu. Miltinis was merciless and had no intention of abandoning his position: the audience had to be educated. It had to be taught how to think, how to think beyond the confines of a small city. He was a true artist and a true fighter who had openly declared war on provincialism.

Initially, the city answered such "violence" with a protest. Complex and serious plays were performed in half-empty halls. This went on for 10 to 15 years. Within that time, however, gradually, as though surreptitiously, the theater had been able to educate hundreds of knowledgeable people, after which it was as though a chain reaction had taken place. The popularity and reputation of the theater improved sharply. This was helped by the union-wide recognition of our group and the filming of motion pictures in which our actors were given roles.

Today performances in Panevezhis, whether by our own theater or visiting actors and artistic groups are virtually always sold out. This means that the spiritual means of the population of the city and the surrounding kolkhozes have increased sharply. Incidentally, practical experience proves that the upsurge achieved by many previously lagging farms was paralleled by a sharp increase in the number of collective requests for theater tickets and invitations to perform in the clubs of precisely those same kolkhozes and sovkhoses. I am convinced that this is no coincidence. Economic upsurge intensifies under the influence of culture and, in turn, stimulates the growth of spiritual needs.

I am no sociologist and have no intention of computing the influence which the theater has on the economic successes of enterprises and kolkhozes in the vicinity. Furthermore, this is unnecessary. What matters is that there is progress. It is important to understand this, so that the uncomputed contribution of art to acceleration may nevertheless increase.

Understandably, artistic culture develops in the people the need to upgrade their standards in labor, production, management, and in the final account, in human interrelationships. Artistic culture, however, also develops a new type of thinking. Obviously, this is a complex process which should be studied by specialists. I am basing my thoughts exclusively on personal observations. It seems to me that the ever-growing interest displayed by the people not only in the results but also the process of work of professional actors, writers and painters is no accident. Our work is visible to all and since creative work, whatever its area of manifestation, obviously shares common laws, it is precisely they that are drawing today the particular attention of the people. The people try to satisfy their own needs for creative work which do not have to be necessarily artistic. There is a place for creativity wherever there is place for thinking, evaluation and choice. In my view, it is simply impossible to think uncreatively, unless one thinks in stereotypes.

When delegates to the party congress spoke of upgrading the responsibility of workers in literature and the arts under the new conditions, I understood this also to mean the following: art is directly related to the very important programmatic stipulation that "socialist society cannot efficiently function without finding new ways of developing the creative activities of the masses in all areas of life." True art always gives the people a charge of creative energy which is then converted into thousands and thousands of quite different creative accomplishments.

I ask myself the following: What new features can the artist contribute to the thinking of, let us say, a kolkhoz chairman or an engineer? In my view, at least two: humaneness and imagery.

Let me begin with humaneness. The fact that man has always been the center of the arts is a familiar truth. Whatever the topic may be on the stage or in a motion picture, such as events in ancient Rome or in a postwar Lithuanian village, the true artist will make the audience, albeit in his imagination, experience someone's complex life, share someone's tragedy, love or hatred. By its very nature art teaches the viewer or reader to understand, to value and respect someone else's life and to accept someone else's pain or joy as one's own. It exposes anyone who has not become callous to the eternal human values and teaches him to find those same eternal values in the new features which surround the people today.

This type of education of feelings helps the kolkhoz chairman and the engineer not to forget behind their figures of increased yields or percentages of overfulfilled plan, their main objective: for the sake of what or, more precisely, for the sake of whom are they striving for this growth and overfulfillment? "The aesthetic principle will inspire labor even further; it will elevate the person and embellish his life," the CPSU program reads. The aesthetic principle is part of our lofty national objectives, for these objectives are humanistic.

Now as to imagery. I believe that without imagination no innovation is possible. In my view, the solution of an unusual problem requires a certain paradoxical formulation, the ability to combine what appears to be impossible to combine, to see the similarity and organic connection between two or three

phenomena among thousands of such phenomena in order to determine the appearance of a new interconnection and pattern, to explain the naturalness and inevitability of natural processes or human actions. In trying to understand the personality of my character I do the same; and the same occurs when I solve problems of my daily life.

In my view, giving the viewer an impetus, an incentive for using his imagination is one of the means of identifying his creative potential more completely. Let the theater or the screen help a person, through distant or close association, to take a somewhat new look at his own affairs and problems, to develop the beginning of a new skill of analyzing or comparing facts, events or feelings. It does not matter if this applies initially to a world invented and imagined by the playwright, the director or the actor. In fact, this marks the beginning or even a first awakening or an initially insignificant element of a psychological restructuring, for a person cannot develop feelings and thoughts limited to a small area. This does not happen, for thinking is a universal process.

So far, I have not mentioned a very essential detail. I have discussed the way art can, in my view, influence a person and address itself to the viewer. I have not mentioned the means through which art accomplishes this.

Yes, new plays and scenarios are needed. Playwrights, critics and audiences are mentioning and writing about this a great deal. Everyone has his own expectations and hopes, the way everyone has his own point of view and way of assessing what is new, the relevance and the problems presented on stage or in a motion picture. I have my own, that of the actor.

I have been asked hundreds of times who would I like to play most? When I was young I thought, what if someone would ask me to play Hamlet! Everyone dreams of finding a feather of the Fire-bird. Once or twice I thought that I had. Everything seemed to indicate that my new performance would be the best in my life. The features of my character were visible, clear. The result, however, was nothing of any significance.... The opposite also happened: I would be offered to play a character for which I lacked any kind of a feeling. This led to a sense of insecurity and doubts (I was not alone in this). All of a sudden, however, things would turn out much better than I expected.

The best roles are those which require the most work. An answer must be found to hundreds of absolutely new questions, and such answers demand new approaches and, in a certain sense, a new way of thinking. In this case the old stereotypes do not work. On the contrary, they must be removed. One must find and create something new. Any good role includes something surprising, a discovery for oneself and within oneself. Now I know precisely that the actor is successful as a result of a difficult, a painful search in an unknown area. The greatest success comes when we find an answer to a question of social interest. This makes us grow as actors and as people.

Yes, we must find answers to the questions which our complex life raises. We cannot measure them with the old customary yardsticks. We need new value categories consistent with the most vital social needs which go beyond the limits of a narrow commonplace philosophy.

The mind has a splendid quality: it cannot rest. Rest can kill it. The mind can function only in a state of motion, in surmounting obstacles, in struggle. It is important to find a play or scenario with a heightened intellectual and emotional charge, with a sharp social intrigue which would exclude stereotyped solutions. All of us expect plays and films which will require the maximal mobilization of the mind and imagination, which demands exhaustive and totally absorbing work, and which, in the final account, triggers the painful and beautiful condition of creative excitement, which is the greatest happiness in the life of an actor, the happiness of an artistic discovery.

I am currently making a picture in which something like this may be found. A small room in the studio has been transformed into the conning tower of a submarine, with panels on which lights of different color keep flashing and a yellow-blue globe is shining against a dark background. A set of coordinates shows up, like the target for a nuclear missile strike at our dear planet.

The action takes place aboard an American submarine. The developing situation is catastrophic, the crew is doomed and its death is inevitable. At the end of the picture, only two people are left in the conning tower at the missile launching command panel: the captain and a psychologist who is here for a strictly scientific purpose. The skipper believes that the time for launching a nuclear missile has come. In his view, today's civilization is a dead-end branch of evolution, that man is an error of nature and that his existence is senseless. On the basis of his caveman's philosophy he concludes that it would make better sense to help evolution to start all over again. All that he, the skipper, has to do is press a button and 24 missiles will hit the most heavily populated and economically developed areas on Earth and start a "cleansing fire."

In that movie I play the psychologist. The view of my character is the opposite. The scenario includes a text which explains this position. However, it is not a matter of the text. The plot of this picture puts my character in a situation in which, although to a minor extent, he can influence the fate of mankind. The future audiences must experience through their minds and hearts this feeling of responsibility, the highest possible feeling. The audience must be "charged" with this feeling so that, as it leaves the theater, it can carry with it a sense of concern for the destinies of the world and its personal involvement in its fate. The people in the audience will never find themselves in the exclusive situation of my character. What matters in this case is not the situation itself but its moral assessment, extended to the entirely realistic vital clash between the infinite possibilities of science and the interests of the human species. It seems to me that today art must be concerned with preventing science from becoming immoral and inhuman. An aesthetically illiterate scientist, physicist or biologist, exposed to the most dangerous disease of technocratism, is deprived of the restraining centers without which science can become not a benefit but a catastrophe for mankind. Making the audience think of this is my own need and duty, my obligation as an artist.

It is still too early to speak of a new film; it is too early to judge whether or not we have been able to achieve our intention of proving, through the motion picture, the need for a new way of thinking in the nuclear missile age.

In art, however, to prove means to find, to educate, to win over active like-minded people. I played one of the characters in the motion picture "Mister McKinley's Flight." That movie too raised the question of the responsibility of man for the future of civilization. Today, however, the situation in the world is much more crucial. Means of destruction have been created which, for the first time in history, have "granted" man the physical ability to destroy all life on Earth. The fact that a modern submarine, crammed with missiles, can cause mankind irreparable harm is no longer fantasy. An enraged maniac can kill millions of lives. Never before has the human genius created such a real opportunity for total inhumanity. And never before has true art--the great guardian of and spokesman for humanism--been so important in the life of mankind.

Aesthetics is not compatible with militarized thinking. That is why art is becoming an arena of fierce struggle between reason and madness. The logic of the ideologues of the war business is simple: if art is a hindrance it must be destroyed. How? A system has been developed to this purpose.

I saw abroad movies in which the latest techniques of cinematography are used to preach cruelty and assert the black "aesthetics" of murder. It is through art, and alas, not without success, that efforts are made to lower the minds of the people, the young in particular, down to the level of animal instincts, to make them forget how to think, analyze and compare. To this purpose, efforts are made to eliminate from art that which is its essence and its nature--humanism. It is thus that the modern broad subversion launched by imperialism against the socialist countries and the progressive forces in the world is combined with a subversion of art and culture in the broadest meaning of the term. "Life itself raises the question of the preservation of culture and of protecting it from bourgeois corruption and vandalism," the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress states. "This is one of the most important universal tasks. We cannot ignore the long-term psychological and moral consequences of current imperialist practices in the realm of culture."

Today the thinking of the honest artist inevitably must assume a political quality. His duty is to oppose the militarization of politics and thinking by humanizing both politics and thinking. Such is his role in the contemporary world. Today understanding this is not enough. One must play one's role. This truth is not trite in the least....

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CSO: 1802/16

Man of the New World: Concerns, Ideals, Values

DIRECTOR SHUTKOV'S SCHOOL

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 86 (signed to press 25 Jun 86) pp 97-101

[Article by V. Arkhipenko]

[Text] This event occurred on the eve of the anniversary of the October Revolution, 4 months before the opening of the 27th Party Congress. At that time the "hottest" spot at the Izhorskiy Zavod Association in Leningrad was the rolled sheet shop--the target project of the 11th 5-Year Plan. The installation of the Kvarto-5000 mill was being completed and its start-up was impatiently awaited by dozens of enterprises in several economic sectors. The mill could produce sheets and slabs up to 5 meters wide, from 1 to 45 centimeters thick, made of superhard steel.

Work on the mill was proceeding day and night.

Alas, as is frequently the case, the construction workers were not meeting deadlines. Something remained to be finished at the furnaces, the sedimentation tanks and the pumping station. It was at that point that representatives of the construction trust went to see the general director. The essence of their request was that he sign the acceptance document before the holiday, after which, retroactively, the work would be completed. The traditional arguments were used: it was embarrassing, for they had publicized their obligations throughout the country and all that remained were trifles...

Shutkov refused to sign. He refused categorically. Then the spectacle of inducements and exhortations, usual in such cases, began: we are all people, we must help one another. The director remained merciless.

In refusing, he was perfectly aware of the fact that matters would stop there. The promises of the construction trust were part of the promises of the city, the ministry. No one likes to be a laggard. Initially, Shutkov was asked, after which "pressure from above" was applied. He did not surrender. Clouds thickened over the head of the general director and thunder boomed. He held on and refused to sign the document.

It was only by the end of November, after the construction workers had completed their work at the auxiliary projects and finished tuning up the equipment that the official acceptance of the first section of the Kvarto-5000

mill took place. But then, as a Leningrad journalist wrote, the mill "worked like a charm." The tuning up was completed quickly and the first thousand tons of rolled metal were produced by the new year. And last May the first section reached its planned capacity three months ahead of schedule.

In recalling those days, some of Shutkov's colleagues say that it was only a character as firm as his that could withstand such heavy pressure. However, there was more to it. He knew that the chain of irresponsibility triggers a chain reaction of breakdowns, idling and other production disorders which increase in geometric progression. Breaking this chain would make it at least clear who was who and what was being concealed behind fictitious success.

As to the person's character, naturally, it too played a role. Shutkov's nature is firm, stubborn, persistent, sometimes even sharp. Furthermore, he cannot tolerate hypocrisy and fraud. Therefore, the "compromise" suggested by the construction workers totally clashed with the director's character.

Inherent in his nature is organization. It is manifested, for example, in his behavior and appearance. He is neat, restrained, firm and undemonstrative. He speaks slowly and calmly. His suit is always pressed and his shirt is impeccably white. Those who know him well know that Shutkov considers sloppy dressing a manifestation of inner sloppiness which, to him, is almost the first symptom of professional inadequacy of a worker, a manager in particular.

He has a rare quality: he absolutely keeps his promises, and will not promise unless he is sure to deliver. It is also said at the association that one could check one's watch by Shutkov; conferences, meetings, scheduled talks or telephone calls take place precisely at the appointed time. For the past few years, on the first, 11th and 21st of every month he receives the reports of production and service managers, not entrusting them to anyone else and there has never been a case of postponing them unless someone was ill.... He has everything scheduled for the day or for the month: what he must do himself, whom to summon and what problem to solve. Things never founder.

He demands total accuracy in production work. The machine tool must be turned on not 3 or 5 minutes after the beginning of the shift but precisely at 07:15 hours. A part must be ready for assembling at precisely the appointed time. The plan must be fulfilled not only on a quarterly, monthly or 10-day basis, but daily. Any hitch is questioned.

As we know, it is circumstances that shape the character of a person. Son of a peasant from Svishchevka village, Penza oblast, as a youngster during the war Shutkov realized the value of real labor. He helped his mother, procured hay for the goats and sheep and cut wood for the stove. In secondary school, he worked in the fields in summer; as a university student, he practiced at a plant as an apprentice steel smelter. He also worked during holidays to earn a living. During the hard postwar years his parents could hardly make ends meet. He made his way in life alone, with no favoritism or material support.

As a graduate of the Leningrad Polytechnical Institute, at the age of 23 Gennadiy Shutkov was firmly standing on his feet and knew his own worth. It was not in his character to be part of the mass. He was presented a silver

medal at graduation from secondary school, earned a bigger scholarship at the institute as an excellent student and at the Izhorsk Plant, where he was assigned, he earned rapid promotions. He did not remain a simple engineer long. He was noticed by the management for his quickness and organizational abilities, and entrusted him with managing the Martin furnace bureau, and then the shop, after which he was made the plant's head metallurgist.

He worked in Izhorsk for 7 years before joining the party. He showed an inclination for social work which he performed as efficiently and knowledgeably as his production assignments. He communicated with people easily. Increasingly, his nomination was submitted at elections for the party bureau and the plant's party committee. A few years later Shutkov was elected by the party members secretary of the enterprise's party organization.

A great deal of new knowledge was necessary in this area. Party work taught him to see the political meaning of facts and events and to assess them from a political standpoint. The accomplishments, needs and prospects of the Izhorskiy Zavod Association became the main concern of his life. Such was also the case when Shutkov was elected secretary of the Kolpinskiy party raykom, for the city of Kolpino and Izhorskiy Zavod are an inseparable entity.

It was precisely at that time that the Izhorsk people began to surrender their positions. It is a bad situation when an enterprise is experiencing a severe breakdown, when the slogan of "fulfill the plan at all costs!" turns into fiction and when the production process is uneven and even rushing at the end of the month, the quarter or the year fails to yield expected results. Such was precisely the situation of the Izhorskiy Zavod Association, whose traditions had made both Kolpino and the people of Leningrad proud. No single indicator for the 10th 5-Year Plan had been met.

Neither the harsh criticism of the collective nor the constant amendments of the plan which, actually, were merely efforts to conceal what had become a chronic lagging, helped.

At that point Shutkov was summoned to the obkom and asked to head the lagging collective. How could he refuse?...

The main question was this: how to pull the association out of this situation? Shutkov found the answer quickly. On his order all existing possibilities were assessed in detail. It was on that basis that the enterprise's 11th 5-year plan was drafted and approved. The plan was stressed, for previous failures and obligations were not written off. However, it was a realistic, a substantiated plan and no corrections were allowed! "If it has been calculated it means that it can be done," Shutkov said at that time. "It is strictly up to us."

A tremendous amount of reorganization was needed to implement the plan: the technology for the manufacturing of the most important items had to be perfected; some shops and sectors had to be reorganized; the technical retooling of the main production facilities was necessary and the management and wage structures had to be changed. This would take years but a great deal could be accomplished within a single month: bringing order and discipline in

all services and shops and at each workplace had to be seriously undertaken, and a decisive struggle mounted against all manifestations of carelessness, slackness and irresponsibility. Here as well the new director had the full support of the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations.

It took less than 2 years before the results of the reorganization initiated by the director began to show up.

The plan for the third year of the 5-year period was overfulfilled; during the fourth year commodity output reached the planned assignments and the 5-year average was a 6 percent annual growth, which was 50 percent over and above the average indicators in machine building. Based on the results of the last year of the 5-Year Plan, the Izhorsk people reported the full implementation of the plan for the 5-year period. All the old debts were paid off although they were quite substantial: during the first year of the 5-Year Plan the association owed customers goods worth more than 42 million rubles. Deliveries of power equipment, quarry excavators, steel, rolled metal, castings and ingots were met in full.

Substantial changes occurred in the social area as well; the housing conditions of more than 3000 families were improved; the problem of kindergartens and nurseries was solved, 7 buildings were constructed at the Pioneer camp and the best swimming pool in Leningrad was sunk. The turn has come now for building a prophylactic establishment, a hospital-clinical complex and a year-round sanatorium-type Pioneer camp in Anapa.

Results are results, but what was it that helped to gain time and catch up? To those who ask such questions, Gennadiy Alekseyevich shows a diagram graphically depicting the cycle in the manufacturing of one of the most important assemblies of the power unit. The production of this item requires 748 days. Subtracting the "net" amount of time needed for this assembly to be laid out, welded and machined at turning, grooving, milling, drilling, polishing and other machine tools, it turns out that the manufacturing of this item requires 37 days, i.e., only 5 percent of the total time. The other 95 percent are lost in all sorts of preparatory operations, intershop delays, storage, availability of the necessary machine tool and control...

A great deal depends on the worker. Several minutes can be gained in laying out or setting the part on the machine tool; the blade can be sharpened differently; the welding machine may be improved, the revolutions of the machine tool may be increased or other rationalization suggestions applied. All of this would be a gain, savings on the 5 percent of allocated time needed for the machining of the item itself. Therefore, the main reserve is elsewhere, in compressing weeks, days and hours which are currently wasted in waiting for the next processing stage. The manufacturing technology for a large power unit involved test assembling. "Why?" Shutkov asked. "This is an unnecessary operation!" The operation was removed from the work sequence and the production cycle was reduced by a week. Not a single consumer complained. Informed that semi-finished items were made in one shop and then moved to another, he ordered that the entire process be completed under the same roof. Realizing that one-of-a-kind machine tools were operating at below capacity,

he organized matters in such a way that they began to work on a round-the-clock basis. These and many other steps drastically reduced production time.

In speaking of the components of success in fulfilling the 5-Year Plan, Shutkov invariably gives priority to the human factor, to increasing the actual output per worker within the association. From the very beginning of the reorganization he was well aware of the fact that only people well trained and initiative-minded, people who knew how to work under the new conditions and were able to surmount the inertia of obsolete concepts could cope with the entire set of most difficult assignments.

Shutkov had no doubts as to the ability of the Izhorsk workers. Thousands of highly skilled people worked at the association, capable of completing even the most delicate and complex project, people with curious minds and dedication. However, things were more difficult when it came to management. At the time when the association was chronically unable to come out of the slump, and when a style of bureaucratic management, shouts and "pressure" had developed, many knowledgeable specialists had left for other enterprises. Leading positions were held by inept people, who had become accustomed to work as ordered and feared any kind of initiative. A great part of the management had to be replaced.

The director raised this question with the party committee and gained its full support (later, at a meeting of the party members' aktiv on the results of the 11th 5-Year Plan, he noted that the party committees of the association and of the production facilities had done a great deal in choosing and placing cadres and promoting responsibility for end labor results). Most of the work, however, had to be done personally by him.

He did not ask for outside specialists, knowing and feeling that the necessary personnel could be found in this thousands-strong collective. In all likelihood, never before, in the entire history of the Izhorsk plant, had such a mass change of management taken place. As a rule, the reassignments turned out to be exceptionally successful.

To find the proper person for a specific job is by no means simple. Naturally, Shutkov did not trust his intuition. He looked at the person, he studied his strong and weak sides and his practical and moral qualities. His golden rule is the following: find an able person, assign to him an important sector, introduce him to it, and make him learn and master new management methods. He never engages in petty supervision. Conversely, he tries to provide the beginning manager with as much autonomy as possible and to create for him the type of conditions under which he can display his possibilities completely. In turn, he cannot tolerate petty supervision. As one member of the association said, Shutkov hates it when efforts are made to turn the director into a "clothes peg," when he is asked to solve problems which can be solved without him. This applies to both administrative and social affairs.

At one point the chairman of the association's trade union committee came to him with a complaint against the chief of the Martin shop: the latter was ignoring the demand of the trade union committee to correct faults in labor and equipment safety. He had been given deadlines which he had ignored.

"But why come to me for this?" the director asked, astonished. "He is ignoring the order! You could..."

"Don't you have rights?"

It was after that discussion that the trade union committee chairman called the committee in session, at which the following decree was adopted: to express lack of confidence in the chief of the Martin shop and to resolve that he was not on the level of his position. One day later, based on the decision of the trade union body, the general director issued an order relieving the shop chief from his position.

Shutkov sees to it that a manager does not rest on his accomplishments, is always searching and mastering the latest methods of organization of production and management, which calls for constant learning.

"Today," Gennadiy Alekseyevich says, "we are at a stage in which simply experience gained in the course of the work is insufficient. Many people fail to understand this and, what is the worst, sincerely consider themselves to be good specialists. This leads to stagnation, inertia and complacency and... anything else. I consider it my task as take such people away from a condition of unawareness of their incompetence and bring them to a state at which they are aware of it. Only then can the conviction that one must learn develop. This must always be the case.

On the eve of the 27th CPSU Congress a meeting of the party aktiv was held at the Izhorskiy Zavod Association. The results of the fulfillment of the 5-year plan were being summed up. The plan had been fulfilled for all indicators, although the report by the general director and the speeches included a great deal of criticism. Had there not been statistical presentations, figures and percentages, without which such a meeting is impossible, one could have thought that the people who had met in this hall were quite displeased. There was talk of unused reserves, unjustified losses of working time in a number of shops, incomplete use of one-of-a-kind equipment, insufficient use of cost accounting and many other problems. It is such dissatisfaction and self-critical mood that Shutkov likes the most.

Last autumn, the construction workers who were preparing to deliver the Kvarto-5000 mill met at the Izhorsk plant a person to whom organization, accuracy, creativity and exigency were both party standards and personal features. The conflict involved both work problems and purely human ones, the type of conflict which develops in the people a feeling of civic duty, rejects lies and corrupting half truths, and teaches reaching realistic conclusions and evaluations and shapes an active party stance.

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CSO: 1602/16

SOCIAL POLICY, DEMOCRACY, SELF-GOVERNMENT

HONESTLY EARNED RUBLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 86 (signed to press ?? Jun 86) pp 102-112

[Interview with Aleksandr Yakovlevich Sukharev, RSFSR minister of justice and president of the Association of Soviet Jurists]

[Text] Our society is experiencing a complex, interesting and exceptionally important period. On the one hand, the present stage in the socioeconomic development of the USSR is marked by major achievements in many economic sectors. On the other, as was most loudly stated by the party at its 27th Congress, rather sharp contradictions have appeared, which hinder and delay our progress. This, as we know, has created a complex set of problems, the solution of which cannot be reduced to reorganizations in the economic area alone. It is also a question of the implementation of a strong social policy and the systematic assertion of the principle of social justice.

The CPSU Central Committee recently passed the decree "On Steps to Increase the Struggle Against Unearned Income." This problem was considered by the USSR Council of Ministers, making it incumbent upon USSR ministries and departments, councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics and executive of local soviets of people's deputies to intensify the struggle against theft of socialist property, bribery, speculations and other mercenary crimes which are sources of unearned income. A USSR law ratifying the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Ukase "On Intensifying the Struggle Against Deriving Unearned Income" was passed at the USSR Supreme Soviet, 5th session, 11th convocation.

Aleksandr Yakovlevich Sukharev, RSFSR minister of justice and president of the Association of Soviet Jurists, discussed with journal correspondent V. Sukhachevskiy, the nature and objectives of these documents and the practice and possibilities of their implementation.

[Question] The Soviet people warmly support and approve these documents. The working people realize that the path of reorganization and acceleration taken by our country is not strewn with roses. It was said most frankly at the congress that many difficulties await us along this path and that in order to surmount them we must mount a decisive struggle against anything which hinders our progress. In your view, Aleksandr Yakovlevich, what are the prerequisites

which brought to life the documents on the struggle against unearned income and what is the essential significance of these documents?

[Answer] As you know, in the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, along with our successes, some adverse trends and difficulties developed, which hindered our progress. These trends and phenomena of stagnation, both in the economy and the sociocultural and spiritual areas, were discussed at the party congress and at the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Their study indicated that the weakening of state discipline, increasing cases of legal nihilism, and weakened control in the decisive area of social relations--labor and distribution--became a major hindrance to social progress.

In discussing the durability of antisocial phenomena, let us point out that it is also due to their being underestimated and the insufficient decisiveness and consistency displayed in the exercise of governmental and social control over the measures of labor and consumption. A mentality of philistinism, money-grubbing and consumerism, and an aspiration toward easy enrichment were manifested.

It was precisely during that period that the problems of drunkenness, parasitism, and unearned income became aggravated; a variety of abuses and violations of the principle of the equality of the law and its mandatory observance by all became widespread. Twenty percent of the individuals indicted in criminal cases had not been employed in socially useful work before committing their crimes. Even such data are merely the tip of the iceberg. No one really knows how many people in our country are not working.

Radical socioeconomic and legal steps must be taken to curb such unhealthy trends, institute effective control over the measure of labor and consumption, and lead the party and the broad public to the elimination of petit bourgeois slackness, abuses and parasitism.

The April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum was a landmark on the way to improving the moral and legal climate in society. It was precisely at that plenum and, subsequently, at the 27th CPSU Congress that the negative processes, which were undermining the foundations of social justice and complicating the building of the new society, were boldly and decisively exposed. The party not only provided a principle-minded evaluation of such phenomena but also implemented a set of measures aimed at eliminating them, strengthening labor and state discipline, intensifying the struggle against parasitism, bribery, speculation and encroachments on the people's property and defending the rights and interests of honest working people. Substantial supplements and amendments were introduced in criminal and administrative legislation. Stricter penalties were legislated against thieves of socialist property, black marketeers and some other categories of individuals earning illegal incomes.

The need for strict observance of our main socialist principle--the comprehensive support and encouragement of honest and conscientious labor--an uncompromising struggle against parasitical elements and people who try to live at the expense of others, at the expense of society, was reemphasized at the June 1986 Central Committee Plenum.

All honest people warmly support this firm and consistent position assumed by the party. The very first steps taken in strengthening social justice indicate the tremendous potential of socialist legality and the appearance of a new labor discipline. The economic indicators of the national economy and the attitude toward labor and socialist property are improving noticeably. The struggle against mercenary crimes has been organized on a substantive basis.

The work of the law enforcement bodies in uprooting theft, speculations, bribery and official and economic crime has become more active. Of late many individuals holding responsible positions have been exposed and criminally prosecuted. They include some senior personnel in the fishing and light industry, trade, consumer and medical services and the party and soviet apparatus in a number of areas. Thieves and bribers have been punished strictly, which has included the use of the ultimate measure. Major steps have been taken to cleanse the apparatus from corrupt and unscrupulous people.

[Question] We must assume that these steps are merely the beginning of extensive work to improve the situation. Furthermore, it is an open secret that so far the struggle was essentially aimed against obvious crimes of clearly manifested mercenary nature. The problem of unearned income, it seems, is much more complex and comprehensive.

[Answer] You are right. Had it been only a matter of highway robbery, the problem would have been solved long ago, for all such robbers would have been caught. The difficulty, however, is precisely that people who like to live at the expense of others make skillful use, as the military say, of the terrain. Thus, brigades of "moonlighters," which operate in the southern area of the RSFSR, profiting from poor accountability and lack of protection of the crops in kolkhozes and sovkhozes, pilfered and bought up products very cheaply, after which they resold some 4500 tons of grain and sunflower seeds in Moldavia. In 2 years their unearned income amounted to 1.3 million rubles.

Several groups of criminals were exposed in North Osetia. They had pocketed about 900,000 rubles from the sale of onions.

Numerous cases of profits earned from speculative machinations in garage-building cooperatives were exposed in the Tatar ASSR. As a result of weakened control by the local soviets, some dodgers acquired two garages each, and the GSK accepted individuals who were not automobile owners. This year alone, the prosecution authorities have filed claims totaling 60,000 rubles against individuals who had made illegal profits from the sale of garages.

Mercenary crimes in apartment leasing and in consumer, transportation and medical services became widespread. The use for personal purposes of state automobiles and machinery became an ordinary occurrence in a number of areas.

Thefts, extortions, all types of parasitism, and unearned enrichment at the expense of the state and other citizens undermine the foundations of our way of life and trigger the justified indignation and anger of the public. Therefore, the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Measures to Intensify the Struggle Against Unearned Income," the government decisions and the laws

assign to party, soviet, economic and law enforcement authorities the task of blocking all channels and loopholes for illegal enrichment and ensuring the strict observance of the socialist principle of earnings based on work.

This is no simple task. It exceeds the limits of the strictly juridical counteraction to violations. To begin with, the violations themselves have deep roots, which are not only moral and legal but also economic, administrative and sociopsychological. It is no accident that the CPSU Central Committee considers the elimination of unearned income, which is alien to the nature of socialism, a major political, socioeconomic and educational task. The necessary material and organizational prerequisites will be created for fully providing the population with services, above all those related to repairs of apartments, motor vehicles, electrical, television and radio equipment, household appliances and instruments, improving the work of enterprises providing commercial, consumer and medical services, housing-communal facilities, restaurant facilities, etc. Attention is being drawn to the bottlenecks in providing services, the production of commodities enjoying greater demand and the creation of facilities for the recreation of the working people. Naturally, the solution of these problems will require additional investments, tremendous efforts and time.

Second, the unhealthy phenomena are not of a sporadic or local nature. They have acquired a stable and, if you wish, in frequent cases, rather widespread nature. As was pointed out at the party congress, groups of people with clearly manifested private ownership aspirations and a scornful attitude toward the interests of the public have appeared as a result of weakened control and for some other reasons. These groups have firmly established themselves not only in consumer services but in prestigious administrative units as well. In order successfully to struggle against unhealthy manifestations, tremendous efforts must be made by all progressive social strata, their communist vanguard above all. Even the strongest legal barriers to stop bribers and thieves would not suffice. Persistent and lengthy efforts must be made to change the mentality of the people and to uproot the still remaining reverence for those who "know how to live."

For example, the low results of the recently adopted standards concerning liability for extortion, are a sad illustration of this fact. Unfortunately, attempts at bribery for the acquisition of scarce commodities and services are continuing. They apply to taxi cab services, clothing and repair workshops, service garages, stores, restaurants and housing-communal establishments. Paradoxical though it may seem, such cases almost never reach the courts. In the final account, however, the amount of goods and services does not increase as a result of such "deals," and the losers are the working people themselves, whereas the position held by those who keep silent can only benefit the swindlers. I am deeply convinced that we can restore order the faster the more energetically the family, the school, the Komsomol and each work collective join in this project. The ground under the feet of dishonest people must be set afire!

Therefore, briefly, the logic of the new steps taken in the struggle against all manifestations of unearned enrichment is clear: our collectivistic labor

society must reject what burdens its healthy body in order to enhance the basic laws and possibilities of socialism for the sake of man.

[Question] To this day, despite numerous publications, there is no clear definition of the concepts of "earned" and "unearned" income. We would like to clarify the following, in this connection: we know that an unearned income could be legitimate such as, for example, an inheritance, winning a loan or lottery prize, and so on. By the same token, an earned income could be illegal, such as income obtained as a result of some kinds of work. In their extreme manifestations, both can be easily defined and, therefore, controlled. In ordinary life, however, there are frequent cases in which it is difficult immediately to identify those who are benefiting from unearned social advantages undeservedly. Numerous such examples could be cited. Should we speak, in such cases, of the imperfection of existing laws? Or else is it that we do not apply them properly?

[Answer] A complex social phenomenon is the result not of one but of several factors. Inasmuch as your question is addressed to the minister of justice, let us discuss the legal aspect of the matter.

Today's laws include a sufficiently broad system of rules which regulate problems of labor, wages, various benefits and penalties for violations of the principle of payment according to labor, based on the constitution. Socialist and private property and civil-legal relations in housing, consumer, trade and other areas are protected on a firm legal basis. Generally speaking, the laws consider unearned income a delinquency. However, such laws were incomplete and sometimes vague. Major gaps remained in the mechanism of controlling their observance. Court and prosecution practices had fallen behind the requirements of life.

In an atmosphere of reduced exigency, a number of laws were either virtually unapplied or applied to a limited extent. Let me cite as an example the stipulation that guilty individuals must pay for the damages they have caused. In reality this was frequently replaced by writing off losses as production outlays, i.e. at the expense of the state. Such write-offs provide conditions for thefts and abuse.

Here is another example. According to the law, a housing area used for earning illegal income is subject to confiscation. The law exists but until recently it was "inoperative." It is also no secret that the practice of prosecuting officials for figure padding was by no means consistent with the popularity of this phenomenon. Therefore, all the necessary grounds for the more energetic use of the possibilities of the current legislation exist.

[Question] You mentioned, however, the incompleteness and inconsistency of existing laws. It is this, probably, that contributed to their partial application....

[Answer] This is true. Life does not stand still and a number of problems requiring new legislation have appeared. As we know, laws are not fabricated.

They are the result of social needs. Today, when the question of the incompatibility between unearned income and the principles of socialist justice has been sharply raised, the need has developed to reassess the entire arsenal of means of influence. The documents adopted by the party and the government on the struggle against unearned income have this specific purpose. A number of major changes have been made in criminal, administrative, civil and labor legislation. In particular, the range of indictable actions has been broadened and the penalties for some of them have been made stricter. For example, today administrative penalties are sought not only for the unauthorized use for mercenary purposes of transportation vehicles, trucks and tractors but also for other types of machines and mechanisms (cranes, duplicating equipment, industrial equipment). The loss of a driving permit is also stipulated. In the case of recidivism, after the imposition of an administrative penalty criminal prosecution may follow in cases of major damages, and the penalty may be as much as 5 years of deprivation of freedom. The same can be said of liability for feeding grain products to cattle and poultry. According to the new law, liability for such actions has become stricter. This applies not only to feeding animals grain, bread, and flour but also any other food products purchased from state and cooperative stores. The new qualifying features which increase such liability have been included in the Criminal Code article on penalties for bribery and, specifically, for receiving bribes based on conspiracy by a group of individuals, as well as big or very big bribes.

Liability for illegal private enterprise activities and commercial go-between activities has been increased. In particular, such go-between activities, which have led to particularly great enrichment, are punished according to the new law with deprivation of freedom for no more than 10 years and confiscation of the property. Today the unauthorized use of electric power and natural gas, the illegal acquisition of construction materials, the sale of home-made wine and gambling for money, objects and other valuables, are classified as illegal earnings. A heavier fine, not to exceed 200 rubles, is now levied for petty theft; the culprits lose all rights to bonuses and may lose their jobs.

A new procedure for material liability of workers and employees causing harm to the enterprise and organization, including the multiple compensation for losses, has been introduced.

Finally, ways of improving the reliability of the legal mechanism, in order to better ensure the observance of the essential stipulations of the law, have been defined in a number of areas.

[Question] To what does this apply specifically?

[Answer] Let me give you an example. According to the Fundamentals of Housing Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics, homes and housing premises cannot be used by citizens for purposes of private profit and to the detriment of the social interests. Nevertheless, a number of machinations take place in leasing or exchanging housing. Unquestionably, the legal mechanism in this area cannot be considered satisfactory. We are presently developing a state control system, the circumventing of which may entail serious consequences to the violators. The same could be said of the procedure for keeping track of

individuals marketing agricultural commodities at kolkhoz markets and of liability for violating standards and procedures for raising cattle in private plots. The drafting of a clear legal regulation will enhance legislative efficiency.

Nevertheless, the jurists as well will be facing many difficulties. The struggle for the assertion of the principles of social justice is only beginning to gather strength. It will be inevitably countered by the resourcefulness and adaptability of the lovers of easy profits, the power of bad customs and the position of waiting for "better times." New searches, studies and comparisons of practical experience and, unquestionably, new legislative solutions will be needed.

[Question] The steps taken toward loafers, thieves of socialist property, bribe takers and those who have taken a path alien to the labor nature of our system are meeting with unanimous approval and support. However, while blocking unearned income, we should not allow any aspersions to be cast on those who earn an additional income through honest toil. Such cases are still encountered. The militia chases away flower sellers and a flood of denunciations is received against those who grow fruits, vegetables and flowers in their private plots and sell them. This too is work, hard work. Since the need for such products exists and since the state does not meet it entirely, such activities should only be welcomed. The rather widespread viewpoint is that a natural economic regulator--demand--should apply in this case. What is the legal aspect of this problem and does it need improvements?

[Answer] You have touched upon the very line which separates illegal enrichment from encouraged labor initiative. Excluding the pensioners and isolated cases, such as winning the lottery or inheriting property, it is important to emphasize here that two conditions must be met for legally earning additional (even if substantial) profits: personal labor and participation in public production. The cases of persecuting the sellers of flowers, and the poor view taken of those who contribute to the market and to their family budget through their honest toil are the result of thoughtlessness, of overcautious authorities or the jealousy of neighbors.

I personally have come across rather highly placed controllers who, hiding behind loud statements about uprooting money-grubbing, in the heat of bureaucratic zeal, have drawn up denunciations of truck gardeners, charging them with "kulak ways," particularly if the little houses they have built exceed standard dimensions by 3 or 4 square meters. Meanwhile, such "auditors" have been unwilling to notice the real thieves, who have built houses from stolen or illegally acquired materials and have made use of state transportation facilities and even the labor of subordinates free of charge. Today these same "guardians" of morality and legality are applauding just as loudly the new course of collective truck gardening.

I believe that such twists have been abetted by legislative instability which has created a lack of confidence among honest working people and facilitated bribery and dodging.

The Law on Private Labor Activities will come out soon. Its main purpose is to broaden the opportunity of using the professional skill, practical experience and knowledge of millions of Soviet citizens, the retired in particular, in developing consumer services, artisan industries, and the production of consumer goods and farm products.

At the same time, strict legal limits will be imposed on such activities. The list of industries and services forbidden by the law will be clearly defined; a system of taxation and financial and administrative control will be applied.

Yes, voluntary useful labor activities will be thoroughly encouraged. However, it is hardly justified totally to entrust this important matter to the "natural economic regulator--demand."

Actually, are we not simplifying the problem by balancing income with demand? Are we dropping the final link in the entire chain of developing relations? What, actually, will be the source of income: labor or the skillful use of market circumstance?

As you can see, one question generates others. This is no accident, for we are dealing with a cluster of conflicting relations.

Let us see what is happening. On the one hand, for example, the private plot allows its owner to acquire construction materials, mechanisms, fertilizer, electric power, and so on, at fixed state prices. On the other, it gives him the opportunity of earning an income for his output not according to his work but to the prices charged on the market.

[Question] Someone may object as follows: do we have a powerful governmental machinery which can bring order in this matter?

[Answer] It is precisely the state that must not allow that those who take to the market their surplus produce and those who convert their private plots into commodities primarily aimed at market sales find themselves in the same position. Substantial differences exist in this matter, which must be reflected legislatively. I am not even mentioning the market habitues and go-betweens, who "neither plow nor sow" but harvest the fruits grown by others. With them the law settles its accounts quite easily.

[Question] A variety of concealed forms of unearned income are causing tremendous harm to society. In particular, obtaining undeserved bonuses has become a vicious phenomenon. Actually, in a number of cases such bonuses have developed into a mandatory addition to the wage. Look at payment vouchers: all sorts of people are receiving bonuses for the use of new equipment. How should this problem be solved?

[Answer] Indeed, receiving undeserved bonuses, regardless of the reason, is actually a covert form of unearned income. Consider figure padding, which is just about the most widespread economic crime. It is frequently accompanied by bonuses. This means that two laws are being violated.

This problem has another side as well. Frequently, bonuses are used to conceal thefts, for individual managers conceal behind such bonuses their own inactivity and inefficiency while, at the same time, they are trying to appear as "sugar daddies" to their subordinates at the expense of the state. Yet managers are liable for the illegal expenditure of monetary funds, including those disbursed as bonuses. Depending on the circumstances and the subjective attitude taken by the respective official, such liability may result in disciplinary or even criminal prosecution. In all cases, the person guilty of illegally paying bonuses must refund the amount, in accordance with current legislation.

In order to eliminate bonus violations, we must above all strictly observe existing procedures and laws. The juridical services, prosecutor's supervision authorities and courts must enhance their activities in that area as well.

[Question] In your view, could it be that the imperfect nature of the wage system is contributing to the aspiration for unearned income?

[Answer] Unquestionably, there are imperfections in the wage system, as was openly stated at the 27th CPSU Congress. The insufficient consideration of the quantity and quality of labor and elements of wage equalization do not contribute to eliminating violations of the basic principle of socialist justice. Therefore, the congress' documents directly called for establishing a stricter correlation between wages and labor productivity and its quality indicators, firmly uprooting equalization and preventing unearned income and undeserved bonuses.

However, it would be a mistake to consider this one of the main reasons which facilitate unearned income. The experience of law enforcement bodies convincingly proves that it is people with a developed parasitical character who most frequently try to enrich themselves at the expense of the work of others. Was it the lack of money that systematically encouraged the acceptance of bribes by many managers of trade organizations in Moscow and by soviet and economic bodies in Uzbekistan and Krasnodar kray?

[Question] The latest documents on the struggle against unearned income stipulate reporting and applying new procedures when major deals are made. Could this lead to new abuses, "fictitious" declarations in particular? How to ensure the accuracy of income reporting? What is the liability for concealing such income?

[Answer] The USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures to Increase the Struggle Against Unearned Income" stipulates that deals involving amounts in excess of 5,000 rubles among citizens and enterprises, establishments and organizations must be cashless, requiring fund transfers through the USSR Gosbank offices or state savings banks.

Citizens involved in deals exceeding 10,000 rubles and those who build their own houses (dachas) worth in excess of 20,000 rubles must submit to the financial authority a statement on the sources of their funds.

A statement must also be submitted to the financial authorities on the sources of funds if so requested by the executive committee of the local soviet of people's deputies or the prosecutor.

This is a very important new development with a broad range of action. One of its immediate purposes is to expose dishonest enrichment. A longer-range aim is to develop disgust of dishonestly earned rubles. Is it worth it to violate one's conscience if accumulated values cannot be legal? As to possibilities of abuses through false declarations, individual attempts will probably be made. However, the ground for developing this into a mass phenomenon will be lacking. The accuracy of information is ensured by the possibility, if necessary, to check it and by the high price of fraud. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Ukase "On Intensifying the Struggle Against Drawing Unearned Income" stipulates an administrative fine for obvious falsehoods found in a declaration. Criminal liability is sought in the case of a second such violation. Let me also add that currently a detailed financial control mechanism on the use of such declarations is being drafted.

[Question] According to Article 60 of the USSR Constitution, it is the duty of every able-bodied citizen to work; the avoidance of socially useful labor is incompatible with the principles of socialist society. How has it happened that parasites remain while neither the legislation nor practical experience seem to notice them? What steps are currently being contemplated against loafers?

[Answer] Let us begin by saying that those usually described as parasites are not a homogeneous mass from the legal or social viewpoints. Even if we were to apply generalized criteria we would divide them into several categories: individuals engaged in a parasitical way of life, which is against the law; various types of smart operators; people who could be described as hangers-on; and those who contribute to society less than they consume.

The first group subsists on unearned income, on funds earned through games of chance, fortune-telling, soliciting, petty black marketeering and other illegal means. The law has never been indifferent to similar manifestations of parasitism, which it considers a crime. The struggle against vagrancy, begging, or any other parasitical way of life has become substantially intensified. Nevertheless, the study of court cases indicates that in frequent cases such groups of people are noticed by the judiciary system quite belatedly. Therefore, the question of the prompt identification and, if necessary, punishment of such people remains topical.

Success in the offensive mounted against operators, speculators, middlemen reselling market produce or people hiding behind fictitious brigades, and so on, will be determined not only by increasing legal liability, in which area the stipulations of the law and its new norms are uncompromising, but also by ensuring the accelerated production of consumer goods and services, improving their quality and efficiently eliminating the scarcity of some goods and services.

A different situation applies to the "quiet" or covert parasites supported by soft-hearted parents or spouses, drifters, people who take part-time low-

paying jobs for the sake of paying less alimony, etc. The number of such people has increased.

The number of "runaway" fathers, who are being sought, is running into the tens of thousands. The army of parasites is increased also by some "eternal" students who hang on their parents' necks for years on end, waiting for the next competition examinations. Obviously, each such group requires specific measures on the part of the public and the law enforcement authorities. What is unquestionable, however, is that a stricter attitude must be displayed toward this category of people as well.

Currently the USSR Prosecutor's General Office and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, together with the USSR Ministry of Justice, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the AUCCTU have been instructed to draft additional measures aimed at intensifying the struggle against all manifestations of parasitism.

[Question] Could you comment on the status of the Law on Private Labor Activity, currently being drafted? Will some types of labor be banned? We already mentioned this problem, but a more extended answer would be desirable.

[Answer] The USSR Constitution allows private work in artisan industries, agriculture, consumer services and some other types of activity.

At the present stage of the country's economic and social development, private labor is an additional source of satisfaction of the needs of the population for goods and services and a means of involving citizens in socially useful activities and improving their material well-being. Naturally, such types of work must be entirely compatible with the principles of socialist economic management and exclusively based on the individual efforts of citizens and members of their families.

These features are basic in drafting the law on private labor activities, the purpose of which is to bring order into a wide range of relations which develop in this connection, and to correlate private work with economic and social expediency and the interests of society. The law must reflect problems such as the types of and procedures for engaging in private labor activities, reporting income from such activities, taxation, supervision and liability for violating stipulated procedures, and others. Naturally, by no means are all types of activity suitable for the private sector. This would include the manufacturing of chemicals, medicinal drugs and medical equipment; I do not believe that they should include giving concerts, for this is directly related to the education functions performed by the state and society.

It is probably premature to discuss specific restrictions at this point. We are studying reasons and materials and the various suggestions submitted in the press and included in citizen's letters. It is the legislators who will make the final decisions, taking all factors into consideration.

[Question] There have been cases in which not individual operators but entire production collectives have engaged in illegal entrepreneurial activities. There have been articles in the press on underground workshops using state

equipment, raw and other materials in the manufacturing and marketing of goods "under the counter." To what extent are repeats of such phenomena possible now?

[Answer] Unfortunately, such cases have indeed taken place. Recently, for example, a large group of workers, more than 30 people, at the Rostovpassazhiravtotrans Automotive Enterprises, headed by their managers, were convicted by the Rostov Oblast Court.

What is worth noting here? Above all, that these enterprises began to lose their socialist features. An insignificant percentage of the members of the labor collective participated in such crimes, involving bribery, theft and whitewashing. The auditing system was corrupted. "Profitable" controller positions could be bought for 500 to 2,000 rubles. One Kasnorudskiy, with a previous conviction for theft and loss of the right to hold a responsible job, had been appointed senior engineer. People appointed to brigade leadership positions included one who had been tried three times and another who had served time for mugging. The total damage caused by these swindlers exceeded 1.6 million rubles.

However, it is only stricter control which would prevent the appointment of unsuitable people leading positions involving material responsibility, that would be of tremendous importance in the prevention of abuses and mercenary machinations. Nevertheless, in many areas, 10 percent of people who have been convicted for theft and other mercenary crimes related to their position and who, consequently, must not be appointed to responsible jobs, are being hired.

[Question] Let us go back to the "Rostov case" you mentioned. Does this not involve a tremendous culpability on the part of party buros of enterprises and party raykoms and gorkoms? How could the party bodies not identify swindlers among the managers of a big collective? The choice and placement of cadres is their direct duty. Or is it that, as ordinarily happens, the party committees were busy computing percentages and ton/kilometers instead of doing their political job?

[Answer] It seems to me that your question has its built-in answer. Unquestionably, let us point out, on the one hand, the vulnerability of the economic mechanism which, in this case, proved unable to erect a reliable barrier on the path of the swindling by a large group of workers. Something in the mechanism failed. On the other hand, no barriers are needed for the honest person. That is precisely why the party raises so urgently the question of improving the choice, placement and upbringing of cadres. Command positions must be held by people who are entirely honest and clean. It is a true saying that a fish begins to smell from the head. Let me emphasize in this connection that in the offensive which has been mounted against parasites, swindlers, bribe takers and black marketeers, and all those who steal from the state and from their fellow citizens, it would be difficult to overestimate the importance of giving ideological support to this entire project.

At this point, it is important comprehensively to undertake, to explain to the population the social nature, the specific content of the legislation aimed at the struggle against unearned income. Without such education, respect for the

law and the standards of social justice would remain a pious wish. All means of legal training and education must actively influence the shaping of an attitude of intolerance on the part of the population and labor collectives toward parasitism, private-ownership aspirations and other manifestations alien to socialism. Such ideological work must be supported by decisive actions aimed at eliminating the reasons and prerequisites for abuses and criminal encroachments on the people's property. They are "cultivated" and grow frequently under conditions of negligence and violations of state and labor discipline.

It is from this viewpoint that we should also assess the efficiency of legal education and upbringing of management and economic cadres. It is important comprehensively to organize, on a planned governmental basis, a system of universal legal training of cadres, above all officials in economic organizations and personnel within the state apparatus and members of the public aktivs. Such experience has already been acquired in some autonomous republics and oblasts in the RSFSR and in Belorussia and Azerbaijan.

It would be expedient, in my view, to broaden the network of facilities offering permanent legal training, such as people's universities for legal knowledge and their branches and departments, and to set up at ministries, departments and enterprises law schools and permanent seminars and courses. The curriculums and programs of party and Komsomol training and institutes for upgrading the skills of economic cadres should include the study of special topics related to mastering the new legislation on the protection of socialist property and the struggle against bribery, black marketeering and illegal private entrepreneurial activities.

It may be worth considering legal certification of all categories of leading cadres as has already been done at the Mari ASSR.

[Question] In a word, we must reach a situation in which all possible prerequisites for the existence of the two-dimensional ruble can be eliminated exist: the honestly earned and the illegally acquired. Briefly stated, should that be the purpose of the struggle against unearned income?

[Answer] Absolutely.

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THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD: TRENDS AND CONTRADICTIONS

NEW MENTALITY--REQUIREMENT OF THE NUCLEAR AGE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 86 (signed to press 25 Jun 86) pp 113-124

[Article by A. Bovin]

[Text] The world in which we live is changing as do our thoughts about it, although frequently with some delay. This is a rather trite truth. It stops being trite, however, when it finds itself in the epicenter of political storms. Its stops being trite when the inability or unwillingness to make political thinking consistent with the requirements of the nuclear age becomes the main intellectual and psychological barrier on the path to the restoration of detente, disarmament and the organization of a constructive interaction among countries and peoples on a global scale.

"The real dialectics of contemporary development is the combination of the competition and confrontation between the two systems and the growing trend of interdependence among countries within the world's community," M.S. Gorbachev said at the 27th CPSU Congress. "It is precisely thus, with difficulty and, to a certain extent, as thought by feel, through the struggle of opposites, that the contradictory yet largely integral world develops." The nature and pace of this global process, which is inseparable from the struggle for lasting peace, will be largely determined by the restructuring of the political mentality and the extent of awareness of the realities of the nuclear age.

The first nuclear device was exploded by the Americans on the testing grounds of Alamogordo (New Mexico) on 16 June 1945 at 0530 hours. "The direct impression of the explosion," General T. Farrell, the representative of the War Department to the Manhattan Project recalls, "could be described as unprecedented, grandiose, amazing and frightening.... Only a great poet could have been able to describe this scene but, alas, no poet had ever seen the likes of it." I greatly doubt that a poet would have shared the general's enthusiasm. The politicians, however, could and did. Winston Churchill, the British prime minister, described the atom bomb as "Christ's second coming." Less than a month later, on 6 and 9 August, Hiroshima and Nagasaki were destroyed by order of U.S. President Truman. Mankind entered the nuclear age.

Initially, it was only a few people, mainly scientists who had participated in the development of the bomb, who understood the real significance of the event. Like always, politicians and generals were preparing to fight the last war. From their viewpoint nuclear weapons changed tactics and strategy but left untouched the philosophy of war and the traditional view of war as an entirely rational means of attaining political objectives: everything remains the same, only the scale is different. The nuclear age, however gradually asserted its rights. As the consequences of the catastrophe which had destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki became known, as more data were acquired with ever new nuclear weapon tests and, above all, as the nuclear arsenals increased and the power of this new mass destruction method increased manifold, it became increasingly clear that its development and stockpiling indicated that mankind had entered a new historical age, an age in which the people had obtained the technical ability to annihilate, to destroy mankind.

Mankind's ability to commit suicide depreciated and made senseless many habitual political and military-strategic mental stereotypes. Step by step the need for adopting qualitatively new approaches to the entire set of problems related to war and peace appeared and started being realized. "In order for mankind to survive and develop further," Einstein, the greatest natural scientist of the 20th century said, "a new way of human thinking is necessary. Today the atom bomb has changed the world up to its foundations. We know this, and the people find themselves in a new situation to which they must adapt their mentality."

This new situation is determined by the huge, the monstrous destructive power of nuclear weapons. The combined effect of the shock wave, light emanation, initial penetrating radiation and residual radiation make man helpless in the face of a nuclear strike. Scientists have estimated that if a one-megaton device is exploded over a city of 1 million (an explosion energy equivalent to 1 million tons of TNT), by the end of the first day 310,000 people would die and 380,000 would need medical assistance (which would be virtually unavailable). This, however, applies only to a single explosion of megaton range. If we think in terms of a concentrated exchange of nuclear strikes and consider that the power of the current nuclear arsenal totals approximately 13,000-15,000 megatons, the scale of the losses and destructions would be beyond the human ability to comprehend them.

A nuclear war conceals within it the real threat of the destruction of civilization and, first of all, any intelligent life on earth. As has become clear in the 1980s, the threat does not stem exclusively from the direct impact of nuclear weapons on people. Studies conducted by Soviet and American scientists have lead to the conclusion that a massed exchange of nuclear strikes would be accompanied by huge releases of dust and smoke into the atmosphere, which could lead to a drastic cooling off of the planet ("nuclear winter") and corresponding irreversible ecological changes and a catastrophic destruction of the biosphere. "Once the exchange of nuclear strikes has ended," claims P. Krutzen, head of the department of chemistry at the Max Plank Institute in Mainz (FRG), "the sun will become hidden behind black clouds several kilometers thick, and darkness and cold lasting many months will descend upon the earth. Even in the middle of the day darkness will be such that the survivors will be unable to see their own hand in front of their

eyes. All rivers and water reservoirs will turn to ice in the nuclear freeze, and animals and plants will perish. No one will be able to survive this long icy night." This may be an extreme viewpoint. Whatever the case may be, however, regardless of the geographic deployment of nuclear explosions, the negative ecological consequences will be of planetary nature and endanger all mankind.

Someone may object by saying that all this is merely hypothetical. Strictly speaking, it is. Some more optimistic hypotheses have also been expressed. "It is entirely possible that a thermonuclear war will be an unprecedented catastrophe for the defending country," H. Kahn, the noted American military strategist, wrote in the 1960s. "Depending on the course of events on the battlefields it may not necessarily turn into an unprecedented catastrophe even for the attacker and for some neutral countries. However, 'unprecedented' does not as yet mean 'infinite.' Sober consideration indicates, which is most important, that the scale of the catastrophe will apparently be closely related to the preparations which were made in anticipating it, and the manner in which such a war was started and the way it is being fought."

Kahn's hypothesis, the hypothesis of an "unprecedented" yet still not "infinite" catastrophe, may be argued with a certain degree of persuasiveness only as it applies to the various alternatives of a "limited war." The possibility itself, however, of keeping a nuclear war within certain established limits itself is very doubtful. It is precisely the hypothesis of an "infinite" catastrophe that appears much more likely in the case of a full-scale nuclear war. This is first. Second, considering the costliness of a possible error, it would be more expedient in this case to take the worst scenario as the truth. This would enable us to reevaluate a number of habitual concepts and correspondingly select the right (salutary) line of behavior. As one can easily understand, the choice of the "better" variant may have a provocative effect.

Wars have been fought for thousands of years. States have collapsed and civilizations have crumbled. However, there always remained the hope that new times would come and so would, mandatorily, new generations... All people are mortal, but mankind is immortal, was the hidden, the subconscious, one may say, premise of all historical actions. Despite the mountains of bodies and rivers of blood through which history marched, the future was guaranteed. There is no guaranteed future now. This is the epochal change which has divided history into two essentially different periods. Previously the question "To be or not to be?" applied only to the individual. Today it applies to all mankind. There may not be any future. The error or crime which would trigger a nuclear war could become the ultimate error, the ultimate crime.

The view occasionally voiced in the West is, actually why fret? The establishment of a military strategic parity has brought about a situation which could be described as a stalemate. The pieces on the chessboard of world politics remain, but cannot be moved. The only meaning of nuclear weapons is to be a means of holding the potential enemy in check, to prevent a nuclear war. Nuclear weapons discipline us. The real threat of a mutually

assured destruction, the balance of terror and fear of inevitable retribution, the nuclear optimists claim, block the possibility of a "major war" and provide a sufficiently strong framework for mutual peaceful relations.

For the time being such is indeed the case. For the time being peace indeed rests on nuclear restraint and the balance of terror. The threat of inevitable retribution makes a premeditated, a consciously started nuclear war rather unlikely. Nevertheless, to begin with, however unlikely the probability of premeditated nuclear war may be, its catastrophic "infinite" consequences demand that we take into consideration even an "unlikely" likelihood. Let us recall the destruction of the Challenger and the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant. Things that were considered virtually incredible happened. ("To draw a lesson from the Chernobyl accident," noted E. Bar, member of the board of the SDPG, "means to admit that that which must not take place could still take place.") Second, nuclear containment, the balance of terror, do not block, do not remove the risk of an accidental, an unpremeditated war which, particularly during a period of conflict and crisis, could break out for a variety of reasons. Third, the balance of terror is burdened by internal instability. It is internally contradictory and paradoxical. Actually, if I know (if I believe) that the use of a nuclear weapon by me would result in my own destruction (the retribution strike), how can I restrain my enemy with the threat of using a nuclear weapon? On the other hand, could the enemy believe my nuclear threat if it is assumed in advance that my strike will lead to my inevitable death? Theory does not provide a convincing answer to such questions. Another aspect is more important from the practical viewpoint. What become important are less the objective correlation of forces or real intentions than the ideas of one of the sides regarding the power and intentions of the other. And since the balance of terror inevitably leads to a balance of mistrust, each side proceeds from the possibility of the worst variant of its opponents behavior. This makes the knot of mistrust and suspicion even tighter.

Fear of the balance of terror is understandable and so is the search for ways leading to guaranteed security. Nevertheless, experience has proved that if this search is limited to the old and traditional approaches (Reagan's "Strategic Defense Initiative" is a typical example) and unless the prenuclear stereotypes have been eliminated, we shall again and again return to a world of mutual fears, suspicions and threats. Above all, the nuclear age demands that we take a new look at the customary link between war and politics or, more precisely, between nuclear war and politics.

Let me cite a classical prenuclear formula. According to Clausewitz, "war is only the extension of state policy through other means" ("This famous phrase," V.I. Lenin noted, "is attributed to Clausewitz, one of the most profound writers on military affairs. Marxists have always justly considered this concept the theoretical foundation of views on the importance of any given war. It was precisely from this viewpoint that Marx and Engels considered the various wars" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 26, p 316)). "We must think of war," Clausewitz wrote, "not as something isolated, but as a political instrument;" "at its highest level, martial art becomes policy in which we fight battles instead of writing notes." Here is another statement by the same author: "In its general outlines, waging war is

politics in which the sword has replaced the pen." Therefore, war is an instrument of politics, an extension of politics. In this case Clausewitz becomes axiomatic and immune to the passing of time. Any war--big or small, nuclear or conventional--has been, is and will remain the extension of politics, regardless of the scale of destructions or casualties. However, Clausewitz's formula goes beyond this statement. It is as though he outlines the limits of the choice: in order to attain a political objective, depending on the specific circumstances, one can either use peaceful means or military force. In principle the choices--pen and sword, or diplomatic note and battle--are equal. It is precisely at this point that Clausewitz become obsolete. The modern politician, who has nuclear weapons at his disposal, has no choice, for there neither is nor could there be any type of political objective for the sake of which it would make sense to start a nuclear war which would endanger the very future of mankind. Under no conditions or circumstances could a nuclear war be considered a sensible choice, a rational extension of politics.

Why have people fought and are still fighting? Because from the point of view of those who start a war and those who are forced to resist believe that some things are more important than peace. To some this may mean power and wealth; to others, independence and freedom. To the Americans at the end of the 18th century and the Vietnamese of the middle of the 20th, independence was more important than peace. So, they fought. They wanted to win and they won, all exactly according to Clausewitz.

But what if a war cannot be won? What if there is no winner but only two losers? What if the one who started it is the second to perish? In such a case the old scales of value no longer apply. In the abstract, a nuclear war could be just: a responsive nuclear strike, a strike of retribution. This, however, can be a hollow, a meaningless abstraction, for distinguishing between what is just and unjust has a meaning only to the living and to continuing history. Said distinction ends where history ends. That is why rejecting the legitimacy of nuclear war is the only sensible, the only morally and politically justified position.

In words the American leaders admit that a nuclear war cannot be won. "I have gone through 4 years of war," Ronald Reagan said slightly more than 2 years ago in addressing the Japanese Diet. "That is why I appeal to you not only as President of the United States, but also as a husband, father and grandfather. I believe that in our age there can be only one type of politics, the politics which would ensure the safety of our precious civilization. No victory is possible in a nuclear war and a nuclear war must not be started." All this is true. But turning from words to actions, and analyzing U.S. military policy we realize that the Pentagon has not lost the hope of rehabilitating Clausewitz and coming out of a no-win situation and formulating a "strategy for victory."

Scripts of "limited nuclear wars" of various types are being actively written in the United States. The question is posed as follows: limit the exchange of nuclear strikes, avoid an uncontrolled escalation of military operations and, relying on American superiority, end the war under conditions suitable to the United States. Such a concept is entirely consistent with the nature of

the updating of the American offensive arsenal. Increased accuracy of strategic armaments, writes American researcher R. Osgood, more flexible targeting and more reliable command-control-communications systems should ensure the "technical possibilities of converting the exchange of strategic nuclear strikes into a rational instrument of politics instead of an act of national suicide." In his answer to those who are trying to square the circle and rationalize the irrational, M.S. Gorbachev said: "Obviously, those who are resorting to considerations of 'limited,' 'short-lived' or 'protracted' nuclear wars remain prisoner by the obsolete stereotypes of another century, when war was a big calamity but did not threaten mankind with destruction, as it does now. The nuclear age unavoidably demands a new type of political thinking."

The "star wars" program fits perfectly among the many obsolete stereotypes. The simultaneous and parallel updating of nuclear missiles and creation of a system of antimissile defense can have only one military-strategic meaning: to put the United States in a more advantageous position, to guarantee its safety with the help of a "nuclear shield" and energetically to wield the nuclear sword. SDI critics have justifiably noted that the inevitable countermeasures taken by the USSR would reduce to naught any hope of strategic superiority. In provoking the stupid endlessness of measures and countermeasures...the implementation of the SDI would intensify the arms race, give it a qualitatively new dimensions and, in the final account, raise the ceiling of military confrontation, and not improve but worsen U.S. security. The ever-hopeful Washington strategists answer this in the spirit of technological superiority, which is so widespread in the United States: let there be a race, the Russians will be unable to catch up with us. Or else, as the President said, "We can pursue the arms race and they will be unable to keep up with us." Blessed be the believers...

Obviously, in thinking about the future, the people in America seem to be totally unable to realize that the qualitative changes which the nuclear age brought with it make it impossible mechanically to extrapolate, to shift to the future the trends and systems characteristic of the past. The history of wars has taught us the concept that the level of security of a country is to a great extent directly proportional to the quantity and quality of armaments at its disposal. Today, particularly when we take into consideration the existence of military-strategic parity and the obvious (the Pentagon's aim notwithstanding) impossibility of disturbing it and breaking out of the limitations it imposes, the correlation between one's own safety and military potential has changed. Today unilateral security and security guaranteed by any sort of military-technical "miracle" (SDI, for example) is practically inconceivable. The keys to the security of the USSR are held not only in Moscow but in Washington as well. The opposite is equally true: U.S. safety is ensured not only by what is being done in Washington but also by what is being done in Moscow. The conclusion is simple: anyone who tries to strengthen his security by weakening that of his opponent inevitably worsens his own military-strategic situation.

Here are two select examples:

When the Pentagon undertook to equip itself with MIRV ballistic missiles a number of people, some of them in the United States, cautioned against it, saying that this should not be done, that it would be better to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union and reciprocally abandon the latest modernization. The leading circles in Washington did not listen to the healthy voices, in their urgency to rush ahead. What happened? In order to maintain the parity, the Soviet Union was forced to deploy similar systems. What increased was not U.S. security but U.S. vulnerability. The story was repeated with the cruise missiles. This was another attempt at making the USSR more vulnerable. Once again there was a firm rejection of the Soviet proposal to halt the deployment of cruise missiles, and once again the potentials were equalized, but on a higher and by no means safer level.

Today's American strategists remain influenced by the concepts of their predecessors, who had tried to ensure for the United States absolute immunity from external threat. "The Americans," writes J. Chase, "have always sought invulnerability. Either with the help of doctrines (from Monroe to Truman), military systems (from the supernavy of the end of the 19th century to Reagan's SDI), or simply by relying on geography, the American leadership has tirelessly tried to attain absolute security." That is the crux of the matter. Pursuit of strategic absolutes is an inertial force from the past. Today true security cannot be unilateral, It cannot be the result of any type of military-technical solution. True security presumes political agreement and a reduction and, subsequently, elimination of nuclear weapons. This precisely was the nature of the Soviet proposals, which were made public on 15 January 1986 and were subsequently confirmed by the 27th CPSU Congress.

Unfortunately, so far the American politicians have been unable to cross the intellectual and psychological barriers which separate our time and its corresponding style of thinking from the customary systems and stereotypes. At the beginning of the 1960s, H. Mogenhau, the well known American political expert, wrote that, "The nuclear century opened the doors to a new age in history, as different from the one which preceded it as from the Middle Ages, or as the Middle Ages from antiquity. However, whereas our living conditions have changed sharply under the influence of the nuclear age, in our minds we continue to live and, through our institutions, to act in a 19th century manner." In the slightly more than 20 years since this was written, the situation has remained virtually unchanged. The leadership in Washington continues to think in categories of power politics and to identify their security with their power. Asked to sacrifice power for the sake of security, their answer is "no!"

Washington's illogical and old-fashioned stance becomes particularly obvious when we consider the U.S. attitude toward banning nuclear weapon tests. As we know, at the beginning of the 1980s the USSR, the United States and Great Britain had virtually completed preparations for a treaty on imposing a total ban on nuclear weapon tests. These talks, however, were torpedoed by the Reagan administration. In itself this is an exceptionally important problem, and paying greater attention to control and the possibilities and methods of verification cannot trigger any objections. The nuclear age, which made

mutual security its cornerstone, has increased rather than lowered the importance of control. The people in the American capital, however, were not guided by such logical and clear considerations. This became clear the moment the real conditions under which the fears of the Americans could be taken into consideration and an agreement on control achieved.

Following is a quotation from a speech delivered at Stanford University by K. Adelman, director of the American Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He described the U.S. "starting position" concerning nuclear tests as follows: "We are hoping for a reduction in nuclear armaments; we are hoping for reaching agreements and for the development of technology which could change the existing situation to one extent or another. For the time being, however, no such changes have taken place and the urgent need for containment remains. Tests must be made to ensure the reliability and effectiveness of our means of containment. Tests are necessary to ensure containment." C. Weinberger, U.S. secretary of defense, specified: We shall begin by implementing the SDI program which will make nuclear weapons "helpless and obsolete," after which the time for ending nuclear tests will come.

In this case everything is topsy-turvy. Ending tests will indeed increase doubts (in both the United States and the USSR) concerning the reliability of existing stocks of nuclear ammunition and will make it more difficult (for the Soviet Union and the United States) to develop new varieties of nuclear weapons. In turn, this would hinder the arms race and give an additional impetus to a reduction in nuclear arsenals. The solution of a simpler problem would be a prerequisite and a precedent for solving a more difficult one. Washington is turning this logic upside-down: as long as the nuclear weapons perform a containment function they must be tested. This puts the problem into a vicious circle, for continued nuclear tests inevitably urge the arms race on. In my view, the monotonous American "no" proves that the present administration hardly wishes to break this circle.

Let us now formulate the problem in broader terms: Is it possible in principle for the ruling class in the United States to change directions and, crossing the barrier separating the nuclear from the non-nuclear age, learn to think and act in a new manner and to agree to limitations and reductions of nuclear weapons? The question is not simple. It is hardly possible to detect in the nature of imperialism a predisposition for developing an awareness of historical realities. An egotistical and narrow-class approach to problems of world politics, the aspiration to preserve its traditional privileges and fear of the changes spreading throughout the world nurture a cold war mentality and politics, turn the flywheel of militarism, and over and over again leads to repetitions of a policy of power and strikes in the international arena. The "Reagan Doctrine" is yet another proof of attempts to apply Newton's laws to Einstein's world.

All this is true, but there is more to it. Today's situation cannot be approached without a consideration of the features of the historical age, the features of the sociohistorical environment in which the imperialist countries exist and function. Unquestionably, the desire for economic and political division and redivision of the world is in the nature of imperialism. In our time, however, this desire is manifested in forms different from those of the

start of the century. It is just as unquestionable, for example, that the possibility of wars between imperialist countries is in the nature of imperialism. By the end of the 20th century, however, the likelihood of such wars is virtually nil. It is permissible, therefore, to assume that imperialism does react to changes in world circumstances. This is first. Second, the mechanism which links the nature of imperialism to the specific political course of specific imperialist countries also takes historical realities into consideration and helps to adapt to them.

The nature of imperialism is antagonistic to socialism. Whereas on the psychological level this nature is displayed as a class instinct of self-preservation, on the political level it appears in the guise of constant attempts to "throw off" socialism and rescue mankind from a "historical anomaly." On the surface this leaves no place for stable peaceful coexistence. However, this "surface" fails to take into consideration that under contemporary conditions the self-preservation instinct assumes a new meaning. If a frontal clash between capitalism and socialism is fraught with the threat of global catastrophe, the self-preservation instinct begins to operate against militarism and to strengthen moods in favor of detente.

The struggle among the different factions within the monopoly bourgeoisie is intensifying. A significant and influential segment of it is beginning to consider peaceful coexistence a mandatory condition for the physical survival of capitalism and, consequently, an equally mandatory prerequisite for its historical survival. In this context peaceful coexistence is interpreted as a competition between ideas and ways of life. "The main factor of contemporary life, U.S. President Eisenhower said in August 1945, "is the existence in the world of two great philosophical theories of man and forms of government. These theories are in competition... The jury consists of hundreds of millions of people, who will decide the argument... The verdict of this jury will be in favor of the system...which will be able to use its strength in support of peace and prove its ability to contribute to the well-being and happiness of the people." For the sake of fairness let me point out that by no means did Eisenhower always act accordingly. This happens with American presidents... In principle, however, all this is quite expressively and accurately put.

Optimistic capitalist ideologues proceed from the fact that the verdict will be in favor of capitalism. They describe the future as follows: The further modernizing of capitalism in its traditional centers will take place on the crest of the new wave of the scientific and technical revolution. The "social responsibility" of capitalism will increase, reducing class antagonisms to naught. Under the influence of these processes capitalist relations will be established in most Third World countries. The marketplace principles will begin to play an increasing role in the economy of the socialist countries, which will gradually cause a corresponding evolution in political institutions. Therefore, as a system rigidly opposed to capitalism, socialism will be gradually "swept off" from history, the bourgeois ideologues "conclude."

I shall return to this later. Let me emphasize at this point that, however erroneous they may be, such concepts do not exclude the assertion of a new

type of political thinking, the strengthening of peaceful coexistence and cooperation, and saving mankind from the nuclear threat.

The main significance of the SALT-1 and SALT-2 agreements, which the White House actually wishes to abrogate is, in particular, that they proved the possibility of an agreement between the USSR and the United States on even the most crucial questions. Since then the political pendulum in the United States swung sharply to the right, proving once again how difficult it is to be conscious of the realities of the nuclear age and how stubbornly the traditional molds of imperial policy duplicate the nature of imperialism. Nevertheless, a change in the political situation could be anticipated. Neoconservatism is not eternal. The general evolvement of capitalism, influenced by internal and external factors, is going, it seems to me, in another direction. This opens the way to long-term large-scale agreements which would reduce the threat of a nuclear clash to a minimum.

But it is at this point that our ideological opponent shows up and asks: What will happen to the nature of socialism and communism? In as much as is known, either contains an essential incompatibility with capitalism and calls for the liquidation of capitalist society. The policy of peaceful coexistence is aimed at the gradual weakening of capitalism and, in the final account, the destruction of Western civilization. And the fact that the Soviet Union is continually perfecting its nuclear missile potential leads us, according to our opponent, to think that at a given point the "final blow" will be struck at now weakened capitalism...

Such or similar considerations have been heard frequently. The answer is the following: Yes, we are convinced that capitalism is doomed. The exploitation of man by man is only a temporary, a transient state of mankind. By rejecting it, the nature of socialism naturally rejects capitalism and its laws. However, it has never presumed the use of military force to smash capitalism in other countries. The future development of, let us say, the United States, Great Britain or Brazil, and what type of evolutionary or revolutionary changes would take place in those countries is a matter for the Americans, the British or the Brazilians to decide. A nation chooses not only its government but also its destiny.

For us peaceful coexistence is not a tactic or temporary maneuvering but long-term strategy, the only sensible strategy in the nuclear age. As to the weakening of capitalism, I cannot clearly imagine how our stable economic cooperation with France or the FRG can weaken capitalism in those countries. Here is another paradox of our age: in order to survive and continue the dispute, the countries belonging to the opposite systems must cooperate with each-other for the benefit of both. When the United States starts getting jittery on this subject and tries to limit trade with the Soviet Union it proves thereby that it is trapped by old and obsolete concepts about the times and the limits of its possibilities.

Let us now return to the optimistic concepts on the future of capitalism. I do not believe in them. I consider them naive and anti-historical. We may assume that such sentiments are shared by bourgeois ideologues concerning optimistic ideas on the destinies of socialism. Nothing can be done about it.

The historical argument will go on. The main thing demanded by the nuclear age is that economic and cultural achievements instead of nuclear charges and weapons be used as arguments.

"Live and let live" is a simple rule which has now become one of the maxims of the nuclear century. Typical of the policy of the present administration is the hypocritical pitting of the "empire of good" against the "empire of evil," importunate considerations on the exclusiveness and divine chosenness of the United States, the emphasis on aircraft-carrier diplomacy and the aspiration, as we said earlier, to rehabilitate Clausewitz and make nuclear weapons an effective policy tool. It is no accident that the United States firmly refuses to declare that it will never be the first to use a nuclear weapon.

I have had the opportunity to debate such topics against American journalists, scientists and politicians. Some of them feel very insulted when told that the Soviet Union considers the actions of the present Washington administration as possible preparations for a first disarming strike. They almost shed tears in trying to prove that the United States cannot even conceive of this.

Let us clarify one point. We cannot guess what is in the heads of American politicians and strategists. I, let us say, assume that Ronald Reagan or even Weinberger does not wish to wage war on the Soviet Union. However, we cannot ignore the fact that the White House's military policy is objectively aimed at providing the technical possibility of dealing a first strike. This possibility cannot be ignored. To the best of my knowledge, the Americans themselves are assessing Soviet policy from the same positions. Meanwhile, the continuing arms race, even if parity is preserved, leads to the growth of such suspicions and to greater potential for reciprocal mistrust and, therefore, to the destabilization of the balance itself.

The only possible solution is to stop the arms race and start a real disarmament. This, however, if what we have in mind are stable, broad and radical accords, is possible only within the context of a general restructuring of methods, style and nature of foreign policy, such as to reflect the vital requirements of the nuclear age.

One of them is to learn to understand and consider the legitimate interests of one's partners in the talks. This is no simple science. It presumes, in particular, the ability to see both the world as a whole and oneself through the eyes of the other. It is based on the need constantly to correlate one's demands and claims with those of the other side. It puts in the center of attention not only the difference between competing interests, something which, in principle, is entirely natural, but also the search for areas where such interests could coincide, intersect or follow a parallel direction.

A consideration of reciprocal interests is the starting point, the foundation for the elaboration of a compromise, of mutually acceptable solutions. Such solutions are the only possible ones between equal partners. Compromise is the air without which constructive policy would suffocate. In order for both partners to advance, both must take a step back, i.e., to sacrifice some preliminary demands for the sake of agreement. Naturally, each partner has a

limit to his concessions, based on the supreme interests of the security of the state and obligations to allies. Practical experience proves, nonetheless, that firmness in defending essentially important positions (assuming that they have been accurately defined) does not exclude in the least great flexibility, maneuverability and concessions on a broad variety of major and minor questions.

A compromise is incompatible with the formulation of ultimata and non-negotiable conditions. In the case of equality between the sides an ultimatum hardens positions, prevents taking changes in circumstances into consideration and breaks the feedback which makes policy changes possible. The inevitable withdrawal of an ultimatum under the pressure of circumstances and one's own interests, although essentially beneficial, will look on the surface as a retreat, loss of face, etc. And since in politics the style is frequently the same as substance, the long-term disadvantages with which an ultimatum is fraught substantially outweigh its short-term essentially propagandist value.

Finally, the nuclear age urgently demands greater frankness, honesty and plain dealing in foreign policy. The call for less dissembling may smack of Manilovism. Nevertheless, the amount of "dissembling" as a diplomatic tool should be inversely proportional to the importance and scale of problems under discussion, for it is hardly possible to assume that either side would allow to be tricked in matters of national security. The clear presentation of positions, reducing ambiguity, vagueness, and all sorts of imprecisions to a minimum, and readiness efficiently to discuss and clarify any questionable detail, naturally with a clearly manifested political good will, would speed up the talks.

In principle, such requirements are nothing new in diplomacy. All and each single one of them have been made, to one degree or another, in the prenuclear age as well. They were more frequently voiced than honored, however. What had to be done was significantly different from what actually was. What is different now is that it must be elevated to the status of what must be done. The stakes are so high (survival!) that exceptions must become the rule.

Let us consider the question from a somewhat different angle: In order to become a political fact and political reality and a source of political changes, the new way of thinking must turn into a new type of diplomacy and new behavioral rules in the international arena. However, this entirely specific task is inseparable from a more general one, that of acknowledging that our conflicting, divided and torn-up world is a one world, a universal community, a humanity which, albeit under the threat of annihilation, is beginning to develop a planetary consciousness. The realization of this unity does not eliminate the incompatibility of ideologies and social interests and of philosophical and conceptual approaches to the historical process. However, in order to be able to argue about the philosophy of history and the future, we must ensure that there is a continuation of history, that there is a future. In my view, this is a sufficiently powerful proof that in this case group interests must yield to the general, the universal interests. Let us once again repeat that, for the time being, the United States or, rather, the people who speak for the United States, are not prepared to accept the new system of coordinates in either their thinking and behavior.

Harsh reality must not be ignored. A nuclear war will remain possible for as long as nuclear weapons exist. Such war, however, is not inevitable. The task of politics, the most important task of mankind today, is to lower, to bring to naught, the likelihood of such a war. A new way of thinking is a necessary prerequisite for the successful solution of this problem. By clearly formulating the ruinous, the mortally dangerous prospect of a continuing arms race, such thinking encourages active and purposeful antiwar action. It directs the politicians to take reciprocal interests into consideration and to a convergence in their positions. The new type of thinking which was discussed at the 27th CPSU Congress is called upon to point the road to a world without nuclear weapons. All other roads lead to catastrophe.

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BOOK REVIEWS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

FOLLOWING FIRM MARXIST PRINCIPLES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 86 (signed to press 25 Jun 86) pp 125-128

[Review by Academician P. Fedoseyev of the book by Janos Kadar, "Izbrannyye Stati i Rechi (May 1979 - April 1985)" [Selected Articles and Speeches (May 1979-April 1985) by Janos Kadar] Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 327 pp]

[Text] Even the best of theories could become dogmas unless put to practical use and enriched through the experience acquired with their application. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism are creative if used as a manual in the struggle for the revolutionary reorganization of the old and the building of the new society. The theoretical work of the leaders of the CPSU and the fraternal parties, which is inseparably tied to practical actions, is a creative contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory. This fully applies to the articles and speeches of Comrade Janos Kadar, general secretary of the MSZMP, the outstanding party and state leader of the Hungarian People's Republic and noted personality in the international communist movement. For the past 30 years, after the suppression of the the Hungarian counterrevolution, he has headed the MSZMP Central Committee leadership and played a decisive role in the formulation and implementation of the general course of the party of Hungarian communists.

Although the articles and speeches included in the book under review are presented in chronological only for the last part of the preceding 30 years, the views and conclusions of their author enable us to look at life in fraternal Hungary for the past 3 decades.

J. Kadar, who covered the long way of the clandestine communist and fighter against the Horthy regime and fascism, assumed the leadership of the party and country during a difficult period in the history of postwar Hungary. As the result of the left-sectarian policy of M. Rakosi, followed by the treasonable policy of the right wing opportunistic clique, in the 1950s Hungary experienced a "difficult period of distortion of socialist principles and standards, followed by a profound social crisis, which started in the summer of 1953, peaked in the 1956 counterrevolutionary mutiny, and ended in the summer of 1957."

In the spring of 1956, with the connivance of right-wing opportunists, and with the direct support of imperialist Western circles, the domestic reactionary forces mounted a counterrevolutionary mutiny. J. Kadar headed the struggle for the unification and mobilization of the country's revolutionary forces for the defeat of the counterrevolutionary mutiny and the restoration and strengthening of the party of the Hungarian working class. A revolutionary worker-peasant government was set up on his initiative and under his leadership, and in November 1956 he became first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee.

The recovery and the assertion of socialist principles in public opinion and social life occurred under exceptionally difficult circumstances under which the leader of the Hungarian communists displayed tireless energy and activeness, high idea-mindedness and inordinate skill in work with the masses and in uniting the ranks of the working class and its party.

The new generations, which did not witness the events of that time, do not always realize how difficult and confused the circumstances were at that time and how important were the Marxist perspicacity and personal courage of those who were able to find their way in this cluster of contradictions, to find the proper way of defending socialism and, subsequently, ignoring enemy slander and abuse, to pursue this course and to defend it from attacks from the right and the "left" with all possible firmness and principle-mindedness.

The MSZMP drew serious lessons from the 1956 events. It based its principle-minded policy on selfless and honest service to the interest of the people, close ties with the working class and working people, and systematic struggle on two fronts: against right-wing opportunism and revisionism and "left-wing" opportunism, dogmatism and sectarianism.

However, this was by no means easy to accomplish, for under conditions marked by the fact that the theory and practice of socialism had become compromised, the old party had broken down and the working people had become politically disoriented, a great deal had to be started virtually from scratch.

The problem of recreating the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class and defining its political principles and general line became essential. "Our tremendous accomplishment and, at the same time, determining source of our accomplishments," the MSZMP Central Committee noted at its 26 March 1981 plenum, "was the rebuilt party on a principled basis, consistent with the standards of Leninism."

From the very first days of the existence of the renovated party--the MSZMP--its overt and covert enemies, displeased with its principle-mindedness and intolerance of right-wing and "left-wing" opportunism, tried to defame both the party and its policy through a variety of means. Whereas the open enemies of socialism described the party as the "Kremlin's obedient tool," dogmatists and sectarians stubbornly tried to find in its policy "right-wing opportunistic deviations" while right-wing revisionists persisted in asserting its "dogmatic" nature. This is quite natural, for it is an old truth that the true communist, the creative Marxist-Leninist is always a dogmatist to revisionists and a revisionist to dogmatists.

At the 13th MSZMP Congress, in characterizing the nature of the party, Janos Kadar was fully justified in saying that "Our party is the revolutionary vanguard of the Hungarian working class. It is a Marxist-Leninist party, a party of patriots and internationalists. In the course of history, as the result of the socialist development as a party of the people, it became the leading force of our society and is trying honorably to fulfill this mission."

The experience of the MSZMP proves that the party can earn the trust and support of the masses only if it trusts the masses itself, and through the sincerity of its policy. From its very first steps, the MSZMP has tried to single out among the counterrevolutionaries those who had accidentally joined them; it did not rate as enemies of socialism those who were hesitant and who did not agree with the party on one problem or another. Furthermore, justifiably believing that the working people cannot consciously oppose the people's system and that it is important to educate them and to open their eyes to events, the party did not follow the sectarian principle of "He who is not with us is against us," but applied a flexible approach, according to which "He who is not against us is with us," thus lending its trust to the working people.

"Trust was the path along which I believed that we could unite with those who truly sympathized with socialism," Kadar said. "Trust is my credo. I am convinced that if we address ourselves to someone who may have no more than a slight familiarity with the ideas of communism and tell him that we need him, that we need his help and that we trust him, this is bound to inspire him and he would try to justify our hope" (p 137).

This reciprocal trust between the party and the working people, which developed under most difficult circumstances, was not only preserved but also increased by the MSZMP. Today party membership exceeds 870,000. The party is closely linked with the masses. It is guided by the aspiration always to be worthy of the trust of the working class and the working people. It fully trusts the working class, the toiling peasantry and the entire working people on whom it relies.

The thought which runs throughout Comrade Kadar's works is that the Hungarian communists realized that the trust of the people in the party is not something earned once and for all and that this trust must be steadily nurtured and strengthened at each new stage of development and with each essential change in party circumstances and policies. It is important to bear in mind that the working people judge a party less by its slogans than by the practical results of its policy and the consistency between this policy and the real conditions and interests of the working people. The personal example set by the party members themselves, by their behavior, is of particular importance in earning the support of the masses. The communists neither have nor claim any more rights than the rest of the citizens. However, in having to struggle for socialism they assume greater responsibility than nonparty people. Labor and political activeness, dedication and justice are created and strengthened through the moral and political authority of the party members.

It was precisely through these close ties with the masses and a creative attitude toward arising problems that the MSZMP was able to achieve

substantial results. First among the greatest accomplishments of the revolutionary forces in Hungary was laying the foundations for socialism, the creation of a socialist society in the country. This included the successful development of industry and the socialist reorganization of agriculture. Now we can say with full justification that the country is building a developed socialist society.

Today the country has reached a new, crucial stage, when from extensive economic growth a conversion is taking place to intensive development, when the economy must be managed efficiently and high-quality goods must be produced for domestic consumption and the international market. The party ascribes great importance to scientific and technical progress in solving these problems, guided by the firm principle of the alliance between socialism and science.

The MSZMP, which considers economic work the foundation of communist activities, is persistently seeking ways of perfecting economic management. We know that the economic reform in Hungary and the features of its economy and close ties between its national economy and the world market have been interpreted differently throughout the world.

In explaining the essence of the Hungarian experience and his attitude toward it, J. Kadar said: "One cannot manage and control the national economy of a country, which includes a number of sectors and subsectors and a variety of specific areas and types of activities, as though this is all one large enterprise.... The main qualities, advantages and strength of the socialist system must be combined with flexibility and high efficiency" (p 233).

The experience gained in the successful development of the country's agriculture, which has developed a large export sector, is of international significance. The achievements in this sector are the result of the influence of a number of factors which include, above all, the interest of the people in public production and the fact that the cultivation of the private auxiliary plots is strongly tied to socialist foundations.

In allowing and encouraging individual and group labor activities as a supplement to public farming, the MSZMP sees to it that private interests do not predominate over the interests of public farming. In discussing the activities of the various labor associations, petty artisans and private merchants, the MSZMP leader emphasized that "At the present time we must give an impetus to efficient production on a socialist basis in order to learn how properly to use the tools and means of production, labor, materials and energy resources and produce high-quality goods."

In describing the specific features of the other aspects of social policy, supplies to the population in particular, Kadar has noted the importance of consistency between the growth of wages and availability of goods. "By increasing nominal wages without commodity backup, the situation of the working people will not improve and the availability of supplies can only worsen. We must raise wages to the extent to which we increase the availability of goods. To us this is an important political problem, one of conscientiously serving the interests of the working people" (p 164).

The main requirement in politics is not to become intoxicated with success or postpone the solution of crucial problems but persistently to seek the means for their fastest possible solution, perfecting our work in the political area and in economic building, and in fulfilling social and cultural assignments.

The Hungarian communists consider enhancing the level of socialist consciousness and strengthening socialist patriotism and internationalism in the thinking of the Hungarian public a major accomplishment. However, the party also sees negative manifestations in public opinion, based on the past severe crisis caused by the counterrevolutionary mutiny and the spreading of petit bourgeois views and, naturally, the pressure of unrestrained subversive propaganda conducted by the imperialist centers.

In the struggle against negative manifestations, the MSZMP gives priority to ideological-political education, the dissemination of a scientific outlook--Marxism-Leninism--and the explanation of party policy in building socialism and in international affairs.

In all stages of its development and despite all difficulties and contradictions of life, the party of a Leninist type must tell the people the truth. It must act in accordance with its principles and statements and be sincere with the working people. "Sincerity in politics, i.e., in the area of human relations dealing not with individuals but with millions of people," V.I. Lenin wrote, "sincerity in politics is an entirely accessible test of the consistency between words and actions" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 32, p 259).

The MSZMP, headed by J. Kadar, has tried consistently to follow this principle in its policy. This course was suitably appreciated by the working people, by the entire people of Hungary. Sincerity in politics was clearly manifested also during the past 5-year period. When the Hungarian People's Republic entered the 1980s, the MSZMP honestly and openly told the people of the expected difficulties. The following was said at the 13th Party Congress: "...Five years ago, the 12th Party Congress formulated a rigid and strict economic program. One of the first tasks was that of improving the country's international balance of payments. For the sake of this we slowed down the growth rates of output, restricted capital investments and set as our objective to maintain the living standard we had reached." The party did not conceal from the communists or from all working people the existing difficulties. It did not try to suppress major concerns and problems. And the people of Hungary trusted their party and supported its policy, although the planned freezing of the living standards of the working people could not be popular among all social strata.

In the Central Committee accountability report on the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th MSZMP Congress, submitted to the delegates to the 13th Congress, the party openly stated that "the objective formulated at the 12th Congress of maintained the living standard which had been reached was not achieved in full. The living conditions of some population strata worsened and their living standard declined."

As to Hungarian foreign policy, it has invariably followed a course of peace and cooperation; together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries it favors radical improvements in the world's situation, restraint in the arms race and the prevention of a new world war.

In describing Hungary's position in international affairs, the Hungarian leader emphasized: "Naturally, our forces are multiplied by the fact that Hungary's foreign policy expresses socialist aspirations: we are marching together, we are following the common foreign policy main course alongside our closest and best ally--the Soviet Union--and the members of the Warsaw Pact. In the interest of attaining these objectives, we are adding our efforts to those of all the socialist countries and all progressive forces in the world" (p 8).

The Hungarian communists follow with great interest the theoretical and practical activities of the CPSU. They highly rate its Leninist style and take its richest possible experience into consideration in their work. The accurate assessment of our party's historical achievements, together with its realistically critical attitude toward results, an innovative approach to the work, the extensive development of mass initiative, the enhancement of the human factor and the consideration of the great advantages and possibilities of socialism have drawn the close attention of the MSZMP. This was clearly and decisively stated by J. Kadar in his speech at the 27th CPSU Congress. "The acceleration of the socioeconomic development of the Soviet Union," he emphasized, "is not only an inspiring objective for the Soviet working people but also for the supporters of social progress and socialism the world over."

The fruitful development of fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the Soviet Union and Hungary in a spirit of reciprocal trust and mutual understanding was noted with satisfaction at the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and J. Kadar, general secretary of the MSZMP, which was held in Budapest last June. The traditionally sincere and comradely relations between the CPSU and the MSZMP and their reciprocal display of solidarity and support in solving problems and regular and efficient exchange of views and experience are of particular significance. Total unity of views in approaches to all basic problems of social development and world politics exist between the two parties.

In formulating new tasks and ways of solving them, the MSZMP takes into consideration the general laws governing the building of socialism, the circumstances of its own country, and the experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. It tries to make fuller use of the advantages and great opportunities of the socialist system.

The revival of socioeconomic development, acceleration of scientific and technical progress, modernization of the national economic structure and creation of conditions for a more dynamic growth are the party's main task for the present. Working in the interest of the working people and for the good of man, the party's objective is to provide opportunities for a tangible improvement in the living standards of the people through higher labor productivity and more efficient and thrifty economic management.

Such are the main ideas contained in this work by Comrade J. Kadar, indicating the difficult problems which faced and are facing the Hungarian People's Republic in the different stages in its development, the ways of solving them and the major successes achieved by the Hungarian people on the path of socialism and in cooperation with the socialist states.

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