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USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 14, September 1980



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PARTY HISTORY SCIENCE FOR THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 80 pp 3-22

[Text] The main directions currently followed in party history science are defined by the tasks set by the 25th CPSU Congress. They consist of the need for further study and summation of the universal-historical experience of the Leninist party in the struggle against the bourgeois-land-owning system and for the building of socialism and communism, of its role in rallying the revolutionary and progressive forces of our time, insuring the further success of the cause of peace, democracy and socialism, and exposing the reformist and right-wing and left-wing revisionist falsifications of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. The works of social scientists, including party historians, help the Soviet people to better understand the laws and motive forces of social development, to see the ways and prospects of the global revolutionary process and the gradual growth of the socialist into a communist society, and to gain an accurate understanding of domestic and international events.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, which inaugurated a new age in the history of mankind, the implementation of the Leninist plan for the building of socialism, the defeat of Hitlerite Germany and militaristic Japan, the postwar restoration of the national economy and further development of the socialist society, and its entry into the mature socialist stage were all accomplished under the guidance of Lenin's party and earned the party unparalleled global prestige. That is why such great interest is shown in CPSU history both at home and abroad. At the same time, the significance of party history science itself is growing. It not only interprets the heroic past, thus enabling us to better understand the present, but is invading our time ever more profoundly, actively participating in the mobilization of the Soviet people in the building of communism and, at the same time, enabling us to look into the future. It plays a tremendous role in the communist upbringing of the Soviet people.

Under developed socialist conditions CPSU historians and scientific collectives assume a major responsibility. The statement by L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, entirely applies to them: "What could be more important or nobler than plunging into practical life, helping the people to more clearly understand the meaning of this life and its trends, and helping to make this life better, correct, brighter and richer not only materially but spiritually? This is the criterion with which the party approaches ideological work in all its forms."

The studies related to party history, published since the 25th CPSU Congress, confirm, again and again, that party history science is developing and becoming richer on the ideological-theoretical and methodological basis of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of the summation of the practice of the building of socialism and communism in party documents and, above all, of the decisions of party congresses and party Central Committee plenums. They contain scientifically substantiated answers to the most important problems of social development and assessments of the comprehensive experience of party organizations.

The inexhaustible Leninist ideological legacy has been an invariably powerful incentive for scientific thinking in the study of all periods of CPSU history. Over the past 5 years party historians have been supplied with hundreds of new Leninist documents which have broadened the theoretical-methodological and source base of party history science.¹ V. I. Lenin's biographic chronicle provides extensive data which help us to deepen² our understanding of his tremendous contribution to the building of socialism.

The ideas and conclusions of the 25th CPSU Congress and its further elaboration of the basic problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and study of the current status of the party and of its comprehensive activities had a tremendous impact on the development of party history science. The CC CPSU decrees, "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution," "On the 110th Anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's Birth" and "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" played an important part in the further strengthening of the scientific and theoretical foundations of party history science. They are examples of broad and voluminous summation of the processes of the revolutionary renovation of the world, skillful application of Leninist methodology in the study of CPSU historical and contemporary experience, and a convincing substantiation of the need to further strengthen the tie between theory and practice.

L. I. Brezhnev's books, "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] and "Tselina" [Virgin Land], the speeches "On the Draft of the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and On the Results of Its Nationwide Discussion" and "The Great October and the Progress of Mankind," his article, "A Historical Landmark on the Way to Communism," and other works of his³ provided a new impetus to research in the field of CPSU history and contributed to the deeper study of the problems of the establishment of the communist system and the dialectics of the growth of socialism into communism. They are instructive to the party historians from the viewpoint of the methodology of historical knowledge, determination of the laws governing the development of Soviet society and the scientific understanding of the motive forces and advantages of mature socialism. They depict the mobilizing power of Marxist-Leninist ideas and of CPSU policy and guiding activities.

The works by CC CPSU Politburo members and candidate members and CC CPSU secretaries, interpreting the experience gained in the party's guidance of the building of communism, contributed to the enrichment of the methodological base of party history science.⁴ Studies of topical problems of contemporary party policy are found in reports, articles and speeches by heads of the CPSU and the Soviet state published in KOMMUNIST, PRAVDA and other party organs and, subsequently, published in the collections entitled, "The 25th CPSU Congress: Unity

of Theory and Practice" (six issues).⁵ The works describe the comprehensive work accomplished by the party to implement the instructions of the 25th CPSU Congress. They formulate the major problems of the nationwide struggle for communism and of the enhanced part of the social sciences, including history, in it. The textbook, "Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy Partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], whose fifth edition was recently published, plays an important role in the formulation and elaboration of general-theoretical and specific problems of party history science.⁶

The October 1979 All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers at which A. Suslov, CC CPSU Politburo member and CC CPSU secretary spoke on, "The All-Party Cause," directed the social scientists toward upgrading the effectiveness and quality of scientific research and propaganda work and intensifying the ideological and ideological-educational function of the science of history. The conference materials are important in the ideological-theoretical orientation of CPSU historians toward resolving the problem of the education of the working people in a spirit of high idea-mindedness and loyalty to the socialist homeland, the cause of communism, Soviet patriotism, proletarian internationalism, a communist attitude toward labor and public property, collectivism, rejection of bourgeois views and mores, and all-round harmonious development of the individual.

The importance of holding scientific discussions of problems which arise in the course of the global revolutionary process and of the part which communist and workers parties play in this process was revealed at the international scientific conference on the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth, whose theme was "Marxism-Leninism and the Contemporary Age" (April 1980). A fruitful exchange of experience in revolutionary activities and theoretical work done by the fraternal parties in different countries took place at the conference. This forum was a collective method for the discussion of the vital problems of our time and the further elaboration of Marxist-Leninist theory which, as Lenin taught, "grows from the overall revolutionary experience and revolutionary thinking in all countries on earth" (Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Completed Collected Works], Vol 27, p 11).

The publication of documentary volumes Nos 11 and 12 of "KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh S'yezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences and Central Committee Plenums],⁸ was of major significance to the strengthening and broadening of the methodological and source bases of party history science. Their content shows that the CPSU Central Committee, implementing the line of the 24th and 25th Party Congresses, is promptly and systematically resolving the ripe problems of the development of Soviet Society. CPSU historians are being greatly helped by the collection of documents, "Spravochnik Partiynogo Rabotnika" [The Party Worker's Reference Book] and by collections of documents of party organizations of union republics.¹⁰ Recollections on V. I. Lenin play a particular role among historical-party sources.¹⁰ Over the past 5 years the CC CPSU Department of Organizational-Party Work, the central committees of communist parties of union republics, and a number of oblast and kray party committees have systematically published statistical data entitled, "CPSU in Figures," or "The Communist Party and the Oblast (Kray) Party Organization in Figures."¹¹ The publication of data and documents by branches of the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism and by the party archives of oblast and kray party committees is continuing.

Unresolved problems remain regardless of the definite successes achieved in broadening the base of historical research sources. The discovery and publication of new documents, improvements in source processing methods, and summarizing the experience in the application of Leninist methods for the study of historical sources are problems whose solution is directly related to upgrading the level of party history science.

The current status of development of CPSU history is characterized by important distinguishing features. The already noted fact that historians are addressing themselves to the study of party work under contemporary conditions has undergone a profound further development. After the 25th Congress a comprehensive study was undertaken by all social scientists, including party historians, of CPSU activities in the developed socialist society. It resulted in the publication of a large number of major collective and individual works. Suffice it to say that 2,000 of approximately 4,300 party history works published after the congress deal with the period of developed socialism. One-half of them are monographs.

Another characteristic feature is the fact that most studies of that history dealt with problems and periods considered most consistent with the present and offering a better comprehension of the present. This represents an updating of topics covered by party history studies.

It is equally important to note the increased attention which CPSU historians pay to the key problems of the science of history itself--methodology, historiography, knowledge of sources, and methods of analysis. This has been reflected not only in discussions on the methodology of party history research in the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS,¹² and in the publication of specialized works on such matters,¹³ but also in the fact that such problems have become one of the main topics for consideration in party history works. The theoretical science conference on "Topical Problems of Social Science Methodology," held in Moscow in 1977, played a positive part in the elaboration of theoretical-methodological problems of party history science. The enhanced professional standard of the researchers, which had a fruitful influence on the quality of their works, was the result of all this.

The further elaboration of Lenin's theory of the party was of great importance from the scientific-theoretical and practical viewpoints. The creation of the mature socialist society reformulated a number of problems of the economic, sociopolitical and cultural development of the country. It created the need to further enhance the standard of political and organizational management and acquire a higher mastery in controlling all areas of political life and economic and cultural construction. Party history science was faced with a number of new problems related to the study of the position and role of the CPSU in the political system of developed socialism.

The 25th Congress, the Central Committee decrees and other party documents,¹⁴ and the works of L. I. Brezhnev and other CPSU leaders containing summations and conclusions of basic significance in understanding the role of the communist party in the life of the developed socialist society were a substantial contribution to the development of the Leninist theory of the party. In recent years the historiography of this problem has been enriched by the collective studies

prepared by the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism and its branches, the CC CPSU Academy of Social Sciences, and other scientific institutions.¹⁵ A number of scientific conferences were held to discuss the leading role of the CPSU and its development under contemporary conditions. The all-union theoretical science conference, "The 25th CPSU Congress and the Development of Marxist-Leninist Theory," considered the topic "The Party in the Period of Developed Socialism." By summing up the achievements of the Soviet scientists working in the field of party history and party construction, and defining the main directions of research in the light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the conference contributed to the further development of party history science.¹⁶

During that period the scientists focused their main efforts on the development of the key Leninist idea: the idea of the leading role of the party in the socialist revolution and the building of socialism and communism. The concept that the entry of the USSR in the stage of developed socialism determined the need for further upgrading the role of the CPSU as the leading and guiding force of Soviet society was comprehensively elaborated.

Reality itself and the practice of the building of communism face the social scientists, including CPSU historians, with new topical problems. We know the tremendous importance which the party ascribes today to the intensification of the national economy, to upgrading production effectiveness and work quality, to the steady growth of labor productivity, and to combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism. The party is pursuing a systematic course toward the advancement of socialist production relations, expansion of socialist democracy, enrichment of the economic-organizational and cultural-educational functions of the Soviet state, energizing the activities of soviets and public organizations of working people, and so on. Tremendous work remains to be done on the study and summarization of acquired experience and of the new forms of party leadership in all social realms. All this requires the closest possible attention of party history science.

The USSR Constitution legislatively codified the factual position held by our party in the Soviet society and state as the direct consequence of the legitimate expansion of its role. "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society and the nucleus of its political system and state and public organizations," Article 6 stipulates.

In recent years the elaboration of the problem of the place and role of the CPSU as the nucleus of the political system of Soviet society has been one of the leading directions in the work of party historians. Books and articles on this topic extensively analyze the factual mechanism of the party's guidance of state and public organizations.

In the aftermath of the 25th congress, taking into consideration the major role which intraparty relations play in all CPSU activities, party historians and scientists in the field of party construction paid particular attention to such problems. They proceeded from Lenin's concept that democratic centralism is the basic principle of the party's organizational structure and activities. A comprehensive study was made of the activities of the party organizations' implementation of the congress' instructions on the need to insure a proper correlation

between democracy and centralism and on the fact that, while strengthening and expanding intraparty democracy, at the same time they steadily strengthen party discipline and comprehensively upgrade the vanguard role of the party members in all communist construction sectors.

After the 25th congress aspects of Lenin's theory of the party such as its class nature and social base under developed socialist conditions, the scientific nature of CPSU policy, the methods of its organizational and political work among the masses, ways to improve the style of this work, and so on, were further developed in the works of Soviet scientists.

Let us note, however, that party historians are faced with a great deal of additional work on the further scientific analysis of the problems of leading CPSU activities in the developed socialist society. A further comprehensive study is needed of the role of the party in the political system of mature socialism and the correlation between objective and subjective factors influencing the increased part of the CPSU in the building of communism. Sometimes the authors of party history works analyze merely the objective conditions in which this law is manifested while insufficiently studying the very process of the increased role of the party, its specific content, improvements in intraparty relations, all intraparty work as it applies to the new requirements, and the strengthening of ties between the party and the masses.

The creative elaboration of Lenin's theory of the party in accordance with specific historical circumstances will contribute to the even greater strengthening of CPSU ideological and organizational unity, the intensification of the party's influence among the toiling masses and the enhancement of the entire level of the party's guidance of society. In the period following the 25th CPSU Congress party history science became further enriched with works dealing with all periods of party history.

The pre-October period, when the Leninist party was established and strengthened, when its strategy and tactics were shaped, and when a comprehensive process of organization and political upbringing of the proletariat and its training for the overthrow of autocracy and for a socialist revolution was developed, continued to hold an important position in party history research. The central problem of this period is that of the establishment of Bolshevism as a true revolutionary direction in the international workers movement and the creation of a proletarian party of a new type able to use the opportunity offered the working class for the revolutionary reorganization of the world.

The analytical summarizing study of the initial stage of the birth of a revolutionary Marxist party in Russia was a major contribution to party history science.¹⁷ Historians studying the 1905-1907 revolution focused their attention on the ideological, political and organizational leadership of the mass proletarian actions, provided by the Bolsheviks, and on the role of the Bolshevik party as the leader of the revolutionary striking struggle of the proletariat. Work was continued on the universal-historical significance of the Bolshevik experience in the first Russian revolution. The historians increased their attention to the interpretation of Lenin's concept of the three political camps. Works appeared in which the deployment of forces in that revolution and the

behavior of the individual classes and parties were studied on the basis of extensive factual data. The study of the February Revolution was continued.¹⁸ In this case the main attention was focused on showing the comprehensive activity of the Bolsheviks as the leading and organizing force of the proletariat in the conditions of a developing revolutionary crisis.

The international theoretical science conference on "The Great October and the Contemporary Age," held in Moscow in November 1977,¹⁹ was a major contribution to the further study of the history of the Great October Socialist Revolution and of its tremendous impact on the contemporary world. The outstanding achievements of the Soviet people and the working people of all members of the socialist comity in the implementation of the ideas of the October Revolution, the determining influence of real socialism on all international development, and the invincible power of the ideas of Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism were provided a profound interpretation in the addresses of M. A. Suslov, CC CPSU Politburo member and CC CPSU secretary, B. N. Ponomarev, CC CPSU secretary, and the heads of the fraternal communist and workers parties and noted Soviet and foreign scientists.

Studies of Lenin's ideological legacy on the problems of the revolution and civil war were continued over the past five years. Works were published on the Leninist theory of the socialist revolution and the topical nature of the experience of the Bolshevik party in the implementation of the Leninist strategy and tactic in the three Russian revolutions, the October Revolution in particular.²⁰ Irrefutable facts were cited proving that the accuracy of the basic concepts of the Leninist theory of the socialist revolution and of Leninism as a whole was confirmed by historical practice. An initial attempt was made to create a historiographic outline on "The Party and the Great October."²¹ Summing up the results of the study of party activities in the socialist revolution we must point out the publication of the second edition of the three-volume work by Academician I. I. Mintz, "Istoriya Velikogo Oktyabrya" [History of the Great October].²²

During that period fruitful studies were made of the most important directions followed by the party in its revolutionary activities. They are characterized by their summarizing nature and the synthesizing of achievements in one or another area accomplished in the preceding period.²³ The CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism issued a collection of documents on the struggle of the party for winning the army over in the course of the preparations for the victory of the October Revolution.²⁴ Important yet previously neglected problems were extensively treated in a number of works on the peaceful and armed struggle for Soviet power, the role of the Bolshevik press, propaganda and agitation in the preparations for the revolution, the social policy of the October Revolution, and the party's tactic in the struggle against the counterrevolution in 1917.

Considerable successes were achieved in the development of problems related to the history of the October Revolution and the civil war. However, many of them require further thorough studies. This includes the activities of the party to insure the hegemony of the proletariat and the creation, under its leadership, of a broad front of democratic forces, the molding of the political army of the proletarian revolution, and the importance of proletarian internationalism in uniting the masses for the struggle against the bourgeoisie and the protection of the gains of the October Revolution.

The study of the activities of the CPSU in the transitional period presented a multilateral problem. A comparison between party history publications before and after the 25th congress shows that the post-congress publications are distinguished by an aspiration to reach a theoretical depth in discussing the basic problems of party history of that period. Party activities in the implementation of the Leninist plan for the building of socialism, upgrading the role of the working class and its alliance with the peasantry in the building of socialism, strengthening the friendship and cooperation among the peoples of the country, and molding a socialist way of life remained the most important directions followed in these works.

Tangible results were achieved in describing the preparations of the country for defense, the efforts of the party and Soviet state to prevent the outbreak of World War II by the imperialist forces, and the peaceful nature of USSR foreign policy in the development of problems of CPSU history on the eve of the Great Patriotic War. Important studies were made on problems of the socialist revolutions in the Baltic republics and in Rildavia.

In the past period considerable attention was paid to depicting the leading role of the CPSU in the defeat of the German-fascist aggressors. A number of works considered the comprehensive party efforts to improve the organizational structure of the army and navy and guide combat operations at the fronts. Descriptions were provided of the measures taken by the party organs to mobilize the country's all forces for resisting the enemy; insuring the military-technical superiority of the Soviet armed forces over the Hitlerite army and the conversion of the national economy to a war footing. Studies were made of the basic directions and ways and means of party ideological work at the front and in the rear, the activities of party organs in the organization and management of the people's struggle behind enemy lines, and the party's struggle for the creation of international conditions for victory over the fascist aggressor. The international conference held on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet Union in the war against militaristic Japan (August 1975) was of great importance in terms of the comprehensive approach adopted to the study of the history of World War II.

A considerable contribution was made by the orientists in depicting the heroic accomplishments of the party and the people in the postwar restoration of the country's economy and the further strengthening and development of the socialist society. In this connection let us mention, above all, the second of the five-volume "Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy Partii Sovetskogo Soyuz." The work provides a comprehensive study of the basic processes of the development of the CPSU and Soviet society in the postwar years. It extensively describes the party's contribution to the development of revolutionary theory under the conditions of the radical changes which took place in the world in the postwar period. The continuity of the Leninist general course of building communism was depicted and the party's economic policy related to the sociopolitical development of society, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and the search for the most effective means for planned economic management under the conditions of the beginning scientific and technical revolution were traced. The process of formation of the world socialist system and the new type of international relations, and the implementation of the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism

have been interpreted on an extensive documentary basis. The work depicts the contribution of the CPSU to the strengthening and development of the international communist and workers movements, the national-liberation struggle, and the implementation of the Leninist course of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems.

The description of the establishment and development of a mature socialist society in the USSR under the party's guidance was the main trend followed in studies of party activities in the 1960s and 1970s. The concept of developed socialism, comprehensively substantiated in the decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congress and other party documents and the works of L. I. Brezhnev, including the theoretical achievements of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, energized the study of the content and forms of the social development in our country at the present stage. A number of major collective studies dealt with this topic.

The sharply increased interest of the researchers in determining the historical position of mature socialism as a legitimate stage on the way to communism was a characteristic feature marking the development of party history science on the methodological level. The scientists who participated in the elaboration of general theoretical problems of developed socialism tried to depict more profoundly the historical-party aspect in their basic research.

The attention of the researchers was drawn to problems of the party's economic and social policy. The published works depict the principles of party guidance of the national economy under contemporary conditions: the formulation and implementation of an economic policy consistent with the vital interests of the people; unity between political and economic work; and party control over the activities of economic organs and enterprise administrations. The works of the historians summarize the rich experience in the party's activities in the selection and training of economic cadres and the development of the labor activity and creative initiative of the masses. Many works deal with the various ways and means of party guidance of the social and cultural development of society and the systematic expansion and intensification of socialist democracy. The study of the ways and means of the party's guidance in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress as the most important means for upgrading public production effectiveness was one of the major research topics.

A number of scientists chose as their topic the party's agrarian policy at the present stage. In this connection it is important to note that its problems have been considered in terms of the further development and implementation of the Leninist cooperative plan. The second (expanded) edition of the definitive work by USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member S. P. Trapeznikov, "Leninizm i Agrarno-Krest'yanskiy Vopros" [Leninism and the Agrarian-Peasant Problem] is a complete study which thoroughly covers the theory, program, policy, and experience of the party in resolving the agrarian problem.

The topic of party ideological activities was intensively covered.³⁵ The elaboration of a comprehensive approach to the organization of the overall upbringing of the working people--ideological-political, labor and moral--was particularly emphasized. The chair of theory and methods of ideological work of the CC

CPSU Academy of Social Sciences is doing particularly noteworthy work. It has systematically issued collections on this type of problems.

The enhanced role of the local party organizations in the solution of party-wide and state-wide problems of the building of communism is an outstanding feature of CPSU development under mature socialist conditions, confirming the further democratization of party and all social life. "The Central Committee," L. I. Brezhnev said at the 25th congress, "carefully studied and summarized the experience of the local party organization. The activities of a number of central committees of communist parties of union republics and of kray, oblast, city and rayon party committees were discussed. It was a question of party management of the economy they provided and of the way they conducted organizational-political and ideological-educational work." Developing this idea, L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that the party organizations "bear the main responsibility for the implementation of party policy locally." That is why work on the history of republic, kray and oblast party organizations and on the scientific interpretation and dissemination of their experience is of tremendous importance not only to the given party organization but to the party as a whole.

In the past 5 years 22 essays have been published on the history of local party organizations (altogether about 100 have been published so far). This is a noteworthy scientific phenomenon. Their study proves their enhanced ideological-theoretical level. They have begun to use more extensively Lenin's ideological heritage and to cover more thoroughly the party's new achievements in the field of Marxist-Leninist theory. To an ever greater extent the researchers are focusing on the determination of the common principles governing the creation, development and functioning of the local party organizations, and the variety of forms of their activity in the specific-historical conditions of specific areas. The publication of such essays has had a positive impact on the elaboration of a number of most important scientific problems and on the overall level of party history research.

The 25th congress decisions pay particular attention to the need for the further scientific summation of the universal-historical experience of the CPSU and the political and economic development of the socialist comity and the international communist, workers and national-liberation movements. In his characterization of the individual features of the contemporary world revolutionary process L. I. Brezhnev said that, "We are living in an age of basic social changes. The socialist positions are continuing to consolidate and broaden. The victories of the national-liberation movement open new horizons to the countries which gained their independence. The class struggle of the working people against monopoly oppression and the exploiting order is growing. The revolutionary-democratic and anti-imperialist movements are becoming ever broader. All this, as a whole, represents a development of the global revolutionary process."

The decisions of the congress and of the subsequent CC CPSU plenums, and the works of L. I. Brezhnev and other party and state leaders greatly contributed to upgrading the ideological-theoretical level of the work of party historians on topical problems of global development, the class struggle and international relations. Soviet historical science has always proceeded from the fact that the study of the historical experience of the CPSU, the three Russian revolutions,

and the overall laws governing the building of socialism and communism is of prime theoretical and practical importance to the progress of the global revolutionary process.

The Russian revolutions, the Great October Revolution in particular, have had an intransigent effect on the fate of mankind. Not astoundingly, bourgeois historiography is doing everything possible to belittle their historical significance and to distort their meaning and purpose. It proceeds from the general concept of misrepresenting the essence of revolutionary events in Russia and the historical experience of the CPSU and the Soviet working class and all working people in building a new society. In exposing such tricks, in its decree, "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution," the CC CPSU indicated the need for "engaging in substantive criticism of bourgeois ideology and of right-wing and left-wing revisionist concepts, and exposing the various falsifiers of history who are trying to belittle the international significance of the October Revolution and the distance covered by our party and people, and firmly rebuff anticommunism, anti-Sovietism and opportunism of all hues...."

The establishment of the world socialist system, whose inevitability Lenin predicted and scientifically substantiated, was the historically determined continuation of the October Revolution on an international scale. The victory of the people's democratic and socialist revolutions in a number of European, Asian and Latin American countries and the conversion of the socialist comity into the most dynamic economic and political force of our time and into the vanguard of social progress and a bulwark of peace and security of the peoples brought about a qualitative change in the ratio of social forces in the world arena in favor of socialism and the further weakening of the capitalist system. In the light of these events the theoretical elaboration of the most important problems facing real socialism and the all-round depiction and creative interpretation of the profound changes occurring in the world became particularly topical. The need to resolve this problem is dictated also by the fact that as the forces of socialism grow the reactionary imperialist circles are widening the field of their ideological counteraction. "The attractive power of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the increased prestige and influence of real socialism," noted the CC CPSU in the decree, "On the 110th Anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's Birth," "are triggering the fierce resistance of the class enemy. The bourgeoisie and its ideologues and opportunist and revisionists of all hues are intensifying their struggle against communism. They are trying to misrepresent Marxism-Leninism, emasculate its revolutionary nature, and find "contradictions" between the theory of scientific socialism and the practice of its implementation in the socialist countries."

The aggravated ideological confrontation demands of us to know well our ideological opponents, to study bourgeois right-wing and left-wing opportunistic concepts on problems of CPSU history and the development of Soviet society, and to critically analyze the new trends and directions in the works of the falsifiers. As was pointed out at the 25th congress, the struggle between the two outlooks requires "high political vigilance, active, operative and convincing propaganda and prompt rebuttal of hostile ideological diversions."

Bourgeois historiography is particularly adamant in its efforts to misrepresent the leading role of the communist and workers parties and the experience of the CPSU in the building of socialism and communism and to lower its historical significance. To this effect our ideological opponents grossly distort the various aspects of CPSU activities. They slander its economic, social and cultural policy, fiercely attack socialist democracy and the consistent foreign political activities of the party, and misinterpret the nature of its theoretical conclusions on problems of domestic and international life. Unable to find new arguments with which to substantiate their concepts, the bourgeois and revisionist falsifiers frequently try to galvanize and promote the long-exposed yet essentially forgotten concepts of Trotskyites, right-wing opportunists, and national deviationists. That is why the fact that Soviet historians are continuing to study and sum up the historical experience of the CPSU in the struggle against Menshevism and right-wing and left-wing opportunism in the international workers movement, particularly Trotskyism in its various manifestations under contemporary conditions, is of topical significance.

Despite a seeming variety of concepts presented by our ideological opponents, they are all unanimous in implementing the social order of the bourgeoisie of defaming socialist reality by all possible means.

A number of works have been published of late covering a broad spectrum of problems related to building developed socialism in the members of the socialist comity and to their domestic and foreign policy, exposing the fabrications of our ideological opponents. Using extensive factual data, these works depict the major accomplishments of the fraternal peoples in building a new society. They prove the groundlessness of the attempts made by bourgeois and revisionist falsifiers to belittle the historical significance of the experience of real socialism and misrepresent various aspects of the activities of communist and workers parties of socialist countries.

Today the elaboration of the Marxist-Leninist concept of the general and the specific in the revolutionary process has assumed topical significance. In his time Lenin noted that, "Some basic features of our revolution are not of local or specifically national, exclusively Russian, but of international importance" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 3). At the same time, he firmly opposed the underestimating, not to speak of the ignoring of national and cultural-historical specifics and objective features and specific conditions of the socialist and communist transformation of the lives of individual peoples. As the Soviet scientists show in their works, the history of the establishment and development of the world socialist system fully confirmed the accuracy of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the common laws governing the building of the new society and the variety of forms of their manifestation in the individual countries.

It is indicative that the various problems which arise in the course of building developed socialism and the ways and means used to resolve them by the individual countries or the socialist comity at large are ever more frequently becoming topics of collective international scientific studies. A study of one of the most topical problems of the contemporary revolutionary process—the need for working class unity under the conditions of a most acute ideological struggle—was the result of the joint efforts of scientists from the fraternal institutes

of the central committees of communist and workers parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, the USSR and Czechoslovakia.⁴⁰ The value of this study lies, above all, in the fact that it demonstrates the ideological unity among the representatives of the socialist countries on all complex problems related to the status and role of the working class in the contemporary world and the ideological struggle in the international arena. Joint studies on a number of other most important topics are also underway.

The works of party historians extensively deal with the activities of the CPSU in uniting the international communist and workers movement and its contribution to the development of problems of proletarian internationalism and the class solidarity of the working people. In this respect the scientific conference held in July 1975 in Moscow on "The Communist Movement in the Vanguard of the Struggle for Peace and National and Social Liberation" (on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Seventh Komintern Congress)⁴¹ played an important role. The introductory words of M. A. Suslov, B. N. Ponomarev's report, and the addresses by the participants in the conference summarize the experience of the struggle waged by the CPSU and the other communist parties for the implementation of the policy of the unified workers and broad people's front and traced the continuity between the ideas of the Seventh Komintern Congress and the problems which are currently being resolved by the international communist movement.

Together with their study of the achievements of this movement, the works of the party historians also depict some of the difficulties it is encountering. They are largely related to the divisive activities of the Chinese leadership. A number of recently published books and articles by Soviet authors⁴² offer a critical analysis of the ideology and policy of today's Maoists and expose their hostility to Marxism-Leninism. The changes in contemporary China's social, economic and political life, the process of formation of the superstructure and the base, and the withdrawal of the CPC leadership from the principles of scientific socialism and proletarian internationalism are considered on the basis of most recent data. The anti-Soviet hegemonistic nature of the aggressive foreign political course pursued by Beijing, based on a conspiracy with imperialism, is exposed. The authors prove that such a policy is inimical to the objectives and tasks of the world communist movement.

Currently an acute ideological struggle is underway on problems of the national-liberation movement as well. The Soviet scientific public is countering attempts by the defenders of imperialism to misrepresent the conditions and reasons for the appearance of the developing countries, to substantiate the principles of neocolonialism, and to take the liberation struggle of the peoples to the tracks of an agreement with the former colonizers with a Marxist-Leninist understanding of the objectives, tasks and methods of the anti-imperialist struggle. The tremendous scope it has reached in recent years, its internal dynamics, and the increased influence of the global socialist system and its cooperation with the developing countries confirm the historical accuracy of Lenin's concepts of the growing interaction among the three components of the single global revolutionary process: the members of the socialist comity, the workers movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement.

Despite the successes they have achieved, the party historians are faced with a great deal of work to insure militancy and aggressiveness in the ideological confrontation. The range of studies is not always sufficiently wide in the area of criticism of bourgeois and revisionist falsifications of CPSU history. Most publications expose the ways and means used in the subversive activities of the ideological enemy, anticommunist concepts, and so on. This is extremely important and work along this line must be intensified. At the same time, however, the ways and means of the struggle waged by the CPSU and the fraternal parties against ideological diversions should be exposed more fully. The experience acquired in the struggle waged by the parties against manifestations of nationalistic vestiges and national exclusivity is still poorly summarized. Studies of the crisis of bourgeois and revisionist historiography, criticism of its anti-scientific foundations and principal directions, and the study and exposure of anticommunist tactics at each new stage of historical development have become particularly topical.

The developed socialist society offers greater opportunities along with an increased need for steadily upgrading the educational role of party history science. This is related, above all, to the fact that the significance of Marxist-Leninist theory is growing steadily. It is the foundation of all revolutionary-reorganizing practices of the CPSU. The party's historical experience is becoming steadily richer and, as the scale of constructive activities of the Soviet people expands under its leadership, greater opportunities develop for the theoretical summation of this experience, for upgrading the theoretical level of party history studies and for the more extensive use of the achievements of party history science in communist education.

The CC CPSU decree, "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" faced the social scientist, including party historians, with tasks such as the study of ideological activities under mature socialist conditions, ways for upgrading its effectiveness and quality, processes for the molding of a Marxist-Leninist outlook among the various groups of working people, problems of moral upbringing, and many others. It was pointed out that the main task of the studies is "the profound analysis of the spiritual life of society and the elaboration of scientific recommendation leading to the further advancement of political-educational activities.

The considerably widened opportunities for upgrading the educational role of party history science are determined by the steadily growing educational and cultural standards of the Soviet people and their high conscientiousness and labor and political activity. Party historians face stricter requirements as a consequence of the comprehensive desire to study the works of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, the decisions of party congresses, the documents of its Central Committee, and L. I. Brezhnev's works. Our ideological cadres, party members and all working people must acquire a profound understanding of CPSU experience in the building of socialism and communism and of its universal-historical significance.

The stipulation formulated by the party on the adoption of a comprehensive approach to the solution of problems of ideological and political-educational work is another reason for the need to promote to an even greater extent unity between knowledge and convictions and words and actions, and for developing in

the Soviet people an active life stance. Discussing the role of the social sciences in upgrading the theoretical level of our propaganda and agitation and all party-educational activities, M. A. Suslov emphasized at the October 1979 All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers that, "The task is, above all, to reach an ever deeper and comprehensive understanding by the broadest possible masses of the topical problems of party theory and policies. The study of fundamental, of basic Marxist-Leninist concepts must lead precisely to a broadening of views and upgrading the political standards of the working people." The study of CPSU history reveals the vital strength and historical accuracy of Marxist-Leninist ideas. It arms the working people with deep knowledge in the field of revolutionary theory, inseparably linked with an understanding of the nature of the practical problems which continue to face our party at each new stage of its activities and of our social development. This represents a substantial contribution to the solution of one of the basic problems of the communist education of the working people--the shaping of a scientific outlook.

Party history science plays a significant part in resolving problems of the labor, moral, patriotic, and internationalist upbringing of the Soviet people. The study and summation of the party's experience in the preparations for and making of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the defense of the socialist fatherland, the implementation of the Leninist plan for the building of socialism, and the solution of the problem of laying the material and technical foundations for communism contribute to the enhancement of the level of all ideological-educational work and its unbreakable ties with life, the practice of the building of communism, and the more extensive use for educational purposes of the revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the Soviet people.

Today, when the interconnection between problems of economic policy and ideological work has increased immeasurably, summarizing the experience of economic construction and of the party's guidance of the economy contributes not only to the finding of the proper means for the solution of new national economic problems but to the development of a communist attitude toward labor as well. Another greatly contributing factor is the study and summarization of the experience of the party's guidance of the socialist competition, its organization and the improvement of its methods. The study of the practical experience of the party organizations in upgrading the organizational and educational role of labor collectives is a topical direction in party history science. This makes it possible to energize the efforts of the collectives in the ever greater implementation of their economic and ideological functions. One of the topical tasks here is to boost the attention which historians pay to such problems.

The study and summation of the experience of the party organizations in the moral upbringing of the working people is becoming ever more important. This is related to the increased importance of moral principles in social life and the need to intensify the struggle against the opposites of communist morality. Yet, so far there are few basic works of a historical-party nature which summarize this experience. Greater attention should be paid to this topic by party historians, the more so since extensive experience has been acquired in the area of moral upbringing.

Party history science has retained its major role in improving the dissemination of the ideas of friendship among the peoples and the interpretation of the principles of CPSU national policy and of party activities aimed at their implementation. Party history works published in recent years, describing CPSU experience in the implementation of the Leninist national policy have substantially contributed to energizing the upbringing of the working people in a spirit of socialist internationalism.

Speaking of the increased educational significance of the science of party history, we cannot ignore yet another aspect of the matter. Its development not only increases opportunities for the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist theory, CPSU historical experience, or the revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the Soviet people. The science of party history, particularly in matters of CPSU ideological activities, directly helps the party committees and all ideological workers to improve the specific methods and upgrade their effectiveness in political and ideological-moral education. The communist party has acquired tremendous experience in such work. Under mature socialist conditions the study of the process of development of the system of CPSU ideological activities and the study and summation of the ways in which its ways and means change at each new stage in the development of Soviet society, particularly at present, are of not merely scientific but of major practical significance.

Of late, along with basic works on problems of CPSU ideological activities, a large number of popular works have been published on the same topic. The authors of many of them are secretaries of Central committees of communist parties of union republics and of kray, oblast, city, and rayon party committees and primary party organizations. These works describe the comprehensive experience of the local party organizations. This is important in terms of improving the situation in specific areas of the struggle for communism and the adamant dissemination and utilization of the most effective means of work among the masses in accordance with specific circumstances.

The elaboration of problems related to CPSU ideological activities, and the summation of its experience and, on this basis, the formulation of corresponding suggestions are a problem to whose solution the party historians could make a substantial contribution, thus greatly assisting the personnel of party committees and ideological institutions, propagandists, lecturers, agitators, political informants, and journalists.

The measures taken in recent years to raise the quality of teaching of party history in higher educational institutions, the elaboration of improved curriculums on the subject and for training skilled teaching cadres have contributed to the enhancement of the role of party history science in the communist upbringing of the Soviet people. Here again, however, a great deal more remains to be done.

Relying on the Marxist-Leninist ideological legacy, the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and Central Committee Plenums, and the works of L. I. Brezhnev and other party and state leaders, the historians are making an ever greater contribution to insuring the high scientific standard of propaganda and agitation, the development of its aggressive nature, and the intensification of its effectiveness and concreteness and ties with reality and with the solution of most important political problems.

The contemporary stage in the building of communism faces the science of party history with stricter requirements. It is a question, naturally, not only of the increased number of works on CPSU history or of improved ways and means of research. Naturally, this is quite important. However, it is also a question of qualitative changes, of raising works of history to a new and higher scientific level.

The party historians must study even more profoundly the social laws and their systematic utilization in the struggle for the great historical truth of the October Revolution and the defense of its gains, the building of socialism and communism, and the confrontation with bourgeois ideology, reformism and revisionism.

The party directs the historians to the creation of summarizing definitive studies along the most important trends of the science of history, the comprehensive study of problems with the help of representatives of the other social sciences, and the development of small, publicistically sharp genres dealing, above all, with contemporary topics. Fruitful works could be written by combining the areas of several social sciences.

The intensified study of main directions in party history science such as the growth of the leading role of the CPSU in perfecting the social system of developed socialism and the building of communism, the determination of the ways and means contributing to the optimum solution of organizational -party problems, the study of problems related to the party's formulation and practical implementation by the party organizations of a socioeconomic policy, involving the party ideological activities and the struggle for peace, social progress and socialism in the world arena would be impossible without the solution of the most important problems affecting the science of history itself. Researchers must pay even greater attention to problems of theory, methodology, historiography, and historical sources in the area of CPSU history. In this connection the further mastery of the Leninist theoretical-methodological legacy, the Leninist approach to historical-party phenomena and processes, and the historiographic study of the works of our teacher and leader become particularly important.

The studies made after the 25th Party Congress on topical problems of CPSU history considerably strengthened the existing base for the creation of new definitive works summarizing its tremendous historical experience. Yet, a great deal more lies ahead. Here again we must firmly be guided by the concept expressed by L. I. Brezhnev to the effect that, "The Soviet scientist, providing, naturally, that he is a true Soviet scientist, must proceed in all his scientific activities from the scientific outlook of Marxism-Leninism. He must be an active fighter for the cause of communism and against all forces of reaction and obscurantism. Our scientists must subordinate all their practical work to the implementation of the noble communist ideals."

The party historians are called upon to involve themselves even more deeply in the study of the problems raised by reality, the practice of the building of communism, and the topical contemporary problems. The ideological activity and militancy of party history research must grow steadily. The very process of the natural and continuing growth of the role which the CPSU plays in strengthening

the developed socialist society and the building of communism contributes to the enhancement of the significance of party history science in all ideological-educational and political work and the successful solution of ripe practical problems.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Leninskiy Sbornik, XXXIX" [Leninist Collection, 39] Moscow, 1980; "Perepiska V. I. Lenina i Rukovodimyykh im Uchrezhdeniy RSDRP s Partiynymi Organizatsiyami. 1903-1905 gg." [Correspondence Between V. I. Lenin and the RSDRP Institutions He Headed With the Party Organizations, 1903-1905]. Collection of documents in three volumes, Moscow, 1974-1977.
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3. The following books were published between the 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses: L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskiy Kursom" [The Leninist Course], Vols 5-7. Moscow, 1976-1979; "Aktual'nyye Voprosy Ideologicheskoy Raboty KPSS" [Topical Problems of CPSU Ideological Work]. In two volumes. Second expanded edition. Moscow, 1979; "Voprosy Razvitiya Politicheskoy Sistemy Sovetskogo Obshchestva" [Problems of the Development of the Political System of Soviet Society]. Moscow, 1977; "Voprosy Upravleniya Ekonomikoy Razvityego Sotsialisticheskogo Obshchestva. Rechi, Doklady, Vystupleniya" [Problems of Managing the Economy of the Developed Socialist Society. Speeches, Reports, Addresses]. Moscow, 1976; "KPSS v Bor'be za Yedinstvo Vsekh Revolyutsionnykh i Mirolubivyykh Sil" [The CPSU in the Struggle for the Unity of All Revolutionary and Peace-Loving Forces]. Second expanded edition. Moscow, 1979; "Mir Sotsializma--Triumph Velikikh Idey" [The Socialist World--A Triumph of Great Ideas]. Moscow, 1978; "Molodym--Stroit' Kommunizm" [The Young Will Build Communism]. Third expanded edition, Moscow, 1978; "O Vneshney Politike KPSS i Sovetskogo Gosudarstva. Rechi i Stat'i" [On CPSU Foreign Policy and the Soviet State. Speeches and Articles]. Third expanded edition, Moscow, 1978; "Ob Aktual'nykh Problemakh Partiyного Stroitel'stva" [On Topical Problems of Party Construction]. Second expanded edition. Moscow, 1976; "Ob Osnovnykh Voprosakh Ekonomicheskoy Politiki KPSS na Sovremennom Etape Rechi i Doklady" [On Basic Problems of CPSU Economic Policy at the Present Stage. Speeches and Reports]. In two volumes. Second expanded edition, Moscow, 1979; "Sovetskiye Profsoyuzy v Usloviyakh Razvityego Sotsializma" [The Soviet Trade Unions Under Developed Socialist Conditions]. Moscow, 1978.
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- Speeches and Articles. In two volumes. Moscow, 1979; D. A. Kunayev, "Izbrannyye Rechi i Stat'i," Moscow, 1978; A. Ya. Pel'she, "Izbrannyye Rechi i Stat'i" Moscow, 1978; G. V. Romanov, "Izbrannyye Rechi i Stat'i," Moscow, 1980; M. A. Suslov, "Na Putyakh Stroitel'stva Kommunizma" [On the Way to the Building of Communism]. Speeches and Articles. In two volumes. Moscow, 1977; M. A. Suslov, "Marksizm-Leninizm i Sovremennaya Epokha" [Marxism-Leninism and the Contemporary Epoch]. Collection of speeches. Second expanded edition, Moscow, 1980; N. A. Tikhonov, "Izbrannyye Rechi i Stat'i," Moscow, 1980; D. F. Ustinov, "Izbrannyye Rechi i Stat'i," Moscow 1979; K. U. Chernenko, "Nekotoryye Voprosy Tvorcheskogo Razvitiya Stilya Partynoy i Gosudarstvennoy Raboty" [Some Problems of Creative Development of the Style of Party and State Work]. Second expanded edition, Moscow, 1978; K. U. Chernenko, "Voprosy Raboty Partynogo i Gosudarstvennogo Apparata" [Problems of the Party and State Apparatus Work]. Moscow, 1980; V. V. Shcherbitskiy, "Izbrannyye Rechi i Stat'i," Moscow, 1978; and works by G. A. Aliyev, M. S. Gorbachev, P. N. Demichev, V. V. Kuznetsov, P. M. Masherov, B. N. Ponomarev, Sh. R. Rashidov, M. S. Solomentsev, E. A. Shevardnadze, I. V. Kapitonov, V. I. Kapitonov, V. I. Dolgikh, M. V. Zimyanin and K. V. Rusakov.
5. "XXV S'yezd KPSS: Yedinstvo Teorii i Praktiki" [The 25th CPSU Congress: Unity of Theory and Practice]. Volumes 1-6. Moscow, 1977-1980.
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12. For a beginning of the discussion see VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 4, 1976. The final article appeared in Issue No 12 of the journal for 1978.
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ECONOMIC MECHANISM: STRATEGY OF PERFECTION

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[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor I. Shilin, deputy chairman, Council for the Study of Production Forces of the USSR Gosplan; presented as a basis for discussion]

[Text] The USSR constitution has codified a qualitatively new level of development of the socialist economy. The planned management of the social division of labor, its sectorial and territorial processes above all, are gradually becoming integrated within the country's single national economic complex. The use of the economic advantages this offers is directly related to further improvements in planning management.

The most important distinguishing feature of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality" is that it provides a unified system of measures covering the basic aspects of economic management. During the preceding period planning improvements were aimed, above all, at the sector and the primary unit—the production association or the enterprise. The new document stipulates measures to upgrade the level of planning work on a systematic basis. They apply to both the national economic level and the regional economic units.

A Proper System of Indicators For Centralized Planning

The intent and content of the plan are manifested in its system of planning indicators. As one of the most important elements of the planning mechanism, their purpose is to define the main directions of economic development and to reflect the totality of complex relations among the individual units and parts of the single national economic complex. For this reason one of the important manifestations of the systems approach is the integrity of planned indicators. Their other feature is their hierarchical nature. The purpose of the planning indicators system is to cover the national economic level and the sectorial, regional, and initial units (associations, enterprises), i.e., to be vertically interrelated and interacting. Its third feature is its combination of two properties: stability and dynamism. Whatever stage of development the socialist economy may reach, it must include groups of indicators characterizing stages of the reproduction process: production, distribution, volume, and consumption. No less important than reproduction is the structural aspect of stability. In this case a particular role is assigned to the related indicators which cut

across all levels, starting at the top and ending with the primary units and possessing the properties of reductibility and comparability from the upper to the lower levels and vice versa. We believe incorrect the attempts to assign to either value or natural indicators the role of all-round indicators. An aggregate of related indicators is needed, included physical (production nomenclature) and value indicators and effectiveness indicators. This combination alone can fulfill the role of system-connecting and forming indicators insuring the stable development of the economy as a whole. At the same time, the dynamic development of the economy, expressed not only in the increased scale of output but the appearance of new types of goods and new sectors, the reorganization of the technical base, the use of essentially new technological processes, and the increased complexity of vertical and horizontal connections, leads to the appearance of new indicators and to perfecting the methods for computing and planning existing ones. As the natural reflection of the dynamic development of the economy, changes in indicator systems do not negate the foundations of the stability of this system but combine with it.

The strengthening of the comprehensive systems approach to the formulation of the applied plan indicators is the main feature of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Increasing the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality."

Over the past 15 years a certain fetishism had developed concerning the role of value indicators. Goods marketed--a value volume indicator--was ascribed a determining role while the role of physical indicators (officially not denied) was, in fact, reduced.

What were the consequences of this shifting of the center of gravity toward value categories and the exaggeration of their importance?

Giving goods marketed the role of main indicator, combined with the profit and profitability indicators, shifted the emphasis and substantially changed the objective purposefulness of production activities in the initial production unit--the enterprise or association. Interest in fulfilling planned assignments for variety weakened. This triggered a trend toward violating the proportions between the material and the value aspects of public production. The one-sided orientation toward value indicators led to the fact that the enterprises began to be interested mainly not in end but intermediary results. This substantially weakened the controllability and development stability of the individual units within the economic system (growth of unfinished production in capital construction, and relative disproportions between population monetary income and availability of goods and services in trade).

Physical volume indicators--the nomenclature--play a determining part in the process of the planned management of socialist economic development. They are considered the structural part of the plan. Such characterization is not only graphic but accurate. Under socialism, the social nature of labor, directly linked through the socialist socialization to production and to its purpose, is manifested, above all, through variety planning. If deemed necessary, value indicators play a subordinate role.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree restored the role of physical indicators in planning at all levels. Once again they assume leading positions in the system of directive plan indicators and play an important part in assessing the results of the activities of sectors and associations (enterprises). The implementation of planned deliveries in terms of nomenclature and contractual deadlines is taken into consideration in determining material incentives. All this is legitimate and natural in a society whose production purpose is the satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the working people.

Directive assignments on the volume of output in terms of value will be issued through the use of the normative net output indicator. Its use as a basic indicator will have a beneficial impact on upgrading production effectiveness. It will eliminate the tendency to use expensive types of raw materials and other labor objects and will create an interest in lowering production material intensiveness. Encouraging the use of less expensive assemblies and parts will contribute to the rationalization of cooperation relations and will improve their geographic distribution.

There is yet another aspect of essential importance. The merits of the normative net output indicator have been thoroughly described in scientific publications. In many operations, however, net output has been unjustifiably pitted against gross (marketable) and marketed goods. In considering reproduction problems, along with categories such as "net product," "net income," and "national income," the works of Marx and Lenin and of socialist political economy include categories such as "overall social product," "gross income," and "end product." The study of each of these categories solves a certain range of problems. Therefore, the approach based on the "either-or" position is unsuitable here. The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree is an example of a careful attitude toward the political-economic legacy and the experience in socialist planning. It has been established that in sectors assigned increased net output the marketable output indicator included in five-year plans is determined through computations. The volume of goods marketed is included in the annual plans of associations and enterprises. This makes it possible to control and assess the implementation of obligations on the delivery of industrial and consumer goods according to variety, stipulated in the concluded contracts and orders for the production of goods for export.

The positive possibilities offered by the net production indicator are not achieved automatically. They require the necessary conditions and prerequisites which would block possible negative trends. Since the share of wages in the volume of output and its production cost is small the temptation may develop in the use of the new indicator to raise labor intensiveness through norm reduction. All this would encourage the extensive development of output and would not contribute to lowering labor outlays or reducing manual operations. It would increase the manpower shortages existing in most parts of the country. Proper labor and wage norming and effective price controls are needed to block such trends. Scientific realism in assessing the advantages of the normative net production indicator and preventing the treating of this indicator as a fetish will create conditions which would exclude potential adverse manifestations.

Let us particularly consider the problems related to determining and planning production effectiveness.

The sum total of indicators used so far developed under circumstances in which expanded extensive reproduction predominated. The most developed among them are quantitative indicators while qualitative and, above all, effectiveness indicators have been insufficiently developed and their method of computation remains imperfect.

A transition to economic progress in which the intensive type of expanded reproduction would predominate faces the centralized planning system and, above all, the structure and content of plan indicators, with new requirements. Under these circumstances planning at all levels should be "tuned" to production intensification and effectiveness growth. Such "tuning" could be achieved, above all, through plan indicators.

In accordance with the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree the following effectiveness indicators characterizing the most important aspects of sub-unit activities will be included in the five-year plans for the economic and social development of industrial ministries, associations and enterprises:

Growth of labor productivity, computed on the basis of normative net output or any other indicator which would reflect more accurately the specific nature of the individual sectors;

Increased production of superior quality goods or any other quality indicator set for the specific sector;

Overall profits (in some sectors, reduced production costs);

Assignments on average lowering of outlay norms of the most important types of material resources;

Economic results of implemented scientific and technical measures.

The practical utilization of this set of quality indicators will insure the even fuller determination and inclusion in the plan of deep production reserves. It will contribute to the objective assessment of the work results of the above mentioned units. Let us note, however, that a number of problems related to determining and planning production effectiveness await their solution. Energetic efforts are needed to perfect the corresponding indicators.

As a result of the changes made in accordance with the decree, the plan indicators are converting into a more complete system which includes the following: a) physical volume indicators (nomenclature, variety assignments); b) value physical indicators (normative net output); c) aggregation of indicators characterizing the effectiveness of economic activities of ministries, associations and enterprises. The noted aggregation of indicators as vertically interconnected is of essential importance. It is as follows: national economy-ministry (department)-primary unit (association, enterprise). This set of indicators is unified horizontally as well, with the exception of some industrial sectors operating under specific conditions. This intensifies the systems-forming and connecting influence of plan indicators on the units and parts of the single national economic complex.

Planning flexibility, maneuverability and effectiveness are intensified through the combination of directive plan indicators with economic norms (wages per ruble of output, material incentive funds, and others), and resource ceilings.

Production Effectiveness and Capital Construction

As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in his speech at the meeting with the voters of Baumanskiy Electoral District in Moscow, the conversion of the country's economy to intensive development must be completed in the 1980s. The conversion to a qualitatively new stage of economic growth must be accompanied by a deep reorganization of planning (indicators, methods, organizational forms, material incentive), intersectorial relations, and a change in the role of capital construction in reproduction processes.

The intensification processes will be the objective base for the expanded role which production effectiveness indicators will play in both planning and material incentive.

Two trends have become clearly apparent in scientific publications dealing with quantitative measurements and, consequently, planning. The supporters of the first deny the possibility of elaborating and applying summarizing indicators. They assume that effectiveness could be quantitatively expressed only through the mechanical combination of equal indicators reflecting the individual aspects of a given result and not reducible to a single measurement. The supporters of the second trend hold the opposite to be true. They believe that in a socialist economy, as an integral and systematically controlled system, objective prerequisites, need and potential exist for applying quantitative integral characteristics of economic effectiveness to the system and its individual units.

The indicators of labor productivity (labor intensiveness), capital returns (capital intensiveness) and material returns (material intensiveness) have been properly studied, tried and generally accepted after long years of planning practice. They respectively reflect the use of the individual elements of the production process: manpower, productive capital, and labor objects. The results of financial activities are characterized by the profit or profitability indicators. Changing under the influence of production or nonproduction factors, the latter could improve with the same or even lowered production effectiveness.

Therefore, not one of the indicators used in planning practice can reflect production effectiveness changes on a summed up basis and with the required accuracy. In recent years a number of attempts have been made in the field of economics to develop such an integral indicator. However, not one among them has been widely accepted. Therefore, the development of such an effectiveness indicator remains an adamant requirement in the field of planning practice.

Naturally, the question of the content, structural principles and requirements to be met by such an indicator arises.

1. It must possess a high level of summation, i.e., it must be integral and comprehensive. This is one of the prerequisites for its technological nature and high effectiveness.

2. As the economic manifestation of production intensification, the effectiveness indicator must possess features such as flexibility and mobility. This could be insured only through the use of a multiple-factor computation method. This requirement would make the effectiveness indicator not only accurate but effective. It would enable us promptly and operatively to determine and include in the plan reserves for enhancing production effectiveness.

3. The interrelated and balanced development of the hierarchic levels of the socialist economy could be insured only if the comprehensive production effectiveness indicator is related, reducible, and comparable. Only in the presence of such a basic yet important characteristic would the planning and accountability-statistical data on production effectiveness in the initial units of the economic system prove to be suitable for processing and submission to the higher management level.

4. It must lend itself to extensive practical use, including use by primary production units. In planning a method for measuring and planning production effectiveness, we must make maximum use of the experience and practice in planning individual effectiveness indicators and of the knowledge and skills of planning workers and other economists.

5. The comprehensive indicator of production effectiveness must lend itself to universal application. Such an indicator should be not only directive but possible to evaluate.

In our view, the computation of the integral (comprehensive) production effectiveness indicator should be accomplished through the index method on the basis of the indicators of labor productivity, capital returns, and material returns, which may be reduced to a summarizing indicator through the assessment of results.

Computations based on the use of this method indicate that the dynamics of the comprehensive effectiveness of the production process after 1960 (100) was as follows: 1965, 108.8; 1970, 124.1; 1975, 134.1; 1978, 143.8; and 1979, 146.5.

Our computations show that the comprehensive effectiveness of the production process in the country is rising steadily even though at an uneven pace. The growth of labor productivity is the main source for its increase. The increased output of items is another factor of lesser significance even though the potential of this source is used very incompletely. Over the past 15 years the dynamics of capital returns was a factor which reduced the comprehensive nature of effectiveness. In turn, it was determined by the sum total of factors which raised or lowered its level.

Let us note that capital returns rose in the prewar years. In the postwar period capital returns rose through 1958 after which it began to decline. Let us also note two of the reasons which affected this process. The first was the fact that less attention was paid to the use of factors which increase the level of capital returns. The second was the unjustified building of enterprises with a low production concentration level. The highest share of their productive capital went to passive assets.

Even though the factors affecting the level of capital returns are varied, increased capital returns as a whole is a law governing the intensive type of expanded reproduction.

The use of profound reserves for upgrading effectiveness, related to the comprehensive intensification of the economy and, above all, the application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, the fast technical retooling of existing production facilities, the efficient location of new enterprises and the advanced forms of organization of public production and insuring its comprehensive development are largely predetermined by the condition of capital construction. Therefore, no stable improvement in the economic effectiveness of the country at large can be achieved without the radical improvement of all capital construction practices.

The combination of various factors affects the dynamics of capital investment effectiveness. Some raise effectiveness while others reduce it.

Major capital investments have been channeled into the development of Siberia and the Far East. This requires higher simultaneous capital outlays which, however, also insure a higher effectiveness of existing production facilities. For example, capital outlays for the development of the Zapadno-Sibirskiy Territorial Production Complex alone, from 1965-1980 came to approximately 50 billion rubles. Within the same period the net output of the complex equaled 116 billion rubles. The mere comparison between the two figures proves the economic advantage and effectiveness of the "eastward movement." There is another side to this as well: Far from all possibilities for upgrading the effectiveness of capital investments made here are utilized.

The implementation of large-scale economic programs in the East greatly depends on the condition of the construction industry and the organization of output in this sector. The set-block method developed in the Tyumen' area is of revolutionizing importance. Its application made it possible to shift the bulk of construction and installation work from construction sites to plant shops. The entire project or its elements, consisting of technological blocks, or block-modules, consolidated assemblies and other industrial structures, are manufactured in rear centers, in developed areas and under factory conditions. Depending on its size, the necessary project is either delivered in its entirety to its site or else is assembled there from highly prefabricated parts. As a result, labor outlays at construction sites and the time for the installation of the project are reduced by a factor of 3-4. Material intensiveness is reduced because of improved structures, and so on.

The set-block method has already been used in the construction of 350 projects (including 104 cluster pumping stations and 58 petroleum pumping stations). Savings from the utilization of this method have already exceeded two billion rubles.

Unfortunately, the technology for the planning of capital investments and the practice of material incentive, used over a long period of time, were scientifically quite imperfect. They triggered adverse trends in the development of capital construction and brought about chronic failures in this area. This is affecting the effectiveness and stability of the economy as a whole.

The initial overall reason for this situation is found in the use of unscientific and unsystematic indicators.

Starting with 1959 the absolute effectiveness of capital investments has been determined as follows:

- a. On the national economic level, through the ratio between the growth of the national income and the capital investments resulting from this growth;
- b. On the sectorial level, through the ratio between the growth of profits and capital investments which have triggered this growth;
- c. In associations, enterprises and construction projects, by comparing profits with capital investments.

The use of effectiveness indicators which can neither be reduced nor compared on a vertical basis artificially breaks down the planning of capital investments into three levels and creates conditions for pitting the interests of construction organizations against those of the national economy. Combined with a faulty material incentive system (the digging of foundations, particularly in winter, is 500 percent more advantageous than the completion of a project) and a sharp disproportion between the volumes of construction and installation operations and the capacities of construction organizations (particularly in newly developed areas) led to the creation of a mechanism which encourages construction organizations to seek not end results--finished projects--but intermediary stages--foundation digging and erection of frames and, therefore, to increase the volume of unfinished construction.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speeches, particularly his speech at the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum, contained radical measures aimed at normalizing affairs in capital construction. They made it possible to introduce here in planning substantiated indicators for capital investment effectiveness and radically to improve planning and material incentive.

The first feature of the new procedure for the elaboration of the capital investments plan is insuring the stability of the capital construction plan. This is a long-term process.

The second is the reliable balancing of the volume of capital investments against sources (and, in the final account, financial results), the capacities of construction organizations and construction materials and equipment resources.

The third is planning operating production facilities and capital construction as a united entity and, on this basis, assigning, on a priority basis, material and financial resources to technical retooling and reconstruction and expansion of production capacities, avoiding new construction.

The fourth is the new procedure for the drafting and ratification of lists of projects.

The fifth is the assessment and encouragement of the work done by construction organizations in the field of marketable construction output, i.e., on the basis of the completion of industrial capacities and finished projects.

Along with establishing capital investment ceilings, we should change the procedure for the financing of capital construction, since ministries and departments do not promptly and fully allocate funds for their participation in the building of infrastructural projects, social projects in particular, which hinders comprehensive regional development.

Perfecting Planning Methods and Organizational Structure Is An Urgent Task

The conversion of the country's economy into a single national economic complex and the all-round intensification of production require improvements and a certain reorganization not only of plan indicators but of the methods used for the formulation of the plan and the organizational structure of the planning organs. As a manifestation of the very nature of centralized planning, the systems-comprehensive approach must be extended to the solution of these problems as well.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree considers upgrading the scientific substantiation of long-range plans a basic task. Conversion to the systematic elaboration of summing up preplanning documents will be of prime importance in its solution. They will include:

A comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress;

A general plan for the placement of production forces in the USSR;

A general resettlement plan.

These closely interrelated long-term documents, periodically amended, will make it possible to correct weak aspects of national economic, sectorial and territorial planning such as the inadequate consideration of long-term problems and emphasis on current problems. The use of such basic preplan elaborations, which is a necessary prerequisite for surmounting the inertia processes in the economy, will assist in the acceleration of the pace of scientific and technical progress, the implementation of progressive structural changes, and the timely perfecting of the forms of organization of the public production process.

The elaboration of methods insuring the organic combination of sectorial with territorial planning plays a leading part in upgrading the scientific standard of planning. The directive instructions of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses and the July 1979 CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on the need to resolve this major planning problem may be implemented only on the basis of the adoption of qualitatively new approaches based on the use of economic-mathematical methods, the conversion of planning "technology" to a new technical base and on computer utilization.

A group of scientists of the Council for the Study of Production Forces of the USSR Gosplan (SOPS) and the Siberian Energy Institute formulated an economic-mathematical model and, together with personnel from the agricultural department

and the Gosplan Main Computer Center formulated a comprehensive intersectorial and interregional problem dealing with optimizing the location of agricultural production facilities in the country.

The distinguishing feature of the problem is its scale. It covers the entire territory of the USSR. Sectorially, it covers 42 agricultural products (crop growing and animal husbandry); territorially, it covers 25 planning areas.

The model comprehensively takes into consideration the following features:

- a. Need for agricultural output by the country at large and on a regional scale;
- b. The sum total of resources (land, water, labor);
- c. The sum total of outlays (capital, operational, transport, and so on).

This is the first time that such comprehensive and extensive scope has applied to the formulation of planning assignments.

The main characteristic of this problem and the method for its resolution calls for insuring the organic combination of sectorial with territorial planning on the scale of a major and complex material production sector such as agriculture.

Essentially, the technology used in the formulation of the problem represents the extension and completion of the balance method as applied to the new economic and technical base of planning. It is a general technology as well. It is applicable in planning other economic sectors and in extensive preplanning studies. It enables us to upgrade the coordinating role of the USSR Gosplan and to broaden its rights stemming from the July CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree.

One of the cornerstones of the improvement of long-term planning and upgrading its scientific standard is the conversion to the systematic elaboration of aggregated preplanning documents such as the general plans for the location of production forces in the USSR.

The USSR Gosplan SOPS [Council for the Study of Productive Resources] formulated two general systems. The second covers the period until 1990. Traditional methods were used in their elaboration. Systematic prompt elaboration of general systems is possible only by converting the preparatory work to a new "technology," i.e., by accomplishing the project with the help of computers. With this approach the highest share of the overall amount of work will go not to labor outlays for planning-computation operations but to creative activities and a meaningful study of the factors, interconnections, and alternatives.

The formulation of general systems with computers should include a limited number of blocks such as:

1. Industry (possibly covering from 70 to 90 sectors and 28 planning regions);
2. Agriculture;

3. Construction (covering enterprises producing construction materials and the construction industry);
4. The transportation complex;
5. The social infrastructure sectors.

Large-scale intersectorial and interregional comprehensive tasks should be formulated for each block. In the "agriculture" block the method for the formulation of such assignments has been essentially developed and applied by the USSR Gosplan Main Computer Center. The coordination and interaction among blocks could be insured either through traditional methods or through the development of an aggregate interconnecting model and the computer solution of the problems.

The conversion to a primarily intensive type of reproduction and the derived need to improve centralized planning and implement measures to strengthen territorial planning require improvements in the organizational structure of the planning organs and the establishment of specific cadre prerequisites (specialist training and retraining and adequate staffing of territorial planning organs), and the solution of problems related to the technical, mathematical and information support of the considered measures.

The use of methods which insure the organic combination of sectorial with territorial planning creates conditions for upgrading the coordinating role of related USSR Gosplan subunits and for insuring the extensive balancing and comprehensiveness of the individual sections of the national economic plan and of sectorial and territorial plans. A one-sided dominating role of any sectorial or territorial approach triggers a variety of sets of adverse consequences. Therefore, without weakening the role of the ministries in the solution of territorial problems, it would be expedient to free them from dealing with extraneous matters. Efforts to resolve problems of intersectorial nature or in the comprehensive development of areas, including sectors within the social infrastructure and others, through ministries and departments fail to yield the necessary results, bring about the "accumulation" of small and frequently primitive production facilities, disturb sectorial specialization and hinder the utilization of its advantages.

Insuring the organic combination of sectorial with territorial planning as one of the basic prerequisites for upgrading the effectiveness of economic management as a whole presumes the solution of the second problem as well: strengthening the territorial planning organs. Their specific functions do not consist of adding up or duplicating sectorial indicators but resolving specific regional problems such as insuring the comprehensive development of the regional economy, balancing territorial against manpower resources, insuring the economically substantiated development of sectors within the social infrastructure, adopting a comprehensive approach to the solution of environmental protection problems, and so on. All this presumes raising the territorial planning methods to a qualitatively new level and making the personnel and organizational structures of such units consistent with the resolved problems. They must not only be given responsibility for the solution of specific regional problems but corresponding rights and resources as well. In order to resolve the new problems methods for interaction between sectorial and territorial planning must be developed as well.

Program-target methods are assigned an important part in upgrading the scientific level of planning.

Comprehensive planning programs and methods for their formulation are not a recent invention. They have been formulated throughout the stages of development of socialist planning. Their purpose has been to insure the priority solution of key economic, social and technical problems and problems in the interaction among different sectors.

The imminent requirements of a modern economy, with its broad scale and high pace of scientific and technical development, progress in the social division of labor (in particular, the increased number of sectors) and fast regional progress require a systematic elaboration of comprehensive national economic programs.

As was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, their elaboration must be conducted "alongside sectorial and territorial aspects of the national economic plan."

The view held on such matters by Doctor of Economic Sciences V. B. Kirichenko and Academician B. P. Fedorenko is of some interest. In their view, the number of such programs should be limited (in the opposite case the scientific standard of their elaboration would decline). Whatever their level, such programs should be considered as organic components of the single state plan and their formulation and adoption, merely a stage in the elaboration of the single state national economic plans.

The formulation of implementation programs is equally important. Such programs are tools for the implementation of specific plan assignments. The Latvian SSR has acquired positive experience in their elaboration. The number of comprehensive programs, whatever their level, must be limited to a strict range of central problems. The distinguishing feature of performing programs is their rigid deadlines. They may be compared with a clock mechanism or a conventional conveyor belt. If one unit breaks down they come to a halt. Therefore, in order to insure the flexible development of the economy such programs must account for no more than 15 to 20 percent of the funds allocated for capital construction.

In discussing comprehensive programs we must note two conflicting trends. Scientific publications occasionally exaggerate their role and possibilities. Yet their role is obviously underestimated in planning practice.

Let us note in connection with the first trend that we cannot agree with attempts to interpret a set of programs as a substitution for the centralized plan. Outside the planning system programs are undereffective. This is vividly confirmed by the experience of the United States where over 1,000 programs are currently under implementation. As one of the methods of state-monopoly capitalism, however, their formulation and implementation has aggravated the anarchy and contradictions within the American economy and trigger new disproportions. A special governmental organization in charge of terminating and eliminating ineffective programs had to be created.

Programs outside the centralized plan aimed at replacing it or an excessive number of such programs would disturb the stable functioning of the socialist economy and lead to "program departmentalism" and new disproportions.

Special subdivisions (units) should be set up as part of the USSR Gosplan to manage the major comprehensive programs (intersectorial and regional, both of national economic importance). While considering this approach adequate, let us note that under the conditions of the renovated structure of the programs (in the course of their implementation), the organizational structure of the planning organs and, above all, of the USSR Gosplan should be not only stable but flexible and malleable. In order to achieve this, the personnel of the planning organs must be both stable and flexible. This would make it possible to create promptly and operatively, within the planning organs (for a specific period of time) units in charge of program elaboration and management.

Such measures aimed at improving the indicators and the planning methods and organizational structure would strengthen "both principles of democratic centralism" mentioned by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress and contribute to the development of an economic mechanism consistent with the requirements and conditions of the economy of the developed socialist society.

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NEW TYPE OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT AND COMPUTATION

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[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences I. Syroyeshin. Published as a basis for discussion]

[Text] For the first time in history the socialist system gives society the opportunity to design its own economic mechanism. The implementation of changes in it, as determined by the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Increasing the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality" is an example of such design activities.

The system of measures under implementation is based on two essential premises: activities within the national economy as a whole and within any of its units must be directed toward end national economic results; the goods and services needed by the consumer must be profitable to the supplier. These basic characteristics of the new economic management conditions cover the entire machinery of the planned regulation of the socialist economy, which must now be applied in such a way as to accelerate the development of public production and considerably upgrade its effectiveness. Our national economy offers tremendous opportunities and reserves for successful progress. "In order to utilize them," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum, "we must enhance the level of management in the broadest possible meaning of this term."

The numerical characteristics of the phenomena we try to influence are the very essence of management. It is precisely on this basis that we face the task of the quantitative correlation of end national economic results on a normative basis and of directly linking the incentive of economic units with the extent of satisfaction of requirements.

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The reorganization underway stipulates that the implementation of contracts (orders) plays a dominating role in assessing the activities of economic units and in the economic incentive of labor collectives. If this requirement is to be factually met we must be able to make comparisons among the end results of the work of any economic unit and the overall activities of the different sectors not only on the basis of the output of goods or of one or another value yardstick. The quantitative changes which piled up in the economy over a number of years led to a substantial change which gave priority to the physical aspect of the

production process and the immediate satisfaction of social needs. This put on the agenda the question of the establishment of new measurements with which to assess the dynamics of the economy.

K. Marx himself noted that finding social measures with which to determine the quantitative aspect of useful items is a matter of historical development (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 23, p 44). In 1921 V. I. Lenin indicated the need for a single measure of economic results. Thus, in his letters to the Gosplan and the Central Statistical Administration he called for "formulating... a kind of index-number to evaluate the condition of our entire national economy..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," [Complete Collected Works], Vol 53, pp 122-123). He emphasized that "without this we would be unable to make a survey of economic life. This is one of the foundations of Gosplan work" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 52, p 215).

Measurement of implementation of the basic economic law in the functioning and development of the socialist economic system is manifested on two levels:

On the level of the national economy (macrolevel), as an assessment of the contribution of any economic unit to the results of the work of the national economic system as a whole;

On the level of the individual economic unit (microlevel), as an assessment of the satisfaction of the needs of immediate consumers.

In a macroanalysis the products and services produced by the national economy could be presented as a flow possessing specific consumer, economic and technological characteristics. The flow itself has two clearly distinct characteristics: volume and structure. The overall criterion of the functioning of the economic system of developed socialism—end national economic results—operates as the structure and ratio among the volumes of goods and services produced, i.e., as a structural definition. We are able to assess the work of any individual economic unit and of the entire economy on the basis of end results by finding a type of measure which can assess the extent to which the two structures—requirements and results—come closer to each other. In this case planning, which controls the process of formation of the net product through the approved net production (normative) indicator, acts as the socially necessary means for regulating the coordination between the criterion (satisfied requirements) and the limitations (available manpower resources, funds, and so on).

The faster growth of the net (normative) output broadens the limits of possible variants in shaping the structure of the flow of goods and services and raises the attainable level of satisfaction of needs (end results) only if the volume of net output does not become self-seeking. Otherwise the pursuit of higher production reallocations, increases in the amount of labor used, and so on, becomes inevitable. Therefore, the decree on improving the economic mechanism specifically calls for deliveries "according to nomenclature (variety) and on time" as the priority characteristic of desired results. The problem is, precisely, how to express this criterion quantitatively.

In his work "On the So-Called Question of Markets" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 1, pp 67-122), developing Marx' reproduction theory, Lenin proved that the system of economic development in which the production of capital goods grows faster than that of consumer goods has certain economic and consumer characteristics which enable us to consider this system as more effective in terms of the development of the market. In this manner Lenin formulated an essentially new method for measuring economic development--its assessment through growth rates--and introduced economic analysis into a new area of quantitative comparisons--a comparison among structures.

On the basis of this idea Lenin was able to formulate and suggest a measure for end national economic results which specifically covered the extent to which the structure of the flow of goods and services approached the structure of needs on the basis of modeling the consumer, technological and economic characteristics of the two structures. The measure was formulated and tried in a variety of national economic subunits. Among others, it was applied to a light industry industrial association. What is the essence of this new measure?

Let us take as an example a shoe-manufacturing enterprise. A flow of shoes comes from its conveyor belt. The technological, economic and consumer properties of this flow change constantly. Their dynamics reflect the changes occurring within the collective and the restructuring of relations which determine the work system of the enterprise. Within the gathered and processed data on this flow the dynamics of changes is determined through the dynamics of the indicators used in planning and economic work.

Anyone suitably familiar with economic management practice knows that in the drafting and implementation of the plan the clash of opinions and interests takes place above all on the subject of the changes in the growth rates of mandatory indicators included in the plan or triggered by the conditions of its implementation. The point is that the level of indicators reached and their developed growth rates contain a powerful inertial force which is the result of previously made and implemented decisions. Pace changes are a different matter. It is precisely such changes or, in other words, the rates of growth of mandatory amounts, that introduce the new problems which the economic unit must resolve on a daily basis within the planned period.

Let us assume that in our shoe enterprise 20 percent of its output is renovated annually. The people engaged in preparations for the production process at this enterprise already know what to do and how to reach the stipulated rate of variety renovation. It is entirely clear that if the enterprise's plan calls for a 30 percent renovation of output the problem could not be resolved without innovation, a creative approach, or the search for additional possibilities. However, the enterprise faces a number of different problems at each planning period. Their coordinated solution could and should be contemplated through the interrelated dynamics of a specific system of indicators.

In fact, the "independent dynamics" of the "goods marketed" indicator would hardly inform us of the nature of the work system at the enterprise. The picture would become more meaningful by adding the "expenditures for production preparations" indicator. Either of these indicators may develop differently in time: marketing may outstrip expenditures or expenditures may outstrip marketing. Clearly, the former would be preferable; perhaps, taking all possible technological and economic characteristics into consideration, the enterprise should eliminate from its work systems in which outlay for preparations for the production of new goods per ruble of goods marketed would increase.

To these two indicators let us add a third—"net (normative) output." These three values may make six alternatives possible. Consequently, the enterprise could plan only on the basis of separate work systems. Obviously, the most preferable would be the one in which the net (normative) output indicator would rise faster than that of goods marketed, while the latter would outstrip the increase of outlays for production preparations. In this case the share of the enterprise's contribution to the national income in the goods sold would increase while outlays for production preparations would be economical. However, the situation with the quality of the shoes remains unclear. Let us add the "quality penalties" indicator. This will raise the number of possible work systems (indicator dynamics) to 24. It is obvious that the new indicator should be the last in a model order of dynamics of the chosen values. Only in this case would the search for new technologies, models, colors, and so on, be economically justified and lead to improved consumer qualities.

Finally, let us add the indicator of the "number of pairs of shoes bearing the Emblem of Quality." The dynamics of the five indicators already create 120 different structures of consumer, economic and technological characteristics of the product. With a model work system the production of high-quality shoes (pairs) should grow faster than the remaining four indicators. Its growth in terms of the volume of goods marketed will guarantee an increased percentage of good quality shoes in the flow. The faster dynamics of the same indicator in terms of net (normative) output would reflect a steady lowering of labor outlays per pair of shoes. The dynamics of the three values—the production of good quality shoes (in pairs), outlays for production preparations, and quality fines—in that order—would provide a full range of positive aspects in the work of the enterprise: observance of technological discipline, justified research for new products, and timely renovation of variety. Therefore, the model work system would offer the following order of indicator dynamics: production of good quality shoes in pairs—net (normative) output—goods marketed—outlays for production preparations—quality penalties.

Let us now imagine that this system of dynamics of the five indicators has been codified as an economic dynamic norm of end national economic results of enterprise work. All remaining possible systems of dynamics of the five values could be compared against the norm in terms of closeness to the latter. Modern mathematics offers this possibility through the assessment of rank correlation. With such a norm the association enterprises would find it profitable to earn the Emblem of Quality not for small-batch output but for large-scale production, systematically reducing the cost of such models and seriously and extensively engaging in production preparations. The violation of any one of these requirements would mandatorily affect the growth making it fall behind the norm and the rating of the collective's end work results would be lowered.

Such norms could be formulated and used at any economic project or area of the national economy and in the economic and social development of the country at large. The dynamic norm operates as a model for the desired development of the system. It is a basis for the planned analysis of existing limitations and for the determination and consolidation of the type of order in their changes which would guarantee the approximation of end results to the norm. The latter becomes the guideline for planning. However, it will be based not on the repeatedly criticized "base" but on "the future" which will enable us to assess any factual plan and the factors which determine it in accordance with the objectives set by society. This will enable planning to acquire a new content as required by the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving the economic mechanism. Naturally, the practically used dynamic norms will have to be based not on three or five but on a larger number of indicators.

Thus, at the request of a central economic management organ, we developed a dynamic norm for the basic indicators of the country's economic and social development consisting of 18 values. They can be combined into millions of structural variants of the flows of goods and services produced by the economy as a whole. It is the basis for diagnosing basic national economic problems and elaborating the consolidated long-range plan alternatives. Therefore, it could be very useful not only in assessing results of past activities but in developing and refining long-term plans and programs for the development of the country's national economy for 5, 10 and 20 years ahead.

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As a system of restrictions imposed on the freedom of the economic managers, the plan is the cornerstone for the centralized management of the socialist economy. It is no secret, however, that today the plan does not fulfill very successfully the role of criterion in assessing the activities of production associations and economic sectors. Compared with the dynamic norm, a separate assessment based on end results could be obtained both through the plan and the chosen method for its implementation. That is how we determine the equivalence of results obtained on the basis of different technological grounds, materialized in goods and services. This is not the market equivalent of exchanging one product for another within the framework of direct contacts between suppliers and consumers. It is the social equivalent of the direct contribution of each unit to the overall results of the functioning economic system.

We believe that the dynamic norms enable us to increase the centralized management of the national economy by creating a kind of "guiding channel" for local initiative. The economic management organs will be relieved of petty supervision or detailed variety planning.

By insuring easy control over all directiveness indicators (net output, labor productivity, profitability, and so on), the dynamic indicators convert all of them into a single "reduced" characteristic represented by the numerical model of the future dynamic condition of the system. This makes a real opportunity for insuring the factual stability of the long-range plan and for surmounting the disease of its constant amendment of it.

While remaining stable, the dynamic norms are a factor which stimulates technical progress, for on the basis of a given dynamic norm a trend advantageous to the entire national economy develops in terms of changing specific outlays of raw materials, materials, labor, and capital per unit of output, service, or applied technologies. As they strive to reach the norm, the enterprises begin to struggle to achieve such changes.

The dynamic norms enable us to develop in a new way automated systems for plan computations. Obviously, under the new economic management conditions, the single foundation of ASPR [Automated Plan Computation Systems] must be based on the solution of the common problem of assessing activities in accordance with end results. As the base for such an assessment, the dynamic norms could become the pivot for the systematic implementation of the entire set of planning computation procedures on a considerably more meaningful level than is to be found today in the elaborated and applied ASPR systems on different scales and for different purposes. Dynamic norms neither replace nor eliminate volume planning. They merely provide it with a different base, directing the plan on a long-term basis without tying the hands of the planning workers, for the norm regulates and assesses merely the order of growth of the planned values.

Acting as a measure of the final result the dynamic norms may easily become guidelines for the distribution of resources from centralized stocks and for a basic assessment of the work of collectives. They could become a base for summing up the results of the socialist competition. Finally, initially based on the considered indicators, in the course of their utilization the norms would enable us to determine substantiated changes in the very content of the accounts, and to eliminate a great deal of unnecessary data currently flowing along administrative channels.

The elimination of petty supervision while retaining control over the overall dynamics of the economic units enables us to achieve simultaneously two objectives: a sharp increase in the flexibility with which each unit behaves in accordance with changing internal and external conditions and a drastic lowering of deviations of the entire system from its set course. Thus, a study of national economic data based on the norm consisting of 13 indicators, covering the period of 1958-1978, shows that despite the steady growth (in absolute terms) of each individual value the curve of end results (level of satisfaction of requirements) did not rise steadily and continually over that period. Within that time it declined on several occasions in the annual estimates compared with the preceding year.

As a base for computing national economic equivalence, the dynamic norms should provide only macroregulating management procedures. They cannot detect and eliminate conflicts or disagreements on the level of an individual "supplier-consumer" couple which calls for a precise nomenclature coordination between deliveries and consumer requirements. Such coordination could be insured only on the basis of microregulation which is based on the principle that it is to the advantage of the producer to meet the needs of the consumer, used in our economy.

IV

Addressing the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "The system of plan indicators and material incentive should be structured in such a way that the personnel of each unit may be interested in providing the consumer with the largest possible amount of high quality goods.

The July 1979 decree was already a major step taken toward the solution of this problem by legalizing the priority of the implementation of contracts (orders) based on nomenclature (variety) and deadlines in assessing the work and determining the economic incentive of production collectives. However, in order for the microregulation mechanism to work reliably on the basis of criteria, now determined on a directive basis, it is our profound conviction that it must encompass quite adequately the qualitatively new characteristics of socialist commodity-monetary relations and of the socialist market as the organizational form for their implementation. In a public production process based on a sufficiently developed division of labor any economic unit operates both as consumer and supplier. The essential feature of the socialist market is that relations between supplier and consumer take place through the plan and the activities of the planning organs which represent the interests of the entire national economy in the course of the development of relations between any "supplier-consumer" couple. Such an intermediary role performed by the plan will increase even further as long-term economic relations become stronger. In socialist trade the activities involved in the purchase and sale act always cover three units: supplier-planner-consumer. The limitations imposed by the plan convert this act into an economic exchange involving the entire economic system.

In the course of this exchange, acting as consumer, one or another economic unit builds its economic relations on the basis of a choice, relying, above all, on a relative assessment of the suitability of goods and services used. In selecting the technology for the manufacturing of a product and consuming raw materials and energy, and assigning workers in the various production sectors, the consumer always takes into consideration and surmounts restrictions on resources available to society at the given time. He must use them thriftily and economically, thus lowering the overall pressure which the existing limitations exert on the economic system as a whole and insuring the largest possible increase of new value per unit of expended materials. Under the new economic management conditions this process of creation of the national income is controlled by the plan through the profit and net (normative) production indicators.

However, whereas the procedural aspect of the strategy of stimulating the economic unit as a consumer has been relatively well studied and developed, this does not apply to the second aspect of microregulation--encouraging the economic unit in its supplier role. A number of unresolved problems exist in this area. The new economic management conditions unequivocally stipulate that, acting as a supplier, any production unit must entirely subordinate its activities to the satisfaction of public requirements in accordance with the plan and contractual stipulations. Every supplier faces social requirements represented by the specific requirements of the consumers assigned to a given supplier in accordance with the plan and the contract.

Our entire previous experience in economic management convincingly proves that the behavioral strategy adopted by the supplier in the course of the economic exchange of activities based on the profitability of goods produced and services rendered may harm the interests of the consumer or result in delivery failures harming the producer, and so on. The question arises of adopting an essentially new basis for the behavioral strategy of the supplier consistent with the new economic management conditions.

The purpose of microcontrol of the activities of the economic unit in its role as a supplier is no longer to insure the creation but the distribution of the net income. Here the physical aspect of the results of economic management assumes priority. Obviously, the delivery or nondelivery of a given product to various consumers would bring about different end results in the work of the economic system as a whole. Therefore, the type of activity conditions which would develop if deliveries to consumers which play different roles in the economy break down is important to the system.

The best supplier to the socialist market is the one unnoticed by the consumers, for in this case its greatest benefit is their normal work in pursuit of the common objective. Consequently, if the potential of the supplier and the need of the consumer for his items are balanced by the plan the necessary prerequisite for such activities becomes available. In such a case the net income remaining at the disposal of the supplier is related not to the value of the products he manufactures but their worth to the consumers for whom the given supplier works, providing them with everything they need and mobilizing all production resources at his disposal.

Within the framework of the general theory of economic systems we are developing, any type of activity is considered in terms of a set of operations with three systems parameters: structure of the operations, procedure for their execution, and allocation of the time they require. We could make comparisons among the individual units on the basis of the share of such operations (in terms of structure, sequence and duration) chosen by the participants in such activities themselves. Without eliminating or abolishing any one of the familiar economic indicators, the relative assessment of all economic units on this basis expands the possibilities of the economic mechanism in a very important direction: It enables us to tie advantages derived by the supplier to the working conditions of the consumer.

Deadline or specification delivery breakdowns disturb the normal operational regimen of the consumers. This harms the entire economic system which must cope with such internal breakdowns using its own reserves. It is clear, however, that depending on the freedom of the choices available to the consumer who has suffered as a result of delivery breakdowns, the outlay of reserves within the system will have different intensiveness and duration characteristics, whatever form or structure such reserves might have. Thus, holding back for a week supplies needed by an "ideal" conveyor belt would enable it to perform any task with precisely a week's delay, for a zero choice available to the personnel running the conveyor belt leaves no reserves able to compensate for the lost week. The very availability of even a most insignificant possibility to maneuver would make it possible to catch up with this lost week over a very long period of time. The

greater freedom of choice a consumer has the more intensively could reserves be used and the shorter will the period of restoration of the normal working regimen within the system at large be. In such a case the main idea of tying the supplier to the interests of the consumer would be reduced to the following: The supplier would insure his greatest benefits and best protection of his interests only if, first of all, he does not obstruct the work of any one of his consumers and if he secondly, does not keep in reserve his own capacities (creative potential) but uses them to broaden the range of units serviced or act directly as a source of reserves for the economy at large.

V

The changes introduced in the economic mechanism determine the "technology" of stimulating production collectives under the new economic management conditions: steady contributions are made to the economic incentive funds, based on profits. The dynamics of the levels of such funds could go either way: They could increase (with good work) or diminish (with poor work). The incentive is based on several criteria, the principal among which is the implementation of delivery obligations. The conversion of this set of conditions into an integral complex of incentive rules and procedures, in our view, could precisely contribute to the suggested assessment of the individual economic units based on the freedom of choice at their disposal. It provides a new lever for the centralized control of economic activities in areas in which, to this day, we have shortages of economic means of influence and enables us to keep track of the level of satisfaction of consumer requirements as an addition to the existing mechanism for setting the prices of goods and services.

The commensurability of consumers assigned to a supplier, based on the freedom of choice at their disposal, indicates the relative size of their potential role with changing the flow of products and services created within the economy and acts as the quantitative expression of the extent of their participation in end economic management results, as a "consumer price" of the system. Therefore, withholdings from profits for the economic incentive of the supplier, applicable to the share related to the main incentive criterion established with the decree, must be directly proportional in the suggested system to the freedom of choice of the individual consumers while the duration of the period of responsibility for failure of delivery supplies should be inversely proportional to the same assessment. In this case the estimated payments to the funds (or their withdrawal should contractual conditions be violated) should be based on rates per ruble of overall sold net output of individual consumers. In fact, the continuing accounting operations which this requires have long been applied in properly working associations (enterprises) which practice proper cost accounting. The use of computers would entirely eliminate all other technical difficulties.

The introduction of such a system would face the supplier with an essentially new situation of economic choice. If the plan, contracts, and capacities are balanced all consumers will be satisfied, for no one would harm anyone else, and the maximum amount of assets will go to the supplier. In the case of disparities between capacities and obligations, the choice of actions at the disposal of the supplier would be based less on the comparative value of products and services than on the relative value to the consumers.

With the incentive methods used so far, the supplier was guided only by the profitability or unprofitability of goods. Finding himself in a difficult situation, as a rule, he hindered the operations of all his consumers. Under the effect of the suggested fund-forming procedure, a supplier in a difficult situation would be concerned, above all, with the consumers whose failure to receive the necessary deliveries would be most harmful to the interests of the entire national economy. Naturally, this is merely a rough outline lacking detailed control procedures. What is important, however, is to emphasize that the suggested principle for making withholdings would concentrate within itself all basic aspects of incentive as stipulated in the new economic management conditions.

Naturally, the question arises of how to directly stimulate higher labor productivity and profits, and to improve production quality. In our view, the requirements of stable growth of labor productivity and profits and systematic improvements of production quality can be easily included in a macroregulator (in dynamic norms) by making a certain percentage of the economic incentive fund of a sector or association (enterprise) dependent on the degree to which the factual work regimen approximates the standard.

We believe that a number of important results could be achieved through the suggested procedure for providing economic incentives to the individual units within the economic system. The deliveries contract would automatically become the center of all operations. The accumulation of economic incentive funds of suppliers would be based on the absence of claims. The organizing role of the plan as a whole would rise sharply, for, on the one hand, it would be controlled by the dynamic norms and, on the other, by the dynamics of the fund of those who are fulfilling the plan. In the overwhelming majority of cases, under such circumstances, the breakdown of deliveries would be caused not by the carelessness of the supplier or his lack of interest but by the disparity between the social assignment (the plan) and the factual resources and skills of the performer. By considering planning a service we could, in such a case, include the planning (economic management) organs as well within the overall system of responsibilities for the end results of the operation of the entire system. On this basis the formulation of the plan would become more extensive and the organizational work for its implementation would become more purposeful both on the part of those who draft and those who execute the plan.

The possibility would arise of establishing reserves and creating insurance funds. In order to accumulate reserves and the potential to cope rapidly with developing economic breakdowns, the economic organizations could conclude two different types of insurance contracts. In cases of deliveries of materials and goods for general purposes (such as, for example, coal, timber, cement, wire, and so on) the contract would be focused on insured deliveries. This would mean that, after determining his possibilities, the consumer would sign a contract with the USSR Gosnab according to which he would give up, for example, two percent of the amount of coal allocated to him in accordance with the five-year plan, to be kept as Gosnab reserve it would assume the counterobligation to compensate for possible breakdowns. There would be no reason to fear any padding of planned orders, for the dynamic norms would control the harmonious work of the system. In cases of deliveries of special items of equipment and assemblies whose production may be a monopoly in one or another respect (i.e., no replacements could

be found), the consumer could insure not the delivery but his own economic incentive funds, which would suffer should deliveries break down, for in such a case that particular unit would be forced to let down its own consumers.

This leads to the formation of a closed system of "automatic" control of the entire delivery system. We have used quotation marks for the word "automatic" for two reasons. First, because such automation represents an economic self-tuning of the economic mechanism within the framework of the freedom of behavior of its elements granted by the plan and the dynamic norms; secondly, the plan remains the initial and final point of the overall direction of the work of the system and the suggested procedures would act as its cost-accounting shield, strengthening the power of the centralized management of the economy.

Bank control over the formation of funds based on the "consumer price" (information on intensiveness of fund accumulations or losses suffered by the "culprits") would provide the type of running information on the course of the implementation of the plan which, combined with data based on the dynamic norms, would enable us specifically to determine possible planning errors. Finally, the task of implementing a system of dynamic norms and controlling the operation of the incentive system based on the "consumer price" would be up to the capability of the computer and the meaningful economic aspect of the establishment of automated control systems would be provided with the necessary justification.

VI

Dynamic norms and "consumer prices" could be applied to the operating economy on an independent basis and in any sequence even though, naturally, the maximum overall effect of the end results achieved by the economy may be possible only with their combined and well-planned and prepared utilization. Let us note that the dynamic norms could be applied in all areas of activity, something which could not be said of the incentive procedure based on the "consumer price." This procedure is consistent with the economic conditions of the work of industry, construction, transportation and organization of the scientific and technical area. However, it would not be sufficiently accurate in determining, for example, the characteristics of the work of commercial enterprises selling goods to the population or the activities of similar economic units. Such units operate directly on the basis of a consumer market, for which reason direct plan control over the consumer is possible in this case only through the wage funds. Consequently, the incentives for such suppliers should be related to their own free choice and, from the quantitative viewpoint, would depend on delays in commodity supplies or the idling of service capacities. For example, this would mean that the longer a shipment of shoes remains unsold in a store, the lower will be the economic incentive funds available to its collective. In this case, the greater the freedom enjoyed by a given trade unit is the stricter would withholdings become should the indicators of operating speed worsen, and vice versa.

The organizational and the technical aspects of the application of dynamic norms have been tried experimentally. Currently work on their elaboration and utilization is being done in the electrical engineering industry. Experimentation is virtually excluded in the area of providing incentives based on the "consumer price." For this reason, in this area work is being done on testing the viability

of the suggested principle on the basis of a new promising simulation method--the so-called management games.

Management games promise a great potential for improving the rules and procedures of national economic management. Management games, whose participants are the personnel of the factual economic management system, and whose conditions achieved maximal approximation of practical work, provided by a computer, offers the opportunity for experimental testing of the future development of the simulated target several years ahead. The game takes several days. During such testing a single period of time could be "lived through" several times and different planning strategies may be tested.

On the surface simulation games may seem expensive. Thus, rough estimates indicate that the creation and equipment of a center for large-scale simulation of economic policy may cost 15 to 20 million rubles and involve several hundred skilled personnel and take 4 to 5 years for the development of the project and the creation of the initial suitable simulation programs. We must bear in mind, however, that once established, a good game could be used for a number of years.

The business games already conducted have indicated that prerequisites needed for doing serious work in this direction have already been met. Clearly, it would be expedient to create a special simulation center for testing and perfecting measures for improving the economic mechanism at large covering a long period of time (under the USSR Gosplan or as one of its subdivisions). This would not exclude the possibility of simultaneously establishing other centers dealing with other complex sets of factors or programs.

Thus, the adopted decree particularly emphasizes programs on the conservation of fuel and metals, the development of the BAM [Baykal-Amur Main Line], reducing the use of manual labor, and increasing the production of new consumer goods. Each such program would involve dozens of sectorial and territorial economic management organs. The building of testing facilities which would reproduce conditions and computations related to the joint work of such organs within each program would yield tremendous organizational and economic savings. Even the roughest possible estimate of the funds and the time needed for the establishment of such centers could clearly be considered in terms of kopeks compared with the amount of labor and resources whose coordinated use the center must simulate.

Computations based on dynamic norms and "consumer prices" may substantially vary in terms of content. Dynamic norms do not require the gathering and processing of any sort of special data. Each sector or association (enterprise) could draft its norms and submit them for the approval of specialists qualified to understand the rules of its "designing." Defining the composition and correlation among norms based on the national economic management structure is a more complex matter. The CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of Party and State Organs" demanded its improvement. This means that determining the composition of the dynamic norms and the elaboration of a general system for the economic management structure as a whole could be considered inter-related tasks.

The setting of "consumer prices" would require an initial assessment of the freedom of choice of all economic organizations involved in the proposed incentive method. Experiments have indicated that the necessary computations could be centralized with the help of local special research data based on a specific program similar to the one used in the population census but somewhat more complex. Obviously, such a project could be most successfully carried out by the state statistical organs because of their experience, available personnel and access to necessary data. Let us add, as a start, that it would suffice to rate all economic units on the basis of their freedom of choice, "grading" them in the same way that enterprise categories are set. Naturally, such grading would have a different basis.

Any constructively elaborated and purposefully applied change in planning and economic practice leads to changes in the manageability of the economic system. New decision-making conditions arise. As regards the suggested measurements, we could confidently mention two things. First, the manageability of the public economy would increase substantially, for the information presentation of its dynamics would be simplified and it would become more complete and less contradictory. Secondly, the work of the people in an economic system based on the new ratings will enjoy more developed conditions of democratic centralism, for the level of unity of ratings, coordination of actions, and centralization of the plan for the entire economy would be increased and the possibilities of displaying local initiative would be broadened.

The computations we have made on the dynamic norm based on 18 indicators for the purpose of evaluating the structural aspect of the country's economic and social development have indicated that given the existing capital, technology and cadres, a change in the economic system would bring national economic results considerably closer to the norm. Consequently, if we consider end national economic results as the level of satisfaction of public requirements, even on the basis of the present material foundations, the possibilities of its growth are far from exhausted. This, however, calls for providing factual economic practices with new conditions consistent with the measurement equipment. The dynamic norms and "consumer prices" suggested here could, in our view, offer a major support to the set of measures which must be implemented in our national economy in the next five-year plan and on a longer-range basis.

5003

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PROFESSION OF THE OBSESSED

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 80 pp 47-55

[Article by G. Beregovoy, USSR flyer-cosmonaut, honored test pilot of the USSR, twice Hero of the Soviet Union, and Candidate of Psychological Sciences and Doctor of Medical Sciences Prof V. Ponomarenko]

[Text] Like people, professions have their own features, character and prestige. F. Engels even wrote that each profession has its own morality. This means that the profession faces man with an alloy of requirements developed over many generations and that a person could most clearly determine his business, creative, ideological and moral qualities only within the labor collective and not outside of it. The interrelationship between professionalism and morality is most clearly visible in activities which require maximum dedication and would be inconceivable without the highest possible responsibility and civic-mindedness and would not recognize any distinction between "mine" and "ours," and between vocation and duty.

Unquestionably, the profession of test pilot is among them. Nowhere else does man assume such great importance in assessing the achievements of a major collective. Here individuality acts both as a measure of uniqueness and of the complexity of a given type of work and as a measurement of its social usefulness. An exploit for the sake of the people and their future becomes here almost a commonplace phenomenon stemming from the very nature of the daily work of the test pilot.

It is not astounding that this profession molds a set of qualities which already today enable us to speak of the member of the communist society as of our contemporary. It gives us examples of the live embodiment of the ideal of a comprehensively and harmoniously developed individual whose social and moral-psychological features are inseparable from their labor foundation.

In aerial navigation, as a profession, the sky begins with the ground: with the creation of a flying machine: a glider, airplane, helicopter, or space ship.... From the engineering viewpoint these are technical items like dozens of others; to the production worker they are one of the hundreds of thousand of items produced by industry. Nevertheless, the birth of a new plane or space ship is a national event, a measure of technical and intellectual progress. A flying machine focuses within itself the real and the potential power of the human mind and energy and combines the achievements of at least 40 to 50 scientific, technical, or production sectors. In this sense it becomes a kind of testing ground for the basic ideas and most daring undertakings of man.

As a complex organism, an airplane is made of a number of parts and particles each of which performs specific technical functions. However, it becomes reality only in the test flight. Each part is the result of thousands of computations, hundreds of tried alternatives and laboratory and bench tests, coordinations, adjustments and more computations--a sequence of tense days and sleepless nights for its makers. Yet, it is precisely the pilot who must breathe life into this offspring of hundreds of collectives and many thousands of people. He becomes the binding link between the designer's ideas and their technical implementation in the huge mass of parts and assemblies. Then comes the time when he is left alone to confront this structure made of glistening metal so that a decision on the future of the new flying engine could be made. He does not have by his side the general designer, the theoreticians, the production workers, the motor-makers, controllers, or systems engineers.... He is their one and only representative in the sky while they wait for his return at the airfield.

Everyone in aviation knows that in flight a problem must be resolved in no more than a few minutes or instants. In the sky there is no place for the good practical habit of looking, considering or seeking advice. But this is only one side of the fact that the test pilot in the air is left to his own devices. To a certain extent it is conventional, for it reflects a physical rather than a social fact. There is another side which is strictly social, indicating that the test pilot acts not only as "one for all" but as "one for each, too." All specialists will interrogate him. He is as necessary as a newspaper bringing unique and vital information on the results of their toil. He must return from his flight not with a subjective opinion but bearing the opinion of a professional in which are concentrated the speed of reaction of the athlete, the knowledge of the engineer, and the self-assessment of the experienced psychologist.

Unlike previous models, a modern airplane is equipped with complex control devices and computers. A number of operations and even individual actions in piloting, directional changes, selection of the closest landing area, and so on, are conducted by automated systems. This is not fortuitous, for a person may have to fly airplanes moving at two or three times the speed of sound, at an altitude at which nothing other than a black sky and a cold silence are to be found. In this case not only the flight-technical characteristics but the automatic systems are tested on the basis of their "partnership" qualities in piloting the craft.

The complexity of contemporary technical systems extensively using automation and cybernetic devices makes it necessary ever more frequently to consider their combined work with man not only as a technical but a psychological problem. The concept of technical complexity, naturally, is inseparably linked with any new flying machine. Hence, each interaction between pilot and machine must be analyzed from the psychological viewpoint as well. The fact that a flyer looks at an airplane as a living being could hardly be described as sentimental. Simply, it is a matter of the fact that man now acknowledges the machine as his partner and, in a certain sense, relies on its reliability in any difficult situation.

The reliability of a flying system and its individual assemblies are tested consecutively and comprehensively at each stage of the manufacturing of the airplane. However, the test pilot becomes the first to provide an overall assessment of the qualities of the airplane and its equipment in real flying conditions. This

assessment is always based on the social, the civic position of the pilot and of the entire design collective, resting on a single factor. Has the objective, the purpose of the machine been materialized in metal, does it fulfill its functions effectively and, finally, to what extent does the new flying system meet safety requirements? The substantive aspect of the test largely depends on the level and principle-mindedness of the question of the assessment of the airplane and the formulation of the results of test flights. In other words, the testing of the equipment and the technology begins with the personality of the tester and his attitude toward his purpose.

That is why we are fully justified in claiming that the airplane is born in the course of the tests thanks to the pilot. "...The machine known as 'self-flying,' a poet pointed out, 'did not fly by itself'" (R. Rozhdestvenskiy). At the very beginning of aviation, in 1910, the French pilot P. Ferber said that, "To invent a flying machine is not enough. To build it is still no great deal. To test it is everything." This statement may somewhat exaggerate the importance of test flights. Nevertheless, it reflects the particular attitude toward the daring profession of the test pilot.

How does one begin to be a test pilot? What is the importance of his personality and his life stance in the development of the idea of technical progress, the creation of a flying machine, and the methods used in training and insuring flight safety? The moral power of his professionalism could be understood only by understanding the sources of his noble spirit, character integrity, fantastic concentration and truly boundless loyalty to his vocation.

Working in close familiarity with test pilots of different generations proves that in the overwhelming majority of cases social requirements were the basic motivation for the choice of this profession.

Many people remember the party's call of the 1930s, heard throughout the country: "Komsomol members, to the planes!" This was followed by the mass thrust of the youth. All romantics and dreamers dreamed of Chkalov and of aviation. Everyone wanted to test himself in this difficult area. Today some of the names of this galaxy of young enthusiasts are well-known. Here is what these people say about their decision:

"Interest in technology, in aviation more than anything else, not 'drawn up' in drawings but live, working. Naturally, the active mass propaganda promoting flying as a profession played a part" (M. L. Gallav, honored test pilot of the USSR, Hero of the Soviet Union).

"The image of the flyers I saw in my childhood and adolescence (Kokkinaki Gromov) created an image which I wanted to emulate.... This was the age of aviation in general and of pilots in particular" (V. S. Il'yushin, honored test pilot of the USSR, Hero of the Soviet Union).

"I wanted to master an important military skill because of the rising threat of war" (S. G. Dedukh, honored test pilot of the USSR).

"I was influenced in my choice of profession by achievements in aviation in the 1930s, and by the exploits of our flyers in Khalkhin-Gol and the war in Spain" (S. A. Mikoyan, honored test pilot of the USSR, Hero of the Soviet Union).

Naturally, the choice has its purely psychological aspect as well. We must not forget, for example, a feature of the character of a flyer such as the desire to be first in everything, to be bold, to surmount an instinctive fear, to overcome weaknesses in the struggle against inevitable difficulties and doubts. These are the basic components of the character of the flyer, first, and the test pilot, afterwards.

The flyer begins to enjoy the flight simply as a person. He is flying over the earth, he could make it "big or small." He can see the sun above the clouds. He is a bird. This combination of unusual feelings of the freedom to control himself and the airplane in space creates a particular esthetic condition of the soul, the emotional base of the profession. The flyer enjoys the flight both in the course of his development and as a mature flight master. He is always like a painter using the sky as his canvas.

The test pilot does not begin with a heroic action. He is born as a result of the combination of his knowledge, professional data, character, and habits. Testing is the limit beyond which the most important thing is the extremely precise, the scrupulous implementation of engineering assignments. The dry lines on the flight sheet state that a given altitude must be reached—not higher and not lower (in this infinite ocean of space), a very specific speed, a specific load, and so on. The silent meters will determine whether the test pilot is bad or good. Yet precise work requires, above all, endurance and training. Initially, they are needed not even for the sake of surmounting extraordinary or critical situations but merely for routinely covering a flight schedule. Furthermore, a new airplane does not take off every day and few are the test pilots who test an experimental aircraft in a lifetime. It is in daily work that the character of the test pilot is developed, particularly that of spaceships. Like an actor, sometimes he has to wait a long time before playing his favorite role. The true test pilot, however, seeks and finds the satisfaction of the call of his heart in any routine flight as well.

Features of the test pilot's character such as accuracy, endurance, and obedience become the basic feature of his personality: work accuracy. Accuracy in the work of the test pilot is not a question of official pedantry. In a way, it reflects the active life stance. The long stress in conventional situations is the other side of heroics, of decisive actions in extreme circumstances. It is precisely this steady perfecting of professional qualities, increased theoretical baggage, and development of stubbornness that is one of the indicators of the maturity of the individual and his readiness for a civic exploit.

The development of a professional test pilot organically combines the development of morality and the molding of civic-mindedness and, finally, the acquisition of a valuable quality such as unity of word and action. A survey conducted among a group of test pilots led to the precise determination of this feature. The question was "What are the character features which are strengthened by being a test pilot?"

"Ability in moments of danger to calmly consider what must be done and not what would happen to me" (a test pilot since 1936).

"Ability to assess an error, whether one's own or someone else's, capacity for self-analysis and respect for others" (test pilot since 1950).

"Respect for man strengthens goodness, nobility, sensitivity and a feeling of responsibility for others" (test pilot since 1962).

"Knowledge of one's self. This profession provides an answer to the question of 'Who am I?' on the self-control and self-assertion levels" (test pilot since 1969).

What does this profession suppress in one's character?

"It suppresses irresponsibility, disorderliness, inability to maintain self-control" (test pilot since 1957).

"It suppresses thoughtlessness, carelessness, lack of discipline" (test pilot since 1951).

"This profession does not tolerate inertia, indecision, indifference or lazy people. It suppresses disorderliness, haste, and indifference" (test pilot since 1960).

The inviolable even though unwritten moral code of the test pilot exists on this lofty level of civic-mindedness. It may be reduced to an awareness of the main feature of the work: experimental equipment--the future of your homeland--has been handed over to you, to your conscience. The power of the national economy and the strength of the country's defense depend on this future. This means that the personal meaning of the work of the test pilot is woven within the requirements of society.

The moral and practical qualities of the test pilot undergo a special test through the selection of complex high-risk programs. It is clear to all that the more complex the test flight program is, the more prestigious and the better paid it is. But in agreeing to participate in this most honorable and responsible program, the test pilot is motivated least of all by material incentives, for his main purpose is not to harm the equipment or denigrate a new idea. As to the risk, the pilot is always aware of the challenge of the technology, the challenge to the man aware of his superiority over the equipment. It is the risk of the unknown. Naturally, looking deeper into this, we see confidence, sportsmanship, and pride in the best meaning of the term, and, almost inevitably, the possibility of unforeseen circumstances. However, there is also a supertask--to provide a new solution to a difficult problem at the cost of admissible risk. The test pilot considers risk a concentrated means for determining the moment of truth.

An imperceptible change takes place in the course of the development of the test pilot. There is the initial pleasure of the flight, the romanticism of plunging into the unknown, followed by work and more work, and only then, as a reward for such persistence, the pleasure from the job, maturely and masterfully performed, however stressed it might have been, and of poetry as a component of daily life. It is precisely on such a moral base that the stoic love of the test pilot for his job and the unconquerable need to be always part of the flight develop.

A working man named Aleksandr Alekseyevich Belov, a great specialist in his current profession, welding, lives and works in Gor'kiy. Once, following the call of his heart, he became a flyer. There was an accident.... He was crippled and forced to give up flying.... This was 30 years ago but aviation periodicals may be found on his desk neatly bound. Asked about them, he answers: "You see, anything could happen, the country may need former flyers, in which case I would weld a pedal to fit my shorter leg and go forth. That is why I read these journals, not to fall behind." This man has not flown for 30 years. However, he has not given up the feeling that he may yet fly. Nostalgia for one's profession is not an illness but the normal state of mind of the test pilot.

Yes, the flyer has great freedom of action. Yes, it is agreeable to command a machine rather than obey it. But let no one suffer from illusions. In this case freedom is a mark of trust, a particular respect shown for the person. This freedom is no more than the result of responsibility, its natural consequence. It is only the mature feeling of responsibility that gives the right to independence in the sky.

It is the specific nature of flying that dictates such independent behavior. In the air the pilot may control a number of lives. In a critical situation threatening the lives of the crew and his own life he is the one who makes the final decision. This right is assumed by the test pilot and becomes the touchstone for testing his moral and professional strength. What are the sources of this constant, this burning feeling of responsibility for carrying out the flight assignment?

The technology, purpose, and operational conditions of today's airplane have given aviation a new quality. According to some specialists, in the 1950s the cost of flight equipment lost as the result of accidents and catastrophes was assessed at \$430 million annually, whereas in the 1980s it may be in excess of \$3 billion. It is not a question of material losses alone, however. Human losses are immeasurably greater. One can easily understand how any manifestation of indifference or lack of principles in testing an airplane such as, for example, the IL-86 air bus (350 passengers) could turn into casualties causing social harm in the full meaning of the term. A test pilot cannot fail to be aware of his involvement in the test flight with a state assignment, an important part of a nationwide project. Suffice it to say that in 1980 alone 103 million passengers and about 3 million tons of freight and mail will be carried by air and over 90 million hectares of field and forests will be treated. The important social function of aviation is to provide people with the possibility to communicate, reducing huge distances to a few hours of comfortable flying.

Our aviation performs all these good and necessary jobs with strict observance of flight safety conditions. Here again we must note an important feature which is sometimes not fully realized: the safety of a flight on which anyone has the right to rely depends, above all, on the pilot or, rather, on the level of perfection with which he flies the airplane. For example, O. K. Antonov, the chief designer, used to say that airplanes will become perfect only when designed not only for passengers or freight but for the person who flies them.

This is a mandatory principle in modern aviation. The technical and the human, the psychological factors are two interrelated components of flight safety.

The special feeling of responsibility so common among test pilots, develops not only as the consequence of the practical tasks facing modern aviation. It is born from the depth of human relations which develop in the aviation collective. The point is that in a flight collective, in the final account, all work is eventually concentrated in the pilot. Engineers and technicians prepare the aircraft for the flight. Physicians provide information on the condition of the pilot's body; meteorologists report on the state of the weather while communications workers establish connections with control centers. Dispatchers and flight controllers supervise the air space and provide ground control; airport technicians create favorable landing conditions, and so on.

A careless weather forecast makes a flight dangerous. Careless preparation of the airplane for the flight may result in engine failure in flight. A poorly prepared takeoff and landing strip may cause a breakdown on the runway. Despite the great variety of human relations in the flying community, social, moral (justify the trust) and individual factors (be worthy of the trust, respect and concern) are always interwoven. To the flyer morality has a special meaning. It is specific and active. Here interpersonality relations themselves create a firm foundation for the development of moral principles. The collectivism of flyers is not merely a professional attitude toward the specialists who make the flight possible. It is part of the nature, a pivotal feature of their work.

An event in army aviation familiar to us may be used to illustrate this statement. Flying in a storm and short of fuel, a fighter-interceptor made a landing in bad weather. Pilot V. P. Lobanov could attempt no more than a single landing. Yet when he was less than one kilometer away from the runway he reported to the flight control center that he could not see the ground. The only solution was to abandon the aircraft. At that point, Yu. V. Proskuryakov, in charge of the instrument landing, violating the instruction, transmitted: "Volodya, I can see you, you look good, carry on." A few seconds later he reported: "You are over the runway, slow down." The pilot landed successfully....

Later, he said: "I had faith in Proskuryakov. He would always come to the rescue, he enjoyed great prestige among us." In turn, Proskuryakov wrote in his report that, "V. Lobanov is a cool flyer. I trusted his steadfastness and skill. I do not consider my actions risky, for they were the result of our many years of joint work." Leaving aside the official side of the question, let us note that both pilot and manager must have tremendous faith in each other to try a virtually blind landing. Several years later, in even worse weather (when the runway was invisible even at a distance of 100 meters) honored USSR test pilot V. Ch. Mezokh landed our TU-154 flagship. At this point he was already assisted by the automatic landing system and could trust his inanimate comrade--the machine. In this flight there were no violations of instructions or heroics. It was merely the routine work of a test pilot. These were different times, equipment, and requirements...

The social portrait of the test pilot of today would be incomplete without mentioning his high cultural standard as a typical professional feature. An explanation for this fact would be hard to find immediately. It is only by entering his

spiritual world that the following becomes clear: first, he is always discovering something new for his sake and the sake of his colleagues. Like a scientist he constantly lives on the verge of a discovery. The sky abounds in surprises. The new equipment he tests demands that he be always ready not simply to face surprises but to act in unprogrammed situations. Hence the high level of unconventional thinking, intellectualism in decision-making, and speed of reaction and, at the same time, a philosophical attitude toward life and its values, comparable perhaps to the wisdom of the ancients.

Whatever system he may be testing, the pilot is interested not merely in the structural solution, the nature of the equipment, its operational characteristics, and the diagnosis and consequences of breakdowns, but the link between the work of the system and the control of the airplane, the psycho-physiological characteristics of the person and, finally, the possibilities for training and flying under standard airfield conditions. He talks with hundreds of specialists, studies objective results, and substantiates the final conclusions for the benefit of scientists and designers.

The task of the test pilot is hardly that of "stretching" a rough idea or an inept engineering solution. His task is to find hidden design errors. The social "technology" of his work is to determine the role of the human factor in the development of a new flying machine, of considering "from within" the system of relations among equipment, men, working conditions, and management and control systems. We particularly wish to draw the attention of the reader to this point, for in any man-machine system the human factor becomes a particular humanitarian labor measurement.

It is a question, above all, of the attitude toward human error which results in breakdowns, failures and even accidents. Suffice it to say that in today's aviation over 70 percent of all errors are human errors. However, there are different types of errors. Some of them are indeed made by the pilot while some are the result of outside circumstances. The characteristics of modern technical systems and the changed role of man within such systems turn into reality so-called errors of design. Occasionally they are the consequence of the designers' poor knowledge of the psychophysical laws governing human activities. Here is an example. An experimental aircraft displayed a "peculiar" behavior. Whenever the landing angle was slightly inaccurate, the airplane would rock its wings. Whenever this occurred the pilots would make a classical error. Instead of lowering the tip of the plane they tried manually to prevent it from listing. Naturally, this made the landing rough for which they could not be blamed. The reason was that the angular turn created the so-called pose reflex, as a result of which the hand of the pilot subconsciously moved the control stick to counter the listing.

Such errors should be taken into consideration in the engineering solutions provided by the designer. They must be noted in test flights and assessed from the psychological viewpoint. This leads to the following questions: To what extent does the increased complexity of flying engines meet the requirements of humanizing the work? What to do to make the test pilot the real master of the situation aboard the aircraft rather than a reporter-observer of the work of "intelligent automatic machines?" Finally, the question arises of responsibility for an inept design of the airplane and of undetected flaws which subsequently burden the airline pilot. All these questions are passed through the sieve of the moral

principles of the test pilot who must energetically and impartially assist in their solution. Why conceal it, it may happen that for the sake of a false feeling of prestige a structural flaw is "written off" as allegedly unskilled technical handling or insufficient training of the flight personnel. This is something to think about. It affects the deep layers, the submerged rocks in the creation, testing, and operation of aviation equipment.

Checking the equipment does not mark the end of the testing. Considering modern technical standards, the tests are crowned by mastering the overall "pilot-airplane-environment" system. Why? Let us explain this with the help of several examples. Let us assume that the test pilot, having prepared himself in advance, having planned and mentally "played out" all possible consequences, would deliberately introduce a flaw and...would not interfere with the flight before the critical time. The time for the development of a critical situation thus gained is considered the maximum admissible time and is the basis for a variety of operational restrictions. In normal flight, however, equipment failures are not expected and the pilot may be simply unprepared for them psychologically. This means that under emergency conditions he would not always act properly. For this reason the anticipation of his actions, based only on aircraft test data, would be inaccurate as a rule.

Here is another example. While studying the consequences of a failure, the test pilot attentively watches the behavior of the airplane and the readings of the instruments. He promptly draws the necessary conclusions regarding their quality. It may happen, however, that in an ordinary flight a professionally trained pilot may act with some delay. Involved in another operation, the pilot may not notice the signal immediately; the instruments may be reliable by themselves but not within a specific "pilot-airplane-environment" system. The conditions under which the instrument signals were tested in a simulation of a real failure were not consistent with the psychological aspect of the activities of the pilot in a critical situation.

Recently, essential changes have been made in the interrelationship between "sensory data" (the personal impressions of the test pilot) and objectively designed instruments. Today even before the test flight a mathematical modeling of the airplane's behavior takes place on the basis of a number of physical factors. This is followed by a semi-simulated modeling in which a person (not necessarily a flyer) becomes part of the control and information system. What the researchers expect from the flight is a confirmation of the results of the modeling. Such is most frequently the case. It may happen, however, that results are confirmed while the test pilot remains unsatisfied. A discrepancy is found between a subjective evaluation and objective control data, i.e., the readings of dozens of meters, magnetic storage elements, on-board and ground computers. It is difficult and awkward to fight dispassionate meters. This is why the test pilot needs a knowledge of engineering which would enable him to translate his observations, feelings, and thoughts into the engineering language of facts and figures. The life of a test pilot is full of cases in which vibrations would reveal the coming of a threshold beyond which the plane is wrecked. The price of trusting instruments alone and overstepping this subjective line would be stiff. It may seem in this case that the role of the test pilot could not be clearer. Unfortunately, however, frequently greater trust is placed in a technical system, in a recording

instrument. Unquestionably, man cannot be absolutely accurate in his feelings about time and space or quantitative assessment of one or another value. This, however, should not lower his role as a witness.

Whatever his rank, the test pilot is a specialist who independently determines the fate of a flying machine or any one of its systems. Substantial successes or failures ride on his professional standard, way of thinking and feeling, and conscience — economic, technical, and even social. The consequences of the mass production and operation of an "unfinished" airplane are self-evident. That is why it is so important to maintain everywhere and at all times an atmosphere of faith in and respect for the test pilot. His right to a veto must be an unchallengeable law. The test pilot is the final and the impeccable filter after which there is only the truth, pure like spring water.

Aviation is tempestuously developing as a technical sector. The aviators themselves are growing spiritually. It is equally important for them to interpret the new social tasks facing aviation. Unquestionably, aviation will not lose its role among the technical means leading to social benefits. What is equally important, however, is that the profession of test pilot or even simply of pilot would develop high standards of culture, education, social consciousness and ideological maturity. The Soviet test pilots are, in the full meaning of the term, the winged bearers of the lofty ideals of humanity, courage, and spiritual beauty. They are the eagles of the tribe of pilots worthy of a people blazing a path to the communist future.

5003
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EDUCATION OF PATRIOTS-INTERNATIONALISTS

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[Article by V. Lomakin, first secretary of the Primorskiy Kray CPSU Committee]

[Text] 1.

The Primorskiy Kray party organization considers the raising of patriots-internationalists one of its most important tasks. The CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" emphasizes that the core of such work has always been the shaping of a scientific outlook in the Soviet people and a boundless loyalty to the party cause and the communist ideals, love for the socialist fatherland and proletarian internationalism.

The raising of patriots-internationalists today has its characteristics related to the building of developed socialism in our country and the existence of the powerful camp of the socialist comity. The Soviet people are proud not only of the successes achieved by our socialist fatherland but the achievements of the fraternal countries as well. They are ready at all times to take up the defense of their homeland and of any country which follows the socialist path.

Patriotic and international upbringing must be conducted on a differentiated basis, for this is an exceptionally delicate matter demanding of each republic, kray or oblast a specific historical approach and a consideration of local conditions and existing traditions and customs.

Promoting love for the fatherland begins with the profound study of one's native area--its heroic past and glorious present. Not everyone understands as yet the need for paying greater attention to the past. Thus, in our Primorskiy Kray, some people do not deem it necessary to study the prerevolutionary period of the kray's development. Those who do begin with 1860, with the founding of Vladivostok. However, the development of the kray began long before that and the founding of Vladivostok should be considered a specific stage, a result of the tremendous efforts of several generations of Russian people which began in the middle of the 17th century, when Russia reached the shores of the Pacific, an effort which was continued by the outstanding Russian travelers G. Nevel'skiy, M. Venyukov and N. Przheval'skiy.

Admiral Ye. Putyatin was the first to explore the Primor'ye Coast from Korea to Pos'yet Bay, as early as 1854. Subsequently, the ships of the Siberian Flotilla repeatedly visited the Petr Velikiy Bay.

The name "Vladivostok" appeared for the first time in 1859 in an order issued by N. Murav'yev-Amurskiy, the governor general of Eastern Siberia. On 3 July 1860, the "Man'chzhur" troopship, commanded by Capt-Lt A. Shefner, dropped anchor in Zolotoy Rog Bay. It was thus that Vladivostok appeared, not only as a military post defending the Russian border but as a bridgehead for peace and friendship in the Far East.

The city developed tempestuously: 20 years after its founding its population numbered 9,000; it grew to 36,000 in 1901 and 43,600 in 1905. Migrants came from Russia, mainly through Siberia. The road to the Far East was long and hard. The kray began to be settled more intensively following the organization of the regular sailing schedules by the ships of the Russian "Voluntary Fleet" in 1880. The development of the kray became even faster with the completion of the Siberian Railroad. Whereas between 1880 and 1889 24,400 people reached the Primor'ye, 172,500 came to the area between 1900 and 1908.

The kray's achievements in the development of industry and agriculture were shown in the Amur-Primor'ye 1899 Exhibition. By then Priamurskiy Kray numbered over 100 industrial enterprises, 41 of which were in Vladivostok. A major contribution to the development of the Primor'ye was made by M. Shevelev, who set up the first shipping company, A. Startsev, who built the first porcelain and brick plants in the area, M. Yankovskiy, who developed the first horse-breeding farm in the area and the cultivation of ginseng, etc.

Recently, historians were able to prove that A. Startsev was the son of the Decembrist N. Bestuzhev. According to his contemporaries, A. Startsev was a highly cultured and intelligent person and a good production organizer who dedicated a great deal of effort and energy to developing the kray's economy and culture. Speaking of a proper attitude toward the past, we must make a clear distinction between the contributions of the pioneers in the development of the Primor'ye and the best representatives of the Russian entrepreneurs, on the one hand, and the foreign merchants such as Cooper, Kunst and Albers who settled in Vladivostok at that time.

But we shall not idealize the economic condition of prerevolutionary Primor'ye. The Vladivostok town authorities and the authorities of the other Primor'ye rayons were not excessively concerned with the lives and fate of thousands of enterprise workers and hundreds of thousands of newcomers who led a pitiful existence. Industry grew and agriculture developed. However, as the proletariat grew the peasantry went bankrupt, swelling the ranks of the hungry and the poor.

The Primor'ye proletariat made itself known for the first time after the loss of the Russo-Japanese War, which was felt particularly sharply in the Primor'ye. Soldiers and sailors joined the activities. The uprising was fiercely suppressed but a Soviet system was established here as well, in the most remote outlying area of Russia, in 1917.

The proletariat and the toiling peasantry waged fierce battles in the struggle against foreign intervention. "The foreign imperialists who had allied themselves with the White Guards," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, said in 1966, on awarding the Order of Lenin to Primorskiy Kray, "appeared to be doing everything possible to suppress, to drown in blood the Soviet system in the Far East. What a large number of conquerors the land of the Primor'ye witnessed! It was trampled by the boots of American, Japanese, English and French interventionists. Kolchak's troops left on it their bloody marks. It was burned and tortured by the gangs of Kalmykov, the ataman-butcher; 'death trains' rolled there. But the land remained unconquered!"

The Soviet people will always remember the great exploits of the party and Komsomol members and nonparty people, of all those who, not sparing their own lives, fought in the Far East against the interventionists and the White Guards, defending the integrity and independence of the young Soviet republic. The "stormy nights of Spassk," and the heroic struggle of the partisans and the troops of the young Red Army who "ended their march at the Pacific Ocean," will remain as immortal examples of dedication to the cause of the revolution.

People of many nationalities joined in the struggle against the interventionists and the White Guards and in the restoration and development of the Primor'ye economy. The Leninist internationalist national policy has been and will remain a powerful cementing force throughout the life of our socialist fatherland.

The sons and daughters of over 80 nationalities are toiling in the enterprises, construction projects, sovkhoses and kolkhozes of the kray, on the ships of the Pacific Fleet and in the border units. The Primor'ye has dozens of villages bearing Ukrainian names, settled by migrants from the Ukraine at the turn of the century. Not far from Vladivostok is the Novyy Mir Fishing Kolkhoz mostly populated by Estonians. The base of the trawling fleet named after Shalva Nadibaidze is located in the vicinity of the town of Nakhodka....

Today the Primor'ye is the most developed and most settled area of the Far East. It accounts for one-third of the population and the same percentage of industrial and agricultural output and 80 percent of the maritime freight handled in the area. Compared with 1913 the kray's volume of industrial output has grown by a factor of 205. We have a fishing industry, equipped with the latest ships, an ore-mining, coal-mining, ship-repairing, machine-building, instrument manufacturing, timber procuring, ore-chemical, timber processing, clothing, and leather and shoe manufacturing industries. Maritime, rail, automotive and air transportation, power industry, modern postal-telegraph and radio communications and television are extensively developed.

Primor'ye has a highly developed construction industry. Every year we spend hundreds of millions of rubles in capital investments and build as much as a million square meters of housing. Major projects have been completed such as the deep-water Vostochnyy port, the very big Novospasskiy Cement Plant, the Primorskaya GRES [State Regional Electric Power Plant], and others. The kray's agriculture has changed unrecognizably. It has become a highly mechanized economic sector.

Education, science and culture have been developed extensively. The Primor'ye has 744 schools, 12 VUZs, 34 technical schools, a philharmonic orchestra, five theaters, 816 clubs, 802 public libraries, and about 1,000 motion picture theaters. The USSR Academy of Sciences Far Eastern Scientific Center is implementing a broad research program.

The Primor'ye people inseparably link the accelerated development of the kray's economy, science and culture with the tremendous help given by all the peoples of our country and the leading and guiding activities of the Leninist party, its Central Committee, and the Central Committee Politburo, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. In recent years the party and the government have passed a number of important decrees on the Primor'ye. We have been visited by a number of Politburo members and candidate members and CC CPSU secretaries. Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has visited our kray on three occasions. This clearly proves the party's and the government's tremendous concern for the accelerated and comprehensive development of the kray's production forces and the increased prosperity of the people of the Far East. The party members and all working people of the Primor'ye welcome this concern and attention with deep gratitude and profound thanks.

2.

The kray party organization pays unabated attention to the molding of a communist outlook in all kray working people and the development in their minds of the ideas of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, love for the homeland, and readiness to stand up in defense of the gains of socialism in our country and the members of the socialist comity. This is discussed at party conferences, aktiv meetings, and party committee plenums. We consider patriotic and internationalist upbringing a single interdependent process.

Such tasks are being implemented through effective means of ideological influence such as the political education and economic training systems. In our area 477,000 people--one out of two working persons--are engaged in the study of Marxist-Leninist theory. Another fact confirming the ever-growing interest shown by the Primor'ye people in the study of CPSU theory and policies is that in the past 10 years the number of people enrolled in the political education system has risen by a 2.5 factor.

The working people extensively studied Lenin's theoretical legacy on the national problem and the principles governing the development and strengthening of the friendship among the peoples of our multinational country and the members of the socialist comity and proletarian solidarity with the working people in the capitalist and developing countries in seminars, political courses and circles.

The heroic history of the Leninist party, the successes achieved by the Soviet people in the building of communism and the Soviet way of life are energetically disseminated. At the same time, the ideological aktiv is focusing its efforts on the propaganda of the foreign political course of the CPSU and the tireless and consistent struggle waged by the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries for detente and for the strengthening of peace and disarmament.

After the 25th CPSU Congress the number of theoretical, practical science, and method conferences and seminars on socialist internationalism and Soviet

patriotism increased in the kray. They enabled us to acquaint the aktiv operatively and on a high theoretical level with the practical experience of the best party and public organizations, properly to interpret the new problems raised by life and direct the people to the solution of problems. Concern for raising the standard of the knowledge of the ideological aktiv has firmly become part of the practical work of party committees of industrial and transport enterprises, sovkhozes, kolkhoses, scientific institutions, and VUZs. Leading party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic workers regularly address the working people. The Leninist ideas of internationalism are enthusiastically explained to the masses by 3,000 party committee speakers and 45,000 political informants and agitators.

The content and variety of political agitation have improved. Cities and rayons systematically sponsor question "and" answer evenings, information conferences, round table discussions, Leninist "Fridays" and oral journals. The kray's working people welcomed with great interest a new form of mass-political work--the single political day.

Propaganda through lectures, characterized by more topical subjects and a higher ideological standard, has been extensively developed in the kray. In 1979 alone over 21,000 lectures were delivered on party theory and policy in the field of national relations and problems of internationalism and the ideological struggle; 192 skilled lecturers were assigned to remote areas, border posts, and fishing boats and freighters.

Documentaries on union and autonomous republics and on the socialist countries are continually shown in the kray's motion picture theaters and clubs. Motion picture evenings showing the best films of union republics are organized. Lecturing offices on "our homeland," "glory to our free fatherland," and "we honor the homeland with our toil," are active in culture palaces and clubs.

The mass information and propaganda media play a noticeable part in patriotic and internationalist education. The press, television and radio focus their attention on depicting the achievements of our country in the building of communism, the nationwide socialist competition for the successful implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and of the 10th Five-Year Plan, and the propaganda of successes achieved in the domestic and foreign policy of the party and the government and in the Soviet way of life. Our press has defined the main directions for showing the patriotic and internationalist significance of socialist labor and friendship among the peoples and is actively exposing hostile propaganda and is neutralizing its influence.

The kray newspapers KRASNYYE ZNANYA and TIKHOKEANSKIY KOMSOMOLETS, the television and the radio regularly publish and broadcast materials describing the dynamic and comprehensive development of the Soviet Far East and the achievements of the fraternal peoples of our country. The kray, city and rayon newspapers have sections on "Around the Land of the Soviets," "In the Soviet Union," and "In the Fraternal Republic." Joint issues on labor accomplishments and practical experience achieved in the krays and oblasts of the Far East area are noteworthy.

Articles in the sections, "We Are Internationalists," and "Vietnam, Far and Near" have triggered a lively response among the readers of KRASNYYE ZNANYA. The Far

Eastern Book Publishing House has published several meaningful and interesting pamphlets for the ideological strive. This includes the operative publication of the pamphlets "Let Us Work and Win Like Lenin," and "The Greatness of the Exploit" on the subject of the trilogy by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] and "Tselina" [Virgin Land], describing the importance of these works in the further advancement of ideological upbringing.

The pamphlet "A Time of Great Accomplishments" was published in 1979. It describes the accomplishments of the working people of Primorskiy Kray in the year following Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's trip to Siberia and the Far East and the problems to be resolved in the light of Leonid Il'ich's instructions and recommendations.

The Far East Publishing House has initiated the publication of a "Library for the Propagandist, Political Informant and Agitator" which contains answers to the questions which the working people most frequently ask lecturers, speakers, propagandists, and political informants. The book "Kursom Internationalizma" [The Course of Internationalism] published by Dal'tadot covers a broad range of matters related to internationalist education. It contains a chronicle-reference section on the history of the development of international relations by the Primor'ye people. This work is for high-sea sailors and party and soviet workers.

The high feeling of internationalism of the Primor'ye people is described in the movies "Friendship Born in the Struggle" and "Meetings by the Ocean" produced by Dal'telefil'm. They were shown on central television and purchased by television organizations of socialist countries and the United States, France, Britain, and Japan.

The two all-union festivals of television documentaries entitled "Our Soviet Way of Life" played a major part in the internationalist and the patriotic education of the working people. Hero of Socialist Labor N. G. Popova, crane operator at the Nakhoda Freight Port and CC CPSU member, was chairwoman of the jury judging the last festival. The grand prize was presented to our fellow countrymen for the best competition films: "Meetings by the Ocean," which describes Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's visit to our area, and "Ocean," which describes the work of Primor'ye fishermen. Ukrainian, Belorussian, Latvian, Kazakh, Azerbaijani and Estonian documentaries earned high prizes as well.

The festival assumed a high political significance. It developed into a vivid demonstration of the friendship among the peoples of our country and a kind of serial describing the great achievements of the socialist way of life. The presentation of the best films shown at the festival on Vladivostok television allowed the people of the Primor'ye to become even better informed about the life of the working people in the union republics.

3.

The patriotic and internationalist upbringing in the spirit of the revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the Soviet people plays a particular part in the ideological training of the youth. General educational and vocational-technical schools offer classes in courage, organize detachments of red pathfinders, and

Pioneer wagon trains and rallies in honor of special anniversaries. Detachments of red pathfinders are in touch with veterans of the Civil and Great Patriotic Wars and the shock workers of the first five-year plans.

The "Varyag" children's military-technical club is very popular among Vladivostok adolescents. Here about 500 youngsters are learning navy skills. School children are receiving good patriotic training in military-sports camps, labor and rest camps, and detachments of young friends of navy seamen, pilots and border troops. The "summer lightning" Pioneer game is very popular among the children.

Exhibitions of creative works on patriotic topics, trips to sites of revolutionary, combat, and labor glory, and delivering lectures in plants, sovkhozes and kolkhozes have become widespread in work with VUZ and technical school students. The kray has about 700 museums of revolutionary, combat and labor glory. It has erected 146 monuments and obelisks, and placed 200 memorial plaques commemorating the heroes of the civil and Great Patriotic wars. At the proper dates honor guards stand around the obelisks and monuments consisting of pioneers and Komsomol members and representatives of enterprises and military units. Solemn roll calls take place and wreaths and flowers are laid at the monuments. Youngsters are accepted as members of the Pioneer organization and Komsomol cards are issued.

The V. I. Lenin Museum in Vladivostok, created on the initiative of party veterans and staffed by volunteers, plays a major part in the upbringing of the growing generation. The study of Vladimir Il'ich's life and revolutionary activities teaches our young people how to live and struggle like Lenin and how to steadfastly follow his behests.

The party organizations in this border kray are particularly emphasizing the development in young people of revolutionary vigilance and readiness to join the ranks of the defenders of the homeland. Close and unbreakable friendship ties exist between the working people of the Primor'ye and the personnel of the Pacific Fleet, the troops, and the border guards. The history of the Soviet people and its armed forces contains golden pages of many joint battles and labor accomplishments of the Primor'ye people. A tradition in the kray is a competition among draft-age youngsters for the right to serve aboard the "Primorskiy Komsomlets," "Vladivostok," and "50 Let Shefstva VLKS," navy ships. The noted "Brother Replacing Brother" patriotic movement began its march around the country at the Primor'ye border.

"Open Door" days sponsored by military subunits and a display of the equipment, weaponry, and conditions under which seamen and soldiers carry out their military service have gained a good reputation. Extensive efforts are being made in the border areas to recruit young people in voluntary people's units to protect the state borders. Close ties among army, navy, and border troop personnel, on the one hand, and the civilian population, on the others, help to strengthen political vigilance and defense capability.

4.

The stipulations of the 25th Party Congress on problems of the ideological struggle waged between the two systems are of great current importance in upgrading the level of the ideological education of the working people. Minimizing

the antagonistic contradictions and faults of capitalism and its deep economic, political and moral crisis, our class enemies spare no means in their subversive efforts against the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity. They try to weaken the attractiveness of socialist ideas and to distort the views on socialism. A weapon as poisonous as nationalism and great-power chauvinism is also used in attacking the USSR.

In our struggle against hostile ideology we proceed from the specific nature of our border area and the fact that a considerable percentage of the population frequently visits foreign ports and meets foreign citizens. Every year about 30,000 foreign sailors, tourists, representatives of commercial companies and foreign delegations, and members of the press, radio and television enter into direct contact with the kray's population. Over 300,000 foreign citizens visit our ships docked in foreign ports. Every year about 60,000 sailors and fishermen and over 5,000 tourists from the Primor'ye go abroad. We are doing everything possible to develop these contacts. However, we must take into consideration that bourgeois propaganda does not miss even the slightest opportunity for ideological subversions. They are focused above all on people lacking firm political training and who are morally unstable and are unable to independently find their way in the complex circumstances of the ideological struggle and accurately to assess our difficulties and shortcomings.

In this connection the party organizations pay particular attention to developing in the working people ideological convictions and the skill to defend their political views and counter the ideological sallies of our ideological opponents. We have created a specialized group of lecturers who discuss problems in the struggle against hostile ideology. The topics of the lectures and their quantity have been increased and their quality has been improved. In this we have been assisted by the scientific-methodical council on problems of ideological struggle set up by the kray's Knowledge Society. The mass information and propaganda media and the propagandists within the political and economic training system are working hard to expose imperialist ideological subversion.

We ascribe great importance to problems in the ideological struggle and the organization of international work by sailors, fishermen, and other specialists going abroad. Permanent seminars and courses and practical science conferences have been organized for their benefit.

However, shortcomings and unresolved problems remain in this complex and painstaking work. We have not as yet succeeded in encouraging all party organizations to consider the exposure of bourgeois and Maoist ideology an inseparable part of daily ideological-educational work. Some propagandists are still insufficiently trained for this purpose and, therefore, are not always able to skillfully propagandize the advantages and achievements of socialism. Occasionally the enemy's ideological sallies are being exposed without substantive arguments and with clichés. Unfortunately, on the high seas sailors and fishermen acutely feel the shortage of political publications, posters, and pamphlets on the USSR in foreign languages. Yet the foreign citizens who visit the Soviet ships are very interested in life in our country.

The decisions of the 25th Party Congress and the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions require all of us to increase our efforts to counter bourgeois and Maoist propaganda, expose its base methods concretely and aggressively, and spread among the people of all countries the truth of the Soviet way of life and the great accomplishments of socialism in our country.

Proceeding from these requirements, the kray party organization will continue to develop in the Primor'ye people high political vigilance and an uncompromising attitude in the ideological struggle. It will continue to improve the patriotic and internationalist upbringing of the entire population, particularly the youth, and encourage among them boundless love for the homeland, loyalty to the ideas of communism, and constant readiness to defend the gains of the Great October Revolution arms in hand.

5.

V. I. Lenin emphasized that what matters is not to "proclaim" internationalism but to be able to remain an internationalist even in most difficult times. Explaining the essence of this principle, Vladimir Il'ich wrote: "Internationalism in action can be one thing only: dedicated work for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country and support of (by propaganda, sympathy, or materially) the same type of struggle and the same line, and it alone, in all countries without exception" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," [Complete Collected Works], Vol 31, p 170).

Our party has always been guided by Lenin's instruction that the more significant the successes achieved by the first socialist country in the world the greater the support it will be able to provide to the global revolutionary movement.

"Resolving problems of the country's further development along the way traced by Lenin," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "the party ascribes great importance to the steady, systematic and profound upbringing of all citizens of the Soviet Union in a spirit of internationalism and Soviet patriotism. We consider these two concepts as inseparably linked."

The Primor'ye considers important the development of the comprehensive relations with foreign countries. The kray has the Vladivostok department of the Soviet-Vietnamese Friendship Society and the Nakhodka department of the USSR-Japan Society. More than 120,000 Primor'ye people are members of societies of friendship with 17 foreign countries.

Social and cultural relations are developing between the Primor'ye and North Hamgyong Province in the Korean People's Democratic Republic, between Vladivostok and Haiphong in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and sister-city relations between Nakhodka and the Japanese cities of Maizuru and Otaru and the American city of Oakland are maintained.

A good beginning has been made in cultural relations between our kray and the Mongolian People's Republic. Recently a Mongolian graphic art exhibit was held

in Vladivostok. It triggered great interest among the visitors and exposed us to the original creative works of Mongolian painters.

For many years our sailors have been honorably fulfilling their international duty to the heroic Vietnamese people. Shipments to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam play a particular role in the work of our shipping administrations. From the very first days of the founding of the young republic, Soviet ships have delivered freight to its heroic people. The Far Eastern Shipping Administration has been directing its ships to its shores since 1955, following the conclusion of the first economic and technical cooperation agreement signed between the USSR and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The famous "Friendship Bridge" which connects the ports of the Soviet Primor'ye and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam begins at the docks of Vladivostok and Nakhodka.

During the dirty war unleashed by American imperialism the Soviet Union supplied struggling Vietnam with substantial aid. In the period of military operations from 1965 to 1973, the ships of the Far Eastern and Primor'ye shipping administrations hauled hundreds of thousands of tons of various goods such as food, clothing, medicine, machine tools and instruments, and combines. About two million tons of flour alone were shipped. The trips to fighting Vietnam were truly heroic and required a great deal of courage on the part of every sailor.

In June of 1967 the MS Turkestan was attacked by the air pirates while moored in the port of Cam Pha. Electrician Nikolay Rybachuk was killed and Ivan Zemtsov, secretary of the ship's Komsomol organization, and five other members of the crew were seriously wounded as a result of the strafing. In May 1972 the shipping administration's ships "Pereyslavl'-Zaleskiy," "Tavrichanka," "Marat Kazey," "Zeya," and "Grisha Akopyan," moored in Haiphong and Cam Pha ports, were bombed. At the same time the American military undertook to mine the entrances to Vietnam's ports. The attempts to frighten the Soviet sailors failed. The unanimous decision was adopted to remain in the port and continue to work as planned. The MS "Grisha Akopyan" found itself in critical circumstances. Two bomb-carrying containers fell in the open holds, wrecked the deck cabin and damaged the starboard side. Fire erupted. Several crew members were wounded and a number of them suffered from burns. Bosun Yuriy Zotov was mortally wounded.

The memory of the heroes who fell for the freedom and independence of the Vietnamese people has been immortalized in the names of the new ships of the Far Eastern Shipping Administration, the "Mekhanik Rybachuk" and "Boatsman Zotov." These vessels are always welcomed on Vietnamese land with particular solemnity and warmth, thus showing the profound respect felt for the Soviet people who died for the sake of international fraternity.

The Soviet government highly appreciated the firmness and heroism of the Far Eastern sailors in carrying out the assignment of the homeland in hauling freight to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Over 300 Far Eastern seamen have been awarded orders and medals by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium for providing fraternal aid to the Vietnamese people in the struggle against imperialist aggression and for their daring and courage. The MS "Izhma" and the tanker "Ambarchik" were awarded the Order of the Friendship Among the Peoples for their

successful hauling of freight to Vietnam. About 150 members of the crews of the MS "Grisha Akopyan," "Marat Kazey," and "Tavrishanka" were presented with Vietnamese governmental awards--the Friendship Medal--while the ships themselves were awarded the Order of Resistance Second Class.

Since the war dozens of ships from the Far Eastern and Primor'ye shipping administrations have sailed to the shores of the fraternal country. The Vietnamese government has rated highly the contributions of the people of Vladivostok in helping Vietnam. Vladivostok was presented with the memorial red banner carrying the inscription "Long Live Vietnamese-Soviet Friendship!"

The people of the Primor'ye expressed their patriotic and internationalist feelings with particular clarity during the struggle which the Vietnamese people waged against Chinese aggression. At that time, within a very short period, the kray's working people contributed two million rubles to the peace fund.

The history of Primorskiy Kray offers a number of examples of selfless toil, courage, and heroism shown by the Far Eastern people in fulfilling their international duty. This has been reconfirmed by the efforts of our sailors, stevedores and other specialists in providing fraternal aid to the People's Republic of Kampuchea for the restoration of its destroyed economy. For such actions many of them were awarded orders and medals of the Soviet Union while the MS "Lyubov' Orlova" was awarded the Order of the Friendship Among the Peoples.

6.

The link between internationalist and patriotic education, on the one hand, and the molding in every working person of conscientious and creative attitudes toward labor, civic duty and high responsibility, on the other, is becoming ever closer. This is entirely natural, for patriotic and internationalist awareness is a powerful factor in upgrading labor effectiveness and quality in all communist construction sectors. This increased awareness is manifested, above all, in production results and in the development of the socialist competition.

Several years ago a new initiative was started in the kray: submission of labor reports. This means that the worker reports to the brigade on the fulfillment of his obligations; the brigade reports to the shift or the sector while the latter, in turn, reports to the shop's group. The assessment of the work is based not on production indicators alone but on morality and behavior.

We pay great attention to the development of socialist competition among the working people of the Primor'ye, Khabarovskiy Kray and Amurskaya Oblast, and among the collectives of similar enterprises in the kray and the union republics. Friendly relations have developed between the crew of the "BAM" tanker of the Primor'ye Shipping Administration and the builders of the Baykal-Amur Main Line. The seamen meet with members of the brigade imeni XVII S'yezda VLKSM. They have signed a socialist competition contract and competition results are summed up regularly. While visiting foreign ports and actively engaging in visual agitation, the crew of the "BAM" tanker tell the guests about the building of the Baykal-Amur Main Line. The personnel of the Far East Maritime Shipping Administration are competing with the Azov Shipping Administration; the personnel of the Primor'ye Shipping Administration is competing with the Latvian

Maritime Shipping Administration, while the twice order-winning Dal'zavod imeni 30-Letiya SSSR is competing with the Sebastopol Marine Plant imeni S. Ordzhonikidze.

The construction of the Novospasskiy Cement Plant, involving the participation of enterprises from the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kirgiziya, Kazhakstan, Uzbekistan, Lithuania and Latvia, was a specific case of internationalism and fraternal friendship among the peoples. The atmosphere of friendship and fraternity which prevailed among the representatives of the 30 nationalities building the plant and close production relations with supplying enterprises enabled the Primor'ye people to complete it ahead of schedule.

Production relations between sailors and collectives of enterprises and reindeer-breeding and fishing kolkhozes of the Yakutskaya ASSR and the Chukotskiy and Koryakskiy autonomous okrugs have become traditional. The crews of over 250 ships of the Far Eastern and Primor'ye Maritime Shipping Administrations and the bases and managements of the Dal'ryba All-Union Fishing Industry Association have established contacts with collectives of industrial enterprises throughout the country and Komsomol and Pioneer organizations in cities, oblasts and republics. For example, the crew of the MS "Gamzat Tsadasa" regularly corresponds with the members of the Alyya Parusa Youth Club which is in the homeland of the Dagestan poet. The crew of the MS "Suleyman Stal'skiy" is in contact with the international friendship club of School No 85 in Makhachkala and the working people of the Kolkhoz imeni S. Stal'skiy. The friendship between the crew and the working people of the Uzbek city of Bukhara dates from the launching of the MS "Bukhara."

In recent years the kray's seamen have waged an international socialist competition with stevedores in Bulgaria, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the GDR, Cuba, Poland and other socialist countries. This is yet another noteworthy contribution to strengthening traditions of fraternal friendship and mutual aid. Creative cooperation and mutual aid prove to the people the fruitfulness of relations based on the principles of socialist internationalism.

The Primor'ye delivers finished products to all union republics, the members of the socialist comity and the developing countries. The kray's working people consider the struggle for the implementation of plans for deliveries of goods for export the implementation of their international duty.

Our sailors, fishermen and tourists honorably carry abroad the high title of Soviet citizen. They act as energetic propagandists of the Soviet way of life and of the successes of our country in the building of communism. Back home the Primor'ye people describe to the labor collective and in the press the achievements of the fraternal socialist countries and convincingly expose the faults of the bourgeois system through specific examples.

In molding a high-level communist awareness in the working people we rely on the very rich experience of the party organizations of republics, krays, and oblasts. We have learned a great deal from the party members in Moscow, Leningrad, Belorussia, and the Ukraine in promoting the patriotic upbringing of the youth. We have borrowed some forms of work from the party organizations of the

republics of the Transcaucasus, Central Asia and the Baltic area in raising the people in the spirit of the principles of socialist internationalism. The materials of all-union practical science conferences on problems of the international education of the working people and of the struggle waged by the CPSU for strengthening the peace and friendship among the peoples, for the communist education of the youth, and the dissemination of the Soviet way of life offer us good support in our ideological work.

Closely united around the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the Primor'ye party members will continue tirelessly to work on the implementation of Lenin's behests, advance and improve their efforts for the patriotic and international upbringing of the working people and promote their political and labor activity in the struggle in honor of the 26th CPSU Congress.

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MORAL FACET OF THE HIGHER SCHOOL

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 80 pp 68-75

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Prof Z. Verdiyeva, rector of the Azerbaijan Foreign Languages Pedagogical Institute imeni SO-Letiya SSSR]

[Text] We have a talk with the young people entering our institute. In the course of this initial acquaintanceship some characteristic moral features and principles of yesterday's secondary school students are unwittingly revealed.

"Why are you enrolling in our VUZ?"

"I like the profession of linguist very much and have studied a foreign language since childhood."

"Do you know who the graduates of the institute are?"

"They are translators, guides... and foreign language teachers."

"We do not train translators and guides but only teachers and mostly for the rural rayons in the republic. You will be facing difficult entrance examinations followed by long years of painstaking study of sciences, linguistic mastery and, subsequently, work in a village. Are you prepared for this?"

There is a short pause for reflection.... Every time I tense up: What thoughts are passing through the head of this frail girl who only yesterday was probably still wearing her pigtails? Or in the mind of this well-proportioned adolescent wearing an army shirt without insignia, with a party card showing in his breast pocket? I look closely at the thoughtful young face.

The answers come: "Yes, I am ready!" "Yes, ready!" This is the virtually unanimous answer. Well, good luck!

It is thus that yesterday's high school students begin their independent university life. This life is full of hard work, complex decisions, important assignments, and daily concerns. No singing is heard on the eve of the examination. It is hard to believe that 5 years hence this same sweet and pleasant-looking girl would suddenly tell the assignment commission that she has no intention of going to teach in a village, submitting a copy of a marriage certificate, several weeks old, or else would suddenly vanish and, with the

help of a "good uncle," in violation of state legislation, begin her career in an institution quite different from the nature of the VUZ.

Unfortunately, such cases occur.

I remember considering a petition by the husband of one of our graduates who had gotten married for the sole purpose of avoiding the assignment. The moment her release came she instantly filed for divorce.... One never knows in life. At that time, however, what set us thinking most seriously was the fact that on the surface everything about her seemed ideal. She was a good student, was active in social work, was a Komsomol organizer for a while, and showed talent in amateur artistic work. In her entrance examination composition she had enthusiastically written about lofty principles and duty....

We had decided to assign her to a rural rayon in the republic. This was a topic of a major discussion by the staff: the extent to which we had been able to touch the heart of each student, promptly detect superficial features and distinguish between real character and external behavior. It was only after the fact that we found out that the girl frequently showed egotism in her relations with her comrades, and did not conceal from her fellow students her intention to do everything possible to remain in the republic's capital. However, no proper public attitude was established in her case to prevent the event from happening.

The moral climate of the collective and moral atmosphere within it are a major force. In this case the role of the party members—educators and students—becomes most apparent. Their political activeness and personal example in the collective are decisive tools in molding the high civic-mindedness of the future specialist. Yes, the VUZ party members and their party organizations are directly responsible for the condition of the ideological and educational work among faculties and students and in molding the communist convictions of the young people. Let us note that it is as important for a higher school graduate to have high moral standards as a proper amount of knowledge.

Under the direct guidance of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee, the higher education system in our republic has reached new landmarks. Annual meetings between the republic's leadership and the VUZ aktiv have become traditional. The VUZs mandatorily submit reports to the republic's party committee, the Baku city party committee and the rayon party organizations. This year a big republic conference of higher school workers was held attended by Comrade G. A. Aliyev, CC CPSU Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Communist Party of the Azerbaijan Central Committee, and Comrade V. P. Yelyutin, USSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education.

Our Nasiminskiy Rayon party committee in Baku is a positive example of the attention paid by the party to VUZ work. The all-round molding of the young person, increased ideological and educational work among young people, perfecting the system of specialist training, and upgrading the skills of faculties are, along with other items, always a part of its agenda. Its practical aid to VUZs is specific and effective. This may be confirmed, in particular, by the experience of our institute. The rayon party committee hears reports submitted

by the rectorate and the party committee. It organizes systematic meetings with students and the faculty aktiv. Through joint effort we determine the main tasks and directions of the work, expose errors in school life and in the organization of scientific research and earmark measures for their correction.

The friendly and unprejudiced party criticism and just remarks and instructions issued by rayon party committee workers and systematic control which, however, does not turn into persistent petty supervision, have brought to the VUZ activities the necessary efficient and healthy rhythm which has helped our collective to achieve definite successes.

The main feature in this area was the increased influence of the party members throughout the institute. In addition to strengthening the management of the party organization and the broadening of the party aktiv, control over the work of every party member-educator became even more effective.

The struggle against the deep-seated view that one's duty was done merely by being a good teacher proved to be rather complex. Everyone had to be made aware of the fact that today a narrowly understood professional attitude toward the work was no longer sufficient but that additional pedagogical and ideological-educational efforts were required in molding the personality of the student in and out of class. The sociopolitical activity of the educator -party members began to play a major part in VUZ life.

The attitude toward criticism and self-criticism was reviewed seriously. An efficient and impartial approach to speeches in assemblies and aktiv meetings, an emphasis on priority tasks, self-criticism in the assessment of personal activities and principle-minded judgments regardless of personalities are turning into a norm governing the behavior of the members of our party collective.

Greater attention is being paid to party member-students as well. In recent years they have not only increased in numbers but have become a true support in student trends and groups. Whereas previously party member-students accounted for only one-seventh of our institute's party organization, today they account for two-fifths of all VUZ party members; 80 percent of the student's aktiv are CPSU members. The numerical and qualitative growth of the party stratum among the students has helped in the enrollment of the most mature young men and women with practical experience and the joining of the party by leading students.

Sponsorship of groups by party member-students has become widespread. Ever more frequently the party committee and the rectorate have begun to assign to young CPSU members and candidate members responsible projects. Never have they been let down. Within the groups words by a fellow student who is a party member frequently have greater influence than a teacher's admonition.

It is precisely party member-students who recently initiated a serious discussion within the VUZ collective on important problems of moral upbringing, particularly on the struggle with philistinism, consumerism, indifference to social affairs, and so on. Thoughtful talks and heated debates took place in all the groups on true and false values, duty, and the consumerist feelings of some young people who either like to drive to the institute in their father's

car or wear expensive jewelry or religious symbols. Generally speaking, this is not characteristic of our young people. However, all of us know the danger of a weed which is allowed to grow undisturbed.

Unwittingly, we think of the moral lesson of last year's intensive cotton harvest, when the republic party committee appealed to the students to help the farm workers gather the rich crop. The overwhelming majority of the students participated, aware of their high responsibility and desiring to be of specific help to the homeland. Naturally, there were exceptions as well. There were some who cited all sorts of reasons in an effort to avoid socially useful labor (frequently helped by their soft-hearted parents). But, whereas an expensive diamond ring on the finger of a 17-year-old girl is a minute case of philistinism, indifference to vital social affairs is an alarming disease which must be treated by all available means.

While charting an uncompromising course on basic education problems, our collective does not ignore even the slightest violation of communist morality--immediate public reprimand and the adoption of proper measures follow.

However, not everything depends on us alone. Thus, for a while official requests submitted by very prestigious agencies became a virtually legalized method for avoiding assignments issued to graduates. Even though a student had not distinguished himself in any way in his studies or public life suddenly a "paper" would be received stating that he was an irreplaceable specialist and that a major governmental establishment could hardly wait for his services.... We have repeatedly turned to the party organizations of such institutions to determine what factually stands behind such "official requests" and have seen that with the help of friends as "sensitive" as they are, tender parents are trying to "organize" the future of their children at the expense of the state.

However, there are no interests higher than those of society. Their violation for the sake of private interests is incompatible with socialist norms. Bearing this in mind, we assign to positions which do require highly skilled specialists only truly deserving graduates.

On one occasion a member of our collective--a teacher of a sociopolitical subject, a party member--himself tried to do "everything possible" to get his daughter, a graduate of our VUZ, transferred away from her assignment to a rural rayon. He even went so far as to procure a fictitious health certificate.

He was strictly admonished by the institute's party organization. It pointed out that he himself was a teacher of a student-training discipline. Inconsistency between words and actions conflicts with being an educator.

The girl was sent to her assignment. We notified the party organization of the medical institution which has issued the certificate. The physicians were punished strictly. However, the girl's father felt hurt, claiming that he had been "undeservedly insulted," and that someone was trying to "settle his account" with him. He filed complaints at all party levels. The rayon party committee assumed a principle-minded position on the matter and the "petitioner" was issued a strict party reprimand.

Every teacher must be aware of and feel the high extent of his civic responsibility. This means that he himself must be on the level of the moral standards he must develop in the young generation.

N. K. Pirogov himself had pointed out that the real training subject is to prepare a person to be a person. Our best students must not be walking encyclopedias but, above all, citizens possessing high human virtues.

Whenever sociologists try to approach such matters on the basis of a formal scientific analysis, the general criteria which they would like to convert into a universal formula prove to be inadequate. In this case a concrete approach is mandatory. Every student is unique by virtue of his objective and subjective features and characteristics which exclude standardized prescriptions. The art of education lies precisely in determining such characteristics and finding the proper key to individual peculiarities in order to resolve the general (social) problem of training a socialist kind of specialist.

Let us note that, as a rule, today's student would not find it difficult to answer any question or provide an objective assessment of any action in accordance with our accepted rules of behavior. However, is he personally always able to act in accordance with such norms? Are his communist convictions sufficiently firm?

Practical experience is the only criterion in this case. It is provided, in particular, by the training itself and by successes achieved without any outside protection, through sociopolitical activity and in the course of the labor semester.

If all measures are assessed from the viewpoint of their moral influence, by the end of the school year we would have a sufficiently clear (even though, naturally, somewhat formal) picture of our efforts. However, we should not exaggerate the importance of the various scales and ratings. However attractive a quantitative measurement may be, it should not block a qualitative, a substantive analysis.

The system of student moral education requires an efficient organization. In turn, this must be reflected in the comprehensive plans for ideological-educational work carried out under the guidance of the party organizations. Let us emphasize the importance of coordinating the educational efforts of public organizations, particularly in the implementation of mass measures. It would be desirable to raise such questions more extensively at practical science conferences, meetings of the active and method councils, the press, and the mass information media.

The problem of youth education is a complex one. It calls for stimulating the awareness of the young men or women of their ties with society and readiness to accept its interests; they must adopt its moral ideals as their own; knowledge must become convictions; firm qualities must be developed such as dignity, conscience, honor, honesty, principle-mindedness, daring, consistency, high behavioral standards, the necessary ethical habits, and many others. Naturally,

we do not begin this work from scratch, for a considerable amount of it has already been done in secondary schools, even though it frequently leaves something to be desired. Generally speaking, the VUZ should essentially strengthen and intensify the most important components of the moral base of the individual rather than engage in reeducation, not to mention laying the foundations of such components. The purpose of the VUZ is rather to continue the moral upbringing effort.

Quite frequently secondary school references are crowded with flattering adjectives such as "more stable," "exceptionally modest," "raised in a spirit of communist consciousness," and many others. However, do the authors of such statements bear full responsibility for them? In this case how do we develop "feedback," particularly when we have to question the school's ratings?

Also, a kind of cliché is being used year after year. According to the references there is nothing for the VUZ to accomplish on the educational level; everything has been accomplished, the secondary school graduate is fully prepared to enter life, he has entirely mature views and principles. All that remains is learning his future profession. If this could only be true! In fact, it is not.

We decided that after the entrance examinations had been taken and the new students enrolled, the schools should provide us additional information of interest to us in the light of specific requirements, signed by the secretaries of the party and Komsomol organizations. This gives us a specific opportunity for refining our educational program.

Relations with the student's family should not be ignored either. In my view, possibilities for upgrading the effectiveness of our joint work may be found in the "family-secondary school-VUZ" system.

The proper development of the personality of the future specialist would be impossible without his self-assertion through labor while still attending school. "In our society labor is not merely an economic category but a moral category as well," said A. S. Makarenko, the outstanding Soviet educator.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's outstanding work "The Line" [Virgin Land] offers a splendid example of the labor upbringing of the young generation. The students must be familiar with the difficulties experienced by their fathers and grandfathers and learn from them.

Last summer over 500 students from our Institute who took part in the third labor semester did work worth over 500,000 rubles in rural construction projects, harvesting the crops, and in plants, factories, and stores. That figure was surpassed this past summer.

Every summer period fills the life of our students not only with productive work but with a great variety of ideological-political and mass cultural work.

During the summer they delivered over 100 lectures and talks and did a great deal of useful work in rural libraries and clubs (making visual agitation and

(information exhibits, producing wall newspapers, organizing circles for the study of foreign languages for workers and rural working people, and so on). The students became familiar with the revolutionary and cultural-historical past of the krais and rayons where they worked and explained CPSU policy in the area of protecting historical and cultural monuments and in the socialist way to use nature.

The red banner awarded by the Krasnodarskiy Krai Komsomol Committee for successes achieved in the 1979 labor semester is a precious possession of the Institute's Komsomol committee.

The most important thing we have given up is the exclusive pursuit of production results. It is no secret that, occasionally, efforts are made to ascribe to the third semester the aspect of a campaign for overfulfilling production norms. Subsequently, however, the physical overwork seriously affects the mental condition of the students in the first weeks and even months of the school year. Percentages, earnings and profits should not obscure the moral-educational purpose of such labor practices.

Without belittling the economic expediency of the use of students in national economic work, let us emphasize that its main purpose is the educational significance of labor, the molding of a communist view on performing socially useful work, awareness of civic duty, and gaining certain experience in the course of active contact with workers and kolkhoz members and exposure to their daily life.

We issue recommendations for participation in student construction detachments as an encouragement for good grades and active social work. One quarter of the members of such detachments are students with excellent grades. Typically, those who have actively participated in the labor semester have never refused, subsequently, their assignments to the most remote corners of the republic.

Young people are very inquisitive and literally everything excites them. This leads to the outbreak of passionate discussions, arguments and clashes guided by the shared aspiration to find the truth. That is why debates such as "On Real and False Values," "What is Happiness?" or "What is Mediocrity?" contain an active educational and cognitive charge. The same applies to the condemnation of the petit bourgeois spirit. Such discussions enhance the interest of the students, make it possible to reveal more extensively the moral possibilities of the individual and energize his life stance in the struggle with the opposites of communist morality.

Bearing in mind that the overwhelming majority of the students in our institute are girls, we practice meetings with mothers, sponsor talks on family budget and children's education, and submit a variety of practical problems for discussion. Jurists are invited to discuss moral-legal problems.

Esthetica makes a great contribution to an ethical upbringing. Our institute is regularly visited by noted literary workers, actors, and artistic groups. Our students vividly remember meetings with writers and poets which take place in an informal intimate environment.

As a result of their meetings with outstanding Soviet cultural personalities, the students become acquainted not only with their works but with them as individuals, as outstanding workers and patriots. They become more aware of the complexity of their work and the meaning of their searches and thoughts, and their difficult road to accomplishment.

However, it would be erroneous to consider the nature of aesthetic education as the external, the passive perception of beauty with everything else following by itself. It is no accident that the Marxist-Leninist classics relate aesthetic activities with a variety of forms of human practical work, labor above all. Duty must not merely be contemplated. One must learn how to create it and make it a part of one's life.

It is mandatory for all sides of the moral upbringing of the students to be related to his specific field of activity, his skill as a future specialist. Incidentally, of late lesser attention has been paid to developing in the students feelings of professional pride. In the eyes of the young people the once romantic and very popular profession of educator has lost its popularity compared with the far more prosaic and, one may think, less attractive professions of commodities expert, financial worker, and so on. VUZ entrance competitive examinations are an indication of this fact. Without belittling the importance of any skill, let us emphasize that the profession of educator is special. Its purpose is to mold the social material--the people, the creators of artistic culture and scientific progress, and promote highly humanitarian relations among people. The importance of its role and the requirements it poses are immeasurably higher than those of any other profession.

The importance of the educator's work will grow as the scale of the building of communism broadens. "The teacher, metaphorically speaking, is a link between time periods, a link in the chain of the generations. In the relay race he passes on the baton from the present to the future. It is this that makes his work so attractive and truly creative" (L. I. Brezhnev).

The new tasks of the higher school require us to improve the education and training system and to think of new and more interesting and effective methods for drawing to the VUZ the future educator.

The moral purpose of developing love for one's profession is unquestionable. It must encompass a lofty feeling for labor in general and for a specific activity in particular. The teacher of a foreign language must be aware of the specific meaning of the work of his students. That is why love for teaching must be the same as love for mastering a foreign language. Mastery of a foreign language is not only the most important tool for human communication but an incentive for the study of the present and the past of other nations and a means for deepening and strengthening feelings of internationalism and promoting a liking for all working people, regardless of national origin, and for strengthening friendship among nations and peace on earth. At the same time, the knowledge of other cultures increases our interest in the present and the past of our own culture. As the immortal Johann Wolfgang Goethe justifiably pointed out, "He who does not know foreign languages has no concept of his own language."

The student's understanding of the beauty of his profession and of its social necessity is a prerequisite for the moral growth of the future specialist.

In our institute the famous investigation conducted among K. Marx' family has become a tradition among first-year students.

One year ago we gave the curator-educator the extracurricular assignment of teaching a class on "Outstanding Revolutionaries and Progressive Philosophers on the Knowledge and Study of Foreign Languages." I have on my desk extracts from spontaneous compositions. I feel a professional satisfaction as I read some of them.

"Language is as old as the mind. Such was the conclusion of the founders of Marxism," a first-year student writes. "With every school day it seems to me that I unravel the great mystery of language which embodies the culture of all ages...."

Here is an excerpt of a composition by an alumni who is now at work in a remote village in Nagorno Karabakh: "Language is the most important means for human communication. These words by Vladimir Il'ich Lenin also offer the best possible definition of the nature of my future subject. I also understand, however, that knowledge of a language must become not only a profession but a most important constant vital need...."

We are trying to help the students harmoniously to combine within themselves an understanding of their duty and future tasks and a warm attachment to their work. By reaching such a state of harmony the graduate will continue to advance in his chosen field, observing the unwritten professional honor code. In our view, it is precisely this that is the basis for an active life stance in the young person. Also very valuable, for both students and educators, is Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's statement at the 1971 all-union student rally: "We cannot, we have no right to forget... Lenin's appeal that the training process must go hand in hand with the process of communist education."

These words of our party's Central Committee general secretary most closely combine within a single entity the process of student education and training, determining the most important aspect of higher school work. The problem of improving it is quite comprehensive, as was convincingly shown in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On the Further Development of the Higher School and On Upgrading the Quality of Specialists' Training." This document provides a thorough program for the solution of the problem. Its moral aspect is of essential importance. All of us are equally responsible: faculties and public organizations, the party and the Komsomol above all. In this case formalistic approaches, showiness, and haste or lagging behind the requirements of the time are more inappropriate than anywhere else. The VUZ has the honorable duty of the daily, painstaking and purposeful development of the awareness of the future specialists who must combine within themselves maximum knowledge and skills and consider communism not a beautiful word, a fashionable statement or something superficially mastered, but the profoundly and comprehensively realized lifelong and most important component of their personality.

**REAL HOLIDAY OF SPORTS AND FRIENDSHIP AMONG PEOPLES; ON THE RESULTS OF THE
22ND MOSCOW OLYMPIC GAMES**

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 14, Sep 80 pp 76-86

[Article by S. Pavlov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Committee for Physical Culture and Sports and chairman of the USSR National Olympic Committee]

[Text] The results of the Moscow Olympics, which are now history, are being actively and comprehensively discussed throughout the world. People belonging to a great variety of professions--sports workers, journalists, diplomats, men of the arts and, finally, simply fans will continue, again and again, to discuss one or another aspect of the 22nd Moscow Olympic Games. They will have substantial reasons to do so.

We clearly remember the worldwide reaction to the decision of the International Olympic Committee to hold the next games in the capital of the Soviet Union. Whereas the forces of common sense and progress and the supporters of detente welcomed the announcement with obvious interest and sympathy, the forces of reaction and imperialism, the Zionists, the cold war supporters and the various anti-Soviet organizations accepted it with unconcealed malice.

Before the ink of the IOC had even dried, a variety of "committees" began to arise. "Symposiums" and "conferences" which called for boycotting the Moscow Olympics were held. Provocative appeals to boycott the Olympics were voiced by Owen, the former British foreign office secretary, Begin, the Israeli prime minister, and some U.S. congressmen. The huge imperialist propaganda machinery was revved-up to maximum strength.

The true reasons for this anti-Olympic and anti-Soviet hysteria were convincingly exposed by Midge Davidson, secretary general of the Association of the Struggle for Civil Rights in Northern Ireland, in an article published by PRAVDA. "The point is," she wrote, "that many people in the Western world will see the Soviet Union for the first time by watching the Olympic Games on their television screens. To many of them it will be a revelation. The people of the Western countries will realize that the present and future generations of Soviet people have a guaranteed happy life."

At the Alma-Ata ceremony dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the Kazakh SSR and the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "It was the general view that the Olympic Games were very successful. They became a true holiday of sports and friendship among the peoples, confusing its opponents."

Today mankind is aware of the brilliant organization of the Moscow Olympics. Even the most exacting and knowledgeable experts found no major reason for criticism. On the contrary, anyone who directly observed the games and followed the competitions not through the reports of the reactionary bourgeois press but in person gave the games the highest rating. Furthermore, even newspapers which initially felt (or, rather, were channelled into being) critical had to publish the many enthusiastic impressions. Some publishers may have been very unwilling to do so. Yet, what could they do if people whose prestige was exceptionally high and who were listened to by millions of viewers and readers, if such respected people spoke the truth of the Moscow Olympics. Furthermore, despite the great variety of obstacles erected by the authorities, many Western people were able to see, even partially, the outstanding sports holiday in Moscow.

During the Olympic Games I had the opportunity to meet with heads and members of the IOC, with presidents of international sports federations, heads of delegations, and honored guests. Their unanimous view was that the Olympic Games and sports had won and that the organization of the competition, the facilities, the Olympic Village, residential and transport services, and the cultural program were splendid and unequalled in the history of the Olympic movement.

Let me cite the very typical statement on the Moscow Olympics made by B. Shankaranand, India's minister of education, health and family welfare. Noting the brilliant organization of the games, he emphasized that "a better organization of the Olympic Games would be possible only if it is assigned once again to the Soviet Union in Moscow." A virtually similar assessment was made by almost all Olympic Games participants and visitors.

Here is what the most experienced and competent experts stated: N. Ertsegan, president of the International Amateur Wrestling Federation: "The organization of the Olympic Games competitions was ideal and may be adopted as a permanent model." The same was noted by the presidents of the following international sports federations: A. Paulen, track; G. Avelanges, soccer; H. Oatos, swimming, and others.

No other results were possible, for the people of Moscow, Leningrad, Minsk, Kiev, and Tallinn, all Soviet people, put their hearts into the preparations for and the holding of the Olympics. They spared no efforts or time to insure the success of the games and to make it a great sports celebration. Our country did everything possible for the Moscow games to be fully consistent with the lofty ideals of the Olympic movement and to contribute to the further strengthening of the peace and reciprocal understanding among nations. "...The idea of the Olympic movement is to promote high physical qualities among the people. It is not only close to and understood by us but, under Soviet social conditions, it finds a successful practical solution. The Olympic Charter, adopted by the International Olympic Committee, expresses the aspiration of athletes the world over to contribute to the development of trust and goodwill among nations and to the making of a better, a more tranquil world. These noble objectives are held particularly close by the athletes and all citizens of our country," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted, addressing the 59th session of the International Olympic Committee in Moscow.

Preparations for the 22nd Olympic Games became a truly nationwide project. It involved the active participation of all union republics, dozens of ministries and departments, the collectives of many enterprises and construction projects, creative workers, and public and sports organizations. The unique and perfect nature of the facilities—sports grounds, roofed stadiums, hotels, roads, or communications—were governed by the desire of the organizers of the games to create the best possible conditions for every participant in the games. Let us add that all these installations which are most advanced in technical and other respects will not be abandoned. They are already serving the people, helping them to strengthen their health and to increase their creative activeness. Let us also note that the implementation of the pre-Olympic program did not affect in the least the scale of the socio-economic development of our capital and of the cities where the games were held. The pace of construction did not slow down. During the preparations for the games Muscovites and the population of the other cities which welcomed participants in the games were provided, as every year in the past, with dozens of thousands of new housing units. Only projects consistent with the general plans for urban development were built and reconstructed for the sake of the games. This included not only new sports arenas but cultural and commercial centers, student hostels, camping sites, service enterprises, and so on. Soon about 15,000 residents of the capital will be moving to the Moscow Olympic Village which represents, essentially, an entire residential district. However, let us turn to the games themselves.

The Moscow Olympics were unique from the purely sports viewpoint. The history of the Olympic Games had never before recorded the setting of so many world, Olympic, European, or national records! The 1980 Olympics were generous also in terms of the outstanding results which outstripped what was recently considered the limit of human capabilities. Let me recall merely a few: in the 1,500-meter free-style swimming event, the Soviet athlete V. Sal'nikov broke the 15 minute mark, covering the distance in 14:58.27 minutes; for the first time in the world GDR athlete G. Krause broke the 55 second record in the 100-meter freestyle swimming for women, covering the distance in 54:79 seconds; W. Kizakevicius, the Lithuanian pole vault jumper reached the "space" height of 5.78 meters; Yu. Vardanyan (weight lifting class of 82.5 kg) was the first to lift 400 kg, making him Olympic champion in Moscow and in two higher weight categories. These are merely a few examples of the achievements which the press justifiably described as "fantastic," "phenomenal," and so on.

Another unprecedented example is equally indicative: Olympic records were broken by 241 athletes! This proves the exceptionally representative nature of the competitions and the captivating and stubborn competition which developed in the Moscow arena. This is also confirmed by the fact that representatives of 36 countries won Olympic medals, including some which had never achieved similar successes. This too is an unprecedented indicator.

We are happy that the highest results at the competition were achieved by the Soviet athletes who won 80 gold, 69 silver, and 46 bronze medals. Every Soviet member of the games and sports lover is no less proud of the fact that the six leading countries in terms of points, according to the unofficial count, were exclusively members of the socialist camp: the USSR, the GDR, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, and Romania.

We also note with sincere satisfaction that the Moscow Olympics were most generous in terms of achievements and medals for the athletes of Great Britain, Italy, France and a number of other Western countries.

Naturally, we are particularly pleased by the outstanding results achieved by many athletes of Africa, Asia and Latin America. This convincingly proves that many young developing countries, putting an end to colonialism, place higher than everything else the interests of the people, the good of man. The still extremely young African state of Zimbabwe, which joined the Olympic movement literally on the eve of the Moscow Olympics, brought home from its first games a gold medal. This is both a noteworthy and a symbolic fact.

Assessing the results of the Moscow games, many sports figures and heads of national Olympic committees explain the achieved outstanding results in terms of the particularly thorough training of the athletes who wanted to show their best in Moscow and the superb competition facilities. The nature of the Moscow Olympics is quite eloquently confirmed by the following fact: Whereas in Munich and Montreal cases of drug use were noted among the winners of Olympic medals, not one of the 2,668 tests made in Moscow showed such data. The chairman of the IOC Medical Commission drew the following conclusion: "The Moscow games may be considered to be the cleanest."

Nevertheless, it is the unanimous view that the main reason for the records, the captivating struggle, and the excellent accomplishments was the unique atmosphere of the Moscow Olympics. It was an atmosphere of goodness, hospitality, sympathy, objectiveness, and responsiveness. It was precisely the spirit of the Olympic Games and the general interest that developed in its participants an enhanced feeling, confidence and sports enthusiasm. We fully agree with this assessment. Nothing inspires a person more than the awareness that others believe in him, understand him, and wish him success. All athletes noted the exceptional objectivity of the public and the attention and concern of the service personnel and of the population of the Soviet capital. Millions of viewers were exposed to a curious view at the ceremonies marking the closing of the games: after the sweet and affectionate Misha had taken to the skies, waving his paw, after the celebration volleys had been fired, the final words addressed to participants and visitors were flashed on the electronic board. The Moscow games had ended but the public was not leaving the stands. Members of the IOC, presidents of international sports federations, honored guests, and visitors were standing with tears in their eyes. This will never be forgotten. After this, what is the worth of the groundless and cynical statements by some petty politicians and malicious newsmen that this marked an end to the Olympic Games. To say this means failure to understand sports or believe in the noble ideas of the Olympic movement!

The athletes themselves gave an object lesson to the adversaries of the Moscow Olympics. Let us recall the pressure exerted by the government of Great Britain and, personally, its prime minister, and the pressure of reactionary forces, press, and television on the athletes of that country, encouraging them to boycott the games. Threats, blackmail, bribery, and so on were used. I was told by my British colleagues that in addition to the so-called official channels, they and their wives, children and relatives received round-the-clock

insults and physical threats by phone. What happened? The British Olympic delegation which came to Moscow was not only one of the biggest but also the best in the entire history of the British Olympic Association. Apparently, millions of televiewers were able to see how during victories of Italian, French, or British athletes (they were numerous) thousands of enthusiastic visitors waved national flags and sang their national anthems. Thus, all the bans on using national symbols, imposed by the authorities boycotting the Olympics, were rejected by the sports lovers. The forces favoring the further development of the Olympic movement proved to be considerably stronger than was assumed by the enemies of detente. No split in the Olympic movement occurred. F. Carraro, president of the Italian National Olympic Committee, made the following quite accurate statement on the total failure of the boycott idea: "In the final account, this entire stir merely enhanced the prestige of the games and the interest in them."

It is obvious to all that the purpose of the noise raised on the subject of the Olympic Games was quite definite: to discredit the Olympic movement as an important social factor in the struggle for mutual understanding, friendship and peace among nations. Under the conditions of detente, the reactionary forces tried to use the games for unseemly purposes whose nature was obviously political and ideological. Attempts to organize the boycott of the Moscow Olympics were not only anti-democratic from the political and sports viewpoints, but turned out to be exceptionally unpopular among the public of the countries whose governments ignored the sports competitions and tried either to ignore the games or to present them in a distorted light with the help of the mass information media.

The Olympic movement cannot be destroyed any more than one could eliminate sports, music or literature...or dreams and faith in the future. Sinister predictions of the imminent end of universal sports celebrations persistently recur once every 4 years.

To a certain extent the Olympic games are the mirror of our time. They reflect the level of civilization with all its accomplishments and problems. The development of the modern world makes it possible for the Olympic Games to become a booster of human progress in physical culture. The idea of the games is also consistent with the aspirations of millions of people to engage in peaceful competition and cooperation.

The Olympic Games have become a true holiday for the peoples, one of the most popular global events whose attractiveness exceeds even the most outstanding spectacles. Recent Olympic competitions have proved this point. They have proved it despite doubts and arguments, despite the appearance of the ghosts of the past and cold war winds, the increased commercialization of the games and the prophesizing of the imminent decline of the games. Closely related to them is the so-called problem of "gigantism" of contemporary Olympic Games. In our view, this problem has been artificially inflated. For example, if it is a question of the representative nature of the games, such "gigantism" reflects the growth of their popularity and the desire of an ever-bigger number of athletes and countries to participate.

Let us look at history. In 1948 athletes from 59 countries participated in the London Olympics; 69 in the 1952 Helsinki games. And over 100 in the Mexico and Munich games. Even though the supporters of the boycott used the most refined, I would say hellish efforts, representatives of 81 countries came to Moscow.

To limit the right of a country to participate in the Olympic Games would mean to undermine the very idea of the games. It is a different matter when it is a question of the requirements of a number of heads of international federations insisting on the building of huge and expensive sports facilities (such as swimming pools with stands for 10,000 to 15,000 people, the more so since such requirements are frequently dictated by commercial rather than sports interests. An ever larger number of people means more money to the federations from television, companies, corporations, and so on. Obviously, a number of countries find it either impossible or unprofitable to build such huge facilities. It seems to us that from this viewpoint it would be proper to mention the negative aspects of gigantism.

It is obvious that possibilities exist to improve the program of Olympic competitions. Some types of sports have been lucky both in terms of the number of participants and their program, while others have been ignored. As we know, about 50 international associations for different types of athletics are not included in the Olympic program. Possibly some of them would have improved the games. At this point, how not to recall the slogan of Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the modern Olympic movement: "All sports, all countries!"

In order to combat "gigantism" suggestions have been made to decentralize the Olympic games, i.e., to break down the competition program into several independent series each of which would include a limited group of sports, and hold the competitions in different cities and even different countries which provide the best possible conditions for such games.

In our view, the idea of decentralizing the Olympic Games is nothing but an attempt to abolish them under the pretext of fighting "gigantism." In such a case they would turn into separate world championships by groups of sports and will no longer meet the main objective of being a global holiday of the young athletes on earth.

This merely expresses my own viewpoint. It is possible that in the course of discussions and debates on the future games better organizational methods may be found. Let me add merely that the USSR National Olympic Committee has always acted in the spirit of the Olympic Charter which specifically stipulates that "Any individual or organization participating in the Olympic movement in any quality must acknowledge the supreme authority of the IOC and obey its rules and jurisdiction in all matters related to the Olympic movement." The USSR National Olympic Committee has never violated this stipulation nor does it intend to do so. Therefore, in the future as well we shall continue to obey the decisions passed by the IOC on one or another matter. The Moscow games proved, yet once again, the existence of forces in the world who would like to destroy the Olympic movement and prevent the holding of the games—a unique holiday of the youth, physical perfection and fraternal contacts among people of all continents. Today everyone is familiar with the nature of these forces who have assumed the unseemly role of spoilers of the noble Olympic ideas.

However, the supporters of the Moscow Olympic boycott and simply the cold war supporters made a mistake. They forgot that sports bring together all mankind and that the Olympic Games belong not only to the cities where the participants go but to the entire world. The world, fully aware of its justice and strength, properly rebuffed the intrigues of the enemies of the Olympics.

The Olympic movement is growing and strengthening. Its prestige is rising. We note with satisfaction that with every passing year the number of countries setting up their national Olympic committees and the number of such committees recognized by the IOC is rising with every passing year.

Let us particularly note that in recent years more Asian, African, and Latin American countries have joined the IOC. In our view, the growing attention of the IOC to upgrading the role of the national Olympic committees and to promoting more active and effective cooperation is entirely consistent with the spirit of the time and, as we know, is welcomed by the sports-minded public.

Let us, however, also try to sum up briefly the achievements of the "hot heads" who have decided that the best way to prove their superiority is through force, threats, and boycott. We know how frequently (let us also note, always, equally falsely) the administration in the White House and the British Prime Minister M. Thatcher, who has been steadily following its wake, have mounted one campaign after another "in defense of human rights." There is hardly someone they have not tried to defend: renegades, swindlers, maniacs, liars, or even simply known scoundrels ready to sell themselves out to anyone for 30 pieces of silver. What a great deal of crocodile tears have been shed in such cases. Yet, how cynical, false, and unseemly this appears against the background of actions of senseless cruelty toward their own citizens providing, naturally, that the Olympic athletes in the United States or Great Britain are considered by these countries to be truly full citizens.

Let us recall the most basic civil rights allegedly guaranteed by U.S. and British laws, rights discussed at the Helsinki conference, yet precisely rights so zealously manipulated by the ideologues of imperialism and Zionism when dealing with the socialist countries. Thus, truly basic human rights as the right to participate in international competitions, the right to travel (how else could we describe traveling to a country where the Olympic Games are being held) have been violated. Furthermore, the "supporters of freedom" in the United States deprived their compatriots even of the right to be informed: millions of American viewers were unable to look at television broadcasts on the Moscow Olympics in a more or less acceptable manner. Adding to this the fact that both athletics and athletes were made most shameless use of in the political game of the President's electoral manipulations, it would become clear that Carter and his administration showed their true face to the entire world. The supporters of imperialism are stopping at nothing for the sake of promoting their own selfish benefits and for achieving their subjective ego-fictitious objectives at all costs. The ridiculous ceremony sponsored by the U.S. President presenting a specially minted medal to the American candidates for the Olympic team, deprived of the opportunity to go to Moscow, proved, yet once again, the political nearsightedness and factlessness of the Washington administration toward its own athletes. The "alternative" track meets, organized by

the U.S. Department of State (which were a total failure) and the ceremony of awards presented for "nonparticipation" in the Olympic Games have become a dark page in the history of American sports.

The flame of the 22nd Olympic Games was extinguished some 2 months ago and the benches around the sports grounds are silent. The games themselves, however, have not been dropped from newspaper articles, journals, or television screens. Allow me to repeat that time will only increase the level of interest shown in the unique Moscow Olympics.

A number of newspapers and periodicals and mass information organs in the United States and other capitalist countries which could hardly be suspected of being in sympathy with the Moscow Olympics have lately begun to publish material objectively depicting the organization and holding of the Olympic Games.

"The boycott failed," noted the Swedish SVENSKA DAGBLADET. An editorial in the British TIMES spoke of the successes of the games in Moscow. A similar statement was published by THE DAILY MAIL. An article in THE WASHINGTON POST has noted that the games were "rich from the viewpoint of their spectacular nature and performance."

"After the passions inflamed by new world records and gold medals will quiet down, the Moscow 22nd Olympic Games will be long remembered mainly by the hospitality of their hosts," noted N. Amdur, NEW YORK TIMES correspondent. "In many respects the Russians organized this measure in a way that, 4 years hence, Los Angeles could not even hope to match. Let us compare the summer with the winter games in Lake Placid, where a discouraging confusion reigned in everything, ranging from bus service to ticket sales."

The NEW YORK DAILY NEWS published a letter by New York resident Rene Alameda on the Olympics. "Everything here was outstanding," he writes. "All citizens tried to make the stay of the visitors comfortable and pleasant. The Russians are totally free to speak and write and they openly ask all kinds of questions. There was no feeling of anti-Americanism. Subway trains come each 90 seconds. Both stations and cars are impeccably clean. Not even a speck of dust could be seen. We can only admire Moscow's impeccable cleanliness if we compare the Soviet capital with New York."

"The flag with the Olympic symbol was lowered at the end of the 22nd Olympic Games in Moscow in which the Soviet Union deserved a high rating for organization, above all," emphasized A. Austin, the NEW YORK TIMES correspondent.

"Several American flags were visible on the stands waved by U.S. tourists who had come to Moscow despite the boycott.

However, enemy propaganda activities have not been reduced by the increased number of positive responses to the games. The Western mass information media frequently give preference to various "sensations," while continuing to ignore, distort, or misrepresent obvious facts. Nevertheless, the general assessment of the games by the U.S., British, FRG, and other press is that the attempts to boycott the Olympics, organized by the Carter administration, failed and had no influence whatever on the performances of the athletes who went to Moscow.

"The boycott concocted by the White House last January was unable to split the sports world," the UPI news agency reported in connection with the closing of the games. "The biggest defeat was that of the athletes who were unable to participate in the games because their governments used them as pawns in their own game."

The presence of a U.S. team in the Moscow games could have hardly changed anything in determining the best two teams. Unquestionably, whatever the case and composition of the participants, the struggle for first place in the informal point count would have been between the teams of the USSR and the GDR. Such was the case in Montreal and, last winter, in Lake Placid. The results matching global records reached by athletes from the Soviet Union and the GDR on the eve of the Moscow games merely confirmed the assumption. Naturally, it is quite regrettable that talented athletes from the United States, Japan, the FRG and several other countries were forbidden to participate in the games and thus to fulfill their cherished dream. We know that they were training particularly intensively and purposefully precisely for the Moscow Olympics. Unquestionably, many of them might have become champions and medal winners in the Moscow games and pleased sports fans the world over with their outstanding results.

Let us go back, however, to the results achieved by the athletes. They have been extensively discussed in the domestic and foreign sports press. We believe this to be mainly due to the achievements of the Soviet team, unprecedented in the history of the Olympics. Such records could never have been achieved by anyone, including the American Olympic team, even had the games been held in the United States.

Naturally, these results are given different interpretations in the various countries. But it would be totally unnecessary to look for some special "secrets" held by the Soviet athletes. They simply do not exist. Anyone who would like to establish, objectively and impartially, the reason for their stable and universally respected successes should turn to the history of our country and its present-day reality. This would make it clear that all our successes--scientific, economic, cultural, and sports--are based on a single principle: concern for the people. The Soviet state has proclaimed that its highest objective is the all-round harmonious development of the individual. This presumes a combination of high-level education, a comprehensive amount of knowledge, culture and physical perfection.

As early as 1919 a physical education institute was opened in Petrograd (today the world-famous State Order of Lenin and Order of the Red Banner Institute of Physical Culture imeni P. F. Lesgaft). It would be pertinent to note that to this day no such institutes are to be found in a number of Western countries, including the United States.

Under the most complex conditions of the imperialist intervention and civil war, when the young Soviet republic was, furthermore, forced to fight hunger, disease and dislocation, official skiing and horse racing competitions were organized in the country and the first Sports Day was held on 20 May 1920.

On 12 August 1928 a physical culture parade was held on Red Square marking the inauguration of an unparalleled sports holiday--the First All-Union Spartakiade--dedicated to the first five-year plan for the development of the national economy. The solemn parade on the main square of the country was attended by 25,000 people practicing physical culture, including over 600 athletes from many foreign countries. Over 7,000 athletes competed in 21 sports and folk dancing.

This marked the beginning of the history of Soviet sports--confident, extensive, and purposeful.

At all stages of the building of socialism the Communist Party and its Central Committee and the Soviet state have always been concerned with the development of an organized physical culture movement and with a comprehensive and extensive promotion of various sports, national sports in particular.

The new USSR Constitution pays particular attention to the all-round spiritual and physical advancement of the Soviet people. It stipulates, in particular, that the state "shall contribute to the development of mass physical culture and sports."

Currently over 70 types of sports are practiced in the country acknowledged by international sports associations. There are about 700,000 sports grounds, swimming pools, sports halls, shooting galleries, soccer fields, ski bases, and sports areas. About 320,000 professionals are employed in the physical culture movement while 220 higher and secondary specialized schools, including 24 institutes, are engaged in the training of sports and physical culture cadres. The 1980 state budget calls for 14.4 billion rubles to be spent in health care and physical culture. Even such a short list of measures carried out by the party and the government leads to the conclusion that we are resolving the problem of the steady mass development of physical culture and sports in a consistent, thorough, and comprehensive manner.

Addressing the ceremonious Komsomol Central Committee Plenum on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Leninist Komsomol, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, said: "We want our young people to be not only comprehensively educated and spiritually beautiful but healthy, hardened, and physically strong."

The party and the government spared no efforts to resolve this problem. The results of the 22nd Moscow Olympics provide adequate confirmation of this fact. Our athletes achieved considerable successes and won convincing victories in the difficult and adamant struggles. What was the main reason for these victories, what was it that predetermined them? Mainly, and above all, the fatherly attention and concern for the development of physical culture and sports in our country, daily displayed by the CPSU, its Leninist Central Committee and the Soviet government! The awareness that the further development of physical culture and sports is a structural component of the comprehensive activities of the Soviet people in building communism assigns a great responsibility to the big army of personnel within the physical culture movement, giving it new strength and making its work even more purposeful, creative and inspired!

Soviet sports are democratic by their very nature. Today the great detachment of Soviet athletes and people practicing physical culture numbers over 80 million. The most important reason for our Olympic victories is found precisely in the unparalleled scope of the sports and physical culture movement in the USSR. Any kind of social, national or geographic distinction is alien to Soviet sports. The Soviet Olympic team—the biggest in the entire history of our participation in the games, and participating, for the first time, in all Olympic events—included representatives of virtually all union republics. It included alumni of sports schools of 95 Soviet cities. Athletes from 71 cities won gold or other medals at the Moscow Olympics. We consider this to be a rather indicative feature. Let us also note that some of the Soviet Olympic sportsmen who became famous came from the youngest cities of our country—Tol'yatti, Mirnyy, Krasnokamsk, Novaya Kakhovka, and Volzhskiy. This proves that, while developing the economy and new areas, the party and the government pay equal attention to the physical advancement of the growing generation.

Unquestionably, the sports world on the planet will address itself to the results of the Moscow Olympics more than once in the future. Let us hope that the recollections will be pleasant and that the experience in the efficient and skilled organization of the games will be studied, again and again, and that the sports managers of the various organizations, whatever their position, will note the strict and systematic observance by the Soviet Union of the stipulations of the Olympic Charter and its respect for the Olympic ideals, imbued with profound solidarity and understanding.

The 22nd Moscow Olympic Games have become history. It is a history, however, from which a great deal of useful and instructive information could be drawn again and again.

As to the Soviet sports organizations and the USSR National Olympic Committee, they wish, once again, to express their sincere gratitude to their party and the Soviet government which provided exceptionally favorable conditions for the holding of the games and the successful participation of our athletes.

Loyal to the cause of peace and friendship among nations, they will continue actively to develop extensive sports contacts, strengthen the Olympic movement, and promote the triumph of the noble principles of the Olympic movement.

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MOTION PICTURE AS THE MIRROR OF THE EPOCH

Moscow KOMBUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 80 pp 87-98

[Article by F. Yermash, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Cinematography]

[Text] The preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress—the biggest political event in the life of our party and the entire country—are underway in an atmosphere of growing political activity and labor enthusiasm shown by the Soviet people. The communist forum will sum up accomplishments and earmark a program for the further development of our society in the building of communism.

A large detachment of Soviet cinematographers is comparing its current achievements with the requirements of the period and is soberly assessing and drawing proper conclusions on motion picture accomplishments since the 25th Party Congress.

The country recently celebrated Soviet Motion Picture Day. The decree on the nationalization of the motion picture and photographic industry by the young proletarian state, signed by V. I. Lenin on 27 August 1919, marked the birth of the first socialist motion picture industry in the world. The leader of the revolution indicated the ways for the development of the motion picture as mass art. He defined its high purpose in the life of the people. This was a manifestation of the brilliant perspicacity and historical expediency of the wise guidance which Lenin gave to the development of cinematography.

The motion picture addressed to the masses has always played a special part in the life of our country. It meets a variety of human needs, to wit: cognitive and esthetic. It performs an educational function. It enriches the spiritual experience of the people and upgrades the common standards. The motion picture offers access to the world of beauty, henceforth accessible to every person, for which reason it has the nature of a socially conscious action. Nearly four billion people annually go to see motion pictures.

The history of the Soviet motion picture convincingly proves that the art of the socialist society alone is the true custodian of and heir to the highest culture, openly dedicated to serving social progress, peace on earth, and friendship among the peoples. It is a model for anyone who cares for the progressive political, social, moral and esthetic ideals of future mankind. The art of the motion picture is a truly party and people's art in terms of ideological content; it is innovative in terms of form and means of expression.

"The Soviet motion picture workers," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "have always been with the party and the people. They have been in the leading ranks in the building of socialism. They have created talented films which amazed the world with their revolutionary novelty and artistic originality. They proved what could be accomplished by a people led by the October Revolution to the peaks of creativity."

The best Soviet films have long been part of the people's life. They have actively contributed to the molding of the communist awareness of entire generations. They have reflected the rich experience of the class struggle, the defense of revolutionary gains and the building of socialism.

As a spokesman for the interests of the people, the party has always directed movie workers to the creation of works "of all genres and types, of significant content and artistically interesting, works which would make us think and would enable us to be more profoundly aware of the meaning of our age, works which would truthfully depict the live characters of our contemporaries and would strengthen in man the noble moral principles required of the builders of communism" (L. I. Brezhnev).

It was the open, passionate and interested service to the ideals of socialism and communism which determined the high accomplishments of the Soviet cinema and earned it the love of the people. The entire history of our cinematography proves that such a position alone offers the artist true freedom and opens to him the broad horizons of creativity.

Under developed socialist conditions, the free creative search of the artist is based on the collective experience of the masses. Sources of inspiration must be sought precisely in the constructive toil of the Soviet people aimed at building a communist society.

The decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the Central Committee decrees "On Measures for the Further Development of Soviet Cinematography" and "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work," and the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev helped to strengthen the ideological-creative consolidation of motion picture work and clearly defined the topical tasks of cinematography.

The 10th Five-Year Plan was a period of intensive creative and organizational work for all motion picture workers who tried hard to implement the party's assignments. The motion picture began to interpret more profoundly and comprehensively the ties between history and the present and the economic and social changes taking place in our society. It began to recreate more vividly the nature of the Soviet person who is developing and most clearly displaying his possibilities on the front line of the struggle for communism.

One of the most important results of the development of our film industry in recent years is the fact that the contemporary topic has assumed a leading position. Today domestic motion pictures, the interest in which is rising steadily, are the basis of its repertoire. Between 1976 and 1980 563 of the 749 feature films dealt with contemporary topics. Whereas in 1975 the share of the movie-going public who saw Soviet-made films was about 50 percent,

preliminary estimates for 1980 show that it exceeds 70 percent. This is the result both of the enhanced overall ideological and artistic standards in the work of the motion picture studios in the country and a certain improvement in the activities of motion picture distributors.

The most outstanding motion pictures which earned the deservedly high rating of the public prove that the motion picture workers were inspired in their creative efforts by reality and the future building of communism, comprehensively took into consideration the rich experience of the people and their basic interests and needs, and sharply felt the dynamics of the people's sociopolitical and spiritual growth.

The main character in the best movies is the socially active person vividly embodying the ideological and moral ideals of the age. The ideological and artistic structure of such motion pictures is imbued with the life-asserting pathos of our revolutionary outlook and construction.

Today the main ideological-esthetic problem is found in the following formula: truth of life and communist ideal. Need we prove the dialectical interconnection between its two parts? The truth of life alone can provide a real meaning, a convincing concreteness of an ideal—not fabricated but based on the social practice of the people. In turn, the ideal sheds a new light on life and contributes to its artistic interpretation.

The motion picture epic "The Taste of the Bread," which dealt with the great exploit of the development of the virgin lands, is an example of the organic combination of broad social thinking with the study of the inner moral world of man. The fate of the epoch is reflected here through an extremely big historical event while the destinies of the characters are marked by the unique features of the times. The characters in recent motion pictures such as "Choice of a Goal," "I Request the Floor," "White Bim Black Ear," "Fate," "Sibirade," "Moscow Trusts No Tears," "The Crew," "Several Interviews On Personal Matters," "Harvesters," "The Investigation," "A Strict Manly Life," and others are real people. Their convictions and ideals are embodied in specific and socially significant actions.

The works of the masters of documentaries and popular science motion pictures dealing with the implementation of the plans for the economic and social development of the country in the present five-year plan are distinguished by their effective and creative searches ("People of Krasnoyarsk," "In the Nonchernozem," "Your Sower and Keeper," "House By the Road," "Steps of the Power Workers," "The Effect of Creativity," and others).

This is a short list of pictures made by different studios. Like many others, they show that further ideological and creative growth took place in the republic motion picture studios after the 25th CPSU Congress, related to the implementation of the Leninist national and cultural policy. Soviet cinematography is an impressive example of equal creative cooperation in the cinematography of peoples united in a fraternal alliance. Today nearly half of all motion pictures released for the screen are the work of republic studios while the all-union distribution system makes them available to the entire country.

The motion picture workers artistically reflect the rich historical accomplishments of socialist reality, the great socioeconomic and cultural changes, the beauty of the inner world of the Soviet person, and the unbreakable friendship among the peoples.

The truthful depiction of the character of Soviet people and of our reality in its entire dynamics would be inconceivable without the assertion of the artistic variety and richness of the art of socialist realism. The progress of our cinema encompasses the historical experience of all generations of Soviet cinematographers. The multinational cinematography of the developed socialist society, varied in topics, genres and individual creative styles, is based on the single method of socialist realism and the single concept of the social objectives of creative work serving the assertion of the ideals of communism and the Leninist principles of party-mindedness and nationality in art.

The method of socialist realism is not a collection of rules and canons but a broad conceptual and esthetic platform offering the artist a reliable base for his searches. Invariably, the ideological-artistic structure of any noteworthy picture has been determined by the individual characteristics of the talent of its maker. The principle of creative variety is an inseparable feature of our motion pictures.

The multifaceted nature of Soviet cinematography was vividly expressed in the ideological-topical and artistic characteristic of motion pictures such as "Steppe," "The Legend of Til," "Unfinished Piece for Player Piano," "Wishing Tree," "The Legend of Siyavusha," "The Camp Rises to the Skies," and "Trans-Siberian Express."

Certain successes were achieved in the production of comedies and poignant dramas and in filming the works of Soviet and foreign classics. Studies are underway in the science fiction area.

Motion pictures for children and adolescents have developed in a separate direction. Over the past 5 years about 120 motion pictures for children and adolescents have been made and the production of cartoons has increased. Great popularity has been enjoyed by motion pictures such as "One Hundred Days After Childhood," "Playing Off," "Mama," "I Accuse Klava K. of My Death," "The Dog Played the Piano," "Schedule for the Day After Tomorrow," "Bitter Berry," and others.

Real talent shows through an active life stance, broad outlook, and the pathos of socialist civic-mindedness. The truthful creativity of an artist would be inconceivable today without such qualities.

The Marxist-Leninist understanding of freedom of creativity combines the freedom of the artist with his high responsibility to the party and the people, respect for the traditions of the progressive culture of the past and the search for innovation. "The revolutionary novelty and historical youth of our society," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has emphasized, "demand of the motion picture workers creative initiative and daring in the artistic interpretation of reality and its development in the future."

Creative work is complex. It requires an attentive and careful attitude toward talent, the ability to support it in difficult times, and respect for its searches, providing, naturally, that the artist himself displays the strictest possible exactingness toward his own work, particularly if he is young.

Concern for the young and for the raising of a new motion picture generation is a most serious matter. People whose talent will have a great influence on art in the 21st century are already beginning their work. It is very important for the young to preserve their loyalty to the great traditions of Soviet art and display true artistic vigilance in order not to yield to foreign influences and transient fashion; it is very important not to lose track of the general line of development of socialist culture and of the most promising ways of creative growth of the individual artist and of cinematography as a whole.

A big group of gifted young people has come to the film industry. The CC CPSU decree "On Work With Creative Youth" provided major impetus for upgrading the activity of the young motion picture artists and for involving in the creative process a new generation of directors, actors, and cameramen. For example, the experimental youth creative association organized by Mosfil'm in connection with the decree yielded good results. The majority of beginning directors have addressed themselves in their work to socially significant phenomena and have taken a serious and profound look at contemporary life.

The socialist nature of the Soviet cinema presumes sincere and truly supportive service to the interests of the working class and the working people. Opposing all forms of bourgeois and petit bourgeois individualism, the collectivism of the socialist society rests on the all-round development of the individual; this cannot be achieved without high artistic standards. However, art as well must show comprehensive development and moral loftiness.

In the art of socialist realism morality is directly linked with social aspects, and the individual wanderings of the characters are linked with the destiny of the people, of all mankind. The social scale of artistic thinking, regardless of how local the material may appear on the surface, has always been an inherent feature of the greatest masters of culture.

Soviet art does not ignore the complexities of reality. Its objective is not to produce for the screen some kind of conventional life alienated from the specific historical situation in which our society is developing.

A number of motion pictures deal with problems of morality, human interrelationships in the collective and the family, the assertion of truly humanistic principles in life, and the elimination of phenomena such as attachment to petit bourgeois vestiges, and violations of laws and social norms of behavior. The pictures "Autumn Marathon," "Winged Birds," "The White Steamship," "Someone Else's Happiness," "Five Evenings," "Sundered Skies," "Know How To Say 'No!'," "Sonata On the Lake," "The Blossoming of Unsown Rye," and others are distinguished by their high artistic standards.

The depiction of contradictions and the sharp criticism of negative phenomena are within the realm of the arts. All that matters is the artist's ability

to study life from truly party-minded positions which would enable him not to ignore the main factor: our firm progress toward communism. The smoothing over of arising contradictions or philistine grumbling at still-existing difficulties are equally contradictory to the very nature of socialist art.

The best motion pictures which, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "enrich the social thinking of the people and their historical memory, effectively contribute to the development of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, and actively counter imperialist ideology and bourgeois morality" are distinguished by the clear-cut position of the authors, a class approach to the artistic embodiment of contemporary sociopsychological processes, and strict historicism in the treatment of topics of the revolutionary and military past.

The close attention which the Soviet motion picture workers pay to films reflecting the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the party members for the triumph of the Leninist ideas is, therefore, entirely legitimate, for in their case as well this represents extensive ideological-political training which enables them accurately and profoundly to understand the historical laws governing the development of society.

The masters of the screen see in the life of the creator of our communist party and Soviet state and the lives of his fellow workers inspiring examples for the present and future generations. The film "Trust," which presents one of the pages in Lenin's struggle for the implementation of a just national policy and for asserting the principles of peaceful coexistence, earned broad recognition domestically and abroad. The unforgettable features of the great leader and the impact of Lenin's ideas on the course of world history are engraved in the publicistic motion pictures "Lenin and the Times," "The Revolution of the Leader," and "Krakow Remembers Lenin."

A number of feature films and documentaries deal with the biographies of noted leaders of the communist party--Lenin's fellow workers, his students and his followers. They include motion pictures on S. Ordzhonikidze, F. Dzerzhinskiy, M. Frunze, A. Myasnikyan, V. Vorovskiy, G. Petrovskiy, Yu. Vareyakis, and others. The documentary "Story of a Communist," describing Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's tremendous activities, which was awarded the Leninist Prize, is an outstanding example of a creative approach to the recreation of the personality of a party member on the screen.

A number of works created in recent years deal with events of the class struggle and the period of the establishment of the Soviet system ("Father and Son," "Blood and Sweat," "Ask the Dead the Price of Death," "Brother, Let Us Talk..."), the sociohistorical study of liberation movements, and the progressive significance of the historically developed ties among the peoples of our country ("Yemel'yan Pugachev," "The Star of Hope," "Babek," and "Naapet").

Works on military-patriotic topics are imbued with the idea of defending the gains of the October Revolution and the socialist system, loyalty to the ideals of communism, and readiness to defend the freedom and independence of the homeland in the struggle against the enemy. Major epic films expand the chronicle of the most significant events of the Great Patriotic War and, particularly,

the defense of Leningrad ("Blockade") and the liberating mission of the Soviet army in the final stage of the war ("Soldiers of Freedom"). Recent military-patriotic motion pictures show a deeper study of socialist patriotism as an inseparable feature of the moral aspect of the Soviet person raised by the Leninist party. This has been talentedly depicted in motion pictures such as "They Fought For the Motherland," "Ascent," "On Went the Soldiers...", "From Behind the Front Line," "Thinking of Kovpak," "Lost Blood," "A Crown of Sonnets," and others.

The motion picture epic "The Great Patriotic War," which was awarded the Lenin Prize, stands out among the motion pictures, on the heroic exploit of the Soviet people who defended their socialist fatherland in the struggle against the Hitlerite aggressors and saved the world from fascism. The epic, based on documentaries filmed by front line cameramen, depicts with tremendous emotional force the courage, firmness and dedication of the defenders of the homeland and the strength and inflexible will of the Soviet people.

In the genre of heroic-romantic and adventure motion pictures which are of great importance in the military-patriotic and moral upbringing of adolescents, the cinematographers' creative efforts have been fruitful. Interesting motion pictures have been added to the number of films on life in the contemporary armed forces—on soldiers and officers of the land forces, the seamen, the border troops, and the Chekists. This is also a steady topic for documentaries.

The increased interest shown by creative workers in the making of publicistic motion pictures depicting the complex political, ideological and social processes taking place in the contemporary world and reflecting the struggle of the peoples against imperialism and for their national and social liberation may be considered a positive phenomenon in cinematographic life. In the past five years feature films were made exposing the antihuman nature of the bourgeois system ("The Flight of Mr McKinley," "The Centaurs," "Night Over Chile," and "Santa Esperanza"), and motion pictures warning us of the danger of neo-fascism ("The Hijacking of the 'Savoy'," "A Beautiful Life"). Our documentary filmmakers have created a number of truly sharp and politically topical films. They show the threat of Maoism to the cause of peace ("He Who Sows the Wind..."), the fatal consequences of the imperialist arms race and attempts to restore fascism ("Madness," "FRG--The German Lesson"), and the bourgeois way of life ("This Is the 'Free' World"). In its reflection of the heroic struggle of the peoples for their independence, motion picture journalism offers irrefutable proof and passes a stern sentence on imperialist expansion ("Kampuchea: The People They Wanted To Kill," "Nicaragua: Failure of a Dictatorship," and "Conspiracy Against the Republic"). Documentaries disseminate the peaceful foreign policy of the USSR and clearly depict the struggle waged by the communist party and the Soviet government for the implementation of the Peace Program and for detente ("OSV--The Hope For Peace," "Europe: Steps of Detente," and "Soldiers of the People--Soldiers of Peace").

Experience has shown that the fruitful development of Soviet motion pictures is based on the organic links with the other arts and, above all, with literature which has always been a source for the creative enrichment of the screen. Frequently this question is reduced merely to the number of films based on books.

However, this does not fully cover the matter. Literature molds to a significant extent the ideological and artistic potential of cinematography. The works of M. Sholokhov, L. Leonov, G. Markov, A. Chakovskiy, S. Mikhalkov, O. Gonchar, Ch. Aytmatov, P. Nilin, V. Astaf'yev, M. Alekseyev, I. Shamyakin, V. Bykov, B. Vasil'yev, P. Proskurin and other Soviet writers have provided a literary base for interesting motion pictures. This involves the methodological principles of presenting the materials common to literature and cinematography. The history of the making of many motion pictures proves that success is achieved when both director and script writer properly absorb the material and study it profoundly and thoroughly.

At the same time, in recent years a large number of script writers, including talented young people, have energized their work. Scenarios are an organic, an inseparable part of Soviet literature. They develop as part of the overall creative process, for which reason any attempt to pit the prose writer against the "strict" script writer is harmful. We have equal need for both original scenarios as well as the screening of books which enrich the ideological-creative range of the motion picture art.

Strong relations have been developed between motion pictures and television. In the past 5 years the motion picture studios have made 292 feature films for television—a total of 530 series. They include "Karl Marx. The Young Years," "The Eternal Call," "Born of the Revolution," "The Strogov," "The Irony of Fate," "The Red and the Black," and "Purgatory."

Soviet reality and a tempestuously developing life face the art of the motion picture with ever more complex problems and formulate ever stricter requirements. What is most important now is to upgrade the ideological-artistic standards of the entire motion picture industry and, therefore, of each separate motion picture.

Regardless of the great variety of topics, styles, and genres and the entire wealth of national colors and individual creative styles, Soviet cinematography is quite choosy in its selection of topics and their artistic interpretation. The motion picture workers are focusing on the main problems which define our lives. They are creatively seeking new methods for the realistic depiction of reality, equally rejecting the objectivistically indifferent recording of events as well as esthetic mannerisms.

The specifics of this art are such that in this case the form is not neutral in the least. However, artistic slackness and haste could discredit an important topical theme. Ideological trend, depth of content and perfect art form are criteria of the social significance of a motion picture. "The party," Comrade M. A. Suslov has emphasized, "has always considered the idea-mindedness and artistry of our works of literature and art as inseparably linked, as a single criterion in the assessment of their qualities."

Many motion picture organizations in the country and newspapers and journals as well as movie workers personally are the recipients of a large number of letters from their audiences. This proves the truly nationwide interest displayed in our cinematography, the heightened attention paid to its accomplishments and the sharpened reaction to its failures. Such letters prove, yet once

again, the greater need for further efforts to make every motion picture a noteworthy phenomenon. Quite frequently weak, hasty, unconvincing, low-grade movies which offer the viewers neither esthetic pleasure nor answers to questions interesting them are still making the rounds of our theaters. Weak artistic solutions and shallow treatments of life have made it impossible to raise to above average even motion pictures treating interesting problems. On the other hand, the aspiration of some masters of the screen to separate themselves from the topical problems of today and to plunge into the world of extra-social categories, concentrating on formal explorations and individual self-expressions, has proved to be equally sterile from the social viewpoint.

Occasionally we come across films which lead us to believe that their makers seem afraid of depicting a character whose ideological and moral nature would be quite understandable, for which reason they do everything possible to "lower" it, to present it as commonplace. Some creative motion picture workers suffer, if one may say so, from social infantilism, not fully realizing that the progress of the motion picture can be insured only on the basis of a consistent party position and a class approach to the facts of reality. There still exists the view that social clarity is required only for "first rank" films, whereas movies on the family, duty, friendship and love do not have to exceed the narrow limits of strictly individual emotions. The viewer identifies with the character whose specific actions convince him of his ability to resolve the problems formulated by the party. Such heroes are created by our age and all that is needed is to discover them within life, to detect their new features, and artistically to depict the social meaning of their actions and accomplishments.

The socialist motion picture is directed toward serving the multimillion-strong masses. It is democratic by its very nature, for which reason it expresses the aspirations, thoughts, and expectations of the people. Any deliberate twisting of this principle, as much as any subconscious violation of the same principle, deprives cinematography of its ideological-artistic influence.

More than ever before today's Soviet cinematography works with a detachment of creative workers representing a tremendous potential force for the solution of the ever more complex problems of the contemporary cinema. Script writers, directors, actors, cameramen, artists, composers, sound engineers, and stagehands -- anyone who takes part in the making of a film -- must be directed toward the comprehensive development of the art of the screen through the intensification of its content, vividness, and pageantry. This demands the tireless work of state institutions and creative organizations with motion picture workers. In the light of the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work," efforts must be concentrated on the ideological-political upbringing and Marxist-Leninist education of the artistic intelligentsia.

Boundless loyalty to the ideals of communism and a feeling of pride in one's country which was the first in history to take the path of socialism, could and do result in outstanding original artistic accomplishments. The truly universal impact of our outstanding motion pictures has confirmed that this is the only fruitful way. The source of the true greatness and power of influence of

the Soviet motion picture lies in its freedom from the power of money, the denigrating oppression of producers, the conscious and open service to the people, the possibility of reaching the deepest strata of real life, its artistic passion, and its constant aspiration toward creative growth.

"The motion picture is a powerful instrument for molding public awareness," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out. "It is very important, therefore, that its influence be used for the good and not the evil of mankind, so that it may enhance the individual and awaken in the people noble feelings and thoughts." Such lofty objectives demand the coordinated efforts of all the parts of the process of making movies and the rejection of cheap taste and superficial views. It is extremely important for the works of the masters of the motion picture to serve the noble ideals of communism and optimistic aspirations for the future. We must continue to promote the creation of a sympathetic yet exacting creative atmosphere which will allow the artist to make full use of his talent, cautioning him against hasty solutions and helping those who need it to surmount shortsightedness and subjectivism, and promote the aspiration to pioneer the advancement of socialist culture.

In the past 5 years a number of organizational-economic measures have been implemented for enhancing the ideological-artistic level of motion picture work. To this effect a system of incentives for creative workers and studio collectives was introduced based on the box office value of a motion picture. The strengthening of the material and technical base, the streamlining of the foundations of the economics and improvements in production technology and wages and the new bonus system contributed to the creation of more favorable conditions for creative work. The 1978 and 1980 all-union conferences of cinematography workers were of great importance in mobilizing motion picture workers for the solution of ideological-creative problems.

The most important task of the USSR Goskino and its local organs is to upgrade the quality and standards of motion picture services to the urban and rural population. Important organizational-technical measures were implemented in accordance with the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures to Insure the Further Improvement of Cultural Services to the Rural Population."

Occasionally, however, we have experienced difficulties as well. Limited film resources have necessitated selective duplications. Consequently, not every motion picture has found its audience and not all audiences have had the opportunity to see the pictures they wanted. Improvements in providing motion picture services to the population have been hindered also by the fact that the building of new motion picture theaters has been far slower compared with the scale of residential construction. Nevertheless, film distributors and promoters have reached high indicators in competing for the fulfillment of the 10th Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule. Improvements in repertoire planning with a view to insuring the broadest possible showing of the best Soviet films have been a pivotal factor in the work of motion picture promoters along with their operative response to the most important events in the life of our state and people: the adoption of the new USSR Constitution, the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth and the 35th anniversary of the victory over fascism, and the

preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress. Topic showings based on political-propaganda measures, film festivals, movie evening cycles and movie lectures have been firmly added to film-showing practices. A greater variety of methods is being used to advertise and publicize motion pictures.

The international activities of Soviet cinematographers are of major importance. In the conditions of the aggravated ideological struggle and the anti-Soviet and antisocialist campaign unleashed by American imperialism and the Beijing hegemonists, Soviet motion pictures continue to bring to the world the truth of real socialism, of the heroic constructive toil of the Soviet people who are building communism, and of the peaceful foreign policy of the communist party and Soviet state.

The measures related to the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and the adoption of the USSR Constitution and the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of Soviet cinematography met with great success. The foreign public showed tremendous interest not only in Soviet cinematography but in the life of our country as a whole. In 1979, for example, about 180 festivals, weeks, first showings, and retrospective presentations of Soviet films were organized. The most significant among them were the 6-week festival which toured a number of United States cities, a retrospective showing of 150 of the best Soviet motion pictures in Paris, a festival in friendly Finland under the patronage of the country's president, Soviet motion picture days organized in 49 voyevodstvo centers in Poland, and others. The organization of the commercial distribution of Soviet films abroad has shown a certain improvement.

The increased international prestige of the Soviet motion picture is facing the energetic counteractions of authorities and motion picture makers in a number of capitalist countries. Using a variety of pretexts, of late some countries have postponed the holding of Soviet film weeks. The film section of the Museum of Modern Art in the United States canceled a retrospective showing of Soviet documentaries. The showing of the joint Soviet-Japanese pre-Olympic feature film "The Road to Medals" was allowed a restricted showing. The administration in Washington pressured the company which had commissioned in the USSR a film on preparations for the Olympic Games and made it cancel the showing. The sponsors of some international motion picture festivals are practicing a discriminatory policy by declining our offers to show the best Soviet films, formulating clearly tendentious conditions. Nevertheless, over the past 5 years 169 Soviet films were awarded prizes and certificates at 279 international motion picture festivals in which Soviet cinematography participated.

The movie-going public throughout the world is showing a growing interest in the international motion picture festivals sponsored in the Soviet Union. A total of 102 countries, together with the United Nations, UNESCO, the Chilean Patriotic Forces, the PLO, and five international motion picture organizations took part in the 11th Moscow International Movie Festival, held in 1979. The number of foreign visitors was unprecedentedly high: 1,292; there were 850 members of the press and a total of 662 motion pictures were shown.

The Tashkent International Motion Picture Festival of Asian, African and Latin American Countries has assumed great importance in the consolidation of the work of progressive cinematographers. This is the biggest motion picture festival in the world, allowing masters of the screen of the developing countries who are deprived of the opportunity for presenting their works at leading motion picture exhibits in the capitalist world to submit their creations. This was convincingly confirmed by the results of the recently held Sixth Tashkent Festival. The preparations for the festival took place under the conditions of an anti-Soviet campaign mounted by the Carter administration. Nevertheless, representatives of 92 countries (compared with 84 in 1978) attended this meeting of cinematographers as participants or guests. As a whole, the festival had a clearly expressed anti-imperialist direction. In their public addresses and press articles noted motion picture workers raised the problems of energizing cooperation in the struggle against the coercion of American cinematography and the "spiritual decolonization" of the public. They angrily condemned imperialist expansion in all areas of political, cultural and social life.

During this plan the close cooperation with the motion picture organizations of socialist and some capitalist countries continued. The best examples of creative cooperation included the work on the pictures "Soldiers of Freedom" and "Centaur" filmed with the participation of several socialist countries. The motion pictures on F. Dzerzhinskiy and the science fiction film "Pilot Pirks' Inquiry" were created jointly with Polish cinematographers. The historical-revolutionary motion picture "Love and Fury" was filmed with the participation of our Yugoslav colleagues. Swiss and French motion picture companies participated in the filming of "Tehran-43," an antifascist political motion picture. We worked productively with Finnish cinematographers on the comedy "For Matches," and with Indian filmmakers on the legend of "The Adventures of Ali Baba and the 40 Thieves."

Practical experience proved that the reactionary forces were unable to cause serious harm to Soviet cinematography's international cooperation. The foreign viewers of our films have increased and the films' influence on the men of culture in many countries has risen. This was convincingly confirmed by the result of the recently held extensive showing of Soviet films of the 1930s and 1970s at the international motion pictures festival in Pesaro (Italy) and the Soviet film festivals held in several Canadian cities. The successes of our motion pictures and our expanded cooperation with cinematographers from different countries and continents prove the great social activity of progressive cinematography. "In the present conditions of the aggravated international atmosphere created by the forces of imperialism and reaction," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "artistic culture and, above all, the motion picture as a mass art form, is becoming an ever more important means for the consolidation of progressive forces, strengthening the self-awareness of the nations, and protecting the world from the threat of a new world war."

Soviet cinematography is approaching the 26th CPSU Congress with a dynamic creative acceleration stemming from the decisions of the 25th congress and the entire atmosphere of the life of our people, who are displaying political activeness and labor enthusiasm.

On the eve of the congress the viewers will see the new films "Your Son, Earth (The Rayon Committee Secretary)" "Horses Are Not Switched Midstream," about the people of KamAZ, "Facts of the Past," on working people and scientists, and the military-patriotic films "A Particularly Important Assignment," and "The Front Behind Enemy Lines." A large group of cinematographers are working on the documentary-publicistic epic "Most Precious Of All," whose eight full-feature motion pictures will describe the heroic years of the postwar rebuilding of the country. L. I. Brezhnev's book "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] is of determining importance in terms of the conception and creative solution of this monumental cycle. The future plans of the studios include films on the building of socialism and the molding of the new man, on the workers in town and country, and on the historical development and present stage in the life of the peoples of our country.

The Soviet cinematographers are dedicating their creative forces to the filming of works depicting in full our contemporary, the active builder of communism, vividly describing the features of the socialist way of life. The same noble objective motivates the masters of the screen when they address themselves to the heroic revolutionary and military past of our country. As they develop the traditions of Soviet cinematography on the basis of the experience acquired after the 25th CPSU Congress, the makers of socialist realism motion pictures are welcoming the forthcoming forum of the country's party members as loyal assistants of the party in the building of communism and the ideological, moral and esthetic education of the working people.

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ON MATHEMATICS AND THE QUALITY OF ITS TEACHING

Moscow KOMBUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 80 pp 99-112

[Article by Academician L. Pontryagin, Hero of Socialist Labor]

[Text] For some time KOMBUNIST has been receiving critical reports on the state of the teaching of mathematics in secondary schools. The following article by Academician L. S. Pontryagin reflects the essence of this criticism most completely.

The editors showed the article to a number of specialists, as follows: Academician I. M. Vinogradov, director of the Mathematical Institute imeni V. A. Steklov, Academician A. N. Tikhonov, director of the Institute of Applied Mathematics imeni N. V. Keldysh and dean of the Computer Mathematics and Cybernetics Department, Moscow University, Academician V. S. Vladimirov, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member A. I. Kostrikin, Doctor of Pedagogical Sciences Yu. M. Kolyagin, deputy director of the RSFSR Ministry of Education Scientific Research Institute of Schools, professors and teachers at the Machine-Mathematical Department of Moscow State University, of the Applied Mathematics Department, Moscow Aviation Institute imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze, of the chair for specialized courses in higher mathematics of the Moscow Energetics Institute, of the higher mathematics chair of the Moscow Physical-Technical Institute and of other VUZs, and to a number of secondary and secondary specialized school teachers.

The unanimous view was that the principled assessment of L. S. Pontryagin of the current situation regarding the teaching of mathematics in secondary schools was accurate. The question he raises is exceptionally important, for secondary school mathematics plays an important role in polytechnical education. The quality of its teaching determines the further training of cadres in most professions and the molding of the creative potential of the country, particularly its engineering-technical and scientific personnel.

The definition of a vector in the secondary school textbook drew my attention.

Instead of the universally accepted and clear explanation that a vector is a direct segment (a definition retained, for example, in the "Politekhnicheskiy Slovar" [Polytechnical Dictionary], Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya, 1976, p 71), the high school students are forced to learn the following: "A vector (a parallel transfer), defined by a pair (A,B.) of noncoinciding points is a changed space in which each point M is reflected on a point M', in such a way that the MM' beam is codirected with the beam AB and the distance MM', equals the distance AB" (V. M. Klopskiy, Z. A. Skopets, and M. I. Yagodovskiy, "Geometriya Uchebnoye Posobiye Dlya 9 i 10 Klassov Sredney Shkoly" [Geometry. Textbook for the 9th and 10th Secondary School Grades]. Sixth edition. Prosveshcheniye, Moscow, 1980, p 42).

It is not easy to understand all this. Above all, it is useless, for it cannot be applied in physics, mechanics, or the other sciences.

What is this? A mockery? Unrealized stupidity? No, replacing in textbooks many relatively simple and clear formulations with cumbersome ones and deliberate complications, it appears, are triggered by the desire...to perfect (!) the teaching of mathematics.

Had the example I cited been merely an annoying exception, obviously, the error could have been easily eliminated. In my view, however, unfortunately, the entire system of secondary school mathematics training has reached a similar condition....

However, before we discuss this, it would be expedient to express some preliminary remarks regarding mathematics itself. Its importance is increasing. It is applied in ever new areas of knowledge and practice. At the same time, mathematics itself is developing at a headlong pace. In the past it appeared as a strictly applied science dealing with space forms and quantitative relations within the real world, i.e., with a very real material. In the course of its development mathematics became ever more abstract, assuming a form which to a certain extent suppressed its "earthly" origin. In order to study the forms and relations in their pure form they had mentally to be separated from their content which was shunted aside as unimportant. It was no accident that F. Engels pointed out this fact in his brilliant work "Anti-Duhring."

Abstraction from reality resulted in various dimensionless points and lines deprived of thickness and width, a variety of "a" and "b," "x" and "y," along with fixed and variable values. This led to products of "free creativity and imagination of the mind itself," or to imaginary values. "However, it is entirely wrong to believe that in pure mathematics the mind deals exclusively with the products of its own making and imagination," Engels wrote (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch" [Works], Vol 20, p 37). The deduction of one mathematical concept from another which does not appear to rest on specific data and facts proves not the a priori appearance of such concepts but merely their rational connection. We can only agree with the thought that, "like all other sciences mathematics developed on the basis of practical human needs.... Yet, as in all other areas of thinking, reaching a certain level of development,

the laws abstracted from the real world separate themselves from the real world, pit themselves against it as an independent feature, as laws which have appeared outside the world and which the world must take into consideration. ...Pure mathematics is subsequently applied in world matters even though it came from this same world and merely expresses some of its specific forms of relations and it is precisely for this reason alone that it could be used at all" (Ibid, pp 37-38).

Even though it "rises" above life and reality, its development requires a mandatory return to its origins, to practice, finding in it its touchstone which will certify the true value of its theoretical-mathematical elaborations and will revise or assert its grounds and perfect its approaches and methods.

That is why we cannot take seriously philosophizing such as, "It is generally accepted (?!—the author) to subdivide mathematics into the following branches: pure mathematics (more strictly mathematics), applied mathematics and meta-mathematics. In turn, pure mathematics is subdivided into formal and content mathematics." (From a pamphlet on the "philosophical problems of mathematics," published by Izdatel'stvo Znaniye. I am not naming the author only because the pamphlet was published 7 years ago.) There are no "supramathematical" parts (sections) in mathematics (the Greek prefix "meta" means "extra," "beyond"), and it is equally stupid to subdivide mathematics into "formal" and "content." I do not belittle in the least the importance of theoretical and applied specialization of research activities. However, a closer study would easily prove the close interaction and interweaving of their basic problems and realms of application. The high level of abstraction of modern mathematics may hypnotize the nonspecialists and, obviously, lead them to the development of idle views and erroneous concepts, and a particular reverence exclusively of the caballistic formulations such as the one in the textbook I cited, as well as mistrust of the clarity and simplicity of truly scientific stipulations. It is precisely such an attitude, triggered by diletantism in a specialized area, combined with a narrow general outlook, that provides unfavorable grounds for practical decision-making.

There is indeed an area of mathematics known as mathematical logic which studies formal mathematical expressions, the means of their elaboration, rules of conclusion and other similar and precisely defined operations in a strict mathematical sense. However, this does not mean that there is an entire department of mathematics, as the author we cited claims, known as "formal mathematics" in which specialists are engaged in the manufacturing of practically unnecessary "statements." His classification of "pure mathematics" into "formal and content" makes no sense to mathematicians. Bearing in mind that he "mixes up" already difficult mathematical concepts with foggy philosophical formulations and resorts to unjustified summarizations, one could only wonder at the verbiage presented as science in the pages of a mass publication.

Could this also be the basis for discussions on some kind of "subject of the philosophy of mathematics" consisting, allegedly, of "mathematical properties and relations whose inherence or noninherence we (i.e., the author) could determine on the basis of philosophical categories and concepts?" As it is written, this means that philosophical categories and concepts "act as a base

(foundation) needed for the solution of philosophical problems of mathematics."

I fear that with this approach the author removes himself not only from mathematics itself but from the scientific philosophy which is the foundation of the prevailing outlook in our society, and the methodology of our knowledge. Indeed, the view that "formal mathematics" (the expression alone would jar a mathematical scientist) is a "sum total of formal theories whose main interpretations are systems of mathematical objects" appear to me no more than verbiage, while speculations that "the concept of linguistic formulas (propositions) is purely syntactic (formal) neither relying on content (semantics) nor independent of it," essentially false. The definition that "formal theory means an accurate subset... or a formula of a formal language" is nonsense.

All this would be merely entertaining had it not confused the mind and introduced (considering such a mass edition) distorted ideas in the broad reading public, particularly young people whose developing minds are particularly impressionable and receptive.

The mature specialist equipped with the necessary professional knowledge has acquired immunity from such "ideas" and could merely ironically shrug his shoulders. The question arises, however, as to what kind of mathematician would begin to describe basic arithmetic as a "subset... of formal language formulas" as the author has done in this case? The specific feature of a "formal theory," in his view, is the fact that its "proposition" is recognized through some kind of "effective method" only "on the basis of its forms, regardless of content." "The main thing," he writes, "is that formal theories are structured and developed regardless of semantics or interpretations (unless we ignore the heuristic meaning of interpretations)."

What does this mean?... Yes, the form may have specific characteristics of development which, however, are not independent in the least of the logic of the development of the content.

These are elementary philosophical rules whose mention is simply embarrassing.

The abstractness of mathematics is a derivate, a consequence of its specific nature, rather than vice versa; abstraction is a logical act, stemming from meaningful activities; "form as such" is a definite meaningful object activity consisting of the reproduction of aspects of objects, phenomena, and processes existing in the objective world; considered "by itself," outside such physical activity, would lead us, in the final account, to identifying the subject of the science with its "language," i.e., to falling into idealism and metaphysics. The identification of the subject of a theory with its formal apparatus leads to the fact that mathematics, as conceived by such pseudo-philosophers, is distorted into linguistics (similar to the way an analogous trend would conversely identify theoretical with mathematical linguistics).

I shall now leave this matter and the criticism of the imperfections and distortions of the pamphlet I came across incidentally behind me. Other examples could be cited as well as they have begun to appear in large quantities, like

tadpoles in springtime waters, not worthy of any attention. However, every farmer knows the danger of weeds in a cultivated field. Unless prompt measures are taken, the weeds could aggressively spread, eliminating the grass. I would like to emphasize that false ideas could distort the field of knowledge and their uncontrolled chain reaction could trigger false trends in our life. This is already a matter of concern.

In my view, no specialist could remain indifferent to further development in an area of his activities or show no concern for the training of its cadres. People who are incompetent in mathematics but are involved in the organization of scientific research and the training of specialists or, in general, operate within the educational system, nurtured by "readings" such as we cited, could unwittingly become confused and make errors fraught with far-reaching consequences.

The question of what to work on faces the mathematicians themselves perhaps more urgently than workers in other fields of knowledge. Having appeared in its time as an answer to practical needs, mathematics has had, has, and will have as its main task the study of the material world which surrounds us, with a view to its further conquest by man. At the same time, naturally, it has its own inner logic of development as well, by virtue of which scientists may create very abstract theoretical elaborations which are not directly connected with our immediate reality and which do not immediately find a practical application.

I am familiar with the admiration which a noteworthy order and characteristic beauty of such elaborations may create. However, this cannot be the only justification for their existence. Mathematics is not music whose beauty provides pleasure to the broad audience of non-musicians. Only a narrow circle of specialists may experience an esthetic pleasure from mathematical beauty, and the creation of values for this exclusive purpose means a clear distortion of the high purpose of mathematics, locking it within itself and thus factually forcing it to spin idly.

I do not intend to claim that the areas of mathematics with an inner structure but no direct practical significance have no right to exist. They are part of the very fabric of science and their elimination would disturb its entire structure. Furthermore, it has turned out that some areas of mathematics without practical application for several centuries eventually find such applications. A classical example in this case are second order curves developed in antiquity on the basis of the internal requirements of "pure" science but which, subsequently, found a very important practical use. On the other hand, some branches of mathematics dealing with its internal problems alone, while remaining "something within themselves," gradually degenerate and, in the final account, virtually always prove to be totally useless. I believe that no "philosophical" substantiations of a "formal theory" could provide a justification or consolation for such mathematical exercises. Clearly, this directly applies to "philosophy for the sake of philosophy" (would someone coin the expression "formal philosophy"?). Probably, this is precisely the term that should be applied to the type of "philosophizing which refers to the "philosophical foundations of mathematics"). However, the purpose of philosophy

is not to explain the world on a contemplative basis or speculatively to invent "philosophical principles" or "foundations" (mathematics, for example), but to study object activities and be a methodological foundation for their reorganization and a manual for practical action (specifically in the selection of research topics).

Therefore, taking into consideration the high level of development of today's mathematical instrumentarium and the fact that progress in mathematics is stimulated not only through outside reasons but internal factors as well, the question of the selection of research topics becomes a matter of great concern to the mathematicians. I believe that if not all, in any case, many of them must turn in their work to the prime sources, i.e., to the applications of mathematics. This is necessary in order to introduce a new fresh current in scientific research and insure the more active practical application of very effective mathematical methods.

Since everything alive is dialectic, while emphasizing the significance of applied research, let us caution against converting it into its opposite under a superficially seemingly "proper" cover. I mean by this the mathematical mystifying of practical problems, something which benefits neither the mind nor the heart. Recently we have seen so-called economic-mathematical works saturated with complex mathematical symbols yet not containing a single specific numerical example, symbols inaccessible and useless to the economists and of insignificant or nonexistent value to the mathematicians.

Of late mathematical speculations in the fields of theoretical physics and the technical sciences have assumed a dangerous nature. Matters have gone so far that serious work in the technological field could be stunted because of its lack of mathematical substantiation, even though the practical use of the study may be universally clear. It is an insult to mathematicians that mathematics is occasionally used as window-dressing, for the sake of hiding the poverty and impotence of one or another special project (in biology and medicine, for example). This is insulting, above all, because, in fact, the proper use of mathematics in special studies could provide very tangible results.

We must admit, as I have said (see *USPEKHI MATEMATICHESKIKH NAUK*, No 6 (204), Vol 33, 1978, p 21), that some areas of mathematics have been severely neglected as a result of our own carelessness and lack of understanding of current happenings.

One such neglected area is the teaching of mathematics in secondary schools. The educational reform which was made over 10 years ago brought about, in my view, a strange situation which I have already discussed in the newspaper *SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA* (21 March 1979, the article "Ethics and Arithmetic") and, together with my colleagues, in the journal *MATEMATIKA V SHKOLE* (No 3, 1979).

The letter by 13 secondary school seniors from Vilnius published by *KOMKOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA*, 12 March 1978, "Untalented Students?") the comment to which, in my view, was unconvincing, gives nourishment for sad thoughts. It expressed real despair: "In no case could we master the mathematics

curriculum.... A great part of it we cannot understand and not everything could be memorized.... The textbooks are unintelligible.... We are getting nowhere...."

However, a general concern had developed far earlier. The teaching of mathematics became a general conversation topic, from the family circle with secondary school children to the highest levels. What concerned the parents was that even with engineering training they were unable to understand the material taught in the classroom and were unable to help their children to prepare their homework. The meaning of the material remained unclear as well. Educators were confused and puzzled by the new programs. Some of them sent me very emotional letters on this subject.

USSR Minister of Education M. A. Prokof'yev described the reasons for this phenomenon in a television address (in 1979). He reported that 12 years ago some authorities had decided that mathematics as taught then in secondary schools was behind the requirements of the times, for which reason it was necessary to "modernize" it. Unquestionably, high school mathematics needed some improvements. However, the applied measures worsened rather than improved the situation. The result was the programs and school aids still currently used in teaching mathematics in the schools.

I heard at a conference an academician physicist say that, "It is entirely clear why parents even with engineering training are unable to understand secondary school mathematics, for this is modern mathematics while they studied the old mathematics only...." So, that was the "secret." Immediately, I asked myself the following question: Why do children need such high school mathematics if even specialists with higher technical training cannot understand it?

The requirements concerning the content of a mathematics curriculum and their practical implementation through textbooks have legitimately increased today. In recent years the content of the teaching of mathematics in secondary schools was reviewed and elements of mathematical analysis, theory of probabilities, and so on, which the program includes, could be considered basically a progressive phenomenon. However, the authors of the currently used textbooks have based their presentation on the theoretical-multiplication approach which is distinguished by its higher level of abstraction and which presumes a certain mathematical knowledge which secondary school students neither have nor could have. Most teachers as well lack the same knowledge. What has this led to? To an unnecessary complication of the material and the excessive overloading of the students, the introduction of formalism in training and its alienation from reality, from practice. Many most important concepts of the course of mathematics (such as function, equation, vector, and so on) have become difficult to understand by the students.

At a given stage in the development of mathematics the highly abstract theoretical-multiplication concept became fashionable because new and its attractiveness prevailed over specific research. However, the theoretical-multiplication approach is convenient only in the mathematical-professional language of scientific research. The real trend in mathematical development is its

progress toward specific problems, toward practical use. The current mathematics textbooks, therefore, are a step backwards in the use of this science. They are groundless for they emasculate the essence of the mathematical method.

There is nothing prejudicial in using the word "multiple" in secondary school, since it is part of the Russian language. Thus, the definition of a circumference may have two variants. The first is, "a circumference consists of all points on a plane placed at the same distance from a given point." The second is, "a circumference is a multiplicity of all points located at a specific distance from a given point." The second variant defines the circumference no better and no worse than the first. The word "multiplicity" is totally harmless and, generally speaking, unnecessary. In the updated textbooks and curriculums, however, it has been raised to the level of a scientific term which has brought about major consequences. Immediately concepts appeared such as "intersection of multiples," "combination of multiples," and "inclusion of multiples." Corresponding symbols were introduced. Such symbols which seem to us, professional mathematicians, quite understandable are not so easily understandable by the students. Above all, they are not needed for understanding high school mathematics.

The striving for greater commonness, inherent in the new programs, and the ubiquitous use of "multiples" as a scientific term are expressed, for example, in the fact that a geometric figure is defined as a multiplicity of points." Yet, since in the theory of sets two sets could be equal only if they totally coincide, the word "equality" can no longer be applied in the case of two different triangles. It is replaced by the non-Russian word "congruency." This is not a word used in practice. No builder would speak of two "congruent beams" (or a cloth-cutter of "congruent bits of cloth"). He would speak of equal or identical beams (or lengths of cloth).

We already cited the indigestible definition of a vector. This is quite a typical example of how a relatively simple, intuitively clear concept may be presented in a pedagogically absurd way. It was a consequence of the fact that the authors could not fit the old definition into the theoretical-multiple concept. A vector is not a "set." The equality of vectors is not a theoretical-multiple equality. That is why in the current high school geometry course a vector is described as the "parallel shift of spaces" while the summation of two vectors is described as the "sequential application of two parallel shifts." Such definitions are not only exceptionally complex but are totally inconsistent with the universally accepted instrumentarium in the areas of physics, mechanics, and all technical sciences.

Functions are defined in a similar way. Instead of saying that a function is a value "y" whose numerical expression could be found by knowing the numerical value of the independent variable "x," which is generally written as $y = f(x)$, and offer a number of examples in support of the formula, essentially the function is defined as the reflection of one set on another. However, its description in secondary school textbooks is far more complex: the concept of relations among elements of two different sets is introduced. It is then stated that if several conditions imposed on this relation are met the latter is a function.

The new textbooks are crowded with such cumbersome, complex and, above all, unnecessary definitions. The mathematical concept of equation is reduced to the grammatical concept of proposition. The unfortunate minds of the children must absorb the concept of the equation as a "proposition with a variable" (Yu. N. Makarychev, N. G. Mindyuk and K. S. Muravin, "Algebra. Uchebnik Dlya 6-go Klassa Sredney Shkoly" [Algebra. Textbook for the Sixth Grade of Secondary Schools]. Prosveshcheniye, Moscow, 1977, p 12). I totally failed to understand what this meant. Examples are already provided in the textbook for the fourth grade. Thus, the following "proposition" is given: "The river x flows into the Caspian Sea." It is then explained that if x is replaced by Volga," we would have a right confirmation and that, consequently, "Volga" is the solution to the equation. If the x is replaced by "Dnepr" the confirmation would be wrong, for which reason "Dnepr" is not the accurate solution of the equation (see N. Ya. Vilenkin, K. I. Neshkov, S. I. Shvartsburd, A. S. Chesnokov and A. D. Semushin. "Matematika. Uchebnik Dlya 4-go Klassa Sredney Shkoly" [Mathematics. Textbook for the Fourth Grade of Secondary Schools]. Prosveshcheniye, Moscow, 1979, p 39).

What does this have in common with mathematics? Mathematics has its specific terminology and its reduction to grammar concepts is unnecessary. However, this is a highly symptomatic fact if we consider what we already mentioned on the subject of the "philosophy of mathematics" which is ready to reduce the subject of mathematical theory to its "linguistic" manipulations.

From the very first grades mathematics is being taught on an excessively abstract basis which hinders the mastering of its basic subject--arithmetic. The introduction of a deliberately complicated curriculum, harmful by its very nature, is additionally worsened by low quality or, in a number of cases, simply illiterately written textbooks. The main fault, naturally, lies in the false principle itself since no advantage is derived from its better implementation.

Meanwhile, the fact is generally acknowledged that the older method was not bad and nor were its textbooks. It is not fortuitous that it is precisely those textbooks that are used by tutors preparing secondary school seniors for VUZ enrollment. Incidentally, it is precisely the rejection of the previous positive aspects of secondary school training that has contributed to the appearance of a "black market" of tutorship with its speculative prices. This is a disgraceful phenomenon incompatible with the moral principles governing our society.

Nor do such "natural disasters" agree with the principles of social management which must be strictly observed by our school system as well.

Examples of better textbooks may be found such as, for example, the geometry textbook by Academician A. V. Pogorelov ("Geometriya. Posobiye Dlya Uchiteley" [Geometry. Teachers' Aid]. Prosveshcheniye, Moscow, 1979). The impression is, however, that the USSR Ministry of Education is not in a hurry to increase the number of such examples.

Occasionally, defending the theoretical-multiple approach as a "modern" system in education, ministry officials cite the Western European countries as an example. They have adopted this approach, it is claimed, whereas we have fallen behind leading experience. As early as 1972, however, the French Academy of Sciences, for example, found out that such modernized teaching of mathematics leads to the publication of poor and faulty textbooks and teaching methods, and that the teaching of mathematics in French schools is not being as useful to general education as should be expected.

Four years ago, addressing the First Pan-African Mathematical Congress in Rabat, Jean (Leuret), a leading French mathematician, criticized the educational system in the developed capitalist countries, pointing out that their teachers and textbooks are experiencing ever growing difficulties in providing the children with the type of knowledge they would need subsequently. Here is what he said on the subject of mathematics as taught in French schools: "The recent development of the concept of multiples considerably broadened the area of application and the power of mathematical methods. However, does this mean that the teaching of mathematics to adolescents should be based on this concept, i.e., follow the system used in N. Bourbaki's splendid treatise? The only possible answer is no.... Could a mathematics course for young people be logically structured on the basis of the theory of sets, i.e., could the essence of this theory be presented in a simple and accessible language? An attempt was made in France to achieve this on the basis of self-sufficiency based on lack of understanding. This could not but lead to catastrophe.... The triumph of a method based on the repetition of polysyllabic definitions leads to most serious social consequences. On the one hand, this alienates capable youngsters from acquiring a scientific education, depriving them of the privilege of having an adult instructor who could explain to them that it is normal for them not to understand what they are being taught. On the other, this draws to such classes precisely the least capable or intelligent students who memorize and parrot without understanding.... The distorted situation in which the teaching of mathematics has found itself in France appeared, more than in the Anglo-Saxon countries, as a result of the entirely legitimate desire for progress. Even our most sincere and purposeful reformers were unable to exclude from this work charlatans who displayed initiative as was the case, for example, with those who thoughtlessly wrote thick textbooks full of errors and were given priority reprint rights, i.e., the right to reproduce errors. The teachers themselves were intensively indoctrinated.... Method workers fear loss of authority by correcting errors. I read to two consecutive French ministers of public education the essential content of ministerial instructions whose purpose is to overwhelm our children with scientific definitions of a straight line... They admitted their own lack of understanding of what they had issued as mandatory instructions. However, the instructions were not canceled."

Unwittingly, this statement calls for a comparison with the question of mathematics as taught in our schools. "Modern" mathematics textbooks, approved by the USSR Ministry of Education and published in millions of copies by Izdatel'stvo Prosveshcheniye, have a similar approach to the criticized French textbooks.

In recent years elements of higher mathematics have been introduced in the secondary school curriculum. Since such elements were to be taught to all students, rather than only to those who intend subsequently to become professional mathematicians, their presentation should have been quite clear and simple, avoiding unnecessary formalism. In fact, however, they are made complex, overloaded with unnecessary facts, and inaccessible to the understanding of the students. As to basic mathematics, its main parts have been greatly abridged. They are incomplete and unsupported by a sufficient number of examples and problems. The result was that, on the one hand, the students are stunned by formal and difficult material, most of which unnecessary, while, on the other, they are not taught the required skills needed for performing basic arithmetic work and algebraic conversions, or resolving the simplest equations and inequalities (including quadratic). Their knowledge of trigonometry is weak. They are unable to apply algebra and trigonometry in resolving geometry problems. They develop the false idea that mathematics is something unintelligible and very remote from reality and inaccessible to many people. Clearly, however, the senior personnel within the educational system are not disturbed by the saturation of textbooks with multiple "formal language formulas."

It is very annoying to note that instead of developing in the students the practical ability and skills to use the acquired knowledge the teachers spend most of their time explaining the meaning of the introduced abstract concepts which are difficult to understand because of their abstractness, and total alienation from the practical experience of children and adolescents. They do not help the development of their mathematical thinking and, above all, they are totally useless. It is at this point, finally, that it would be suitable to distinguish between "formal" and "content" mathematics, alas, for a purpose different from the one described by the philosopher we mentioned. The content aspect of mathematics as taught in the schools has been factually restricted by the strictly formal aspect. Academicians V. S. Vladimirov, A. N. Tikhonov and I wrote the following in the journal MATEMATIKA V SHKOLE (No 3, 1979): "The excessive amount and unjustified complexity of the presentation of the material develop in many students loss of faith in their ability and a feeling of inadequacy in the study of mathematics. To a certain extent this explains a loss of interest in natural science and technical subjects... The situation which is developing with the teaching of mathematics in secondary schools demands the adoption of decisive corrective measures."

In the journal's issue that followed Academicians L. V. Kantorovich and S. L. Sobolev published the article "Mathematics in the Modern School." In an effort to defend the inept innovations, the authors in fact (even though with stipulations) were forced to acknowledge the accuracy of the criticism. However, they tried to depict it as an "appeal to a return to already archaic curriculums and textbooks." This last conclusion changed the plane of the argument and distorted its essence.

I find it necessary to quote the following somewhat noteworthy excerpt: "It must be pointed out that such extreme conclusions, initially expressed by the bureau of the Department of Mathematics were not supported at the general meeting of the department after a more detailed study of the problem."

It seems to me that this statement was used by my respected colleague in an effort to mislead the public. The general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences Department of Mathematics, held in December 1978, passed a highly principled decision which supported the view of the department's bureau. Following is a quote from the decision: "1. The existing situation concerning mathematics curriculums and textbooks for secondary schools must be considered unsatisfactory. 2. The resubmitted program for secondary school mathematics submitted by the USSR Ministry of Education must be considered unsatisfactory. 3. A commission must be set on problems of the study of mathematics in secondary schools under the USSR Academy of Sciences Department of Mathematics."

In connection with the debate which developed in the journal, N. N. Bogolyubov, academic secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences Department of Mathematics, asked the journal to publish the full text of the resolution of the general meeting of the department on the subject (a copy of the letter was sent to the USSR minister of education). R. S. Cherkasov, the journal's editor in chief, deemed it expedient to refuse....

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On the Further Improvement of the Education and Training of Students in General Education Schools and Their Training for Work" stipulated that, "in many cases school curriculums and textbooks are overloaded with unnecessary information and secondary data. This hinders the development in the students of the habit to engage in independent creative work." This statement entirely and fully applies to the current secondary school mathematics curriculum.

The USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences played a passive role in the creation of the current textbooks by failing to pay proper attention to their quality.

Strangely enough, a number of specialists in the method for teaching mathematics, despite their extensive scientific knowledge, were unable to understand the unsuitability of the existing school curriculums. Meanwhile, the positive initiatives of secondary school teachers aimed at improving the teaching of mathematics are frequently suppressed with circulars or, at best, are insufficiently supported.

A principled attitude toward criticism means not only its verbal acknowledgment but the adoption of specific actions to correct an existing situation. Quotations from party documents are neither a dead letter or a fashionable statement. The strict observance of party and state decisions is the law of life in our country. It is a manifestation of the unity of word and action and of theory and practice. Separating one from the other is nothing but a violation of the very principle governing our life. This is how all Soviet people conceive of a violation of the directives of their leadership. This, in turn, presumes the adoption of specific measures.

In order for the secondary school mathematics curriculum to be improved, it must begin by bringing together the clear concepts and practical experience of the students and to train them in the use of their knowledge of mathematics in their subsequent activities. Secondly, the study of mathematics must contribute to the development among secondary school students of the firm habits of mental computations and the development of logical thinking and of

three-dimensional concepts. Thirdly, the students must master the mathematical concepts which they will encounter in their practical work, while the introduced terms and symbols must be consistent with the ones generally accepted in scientific and technical publications and used in related subjects. These requirements are not extraordinary in the least. On the contrary, they are simple. Incidentally, let us note that the closer we come to the truth the simpler are the conclusions whereas pseudoscientific philosophizing can only separate us from the truth.

The Soviet Union has a brilliant galaxy of first-rate mathematicians and an experienced army of highly-skilled education cadres. Joining efforts with the public education organs, they can successfully resolve a problem of great social significance: raise the quality of mathematical training of secondary school students and thus contribute to the further successes of higher education and science in the country of developed socialism.

[Editorial note] As was reported to the editors, the experience gained in the acceptance of new students in higher educational institutions proves that in recent years the level of mathematical training in secondary school has declined sharply. Major gaps, previously unheard of, have been noted in the knowledge of high school graduates taking VUZ entrance examinations. A great deal of very necessary knowledge and skills (including arithmetic, solution of algebraic equations and inequalities, trigonometric and geometric constructions and transformations, and so on) appear to have been lost as the result of an unjustified excess of abstract theoretical-multiple concepts. Many essentially important sections (such as, for example, complex numbers) turned out to have been deleted from the curriculum. This has created difficulties in the teaching of a number of special subjects in technical schools and VUZs.

Formalism has equally affected secondary specialized and higher educational institutions. It has been equally felt in scientific research projects submitted by candidates for scientific degrees in education.

The fact that the need to expand somewhat the mathematics curriculum which was used before the unsuccessful reform was desirable--mainly as applied to the elements of mathematical analysis--is unquestionable, and L. S. Pontryagin's letter calls not for a return to the teaching of mathematics as done in the past but for making it truly consistent with the requirements of reality and the problems posed by scientific and technical progress. The scientist also objects to the distortions inflicted on the essence of his science and to distorted training methods. He calls for giving this subject its true meaning and for a scientific-pedagogical and scientific-psychological substantiation of training methods. The present secondary school curriculum does not insure the lasting and conscientious study of the foundations of mathematics by the students which will be required in their further practical or school work.

Successful teaching depends on the extent to which abstract categories and concepts are consistent with the age group characteristics of the developing minds of children or adolescents, related to their physical activities. The only abstractions whose use is legitimate in training are those which summarize the practical experience of mankind at large and of the individual, the history

of social practice and knowledge and the history of the mental development of the child or, in a word, the truths which represent the "result, sum total, and conclusion of the history of the knowledge of the world" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," [Complete Collected Works], Vol 29, p 84). The separation of scientific abstractions from this experience, pitting it against the highest results of scientific development, ignoring the characteristics of the mental development of the child and neglecting the laws and stages governing the child's sociopsychological maturing emaculate the content of the scientific truths taught by the teachers and deform the mind.

The schools must provide worthwhile knowledge. They must teach how to think. They must contribute to the intensive and extensive mental development and to the activeness of the mind leading it to intellectual activities. It is precisely all this that is obstructed by the cumbersome formalism with which school curricula and textbooks are saturated.

Sadly, the rich positive experience which was considered the pride of our country's secondary education and which stimulated the fruitful creative growth of the young people, energizing their interest in mathematics, the natural sciences and technology, and trained talented people, has been eliminated.

The lessons in mathematics must assist the students in strengthening their faith in themselves and assert their independent thinking. Let us recall that at the very time that the new (i.e., the current) curriculum began to be introduced in secondary schools, V. A. Sukhomlinskiy wrote: "No single concept, judgment, conclusion or law should be memorized without understanding. In childhood this is harmful. In adolescence it is a tremendous danger...." The example of today's teaching of mathematics shows how an erroneous organization of mental training and the overloading of the mind with formal data rather than the active use of thinking (precisely at a time when the adolescent is only learning how to think and judge) impoverish the mental activities of the student, delay the development of his capabilities, deprive him of an understanding of the real base for summarization, make articulation confused and weaken the imagination.

Let us point out that the updating of secondary school mathematics was also imperfectly organized: the same person headed the commission of the USSR Academy of Sciences and USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, which drafted the new program and the commission of the USSR Ministry of Education which approved this program and the corresponding textbooks. The consequence was that a single viewpoint prevailed. (Unfortunately, a similar situation exists today in physics as well.)

Competent specialists have noted that the article by L. S. Pontryagin aptly covers philosophical problems as well: the author is right by firmly objecting to the excessive use of abstract elaborations not only in the teaching of mathematics but in mathematics itself and opposes pseudoscientific speculations related to the incorrect interpretation of the subject.

The uncritical adoption of foreign achievements in relatively new branches of mathematics, and the exaggerated general scientific value of such achievements have brought about the incorrect evaluation of the importance of many results in mathematical research and, in a number of cases, an idealistic interpretation of the nature of the subject of mathematics and the absolutizing of abstract elaborations, belittling the gnosiological role of practical work. The excessive use of the abstractions of the theoretical-multiple approach minoritized the creative interests of university students and young scientists. Unfortunately, this approach predominated in the teaching of mathematics in secondary schools as well, causing substantial harm.

Following is an excerpt by Academician A. N. Tikhonov:

"I believe that L. S. Pontryagin's article properly describes the existing situation regarding mathematics and its teaching in secondary schools.... Drawing the attention to this article is quite timely. Some 3 years have already passed since the publication of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on further improving training and education. However, no firm action on its implementation by the USSR Ministry of Education is as yet visible. Time, however, does not stand still....

"L. S. Pontryagin's article is strictly critical. It fails to note some positive steps taken by the RSFSR Ministry of Education. Starting with 1 September 1979, the ministry initiated an educational experiment, headed by me, aimed at improving teaching of mathematics in the sixth grades of a number of secondary schools in the Russian Federation However, the gravity of the situation is such that, in my view, the public must be immediately informed of it. L. S. Pontryagin's article precisely meets this requirement. I cannot but agree with its content."

As the RSFSR Ministry of Education Program-Method Administration reported to the editors, in the past few years extensive work was done in the area of secondary school education to eliminate the most obvious shortcomings and errors in the teaching of mathematics.

Taking into consideration the fact that the secondary school mathematics curriculum and the textbooks written by specialists were applied without adequate methodical-pedagogical review or preliminary extensive experimentation, as of 1970 the RSFSR Ministry of Education has interfered on 10 occasions in the process underway of updating the mathematics course, introducing individual corrections, abbreviations and simplifications, and bringing them to the knowledge of the local public education organs. The ministry's collegium has held annual discussions on the results of the investigations of the teaching of mathematics, the critical remarks by school workers, and suggestions on improving the situation. Summarizing documents have been submitted to the USSR Ministry of Education. Unquestionably, they have been of some use. However, these have all been palliatives. The education workers have felt that basically the shortcomings were not found in the essence of the program but in some incomplete aspects, haste in its implementation, poor textbooks, and so on. Thus, since sixth grade students showed difficulty in understanding geometry, in 1972 they simply abolished the midterm grades for this subject. The result of this measure was to draw the attention away from the alarming symptom. The

cancellation of grades of the subsequent final geometry examination was even more indicative.

Reacting to the growing criticism voiced by education workers, parents, and scientists-mathematicians (particularly following the decision adopted by the general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences Department of Mathematics in December 1978), starting with the 1978/79 school year the RSFSR Ministry of Education launched the experiment of teaching sixth grade mathematics on the basis of an improved curriculum and with new textbooks. This experiment is currently underway in Moscow, Leningrad, Kaluzhskaya and Gor'kovskaya oblasts, and the Nizhny Novgorod ASSR. It covers about 6,000 students. A commission has been assigned to improve mathematics curricula and textbooks for general educational schools. The Scientific Research Institute of Schools of the RSFSR Ministry of Education is in charge of the overall organizational and methodical-pedagogical management of the experiment, while the ideological-theoretical management is provided by Academician A. N. Tikhonov. The commission consists of highly qualified and experienced educators and scientists, particularly from Moscow University. A group of authors has drafted already published textbooks in algebra and geometry for the sixth and seventh grades. Last school year the textbooks "Algebra-6" and "Geometry-6" were approved. Their content is being changed on the basis of acquired practical experience. New books on problems in these subjects have been drafted and published together with methodical instructions for the teachers. The main feature of these new aids is their greater simplicity of presentation without a lowering of the scientific level of the subject and bringing the content closer to modern production and practical requirements. Last summer a seminar for teachers participating in the experiment was held at the Central Institute for the Advancement of Teachers of the RSFSR Ministry of Education.

A similar experiment is underway in Khar'kovskaya Oblast. It is based on a new geometry textbook written by Academician A. V. Pogorelov, approved both by mathematical specialists and education experts.

The classical secondary school mathematics textbook by A. P. Kiselev, which had proved its worth over a number of decades, was reissued as an interim measure as an aid to teachers.

All this has been reported to the USSR Ministry of Education.

"This error must not be repeated," A. I. Danilov, RSFSR minister of education, has stated, "for we cannot speak of any radical renovation of the curriculum without a well-planned and comprehensively assessed extensive pedagogical experiment which will be strictly controlled (something which was not done with the criticized program). True, in my view, a single experiment could not provide a solution to the entire problem, for something whose usefulness has been confirmed in the course of the experiment may prove to be far from ideal if broadly applied. New developments and the testing of different approaches are needed. Their effect must be compared. Local initiative must be developed, involving the broad circles of educators. Acquired practical experience must be scientifically summed up. Finally, we must also remember that newness is not the only or the principal criterion of improvements. We must be essentially guided

by what is true and expedient, on the basis of the requirements of the objective development of our society and in accordance with everything positive and viable with which our practical experience is richly endowed."

The USSR Ministry of Education and the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences must draw proper conclusions from all this. They must formulate within the shortest possible time a specific plan of measures for decisively improving the matter. The plan must be offered for public discussion by the scientific and educational public and strict responsibility for its implementation must be insured.

The quality of secondary school education is the most important prerequisite for the effective training of cadres for all national economic and cultural sectors.

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LOYALTY TO GREAT TRADITIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 80 pp 113-121

[Review by Doctor of Historical Sciences Prof I. Vorozheykin of the book "Izbrannyye Rechi i Stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles] by G. V. Romanov. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 613 pages]

[Text] A collection of addresses and articles by G. V. Romanov, CC CPSU Politburo member and first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast party committee has been published. The book includes speeches delivered at CPSU congresses, reports at oblast party committee plenums, addresses at meetings of the party aktiv and working people collectives, and articles published in the press. The collection which covers the period from March 1971 to February 1980, notes the most important events in the life of our party and country such as the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, the adoption of the new USSR Constitution, the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and the 30th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, and reflects aspects of the life of the Leningrad party organization--one of the combat detachments of the CPSU--and its active efforts to insure the political and organizational implementation of economic and cultural construction tasks.

Leningrad, the author notes, is famous the world over as the cradle of the Great October Revolution, as the city-hero whose defenders were a model of courage and endurance in the difficult war years, and as one of the biggest industrial, scientific and cultural centers of our country. At each stage in the history of Soviet society Lenin's city has played an outstanding role in resolving most scientific and technical problems and in the development of socialist culture. In the 1970s as well the people of Leningrad achieved major successes in all communist construction sectors.

With an impressive economic potential and highly skilled cadres of workers, specialists and scientists, the working people of Leningrad and its oblast are successfully developing sectors such as heavy and power machine building, shipbuilding, instrument manufacturing, and light and food industries. They are engaged in extensive basic scientific research and are actively participating in the solution of problems related to the development of new industrial territorial complexes in the country, the building of hydraulic and nuclear electric power plants and modern chemical and metallurgical enterprises, the further strengthening of the material and technical base of agriculture, and the renovation of the Russian Nonchernozem. The turbines, generators and nuclear power reactors, one-of-a-kind ships, Kirovets tractors, modern machine tools and

printing equipment, various instruments and means of automation, complex household equipment and high-grade consumer goods produced in Leningrad are of major importance in terms of the entire national economy. The people of Leningrad completed their assignments for the Ninth Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule. They have considerably exceeded their 1970 overall volume of output. Sectors determining scientific and technical progress were developed at a particularly high pace: the volume of output in machine building and metal processing rose by a factor of over 1.5; instrument-making and radio electronics nearly doubled, while the production of equipment for the nuclear power industry and of programmed machine tools almost tripled. About 2,000 different items were awarded the state Emblem of Quality. Many of them are superior to the highest standards reached domestically and abroad. Major changes occurred in the oblast's agriculture. The strengthening of the material and technical base and the intensification and conversion of crop growing and animal husbandry to an industrial base insured over the five-year plan an increase in output and labor productivity in sovkhozes and kolkhozes by a factor of almost 1.5.

Reporting such accomplishments at the 25th CPSU Congress, G. V. Romanov emphasized that they clearly embody the dedication of the Leningrad workers and the extensive competition for the fulfillment of 5-day assignments in 4 days on the basis of comprehensive plans for upgrading labor productivity. Along with all-party documents, the CC CPSU decisions on the concentration and specialization of Leningrad's industry, the development and technical retooling of leading sectors and the biggest enterprises, agricultural intensification, improvements in the vocational-technical education system, and other vitally important matters played a tremendous mobilizing role (see pp 290-291).

The CC CPSU approved the noteworthy initiative of the 28 Leningrad enterprises and organizations which participated in the building of the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES, the biggest in the world, and adopted joint pledges on the creation of a power industry giant on the Yenisey on a high scientific and technical level, within a short time and with minimum outlays. The experience of this cooperation, which constituted a qualitatively new step in the development of collective forms of socialist competition, was developed in the joint obligations assumed by many Leningrad plants and scientific and planning-design organizations participating in the construction of the Baykal-Amur Main Line and the creation of the UST'-Ilim and several other territorial-production complexes.

In the 10th Five-Year Plan the people of Leningrad continued their competition for overfulfilling their assignments on the basis of comprehensive plans for upgrading labor productivity. This movement gathered strength under the slogan of "From High Quality Individual Work to Highly Effective Collective Work!" Its characteristic feature is a conversion from the struggle for upgrading labor productivity at the individual workplace to plans and obligations which also include specific measures for improving production quality and economy of materials. The importance of the brigade form of labor organization has been enhanced. This makes it possible to convert from individual to comprehensive plans for upgrading labor effectiveness of entire brigades, sections, shops, and production lines.

The volume of industrial output is rising with every passing year as a result of the selfless toil and creative initiative of workers, engineers and scientists. Higher labor productivity accounts for 90 percent of production increases. The

production of progressive types of equipment, including equipment for the power industry, has increased noticeably while the production of nuclear power plant reactors has doubled. Production has been started of new big-tonnage ships, more powerful tractors, and high-precision programmed machine tools. In the course of the five-year plan the people of Leningrad will have created about 3,750 types of new items.

Every year Leningrad and its oblast channel about three billion rubles into capital investments. Three-quarters of the appropriations are used for enterprise reconstruction and technical retooling. Transportation productive capital has been qualitatively renovated. New animal husbandry complexes, poultry farms, mixed fodder plants, greenhouse combines, and additional capacities for vegetable and potato storing have been completed.

Further production concentration and specialization is successfully taking place in the oblast's industry and agriculture. Big centers for industrial vegetable growing and dairy and meat animal husbandry have been established around Leningrad. Poultry farming has been organized on an industrial basis. Cost accounting sovkhos associations have been set up. All this has yielded results. In the suburban area annual milk production has reached 4,000 kg per cow. Daily weight cattle increases are high and vegetable yields exceed 300 quintals per hectare. The oblast produces over 1,000 quintals of milk and about 230 quintals of meat per 100 hectares of farmland. The five-year plan for the production of such most important commodities was fulfilled ahead of schedule.

The attention and concern shown by the party and the government are a powerful incentive for the working people of Leningrad and its oblast. "The party's Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally," the author states, "are always interested in the life and work of the people of Leningrad. They give us great assistance in resolving all complex problems and commission work on many industrial, scientific and technical projects of major national importance, projects which encourage the more effective utilization of material and manpower resources and lead to high end national economic results" (p 575).

An extensive social program is being systematically implemented thanks for the concerned display for the people of Leningrad. The collection cites data which show that in the first 4 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan the overall amount of housing area built in Leningrad and its amount exceeded 12 million square meters. Some three million more square meters of housing will be completed before the end of the five-year plan. The population is being supplied with more children's preschool institutions: over 400 kindergartens and nurseries will have been completed in the five-year plan. Dozens of new general educational schools, vocational-technical schools, polyclinics, hospitals, libraries, and motion picture theaters have been built (see pp 577-578).

Considerable funds are being spent on urbanization, the development and improvement of the urban economy and improvements in rural life. The architectural appearance of Lenin's city has become noticeably better. The city has new monuments, comfortable hotels, concert halls and sports palaces. New bridges and passageways have been completed and a number of avenues have been reconstructed. A huge hydroengineering complex is under construction in accordance with a CC

CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decision. It will reliably protect Leningrad from the water elements.

The answer of the Leningrad people to this concern for their native city is to work even more adamantly and purposefully and successfully to implement the party's plans. Like all Soviet people, they want to make a maximum practical contribution to the further blossoming of the economy and culture of the socialist fatherland.

The work style and methods used by the party organizations, and the practice of supporting and disseminating useful initiatives are described in the collection with the help of extensive factual data. Priority is given to the creation of conditions contributing to the steady growth of production effectiveness, to accelerating scientific and technical progress and to improving the system of management of the economy and of social processes.

The experience of the Leningrad party organization in the implementation of a broad program of measures for production concentration and specialization and the combination of industry with science is given a thorough interpretation. The people of Leningrad were among the first in the country to develop sectorial production associations such as the Optical-Machine, Svetlana, Elektrosila, Krasnyy Treugol'nik, Skorokhod and others. The characteristic feature of these associations, the author points out, is that they were established in the leading industrial sectors and organized around the biggest enterprises with high production and scientific and technical potential and skilled cadres (see p 13). At the beginning of 1971 57 production and scientific-production associations, accounting for one-third of the entire industrial output, were successfully operating in Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast.

The creation of associations represented a transition to qualitatively new and more progressive forms of production and management organizations. The very first results of their work confirmed their great advantages. As a rule, they offer extensive opportunities for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, increased specialization and cooperation, most efficient utilization of material resources and cadres, and improved level of management.

"The acquired experience," the author points out, "convincingly proves that under the conditions of the tremendous scale reached by our national economy it must be based not on thousands of mostly small enterprises producing a great variety of items but on big cost accounting production-economic complexes, with substantial productive capital and funds at their disposal, with extensive rights governing their utilization, fully accountable for the technical standard and quality of their output and for meeting the requirements of the country" (p 8).

In the 9th and 10th five-year plans the Leningrad party organization pursued its firm policy of consolidating related enterprises and organizations and of production concentration and specialization. In 1977 the associations and biggest enterprises of Leningrad and its oblast accounted for over four-fifths of the oblast's industrial output. The experience of industry was extended to capital construction, transportation and agriculture. This radically changed the structure of several sectors. It created favorable conditions for further upgrading

production effectiveness and accelerating scientific and technical progress. In the final account, it insured higher growth rates of output and labor productivity.

The author extensively describes the concern of the party organizations for insuring work purposefulness and planning and for fulfilling V. I. Lenin's instruction that, "...One cannot work without a plan covering a long period of time and aimed at achieving major successes" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," [Complete Collected Works], Vol 42, pp 153-154). In this connection great attention has been paid to the practice developed in Leningrad of the formulation and implementation of comprehensive plans for economic and social development. They have been comprehensively tested here and proved their viability. Economic and social planning begins in the labor collectives. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan the comprehensive plans for economic and social development implemented by each Leningrad rayon and the oblast were its logical extension. This work involved virtually all party committees, ranging from the oblast party committee to the primary party organization, all production collectives, many soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations, and the broad toiling masses. In the majority of cases a sufficiently profound scientific approach was achieved in the formulation of the basic directions of long-term and annual comprehensive plans for the development of collectives and administrative rayons. The plans became the organizing base for all efforts by party and public organizations and economic managers to upgrade production effectiveness, improve working, living and leisure-time conditions and communist upbringing. Every working person is aware of his responsibilities and role in their accomplishment and of his individual contribution to the production and social areas.

The experience acquired by the individual enterprises and administrative rayons made the following steps possible--the conversion to a comprehensive plan for the economic and social development of Leningrad and its entire oblast. It was Comrade L. I. Brezhnev who gave the people of Leningrad this assignment. The elaboration of the long-term plan, in accordance with his instructions and recommendations, became an essentially new important task governing the activities of the oblast party organization after the 24th CPSU Congress. "...The comprehensive plan," the author notes, "made it possible to focus the efforts of the town and oblast working people, the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, and the soviet and economic organs along the main directions leading to the implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan" (p 481).

Many of the works in the collection include studies of the efforts to develop the socialist competition and confirm its role as a powerful booster for the solution of economic and social problems. Like any other phenomenon in social life, the author points out, the competition is governed by its laws. Its level is determined by the condition of production forces and production relations. Since it contains the best parts of all previous experience, each new form of competition enhances the initiative and creative activity of the masses. "The communist party is a decisive force which insures the organization and extensive development of the socialist competition. It gives it high idea-mindedness and purposefulness, broad scope and organization. It insures the continuing development of the patriotic movement of millions of people" (p 525).

As the author convincingly proves, the Leningrad party members are systematically applying a variety of ways and means in the party's guidance of the competition. It was no accident that Leningrad was selected as the seat for the 12-14 April 1979 all-union practical science conference on topical tasks of development of the socialist competition and of the movement for a communist attitude toward labor. In his greetings to the participants in the conference Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that it is being held in the city of the revolution and of great combat and labor traditions. It was here that, half a century ago, the first collective socialist competition contract was signed at the Krasnyy Vyborzhets Plant. The people of Leningrad have always been the initiators of outstanding patriotic movements subsequently adopted by the entire country.

In his address at the conference, using specific examples, G. V. Romanov described the great vital force of the Leninist ideas of the socialist competition. He proved that at the present stage the struggle for the conservation of material and manpower resources, for upgrading work effectiveness and quality, and for reaching high national economic results is the main aspect of the competition. At the same time, the competition is a powerful means for the social development of labor collectives and the education of the masses. The report extensively dealt with the organization and management of the competition. These problems are always considered at plenums and meetings of party committee bureaus. Particular attention is ascribed to upgrading the activity of shop party organizations and party groups.

The comprehensive approach is becoming more and more accepted in Leningrad in the management of the socialist competition and the movement for a communist attitude toward labor. This means insuring the development of the competition on the basis of the strict observance of its Leninist organizational principles; strengthening the unity among all functions of the competition--the economic, social and educational; clear definition of the main trends of development of the competition in accordance with the characteristics of the economic sectors and labor collectives; support of the various forms of competition insuring the successful solution of problems of scientific and technical progress and achieving the best possible end national economic results; all-round ideological-political support of the effectiveness of the competition and steady development of the democratic foundations of the creative activities of the masses; and coordination of the actions of party, trade union and Komsomol organization and of soviet and economic organs in its development. Such a comprehensive approach, the report stated, "is determined by all practical formulations and implementations of plans for economic and social development, for regardless of the level of the plan--the individual collective, the rayon, Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast--problems of the further development of the competition and of its target which is the solution of entirely specific problems have always occupied one of the central positions" (p 526).

Problems of strengthening party and state discipline, of upgrading cadre responsibility, and of the training, education and upbringing of cadres are assigned a most important part in the collection. This reflects the close attention which the Leningrad party organization paid to the selection, placement, and training of business and moral qualities of party and soviet workers, economic managers

and specialists. It justifiably considers the competence and maturity of cadres one of the main prerequisites for the successful solution of any economic or political problem.

High exactingness for the fulfillment of assignments is a mandatory prerequisite for work with people. "While showing its faith in and respect for the cadres," the author notes, "the party is always concerned with seeing to it that every worker has a feeling of responsibility for the implementation of his duties, and is personally organized and intolerant of anything which hinders our progress. Strict requirements face, above all, the party members who must give the example of political maturity and moral purity" (p 204).

Such exactingness was shown by the people of Leningrad, for example, in formulating the tasks for the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan in the light of the results of the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum. While accurately assessing their industrial, agricultural, construction and transportation achievements, at the same time they exposed shortcomings and omissions. In particular, it was pointed out that some city and oblast enterprises are not fulfilling their plans for the daily production of some commodities and violate the system of cooperated supplies and contractual obligations; not everywhere are proper measures taken to insure the growth of labor productivity, improve production quality, and apply progressive technological processes on an adequate scale. The conclusion was that the party organizations must exercise constant and effective influence on the solution of economic and political problems and the accurate implementation of CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decrees on improving planning and perfecting the economic mechanism. Every party, soviet, trade union and economic manager and every member of the administrative apparatus must be on the level of such requirements.

Regardless of the nature of any problem which may arise, the author emphasizes, the party proceeds from the fact that man is in the center of any undertaking, and that success depends on the people, on the level of their consciousness, their readiness and their will to make their contribution to the nationwide cause. That is why concern for the ideological education of the people and for molding the new man--the worthy builder of communism--plays a big part in the work of the Leningrad party members as in the activities of our entire party. These problems are fully reflected in the collection materials. They describe the experience in the communist education of the working people gained by the party organizations after the 25th CPSU Congress and indicate problems demanding particular attention.

The author extensively describes the manner in which the oblast, city and rayon party committees and primary party organizations strengthen the ties between propaganda and agitation, on the one hand, and life and the specific assignments of the 10th Five-Year Plan, on the other, on the basis of a comprehensive approach to ideological work. Here again, the entire work pivots around the comprehensive plan for the economic and social development of Leningrad and its oblast in the current five-year plan.

Invariably, the molding of a Marxist-Leninist outlook, ideological convictions, and a class approach to reality must play a main part in ideological-political education. The party, Komsomol and economic training and the overall

organization of the political information of the working people have been upgraded. The study of topical theoretical problems and of CPSU policy has become more intensive. The outstanding books by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev "Malaya Zemlya" "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] and "Tselina" [Virgin Land] played a tremendous role in enriching the ideological life of Leningrad as of the entire country. "These books which accurately reflect, in a party style, the important stages in the life of our homeland," the collection states, "have become a source from which we draw inspiration for our work and which teaches us how to live, work and win in a Leninist manner" (p 497).

Improvements in labor education are inseparably linked with ideological-political upbringing. Great importance is ascribed to the comprehensive development of a type of atmosphere and public opinion in which each collective would be properly familiar with who is working and how, so that every working person may be confident that his good work and proper behavior will always earn the recognition, praise, respect and gratitude of fellow workers, that both his wage and bonus will be truly deserved, and that everyone would know that no tolerance would be shown for truants, loafers and waste-makers.

Improvements in labor upbringing are accompanied by greater attention paid to work with children and young people in the family, the school or the labor collective. The problem adamantly resolved by the Leningrad party members is to insure the high-level communist upbringing of the young generation. They are continuing and strengthening tutorship traditions. In themselves, G. V. Romanov writes, neither a school certificate, a diploma issued by a vocational-technical school, nor a VUZ diploma guarantee the fact that the collective will be joined by a person with a feeling of responsibility, respecting labor and social discipline, and able to find his way in the complex phenomena of life. The young people need a senior comrade whose wisdom, friendly help and support would largely guide their fate. It is very important for childhood, adolescence and youth to be landmarks remembered by encounters with real tutors (see p 495).

The development of high moral qualities in the people plays an important role in the ideological work of the party organizations. The discussion of problems of moral upbringing raised at party, Komsomol and workers meetings, at plenums and by buros of city and rayon party committees, contributes to the creation of a favorable moral-psychological climate in the labor collective. Applying the stipulations of the new USSR Constitution, many collectives have increased their influence on the way in which people address themselves to their jobs and helped to increase their conscientiousness.

Leningrad has a rich cultural potential and unique possibilities with which to influence the spiritual growth of the people. Many works by Leningrad masters of literature, the theater, motion pictures, painting and music, including recently created works, depict with talent the greatness of the revolutionary, labor, and military exploits of the Soviet people and actively assert the socialist way of life and our ideals. The greater efforts of the party organizations of artistic collectives, and the greater attention which party committees pay to the activities of the creative associations and cultural institutions greatly contribute to such new creative successes. The party organizations see to it that the artistic intelligentsia is always in step with life and properly reflect the great past and present of their homeland and the accomplishments and concerns of their people.

The materials in the collection clearly show that successes in ideological-political, labor and moral upbringing are directly related to the increased militancy of the primary party organizations and primary party units, and the intensified vanguard role of every party member. Formulating its tasks based on the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work," and relying on the concreteness, aggressiveness, and effectiveness of such work, the Leningrad party organization has formulated the question as follows: Today the struggle for achieving end national economic results must be broadened by and combined with the struggle for high end results in the important area of educating the people.

The party organization bears in mind that one of the largest detachments of the Soviet working class is working in Leningrad and that it has a decisive influence not only on Leningrad's economy but on many directions in the development of the country's national economy. It is distinguished by its high class awareness and dedication to the work. The workers guard is distinguished by its readiness to follow the communist party always and in everything, and by its tireless labor, daring innovativeness, and profound ideological convictions. The party committees try to make all working people emulate the working class and to insure that the example of its best representatives is emulated by the growing generation. They are promoting the steady growth of the production and social activeness of the workers and the suitable reinforcement of the workers ranks.

The author also discusses the problems of strengthening the unity of the socialist comity and of the world communist and workers movements and the implementation of the peaceful foreign political course of the CPSU. Leningrad maintains deep friendly relations with cities in Cuba, Poland, the GDR and Vietnam. The author emphasizes that, like all Soviet people, the people of Leningrad warmly approve the party's foreign policy and that they will continue to increase their contribution to strengthening the economic and defense power of the land of the soviets, the reliable guarantee for improving the international climate and the tried and loyal guardian of the peace throughout the world.

The entire content of the collection of selected speeches and articles by G. V. Romanov shows that the people of Leningrad have been and remain in the leading ranks of the bearers of the great traditions born of the October Revolution, the pathos of the first Soviet five-year plans, the military exploits of the people in the Great Patriotic War, and the labor heroism of the building of communism. Under the tried leadership of the CPSU, they are proving their readiness and resolve successfully to implement the decisions of its 25th congress and worthily welcome the 26th congress of our Leninist party.

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STUDY OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT LAWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 80 pp 122-124

[Review by S. Popov, doctor of philosophical sciences, of the following books: "Zakony Obshchestvennogo Razvitiya: Ikh Kharakter i Ispol'zovaniye" [The Laws of Social Development: Their Nature and Utilization] by G. Ye. Glezerman. Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, 303 pages; "Dialektika Ob'yektivnogo i Sub'yektivnogo v Ekonomike Razvitogo Sotsializma" [Dialectics of the Objective and the Subjective in the Developed Socialist Economy] by S. V. Rogachev. Mysl', Moscow, 1979, 279 pages; "Vuprosi na Istoricheskaya Materializum" [Problems of Historical Materialism]. Vol 3. "Obektivniyat Kharakter na Obshtestvenite Zakoni Pri Sotsializma i Tyakhnata Realizatsiya" [The Objective Nature of Social Laws Under Socialism and Their Implementation]. Bulgarian Academy of Sciences Publishing House, 1979, 363 pages]

[Text] The study of the laws governing the development of society and their conscious and purposeful utilization under socialist conditions are major problems of the Marxist-Leninist social sciences. Their various aspects may be studied by economists, sociologists, and specialists in the field of scientific communism. How are such problems of major scientific-theoretical and practical significance being developed?

Two of the books under review are by Soviet authors while the third is a collective work by Bulgarian scientists. The book by G. Ye. Glezerman deals with problems of social determinism and describes the correlation between general and specific laws governing socioeconomic systems and characterizes the process governing the study and mastery of these laws. S. V. Rogachev's monograph is a study of the dialectics of the objective and the subjective in economics and of the characteristics of the effect of economic laws under mature socialist conditions. The work by the Bulgarian authors deals with the nature of social laws, the mechanism of their implementation, their manifestation in the areas of the economic base and the superstructure, and problems of scientific interpretation and prediction in social knowledge.

Despite the obvious analytical disseminations of these works, they are characterized by a common interest in the methodological aspect of a topical subject. It is natural, therefore, for this aspect is to be emphasized in the present review.

One of the most important methodological problems related to the laws of social development is the correlation between objectiveness and consciousness, and

spontaneity and planning in their effect. G. Ye. Glezerman justifiably draws attention to the complexity of this matter. On the one hand, the economic and other socialist laws are not implemented spontaneously, as in all preceding systems, but in the course of their deliberate utilization. On the other, the system of economic relations under socialism retains its primacy in terms of social awareness. It exists objectively, i.e., outside and independently of human awareness and will.

Some bourgeois ideologues tend to see a contradiction within Marxist theory in the dialectical understanding of the nature of the objective and the subjective, and the spontaneous and the conscious. In their view (which is a typical example of metaphysical thinking), the purposeful actions of people guided by specific desires and ideas exclude the possibility for an objective development of the historical process. The books by G. Ye. Glezerman and S. V. Rogachev prove that these errors are due to a confusion between the concepts of "objectivity" and "spontaneity" which are on different logical planes.

In real life the objective does not necessarily coincide with the spontaneous. It is correlated (on the level of contraposition), above all, with the subjective. Spontaneity is always the opposite of planning. The objective may appear both as planned and spontaneous. This depends, above all, on the nature of the socioeconomic system. Planning, the authors note, is inherent in socialist production not in the least because of the wish of any individual, group of people, or even an entire society. It is simply impossible otherwise to develop the economy under the conditions of the socialist ownership of productive capital, the high level of labor socialization, and the common objective of the production process. "The fact," writes S. V. Rogachev, "that the level of planning may and, in fact, does vary is a different matter. It depends on the level of socialization of the production process and the ability of planning and economic organs to recognize economic laws and use them most fully in specific national economic situations" (p 29).

A similar viewpoint is defended and developed by the Bulgarian scientists as well. Thus, substantiating the thesis of the objective nature of social laws under socialism, Todor Vulov emphasizes that the implementation of these laws occurs when the plans drafted by the subjects of social management are consistent with their requirements.

Distinguishing the nature and the mechanism of implementation of economic and other social laws, Stoyko Popov emphasizes that this nature is objective. However, in the socialist society it appears through the activities of the people's masses. The way and extent of its manifestation depend on the level of their awareness and organization. Therefore, the subjective factor is of major importance in the implementation of the laws. At the same time, however, according to the author, spontaneous processes are found under socialism as well (not considered determining). This means that occasionally some laws or aspects of laws appear spontaneously. Under socialist conditions, however, social laws cannot spontaneously appear as an integral system.

The problem of the study of the laws governing social development, therefore, is quite complex from the methodological viewpoint: it includes a definition of

the nature of one or another law, of the extent of its universality, and of the objective and subjective conditions for its implementation and of the study of its effect on the course of social progress. Practical problems of improving socialist social relations and planning methods make particularly urgent the problem of the mechanism of utilization of the laws.

The most important means insuring the successful utilization of socialist economic laws, as G. Ye. Glezerman notes, are "finding effective means for economic organization and management, improving the planning system, and elaborating a system of expedient indicators with which to assess the activities of enterprises, collectives and individual workers" (p 192). Unquestionably, this stipulation demands a specific economic analysis. In particular, a thorough study must be made of the problem of the extent to which the socialist laws are implemented. It is important to determine their new features appearing at the stage of the developed socialist society. It is useful in such an analysis to trace the entire chain leading from initial production conditions to end results, strictly observing the principles of the comprehensive approach in the theoretical and practical solution of ripe problems.

These problems are covered in great detail in S. V. Rogachev's book, even though some of the author's views are controversial. For example, he speaks of the "gradual mechanism" of the implementation of economic laws which involves, in his view, qualitatively different levels such as effect and utilization. According to the author, such an interpretation makes it possible to distinguish more clearly between objective and subjective factors of economic development and to establish direct and inverse relations between them. While distinguishing between the effect and the utilization of the law, the author also calls for considering the former only from the viewpoint of the categories of the possible and the necessary while the second, on the level of a ratio between possibility and reality. In our view, such an analysis artificially disturbs the system of dialectical categories and violates their inherent complex and flexible interconnections. The very effect and utilization of objective laws in a socialist society cannot be fully clarified if we ignore the close and unbreakable unity between them.

It is precisely this aspect of the matter that draws G. Ye. Glezerman's attention. In particular, the author notes that the planned effect of socialist laws mandatorily presumes their conscious use by man. However, he emphasizes, a situation may also develop in which, due to ignorance of the law or improper decisions, human actions clash with the stipulations of the laws. Contemporary China is a sad yet instructive example of this. Its people have become the victims of an erroneous voluntaristic policy pursued by the Maoist clique, a policy which violates the requirements of objective social laws. This has brought about catastrophic economic failures and the degeneration of socialist social relations.

In his discussion of the features of the utilization of social laws in promoting the further progress of the socialist society, G. Ye. Glezerman proves that people are able to influence, above all, the conditions governing their actions and achieve the necessary results. The suitably accurate implementation of some laws may contribute to the better implementation of others. Otherwise

the effect of some laws is blocked, leading to consequences considered, for one or another reason, undesirable. Thus, the uneven economic and political development of imperialism, as we know, triggers wars. Even though the nature of imperialism has not changed, nor could it, the effect of its laws is restricted today by the effect of the laws of the global socialist system which has been established over a considerable part of the planet and is systematically pursuing a policy of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems.

In the works under review the interpretation of the objective and subjective conditions governing the ever fuller utilization of the laws of social development hold a central position. G. Ye. Glezerman analyzes this problem mainly from the sociopolitical viewpoint. His book shows that the subjective conditions governing the utilization of the laws are related, above all, to the knowledge of the practically useful results of their effect. In addition to the material processes of social development, the objective conditions also include some social forces which could assume the task of utilizing the laws. The conscious utilization and implementation of the requirements of social laws, as the author proves, presumes the harmonious combination of objective and subjective conditions. This is vividly revealed in the policy of the communist party and the Soviet state.

Among the objective factors of economic development discussed in his book, S.V. Rogachev focuses the attention on the broadening and intensification of nationwide labor cooperation, the growth of labor productivity, and the increased effectiveness of overall social production. Depicting the role of the subjective factor at the mature socialist stage, the author emphasizes the increased responsibility of labor collectives and managers at all levels for decision-making and for the observance of planning and labor discipline.

The Bulgarian philosophers as well have made a fruitful study of the correlation between the objective and subjective conditions governing the effect of social and economic laws. Khristo Karagezov discusses a number of categories inseparably linked with the mechanism of action of these laws in the socialist society: object and subject, objective conditions and subjective factors, human activities, and so on. Ivan Shtipiski discusses, within the same topic, the manifestations of the subjective factor in presocialist systems and under socialism in which, as social laws become known, the role of the subjective factor becomes considerably larger. Dzhuro Milonich studies the proper nature of conscious and expedient activities in the same connection. As the author points out, its structural components are man and the objective, plan, activities, means, conditions, targets, possibilities, reality, results, and time and space needed for their development.

From a general sociological aspect such a study of the effect of social laws, a study greatly limited by the framework of the theoretical interpretation of the problem is obviously entirely justified. On the level of an economic study, however, such problems must be examined far more specifically. It is precisely this difficult task that S. V. Rogachev assumes. Explaining the link between the objective and the subjective in the economic process, the author describes in detail the place of needs, interests, incentives, and objectives in the mechanism

of action of economic laws. He emphasizes the objective nature of economic interest and offers a classification of the various types of interests. He studies the course of the growth of requirements and its influence on the production process. He draws attention to the exceptional importance of maintaining a unity among the production objectives of the members of a socialist society and the interconnection between production targets and the means to achieve them. This interconnection and the combination of objectives and interests are expressed through planning. The author describes some difficulties in improving the mechanism of action of laws operating in the socialist economy. He describes the way some contradictions between current and long-term and local, sectorial, and state interests are being surmounted through the efforts of the party and the entire people.

The books under review, the Soviet works in particular, pay a great deal of attention to the study of the various viewpoints which arose in the course of debates on a number of problems of historical materialism and political economy. Without discussing them, let us merely note that the development of any science, naturally, would be impossible without a comparison of views. On some problems, however, discussions have been ongoing for decades and are still far from ending, i.e., from the formulation of a unanimous view. One of the reasons for this, we believe, is that such discussions are sometimes conducted without proper reliance on specific experience and without practically testing the formulated views and conclusions.

Without belittling in the least the importance of these works, considering the very valuable analytical data they have given us, data which enable us to understand a number of complex problems of the dialectics of developing the new society, let us note that the problem of a research in depth of the mechanism of action and the utilization of the entire system of social laws under mature socialist conditions and of developing a theoretical model of its economic mechanism are still awaiting their integral solution.

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STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN MINDS AND HEARTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 80 pp 124-128

[Review by V. Ozerov of the book "Ob Iskusstve Polemiki" [On the Art of Polemics]. By a group of authors headed by P. N. Fedoseyev. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 303 pages]

[Text] Mentally reviewing old and recent trips abroad, meetings, and talks, a great deal is remembered in terms of people. Discussing the field closest to me--literature--I cannot fail to name as an example Anna Segers from the GDR and Gabriel Garcia Marquez from Colombia, the Frenchmen Herve Bazin and Louis Aragon, the Englishman James Aldridge, the Japanese Kobo Abe, the Italian Gianni Rodari, the Indian Subhas ~~Mahar~~jee, the classic of Cuban literature Nicholas Gillen, and U.S. writers Kurt Vonnegut and John Cheever.... I have had the opportunity to meet most of them in professional round table discussions and at forums of peace-loving forces. The list of names of workers in other fields of culture would be equally long.

Here is something even more noteworthy. Thinking people are most interested in contacts which turn into an open and frank dialogue. This is an imperative demand of the times, accepted by anyone willing to develop human relations in a modern fashion and implement the Helsinki agreements not through words but through actions. This has been the reason for the striking changes which have occurred in some people favoring the free exchange among people and ideas. For a long time they put themselves out on the subject of the so-called "third basket," accusing the socialist countries of refusing to engage in mutually useful contacts. They have done everything possible to avoid meeting us. They boycott planned conferences and hinder the normal course of debates.

Once a Soviet writer abroad was invited to participate in a television debate. The theme of the discussion had been set in advance. However, the writer had hardly begun to mention the topic when he was interrupted by the moderator: "What do you think of Solzhenitsyn?" As the discussion on the topic was resumed it became apparent that the interpreting was incomplete and biased. Furthermore, without waiting for the interpreter to finish, again and again the moderator would ask provocative questions and would immediately comment on them in his own way. The guest was able to make his intended statement only after voicing a sharp objection.

Here is yet another illustration of the more and more unseemly means used by bourgeois propaganda despite which, however, the skillful debater does not become confused, whatever the situation. Thus, accepting an invitation to debate against television commentators in Paris, in the "Events" program, Aleksandr Chakovskiy made the following mandatory stipulations: absolutely equal time, no interruptions, and accurate translation. He assumed the initiative in the debate which he conducted calmly and courteously yet energetically. The results showed the confusion of the French press which had predicted that the guest would be thoroughly "worked over." After the debate LA CROIX was forced to admit that Chakovskiy had been able to present his views. Criticizing the opponents of the Soviet writer, who had been caught by surprise, LE MONDE noted with some annoyance that, "Because of the carelessness of the moderator we barely avoided listening to the entire 174 articles of the new Soviet Constitution."

Every day reality offers us similar examples of the efforts of those who proclaim our noble ideas and are interested in open and honest debate. They rely on the ideological-political principles and the propaganda and polemic ways and means developed by Marxist-Leninist science and tried in the course of many years of practice of the communist party. It is very important to be familiar both with such principles and methods and with contemporary experience gained in arguing with our ideological opponents. It is pleasing, therefore, that of late a number of important works have been published on Lenin as a debater (let me mention the following: "Sila Leninskogo Slova. Zametki o Polemicheskom Iskusstve V. I. Lenina" [The Power of Lenin's Word. Notes on V. I. Lenin's Polemic Skill] by N. F. Proshunin, and "Lenin Polemiziruyet s Burzhuanoy Pressoy" [Lenin Argues With the Bourgeois Press] by B. P. Baluyev. The following books were written on the skill of debating in the press: "Slovo Tozhe Yest' Delo. Nekotoryye Voprosy Teorii Publitsistiki" [Words Are Also Actions. Some Problems of Publicistic Theory] by V. I. Zdorovog, "Publitsistika i Politika" [Social and Political Journalism and Politics] by V. V. Uchenova, and "Rezhissura Gazety" [Directing a Newspaper] by D. Georgiyev). These problems are comprehensively discussed in the recently published book under review. It was written by a group of specialists in philosophy, logic, psychology, philology and journalism, headed by Academician P. N. Fedoseyev.

This meaningful work opens to us the wealth of Marxist-Leninist ideological-political thinking and propaganda polemics. It provides us with considered answers to topical questions. This is what a good study should be: theoretically substantive and, at the same time, part of current practical efforts.

We all know that today all ideological workers are faced with very responsible assignments. The aggravated ideological confrontation between the two global systems is acquiring a new scope and new forms. As the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" emphasizes, it requires aggressiveness and more effective and better quality debates with our ideological opponents.

As a necessary component in this confrontation, and as a means for comparing viewpoints, polemics enable us to expose the falsity of hostile politics and ideology and to assert objective truth and social justice, which are of the side of Marxist theory, and the reality of factual socialism. The principle of party-mindedness and the adoption of a class approach to any problem under discussion

are the theoretical foundations of the art of polemics. Explaining the class roots and class significance of contended views and statements, Lenin always insisted that the following question be raised: "Whom does this serve?" The book under review convincingly describes the scientific objectives of debate: analysis and exposure of the gnosological roots of erroneous views hostile to Marxism, their logical and historical groundlessness, and the exposure of the eclectic and sophistic methods used by the opponents.

There is nothing paradoxical in the fact that today bourgeois propagandists are not ignoring the contradictions within capitalist society. They are even willing to speak of some kind of "revolution" which would allegedly "modernize" capitalism. All this, however, as the author notes, is pure sophistry and eclecticism, for the formulated contradictions are derived, secondary, whereas the basic, the main contradictions are suppressed and concealed. The real situation is presented by the Marxists who expose the antagonistic nature of capitalist contradictions. Their critical analysis combines the "negative," the expository function of polemics with its "positive" function which is to pit the views of their opponents against their own.

The works of the founders of Marxism-Leninism offer true examples of militant and aggressive polemical struggle. The book under review thoroughly covers an entire set of theoretical problems and provides abundant data on the polemic arsenal used by Marx, Engels and Lenin. Mastering the basic concepts of Marxist-Leninist theory, knowledge of party documents, and profound understanding of contemporary sociopolitical and ideological processes offer a reliable foundation for the formulation of the strategy and tactic of a militant and convincing debate.

As the authors accurately assert, proper strategy and flexible tactics are the most important prerequisites for winning a debate. Large sections of the book may be taken as a guide along the difficult road of debates which propagandists, lecturers, journalists, diplomats, scientists, literary workers or any Soviet person, for that matter, may have to engage in either with confused foreigners, muddle-headed spiteful critics, or simply enemies of our country. When should one engage in a debate and against whom? How to conduct it successfully, and what arguments should be brought forth? Life pits us against dozens of urgent questions to which, quite properly, the book provides convincing answers, outlining the precise direction and effectiveness of a polemic charge.

Yes, precisely, charge! The ideals of peace and social progress are conquering ever broader people's masses throughout the world. This is the reason for which frenzied bourgeois propaganda attacks them so fiercely. It must not be allowed to gain the upper hand in the interpretation (prejudiced and false) of arising phenomena and problems. To begin with, we must boldly and independently raise existing questions and discuss each one of their aspects, preventing the enemy from seizing the initiative, presenting himself as their "discoverer," and depriving him of the opportunity to misrepresent the nature of things.

The book makes us recall experiences, successes, difficulties, and quests. For instance, in a meeting with foreign colleagues we would hear an unacceptable statement and would hasten "to rebuff it." Sometimes this is absolutely necessary, for it would provide the proper direction for the discussion to

follow. Or else, the opponent alone would be energized and, unexpectedly, become the focal point of attention quite undeservedly. That is why the authors' reminders concerning the need for engaging in a discussion are extremely useful. Marx, Engels or Lenin never let themselves become involved in an unnecessary trite argument. However, they always tried to make their opponents talk should verbalizing become expedient. For example, in their time, the bourgeois economists were quite eager to pass over in silence the publication of the first volume of "Das Kapital," while Marx and Engels deemed a discussion on the subject desirable and promoted it in order to encourage the spreading of their ideas.

Therefore, having established the need for a debate, a discussion develops in the course of which we must consider its scientific level, strategy and tactic. What should one argue about? This is the question of questions. The style of discussions originating in the course of our cultural contacts has already become firmly established: they are comradely if the discussion is among like-thinking people. To be perfectly honest, however, let us say that along with very successful discussions among literary workers, there have been some which, subsequently, have not been fortuitously described as fruitless. The reason most frequently cited for their poor organization is the dullness of the topic, incomprehensible formulation, and unclear idea of the eventual outcome.

Yes, a section in the book entitled "Choosing the Topic" would be quite useful to the sponsors of discussions considered by us to be the norm not only in literature but in intellectual life in general. The choice is governed by the significance and topicality of the problem, prompted not by other people's writings but by current needs. "...We must," Lenin pointed out, "seek a solution not of problems which one or another literary worker has wittingly or unwittingly raised but of problems of major political significance dictated by current conditions or resulting from the objective course of social developments" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch. " [Complete Collected Works], Vol 11, p 12).

Once the decision to initiate a discussion has been made and a specific topic chosen, it is equally important to define the target of the attack and its method. Lenin had perfect knowledge of his adversaries and had studied their works. After the victory of the October Revolution he requested foreign newspapers containing references on the Bolsheviks and urged libraries to collect White Guard publications. Marx, Engels and Lenin always considered what to argue about and against whom. They did not answer any random opponent but addressed themselves against the leaders of the enemy camp who represented the interests and views of their class. If it becomes necessary to engage in polemics, Engels noted, it is better "to deal with those who originate one or another view rather than the retailers of unsold goods" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 7, p 443).

Indeed, the entire course of an argument frequently depends on the individual representing class or ideological trends. In the areas of the theory and practice of ideological work it would be proper to mention those who practice it properly. Let us mention Aleksandr Dymshits as one of the militant literary Marxist critics. As a rule, all his positive studies of esthetic problems were polemical. Unlike some authors who prefer to argue with second-rate personalities who are easy to defeat, Dymshits openly attacked the leaders. Let us recall

that it was he who initiated the direct and open battle against the revisionist E. Fischer and R. Garaudy and who brilliantly defeated their theories. Let us add that the writings of the Soviet scientists proved their loyalty to the methodology of Marxist-Leninist polemics: clarification of the ideological groundlessness of their opponents and arguing against their essential points. This must be mentioned also because it is precisely the bourgeois propagandists discussed in the book under review who frequently engage in petty skirmishes and sink to the level of personal insults, lies, and slanders.

Arguing the essential points is a truly great art. The book gives us an object lesson in it. It proves the requirement of focusing on the main features and avoiding being dragged into particulars, meaningless statements, petty arguments, or stipulations. Lenin focused on the "crux," "root," "nucleus," or "essence" of the problem, rejecting the use of *inane wit* instead of arguments. At the Fifth RSDWP Congress he made the following remark after listening to G. V. Plekhanov who confused the meaning of the debate with his graceful witticisms: "Plekhanov described Rosa Luxemburg as a Madonna in the clouds. What can we say! The argument is refined, flattering and striking.... Nevertheless, I would ask Plekhanov this: The Madonna is the Madonna but what are your thoughts on the essence of the matter? We would be in poor shape if we need the help of the Madonna to avoid the study of the essentials of the problem" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch., Vol 13, p 346).

Yes, such an approach to the objectives and methods of a debate protects us from becoming illogical and contradictory, and turns a discussion into a powerful propaganda instrument, its power stemming from the depths, persuasiveness, and force of the proofs. A separate chapter in the book discusses the means leading to convincing considerations and to maintaining logical standards. It provides us with a study of the methods for presenting scientific arguments and developing a logical structure of essential thought processes and of proofs and criticism. It covers a broad range of problems, proofs and rebuttals as part of the structure of arguments; logical accuracy and conciseness of the defended thesis; rules for handling arguments on the basis of their veracity and integrity, and so on.

Bearing in mind the mass nature of our propaganda, the chapter entitled "Sociopsychological Aspects of Polemics" is of particular importance. It discusses polemics as a factor for influencing the audience and the audience as a factor influencing the course of the debate. The chapter on "Polemics Language and Style" offers yet one more proof that the best way to improve our printed and oral addresses and to enrich them with figurative expressions is the close study of Lenin's legacy. It would be impossible to enumerate the literary means masterfully used by Lenin: revolutionary passion and polemic sharpness, totally different from trenchant swagger; abundant satire, irony and sarcasm; use of characters created by literary classics, such as Iudushka Golovlev, Sobakevich, Oblomov and others; drawing, through the means of expository journalism, typical portraits of representatives of different classes and social groups; dialogues with opponents whose views are subjected to biting parody exposing them "from within;" imagery and vividness of vocabulary and style and use of expressive and specific details which, as employed by Lenin, acquire the nature of general assessments.

The readers of this collective work acquire a rich feeling for the history of the struggle for revolutionary theory. The current activities of the CPSU represent its organic development and extension. The materials of party conferences, CC CPSU decrees, and L. I. Brezhnev's works and addresses provide most outstanding examples of party principle-mindedness and profound criticism of bourgeois ideology, revisionism and Maoism.

The final chapter in the work is entitled "Characteristics of the Criticism of Bourgeois Ideology and Propaganda Under Contemporary Conditions." It describes some trends followed by the essentially diversionist ideological activities of the defenders of imperialism. Today the problems of war and peace, the general crisis of capitalism, and human rights and freedoms have become the topics of ideological-theoretical polemics. Bourgeois propaganda interprets all of them upside down, in an effort to prove the "advantage" over socialism of some kind of current "perfected" capitalism which, allegedly, is dynamic, democratic and humanistic. The promoters of the resumption of the cold war feign the existence of authentic facts which "objectively" report events and the positive and negative aspects of capitalist and socialist countries. Concealment, fraud, and the substitution of the factual concepts of life with false stereotypes are the means used to disorient and trick readers and audiences. "Objective" facts are collected, alternated, measured out, and discussed in a way to present a distorted picture of life in the socialist world and instill in the public of their countries fear of the notorious "Soviet military threat," and hatred for communists and all democrats. For example, such stereotypes are used by the falsifiers in describing both the Israeli aggressors and the fighters for freedom; through such methods they justify the former and defame the latter.

The merit of this work is that it does not merely enumerate the crafty enemy propaganda methods but shows how to anticipate and expose them. Thus, the value of demagogic expatiations on the "charms" of bourgeois democracy and the "limitations" of socialist democracy becomes immediately clear the moment a discussion on democracy shifts from the area of speculative judgments to that of factual relations.

However, it is regrettable that not all the realities of the final decades of the 20th century have been equally discussed. After comprehensively discussing the nature of polemics with unconcealed opponents, the authors describe with excessive brevity the means for influencing those who are still wavering and are trying to make a choice. However, they represent potential allies in the struggle for peace and equal cooperation among nations. A more extensive description could have been provided of debates taking place in the international workers movement. Greater attention should have been paid to work among young people, particularly among those described as "complex," and among the scientific and creative intelligentsia who are now at the very front end of ideological conflicts.

Obviously, the comprehensiveness and topical nature of the subject could lead to other remarks and wishes. This does not detract anything from the unquestionable conclusion that the authors have been able properly to describe the methodological foundations and experience in Marxist-Leninist ideological work and to argue against hostile ideology. They emphasize that in the course of discussions with ideological and political opponents we must make the Soviet people

aware of the entire wealth of thoughts and plans found in CPSU documents and government laws and decrees, and in the very facts of the building of a communist society in our country. This represents active participation in the universal battle for the minds and hearts of the people, a battle which is bringing ever new victories to the great cause of socialism and communism.

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