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# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 1, January 1981



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18 May 1981

## USSR REPORT

### TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 1, January 1981

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

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## UNIQUE BIRTHRIGHT OF SOCIALISM

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[Text] The 11th Five-Year Plan is off to a headlong start. It is the logical extension of its predecessor, during which the economic and defense potential of our country, which is confidently building communism, rose considerably. The regular 26th CPSU Congress will be held in a few weeks. It will open up new horizons for the Leninist party and the Soviet people: it will scientifically analyze the most important social processes occurring in the contemporary world, penetrate the future, and earmark the main directions for the further advance of the Soviet Union toward implementation of the lofty ideals of the Great October Revolution.

Inflexibly following the Leninist course, the communist party is performing its leading role in society, in close unity with the people. It submits the vitally important problems of domestic and foreign policy to the people for judgment. It relies on their industriousness, gifts and intelligence, courage, firmness and spiritual generosity for all its great initiatives. Under developed socialist conditions, dozens of millions of people are serving as the conscious makers of state policy and its active promoters, demonstrating their civic maturity, communist conviction and cohesion as like-thinking fighters.

The party's accountability and elections campaign, which is taking place on a high practical and ideological level, is nearing completion. In the course of the campaign, party members are providing fine examples of principled assessment of the work of their labor collectives, activities of party organizations and committees at all levels, and objective frank criticism and self-criticism. The rhythm of the socialist competition in honor of the forthcoming party congress is becoming ever more intensive. The nationwide discussion of the draft CC CPSU for the congress "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" is developing ever more widely.

The large number of speeches and meetings, and letters sent to the CPSU Central Committee and the editors of the newspapers, journals, radio and television by workers, kolkhoz members, employees, members of the intelligentsia, labor veterans, housewives, military servicemen and university students indicates the great interest and close involvement with which they react to governmental affairs and the competency with which they judge them. The Soviet people's unanimous approval of the major new steps leading to communism earmarked by the party for the forthcoming decade speaks for itself: it is one of the eloquent specific manifestations of the ideological-political, social and international unity of our society.

In his 22 February 1960 meeting with the voters, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, described social cohesion and unity as the unique possession of socialism, as our priceless and invincible strength. He particularly emphasized the interdependence between economic and social development: "Naturally, the party approaches economic tasks from broad social positions. It considers economics to be inseparably linked with the entire system of social relations. What was the main trend in the development of such relations in the 1970s? I believe that the main trend was the further strengthening of the unity and cohesion of Soviet society."

This conclusion cannot but please anyone loyal to the cause of the struggle for communism. It proves our steadfast progress toward a classless social structure and social homogeneity.

The CC CPSU draft for the congress directs us toward improvement in production and all social relations and an advance toward the further rapprochement among classes, social groups, nations and nationalities. The economic and social factors involved in building communism will become even more closely interrelated in the forthcoming decade. The party considers this an important prerequisite for a new upsurge in the material and cultural living standards of the people, the all-round development of the individual, and the growth of the political awareness and social and labor activeness of Soviet people.

"Material and spiritual values are created through the toil of workers, kolkhoz members and intelligentsia," the document states. "Work alone is the source of increased national wealth." The Central Committee considers the further growth of labor productivity based on mechanization, rationalization, creation of better labor conditions for all working people, and consolidation of its moral and creative principles the cornerstone of CPSU economic policy. The party is refining economic management, planning and control mechanisms and organizing the creation of powerful territorial-production, fuel-energy, agroindustrial and food complexes, in order to upgrade public production effectiveness and insure the rational utilization of existing production forces and of all resources and reserves. The greater unity among Soviet people, the growing unity within the society and the unity between party and people will contribute to an even greater extent to the successful solution of these problems.

Armed with revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory and with rich experience in building a new society, the communist party is facing the future boldly and confidently. However, it always remembers and takes into consideration in its activities V. I. Lenin's instruction as to the need to consider all phenomena as historical, so that aware of its origins and main developmental stages, it can unerringly define its current nature, predict its future status and determine the objective and subjective factors which affect it positively or negatively. The observance of this condition is a mandatory prerequisite for social knowledge and social management. This problem is also related to a deeper understanding by the people of the advantages of socialism and their ability to value them and protect their achievements.

The bourgeois ideologues and propagandists have invested much effort in proving that the contemporary capitalist society is also gradually eliminating class antagonism and becoming ever more cohesive. However, no refinements or concepts of "people's capitalism," "social partnership," "integration of the proletariat," and so on can eliminate or conceal the ever greater aggravation of the main antagonistic contradiction within capitalism: the contradiction between labor and capital, which determines the inevitable division of a society into exploiters and exploited, privileged and oppressed, and rich and poor. Under capitalist conditions this cardinal social problem can never be resolved.

Today we consider the high level of unity within Soviet society to be required, self-evident. Occasionally, however, we fail to take into consideration the fact that all of us must always protect and strengthen it. A great deal of work lies ahead: improving relations among different social strata and links within the social system, and developing socialist social relations are as difficult as establishing them is. Explaining what classes are and what changes must be made in the social structure with a view to achieving their total disappearance, in the pamphlet "The Great Initiative," Lenin pointed out that this is a rather lengthy process. Here it is a question of many-faceted processes, above all the elimination of major disparities between town and country and between people engaged in physical and mental labor. Each party organization, every party member and all conscientious working people have a duty to continue to work in this direction even more adamantly and consistently.

The socialist unity of the working people began to appear almost immediately after the October Revolution. It found its most vivid manifestation in the strength of the political alliance between the working class and the poorest peasantry, an alliance which is the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. For this reason, the majority of the urban and rural nonproletarian working people who were fighting the civil war for a Soviet system and against the counterrevolutionary forces were joined, in the end, by the majority of the old intelligentsia, who agreed to serve the state of the workers and peasants. This unity of millions of people was one of the miraculous properties of liberated labor. It was precisely labor, which had cast off the yoke of capitalist and landlord exploitation, which saved the social organism from political, social and national oppression, sweeping away the cobwebs of class privileges and restrictions which had been skillfully woven by the exploiting classes for centuries, precisely in order to make "every shoemaker stick to his last."

The revolution involved and raised to conscious historical creativity the broadest possible segment of the toiling masses, whose members were no longer mere executors of someone's will but people who could have the last word in governmental affairs. They were given the opportunity to learn through personal experience that the fate of society was their own, and depended on themselves alone. Involved in the whirlpool of this feverish and unusual activity which nonetheless responded to the expectations of the toiling people, even the most forgotten and illiterate of its strata began to see clearly, particularly when they realized that democracy of a proletarian type means democracy for the toiling population majority, for anyone whose heart and thoughts are pure, and who truly wishes to serve his people faithfully and build a new and just society and relations of fraternity and comradely cooperation among people.



For the broad toiling masses, which were becoming involved in political life for the first time, direct participation in the formation of the power organs--the soviets of workers, peasant and Red Army deputies and in the work of the soviets, became the testing stone against which the age-old alienation of the social bottoms from state power and their age-old mistrust of it crumbled. Along with an increasing conviction that the state of the victorious proletariat truly expresses, insures and protects the basic vital interests of all people living from their own work, a growing understanding developed to the effect that the toiling classes and population strata had a common destiny, and that joint effort in the building of socialism, which they adopted as their personal cause, was needed and desirable. The soviets and Soviet system played a primary role in the unification of our society.

Naturally, when we discuss the direct participation of the masses in the creation of new social relations, we always take into consideration the fact that not by any means all working people who joined in the building of socialism did so with identical feelings, understanding or energy. It would be stupid to ignore the social heterogeneity of these masses during the transitional period from capitalism to socialism.

The masses are not the same in different periods and circumstances. Lenin always taught us to consider them as a political concept with a specific historical content. When we praise mass revolutionary enthusiasm, heroism in battle and labor, and the conscientiousness of the Pioneers--the past trailblazers of socialism--we mean the enthusiasm, heroism and conscientiousness of the cadre nucleus of the working class, the peasant poor, and the best representatives of the intelligentsia who dedicated themselves sincerely to the cause of the liberation of the working people. Yet, how many among them were apathetic, doubting, hesitant, sly, or small proprietors who "kept their own counsel," unwilling to be concerned with anything other than "their own profit" and strenuously avoiding any extra work. Even the various strata within the working class did not share aspirations fully, although this class became unified more rapidly than the others and was the center and the catalyst of social cohesion.

When the working class was no longer proletarian in the strict sense of the term, i.e., a class of the poor and most exploited, and once it became the collective owner of productive capital, not in terms of a group but of the entire nation, it represented the first qualitatively new change as a whole and began to assume a leading ideological-political position in society. "The historical task of the proletariat," Lenin emphasized, "is to remake, retrain, and reeducate all the elements in the old society which it inherited as offspring of the petite bourgeoisie. To achieve this, however, the proletariat must reeducate and influence them rather than be influenced by them" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 19, p 107). It was precisely the working class, which created the socialist sector in the mixed economy of the times; it was the peasant poor, who understood this class better than others; and it was the progressive intelligentsia which played the role of a "critical mass," by its example, its adamant struggle to improve the life of the entire toiling people and to win the minds and hearts of those belonging to the more backward strata, and its dedication, finally triggering in the social "mass" the chain reaction converting the absolute majority of workers engaged in physical and mental labor to socialist positions.



A close look at the history of the establishment of Soviet society enables us to appreciate more easily and completely the greatness of the exploit of the working class and its political vanguard--the communist party--which with the help of the state of proletarian dictatorship they created were able in no more than 20 years of revolutionary change radically to alter the social structure of the exploiting society which consolidated and reproduced the conditions for dividing the people and pitting them against one another. This change in society was possible thanks to the socialist socialization of production and labor founded on the logic of history and reflecting its prospects. It was therefore the only progressive method in our time. It involved the voluntary conversion of petty owners to collective economic management, and consequently the adoption of a socialist collectivist way of life with all its characteristic features.

Within an extremely short historical time, the Soviet socialist state also resolved a problem of great complexity for our country--the unification of the dozens of nations and nationalities inhabiting it, brilliantly confirming the accuracy of the Marxist view that hostile relations among nations will disappear along with the disappearance of class antagonisms within nations. Let us not dwell extensively on the oppressed situation of all the non-Russian peoples in prerevolutionary Russia, since it is common knowledge. Nor is it a secret that the exploiting classes had been quite successful in setting one nation against another and fanning national quarrels and mistrust. It was as difficult to surmount this legacy as it was the mistrust felt by the petty owner for collective management. The joint revolutionary struggle waged by the progressive working people of different nationalities was the beginning of their international upbringing. The main thing, however, was unquestionably the systematic implementation by the party of the Leninist national policy, which was thoroughly imbued with communist justice in the all embracing meaning of the term.

After the revolution, all nations in the country were granted the right of self-determination, including secession and formation of independent states, as proclaimed in the very first party program. At the same time, being consistent internationalists, the Bolsheviks aspired to a voluntary alliance among the working people of all nations and did everything possible to prevent the separation of the Soviet republics, which were founded on the ruins of the former tsarist empire, to prevent them from seceding instead of jointly defending the gains of the October Revolution, and building socialism. The logic of the struggle for a new society, which demanded unification of the revolutionary forces, led to the voluntary establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The supreme principle governing reciprocal national relations within the USSR was that there would be no single privilege granted to any given nation and that at the same time, the most favorable conditions would be created for the peoples lagging in their historical development. The entire history of the USSR is the history of the systematic implementation of the principle of equality among nations, and their close cooperation and fraternal mutual aid, aimed at achieving factual equality through the equalization of levels of economic and cultural development.

In 1928, on the eve of the general battle for socialism and for the implementation of the Leninist plan for socialist construction in the USSR, which included industrialization, agricultural collectivization and cultural revolution, the

socialist sector of the country's economy represented 35.1 percent of the industrial productive capital, 44 percent of the national income, 82.4 percent of all industrial output, 3.3 percent of the gross agricultural output, and 76.4 percent of retail trade. This was consistent with the class structure of the population, as follows: workers and employees, 17.6 percent; cooperated peasants and artisans, 2.9 percent; private farmers and noncooperated artisans, 74.9 percent; and urban and rural bourgeoisie and private merchants, 4.6 percent.

The picture in 1937 was essentially different. The socialist sector had achieved absolute domination in all national economic sectors. The changes which had taken place in the class structure of the population were as follows: now there were 50.2 percent workers and employees, in which the proportion of workers had risen from 12.4 percent in 1928 to 33.5 percent, 47.2 percent kolkhoz members and cooperated artisans and 2.6 percent private farmers and noncooperated artisans. There were no members of the bourgeoisie, kulaks or private merchants in town or country. Meanwhile, the cadres of the new worker-peasant socialist intelligentsia had developed. They were vitally linked with the toiling classes from which they had come and which they served loyally and truthfully.

A firm social foundation for the ideological and political unity of Soviet society was created and the considerable growth of the working class was manifested not only in the quantitative indicators, since in the course of industrialization it became increasingly concentrated in large modern enterprises, and thus it rapidly raised its professional-skill standard and became more organized, disciplined and conscientious. The splintered and divided multimillion-strong peasantry became a collectivistic socialist class--the kolkhoz peasantry. Having acknowledged the advantages of public ownership, even though in its lower group form, it thus realized the viability of the communist ideals of the working class and the advantages of the spiritual-moral values and forms of organization it had developed. The kolkhoz members became very close to the industrial workers, who had given them invaluable aid in the period of collectivization, establishment and development of the young collective farms, and alleviation of the peasant's toil. The development of the established socialist awareness of the kolkhoz members was now merely a matter of time.

The successful implementation of the cultural revolution in the country, which began with the comprehensive elimination of illiteracy, the introduction of universal and mandatory primary education for children, the unparalleled growth of the educational standards of the working people and broad access to the wealth of culture for the people, became fertile ground for the adoption of a communist ideology by the masses and for upgraded political conscientiousness. The all-embracing ideological-educational work to which the Leninist party had always paid tremendous attention effectively directed the spiritual development of the Soviet people.

The Great Patriotic War, the postwar restoration period and the entire subsequent development of Soviet society leave no doubt that the social, national (or, more precisely, international), ideological and moral-political unity hammered in the period of the building of socialism was imbedded in the very nature of the new system. It became a reliable base for establishing developed socialism, which eventually led to the formation of a new historical community--the Soviet people.

The major disparities among classes and social groups and the strata within them, between town and country, and between people engaged in physical and mental labor have not as yet been eliminated. However, to begin with, they are not so obvious as in the past; second, these classes, social groups and strata reveal increasingly similar features. The boundaries between them have become exceptionally flexible and some of the essential new features developed in the course of socioeconomic progress are changing, prior to becoming permanently established.

In the mature socialist stage, when the functioning and further development of the established unified national economic complex is leading to the ever broader socialization of production and labor, nationwide and cooperative-kolkhozes ownership are drawing closer to each other ever more rapidly. Scientific and technical progress is the material base for the integration of industry and agriculture and the conversion of agricultural toil into a variety of types of industrial labor. Such progress upgrades the meaningfulness of labor and facilitates its conditions. It contributes to a steady increase in the income of the working people and to the solution of topical social problems. As the immediate and permanent objective of the developed socialist society, the increased prosperity of the people is the basis of the tremendous positive changes occurring in the life of the Soviet people. The objective requirement of the scientific and technical revolution—upgrading the professional and general educational standard of the working people—coincides with the programmatic task of building communism, which is the molding of a comprehensively and harmoniously developed individual. The all-embracing system of socialist democracy in the state of the whole people, which stems from the state of proletarian dictatorship, is more effectively insuring, with every passing year, the true equality and full rights of its citizens and decisive participation by them in the management of production and of all social affairs, actually equalizing the social status of the different population strata.

The working class considerably strengthened its position as the main productive and sociopolitical force. It did not in any way lose its former virtues. On the contrary, it became even better organized, more ideologically convinced and politically aware. The working class accounts for two-thirds of the employed population in the country. Its standards of qualification have been changed substantially, rising as a result of the use of new equipment and technology and the higher educational level of the people. Many of the old skills related to heavy physical and manual labor in general, which require no particular knowledge, have disappeared. The proportion of unskilled and underskilled workers has declined considerably. In the forthcoming decade this progressive process will be accelerated. Many new professions have appeared, some of which radically change the status of the worker in the production process and cannot be mastered without a sufficiently broad technical outlook or without secondary or even higher education. As a rule, the young generations enter production work after graduating from a full secondary school or a vocational technical school providing complete knowledge and good training in the skill chosen. The 1979 census figures show that 76 percent of the workers had higher or secondary (complete and incomplete) education, compared to 8.7 percent in 1939. Similar changes are taking place within the agrarian detachment of the working class, on the basis of comprehensive sovkhoz mechanization of farming and animal husbandry.



The progressive changes in the qualification structure of the working class equalize its strata in terms of material well-being, making them more socio-psychologically homogeneous. In the final account, this is expressed in the increased labor and political activeness of an ever larger number of working people in industry, construction, transportation, agriculture and services, and in their involved participation in the management of their enterprises and the entire life of the labor collectives. The upsurge in socialist competition on a new level and its line of struggle for upgrading work effectiveness and quality, the broad scope of the movement for a communist attitude toward labor and the mass technical creativity of the workers are characteristic features of the present.

The rapprochement between the working class and the intelligentsia is being accelerated in a number of directions. Today, enterprise engineering and technical personnel and skilled workers have far more common features than differences. The functions of workers, technicians and engineers directly involved in the installation of complex equipment and supervision of its operation reveal the greatest similarity in comprehensively mechanized and automated production functions. An ever growing number of jobs demand graduate specialists or practical workers operating at the engineer's level. As science becomes a direct productive force to an ever greater extent, the working class provides a growing contribution to its development, drawing closer to the scientific intelligentsia. This is particularly visible in the scientific-production associations, plant-higher technical educational institutions and scientific research institutes. Workers also play a most important role in carrying out the production experiments developed by scientists and in using new equipment and technology. They represent an organic component of the intellectual potential of the developed socialist society.

The elimination of major disparities between people engaged in physical labor and those engaged in mental labor is a problem related less to the elimination of professional differences than to the elimination of differences in social status. Developed socialism eliminates social differences far sooner than professional differences. Total legal equality among all working people was proclaimed in the 1936 USSR Constitution. The current constitution asserts the unbreakable alliance among workers, peasants and intellectuals as the social foundation of the USSR. Their immediate representatives are jointly managing the state, fully united in resolving all the most important problems of life in town and country, rayons and oblasts, and in the country at large. They participate on an equal footing in all socially significant measures.

In the daily life of the labor collectives, apart from the production process itself and in terms of organizational-technological relations, no group of workers, engineering and technical personnel or employees enjoys any advantages over the others. They work jointly in party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, and in similar fashion they resolve problems in the production planning and management and social development of their collectives. They also struggle jointly for the enhancement of labor discipline, order and organization, study within the party and Komsomol training program, and work as propagandists, agitators and political informants. Together they raise the young people and together they relax. There are no major disparities among their wages or living conditions.

The rapprochement between the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry resulting from the rapprochement of the two forms of socialist public ownership, is a heterogeneous multifaceted process. For a long time, the two groups have been interacting without clashing, increasing production concentration and specialization, and deepening intersectorial and intereconomic relations, thus improving production relations and relations among the classes. In its development, peasant group ownership moved from possession of small underpowered farms, where primitive generalized agricultural work was still done, to highly mechanized and specialized kolkhozes and interfarm associations covering a number of settlements and frequently exceeding the boundaries not only of rayons, but of oblasts as well. As the kolkhozes gain strength they outgrow their group framework and increasingly need to have access to the property of the whole nation, in order to develop the general economic potential of the country for purposes of intensifying production.

During the last 15 years the Soviet state has increased drastically its investments in the kolkhoz sector from the state budget. It has assumed the cost of developing new planting areas, cultivating pastures, and drafting land reclamation projects. The kolkhozes are now a part of the unified state power system. Technical retooling of them is being accomplished systematically: the machine-building industry for animal husbandry and feed production has become a large industrial sector; agricultural chemization and supporting scientific development are showing notable progress. The state vocational-technical educational system supplies the kolkhozes with skilled mechanizer cadres, although they are still insufficient in number. Also self-evident is the fact that the State Bank wrote off kolkhoz and sovkhoz debts totaling 7.3 billion rubles, and extended the repayment of loans totaling 4 billion rubles by 12 years, in agreement with the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum decision, dealing with natural disasters afflicting agriculture. The kolkhoz-sovkhoz and agroindustrial associations, in which both forms of socialist ownership are seen, have been extensively developed, and the major disparities between the workers and the kolkhoz members are gradually becoming less noticeable. Industrial enterprises, which act as kolkhoz sponsors, are providing them with extensive and varied aid by promoting the industrialization of agricultural labor and improving the use of the means of production and reserves.

In the nationwide economic sector, following the introduction of guaranteed monthly wages and state pensions for kolkhoz members, the latter have become almost indistinguishable from the workers in terms of earning basic income. Private auxiliary plots, an additional source of livelihood, may also be owned by sovkhoz workers and many urban workers and employees. The steadily rising number of appropriations for social consumption funds offer benefits to the Soviet people, whatever their class affiliation, in such important areas as culture, education, and medical services. The quality of these services is naturally better in the towns than in the country, this having essentially nothing to do of course with class differences. The law on mandatory universal secondary education for children calls for its comprehensive application. Secondary specialized and higher education are equally accessible to peasants and the members of other population strata. Modern kolkhozes employ tens of thousands of graduate specialists, and the children of kolkhoz and workers' families account for a high proportion of all detachments of the Soviet intelligentsia. A great deal has been done to eliminate



major disparities between urban and rural living conditions, but a great deal more remains to be done, particularly in terms of improving labor conditions, consumer services and cultural life in the countryside.

The increased enhancement of the people's prosperity, considered to be the main socioeconomic task of developed socialism, by the communist party and the socialist state of the whole people, is accompanied by equalization of real income for the different classes and social groups. For many years, earnings have been increasing at a faster pace among the less prosperous groups of working people and their family members. Many cases can be cited, for example, of wages being lower for working people in the intellectual professions than for workers, while earnings may be higher for kolkhoz members in public farms than for those in the former two categories, or vice versa. This situation is determined by factors often unrelated to social structure. As a whole, the living standards of the various toiling strata in our country are showing a steady trend toward unification, which contributes unquestionably to the strengthening of social unity.

What is called social mobility and the socially mixed family have become common features in our lives and may be classified as one of the basic conditions leading to the unity of the Soviet people. A worker can become an engineer or an engineer can become a worker without anybody considering this to be remarkable in the least. A kolkhoz member may turn into a scientist and perform his duties in town, while the children of intellectuals may go to work in the countryside. Occasionally, representatives of all social communities are found within a single family; this neither amazes nor puzzles anyone.

The highly democratic environment--a most conspicuous feature of Soviet society--and the comradely relations among its people are not dictated by living conditions alone. These aspects are supported by the party's scientific and purposeful policy, which has created such conditions and takes into consideration the common and specific interests of classes and social groups, the communist upbringing of the working people, and the development of every individual's potential. Implementation of the tasks set forth by the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses--specifically, those of developing a scientific, Marxist-Leninist outlook in every member of society; insuring cohesion of ideological-political, labor and moral upbringing; promoting an active life stance in the builder of communism; mastering economic and legal knowledge, and upgrading professional and general cultural standards--is paralleled by the increased conscientiousness of all the Soviet people and their social and political maturity, and serves to accelerate the consolidation of our society.

The Soviet individual is a patriot and an internationalist who has developed the attitude that labor is vitally necessary and designed for the good of society; he is intolerant of all kinds of injustice and is active in the fight for communist ideals. This individual has become typical of developed socialism. The Soviet individual is actually the main social force in society now and was forged in this image and likeness by the revolutionary working class, headed by the communist party. Collectivist and internationalist ideals have been used as incentive in developing the character of most of the members of our society. The ideological-political unity of the Soviet people will grow steadily as we master, to an ever

greater degree, the art of resolving real contradictions, of elucidating the objective and subjective features, and acquiring those skills necessary for the scientific management of social processes.

The party's interest in furthering the progress of socialist social relations is also evident in its demand that we study more deeply and comprehensively the problems of national economic management, the reinforcement and application of labor resources, the social structure and political system of developed socialism, the ideological-moral upbringing and harmonious total development of man, and the socialist way of life. It is the duty of social scientists and of all party, soviet and public organizations to contribute the maximum toward the fulfillment of these most important and vast work objectives, in order to strengthen the unity of our society.

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## **LENINIST FOREIGN POLICY IN THE MODERN WORLD**

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**[Article by A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs]**

**[Text]** The Soviet people are approaching the 26th CPSU Congress, which opens 23 February, with tremendous political and labor enthusiasm and great successes in fulfilling the 10th 5-Year Plan which has just ended. Party congresses are always portentous events in the life of our country. The congresses sum up the people's creative labor under the CPSU's leadership and set the tasks of the party and the state in all spheres of their activity for the upcoming period.

CPSU congresses are of lasting international significance. This is due to the fact that their decisions, which generalize experience and outline new targets in socialist building and in creating the material and technical base of communism—and the land of the soviets created by Great October is the pioneer on this path leading to new heights in the development of human society—quite naturally attract very close attention throughout the world.

Party congresses, determining the directions of Soviet foreign policy, make a tremendous contribution to the theoretical elaboration and practical implementation of the Leninist foreign policy course of the USSR, without whose participation no really serious international problem is or can be resolved now. Congress decisions indicate clear and attainable goals in the struggle for peace and for the peoples' national and social progress.

The Soviet communists' supreme forums are thus important landmarks not only on the historic path which our country has now been following unswervingly for more than six decades but also in the entire process of our world's social renewal. There is no doubt that the 26th CPSU Congress will also be such a landmark.

In its international activity, as in all its revolutionary transforming activity, whose foundations were laid by V. I. Lenin, the CPSU is guided by Lenin's behests, relies on the very rich legacy of his thoughts and deeds and creatively develops this legacy in regard to the situation taking shape in the world.

Since the first foreign policy act of Soviet power—the decree on peace—was adopted in November 1917, Soviet foreign policy has retained in full its inherent Leninist features: class nature and internationalism, democratism and humanity,

love of peace and historical optimism. Yes, historical optimism and faith in the possibility of preserving peace and averting a new world war. The fundamental principles of this policy are the principles formulated by the founder of our party and state--proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems.

Proletarian internationalism as the fundamental principle of Soviet foreign policy means that this policy consistently upholds the fundamental interests of world socialism and of the forces of the international communist and workers movement. As for peaceful coexistence, it represents a specific form of class struggle--peaceful competition, ruling out the use of military force, between two opposite socioeconomic systems--socialism and capitalism.

True to Lenin's precept on the party's leading role in shaping and implementing the foreign policy activity of the socialist state, the CPSU, its Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo daily keep questions of foreign policy and international life in their field in view. They work out and guide the USSR's foreign policy courses on the basis of an in-depth Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation in the international arena and correct regard for the correlation of forces in the world and for natural laws and factors which determine the chief trends and prospects of world development. An exceptional role in this matter belongs to L. I. Brezhnev, that outstanding statesman and politician of our time whose indefatigable and multifaceted work has won him the profound respect and gratitude of the Soviet people and the highest international prestige.

## I

The Soviet state's foreign policy course, implemented under the communist party's leadership, is aimed at ensuring favorable international conditions for the building of communism in the USSR, defending the Soviet Union's state interests, strengthening the positions of world socialism, supporting the people's struggle for national liberation and social progress, preventing aggressive wars, achieving general and complete disarmament and consistently implementing the principle of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. And this course is enshrined in the USSR Constitution.

Speaking of the CPSU's international activity at the present stage, special note should be taken of the party's tremendous service in that, having perspicaciously evaluated international conditions in the late sixties and early seventies, when favorable opportunities appeared for the restructuring of the entire system of international relations that had evolved in the postwar period on a peaceful and democratic basis as a result of the change in the correlation of forces in the world in socialism's favor, it put forward a broad complex of interrelated constructive measures embracing all spheres of the struggle for peace and the peoples' freedom and independence. These measures were set forth in their entirety in the peace program adopted by the 24th party congress (1971).

This program, which soon became an effective factor in the mobilization of all forces of peace and progress and gave a powerful boost to the progressive



development of the process of easing international tension, was adopted by the fraternal parties and countries as the common foreign policy platform of the socialist community.

The program won approval and support in the national liberation movement and in developing countries. It met with understanding on the part of the broad public in capitalist countries and many sober-minded representatives of those states' ruling circles were forced to reckon with it.

In accordance with the peace program the CPSU and the Soviet state developed active, strenuous work aimed at liquidating hotbeds of military danger, finally recognizing and enshrining the territorial changes which occurred in Europe as a result of World War II, strengthening security and developing cooperation on the European Continent. This work was also aimed at ending the arms race, achieving disarmament, fully implementing the UN decisions on the liquidation of colonial regimes, broadening mutually advantageous cooperation with all interested states and resolving problems on a worldwide scale, such as exploring and opening up space and the world ocean, making rational use of energy and other natural resources, conserving man's environment and so forth.

The successful course of the peace program's implementation had a direct positive influence on the international political climate.

The most significant events of those years include the normalization of the FRG's relations with the USSR, the CSSR, Poland and the GDR on the basis of corresponding treaties, the signing of the four-power agreement on West Berlin, which helped to reduce tension over that city, and the broad international recognition of the GDR.

A whole series of Soviet-American agreements was concluded. These included, in particular, the jointly elaborated document "Principles of Relations Between the USSR and the United States," whose provisions are based on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

A major achievement in the struggle to end the arms race and for disarmament was the signing of the Soviet-American agreements on strategic arms limitation, including the SALT I treaty, and on the prevention of nuclear war, as well as the validation of the convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons and on their destruction. The Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and arms in central Europe were begun.

Weighty positive results marked the end of the CSCE, which confirmed the inviolability of the postwar borders which had taken shape between states, drew up a code of principles of relations among the 35 countries participating in the conference and outlined the prospects for peaceful long-term cooperation among them. All this was reflected in the Final Act adopted by the conference.

Under conditions of a palpable easing of international tension the serious threat to peace posed by the military conflict which flared up in the Near East in 1973



was successfully averted. The peoples of Indochina won a glorious victory with the support, above all, of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries and inflicted a crushing defeat on the American aggressors.

The last colonial empire--Portugal's--collapsed. The peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and other countries achieved independence. The revolution triumphed in Ethiopia.

In other words, appreciable changes for the better had occurred in the international situation by the midseventies. Many points of the peace program had been fulfilled or were at the stage of being successfully fulfilled.

Proceeding from this, the 25th CPSU Congress (1976) advanced the program of further struggle for peace and international cooperation and for the peoples' freedom and independence, which was the direct continuation and creative development of the foreign policy program of the 24th party congress. It is no accident that these two programs are now widely known by the joint name of the Peace Program. They represent the concentrated expression of the USSR's foreign policy course, propose ways to resolve cardinal problems of international life in a realistic spirit and accord with the working people's class interests, with the requirements of the peoples' national and social progress and with the aspirations of the vast majority of mankind.

The 25th congress emphasized the need to further strengthen the fraternal socialist states' unity and develop their comprehensive cooperation in building the new society and to increase their joint actions in the interests of peace. Among the urgent foreign policy tasks advanced by the congress paramount significance was attached to curbing the arms race and proceeding to real disarmament, asserting the principle of the nonuse of force in the practice of international relations, concentrating the efforts of peace-loving states on the liquidation of remaining hotbeds of war in various parts of the globe and ensuring peace, particularly on the Asian Continent.

The congress decisions devoted great attention to broadening and deepening the detente process, to embodying detente in practical forms of cooperation among states, notably in Europe, and, to that end, to the full implementation of the consistent development, in accordance with the principle of peaceful coexistence, of equal and mutually advantageous relations on a long-term basis with the United States, France, the FRG, Britain and other capitalist countries.

The congress advanced as one of the international tasks the liquidation of all vestiges of colonial oppression and of remaining preserves of racism and the eradication from international relations of all manifestations detrimental to the peoples' independence and freedom. The congress also advanced the task of eliminating discrimination, inequality, exploitation and diktat in international trade and restructuring on a just, democratic basis the system of economical relations which had taken shape in the world.

Together with the fraternal parties and countries of the socialist community the CPSU and the Soviet state did work of exceptional intensity and scope to realize

the foreign policy program of the 25th congress throughout the second half of the seventies. This activity resulted in important achievements in upholding the policy of detente and peace and in supporting the peoples' revolutionary and liberation movement.

The aforesaid program was being implemented, however, under difficult international conditions—which became particularly noticeable toward the end of the seventies. This was a direct consequence of the actions of the most aggressive imperialist circles and of all international reaction, which made an attempt to counter the policy of detente and the successes in strengthening socialism's positions, in developing the national liberation movement and in the struggle for peace with their own policy of whipping up the arms race, interfering in other peoples' internal affairs and fueling international tension. These circles conceived the intention of impeding the objective course of world events.

The imperialist line of politics is graphically manifested by the decisions adopted within NATO on an additional annual increase—almost through the end of the 20th century—in military spending by the North Atlantic bloc's member countries and on the deployment of new American medium-range nuclear missile weapons in West Europe. These decisions undoubtedly reflect the desire of the imperialist powers—above all the United States—to change in their own favor the military-strategic equilibrium of forces which has become established between the two opposing socioeconomic systems. The so-called new American strategy of "limited nuclear war" should be viewed in the same light.

Behind the smokescreen of an artificially fanned propaganda campaign over the allegedly growing "Soviet threat" and the USSR's purported desire for military superiority, and also in connection with the Soviet action in helping Afghanistan in the struggle against outside aggression, the United States, involving primarily its NATO allies, tried to exert pressure on the Soviet Union, and on socialism—pressure which, as many people in the West admit, was unsuccessful. As one means of exerting such pressure Washington resorted to refusing to fulfill commitments it had adopted under previously concluded Soviet-American agreements and accords. At the same time imperialist forces began to step up their flagrant interference in the internal affairs of other states—in the Near and Middle East, the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean zone, Southeast Asia and Central America. The clearest examples of this are the anti-Arab Camp David deal, which is alien to the interests of peace, the unceasing provocations against Afghanistan and the pressure—up to the threat of using military force—on Iran, whose people cast off the corrupt shah's regime which had been a lackey of American imperialism.

Washington declared certain regions of the world to be zones of U. S. "vital interests," started to feverishly strengthen its existing military bases and also to look for new sites for such bases in these regions and adjacent regions, sent a naval armada to Iran's shores and knocked together a "rapid deployment" corps intended to preserve antipopular regimes, intimidate young independent states and defend the predatory interests of imperialist monopolies.

Imperialism's rapprochement with Chinese hegemonism has assumed a dangerous nature for the cause of peace and the peoples' freedom. In entering into collusion with

the imperialists the Beijing leadership seeks to realize its own great-power chauvinist goals, as is indicated by its intrigues against neighboring countries, particularly in Indochina, and its criminal aggression against the SRV. Beijing's expansionist policy is a major source of international tension. No attempts to erase from this policy the stamp of hegemonism, expansionism and connivance with imperialism can succeed.

## II

In the gravely complicated situation in the world arena the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries, displaying the necessary vigilance and dealing a fitting rebuff to the intrigues of the aggressive forces of international reaction, have paid special attention to the consolidation of their ranks' cohesion and the further intensification of cooperation both on a bilateral basis and through their political and defense alliance--the Warsaw Pact--and also within the CEMA framework. This has been greatly promoted by regular meetings of the leaders of the fraternal parties and countries. During these meetings and at sessions of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact states joint steps have been elaborated and coordinated in the foreign policy sphere.

Not succumbing to the provocations of the forces of imperialism and Beijing hegemonism, the fraternal socialist countries have continued and are continuing to actively pursue their foreign policy course in the international arena. In the process of this multifaceted and complex work they have invariably come out with constructive peace-loving initiatives which are contained in the joint documents they have adopted, primarily the decisions of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee.

New evidence of this is provided by the declaration and statement of the Political Consultative Committee conference held in May 1980 in the Polish capital, where a whole complex of proposals was put forward aimed at reducing the pitch of tension, halting unfavorable trends in the development of international events, stabilizing the process of detente and imparting new impetus to it.

The Soviet initiative "On Certain Urgent Measures To Reduce the Danger of War" submitted in September 1980 for the examination of the 35th UN General Assembly session is aimed at the same thing. These measures include the renunciation by states of the expansion of existing military-political groupings and the creation of new ones, the renunciation of a further increase in armed forces and armaments as the first step toward their gradual reduction, the examination--alongside an international convention on the consolidation of guarantees of the security of nonnuclear states--of other possible options for resolving this question given the appropriate readiness on the part of all the nuclear powers, the speediest conclusion of an international treaty on the total and universal prohibition of nuclear weapon tests and, in the meantime, the declaration by all the nuclear powers of a 1-year moratorium on any nuclear blasts.

At the same session the Soviet Union submitted a memorandum which assesses the state of affairs in specific sectors of the struggle for peace, disarmament and international security and indicates practical paths leading to the achievement of successful results in this struggle.



The course of the discussion and the approval of the Soviet proposals at the 35th UN General Assembly session demonstrated their topicality. These proposals have met with a broad response in the world.

The curbing of the arms race and disarmament have been and remain the main avenue of the USSR's foreign policy. This is a task of historic dimensions. Proceeding from Lenin's conclusion that disarmament is the ideal of socialism, our country is making efforts to eliminate the threat of war, of which the main source is imperialism, which is steadily building up its military arsenals.

Of course, the Soviet Union is displaying due concern for safeguarding its own security and the security of its allies and friends. However, it is guided here only by the interests of defense, which L. I. Brezhnev has stressed on many occasions. The USSR has never sought and does not seek military superiority. It must be clear at the same time that the Soviet Union and the socialist community cannot allow--and will not allow--the disruption of the present parity of military forces between socialism and capitalism.

Our country is consistently seeking to reduce the present level of military confrontation in the world while unconditionally observing the principle of equal security. It is prepared--and we have no shortage of good will or initiative--to make any constructive steps to resolve that burning problem of the present day, the halting of the arms race and disarmament, be they partial steps or the most radical step--universal and total disarmament.

It was precisely this approach which the Soviet Union displayed, in particular, at the UN General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament in 1978. The proposals it advanced for halting the arms race and for disarmament met with understanding and support at this session from the majority of the world's states.

It was largely thanks to our country's enterprising efforts over the period since the 25th CPSU Congress that the Soviet-French accord on preventing the accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons was achieved, an agreement was concluded between the USSR and Britain on preventing the accidental outbreak of nuclear war, and the international convention on banning military or any other hostile use of means of modifying the natural environment came into force.

Mention should also be made of the major step of the signing of the Soviet-U.S. strategic offensive arms limitation treaty (SALT II) which could become an effective obstacle on the path of the further stockpiling of the most destructive and expensive types of weapons. All responsibility for the fact that this treaty has still not been validated rests with the U. S. side, the U. S. administration and Washington.

As is well known, soon after the SALT II treaty was signed the Carter administration shifted to positions of delaying its ratification and then in fact completely stopped seeking this ratification. The administration openly followed the lead of the treaty's opponents who tried and indeed are now trying to allege that the treaty is not advantageous to the United States, that it allegedly encroaches in some respect on U. S. security interests, although, of course, this does not

correspond to the real situation. Here the matter was by no means restricted merely to fault-finding. The treaty's opponents, citing the need to "improve" this document for the United States, vied with each other in proposing amendments to the SALT II treaty the gist of which comes down to undermining its foundations which were painstakingly arrived at and mutually agreed upon in the course of protracted negotiations.

Unfortunately, Washington is still steering matters toward a further indefinite postponement of the treaty's validation. All this is in the interests of neither the U.S. nor the Soviet people nor the other peoples of the world.

For its part the Soviet Union has frequently stated that it is prepared to ratify the SALT II treaty and observe all its provisions. We treat with due respect the results of the hard 7 years of labor which resulted in the emergence of this treaty which, on the basis of a balance of the interests of the USSR and the United States--a verified balance open to mathematical analysis--sets forth clearly the two sides' commitments. The Soviet Union cannot and will not take part in talks aimed at canceling the SALT II treaty and breaking the fundamental principles on which this treaty was concluded and on which the SALT I accords are based and operate.

The Soviet Union does business with any administration as the leadership of the country--the United States--and counts on the continuity of the decisions it adopts and its reliability as a partner.

The provisions of the SALT II treaty affect the most important aspects of the security of the USSR and the United States. And an approach which puts one side in a position of advantage with respect to the other is categorically unacceptable to our country.

The category of indisputably positive facts of present-day international life must include the Soviet-U.S. talks on strategic arms limitation in Europe started on the USSR's initiative. The Soviet Union's principled approach to these talks is that at the talks the question of medium-range nuclear missile weapons must be discussed simultaneously and in organic conjunction with the problem of U.S. forward-based nuclear weapons and that the accords which may be achieved during the talks will be implemented only after the SALT II treaty comes into force.

The Soviet Union is very clearly aware of the need for the limitation and subsequent reduction of the states' military strategic potential. We consider it important to seek by every means progress in this matter of major significance: After all its success is the core of international security.

The Soviet Union is in favor of ensuring the speediest successful completion of the talks underway on the universal and total prohibition of nuclear weapons test, the prohibition of radiological weapons, the prohibition of chemical weapons and the destruction of stockpiles of these weapons, the nonuse of nuclear weapons against nonnuclear states which have no nuclear weapons on their territories and the nondeployment of nuclear weapons on the territory of states where now there are none.



The Soviet Union also proposes immediate talks on the conclusion of a world treaty on the nonuse of force. The halting of the production of nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of stockpiles of these weapons right up to their complete abolition, the prohibition of the creation of new types and new systems of weapons of mass destruction, the reduction of military budgets, primarily those of the major powers, and others.

The Soviet proposal to convene a world disarmament conference whose decisions would be binding for all states remains in force, and this would undoubtedly promote a successful turn toward real disarmament.

We believe that the time must come when the heavy, sharp sword hanging over mankind's head in the shape of the enormous quantity of the most sophisticated weaponry stockpiled in the world will be broken. The path to this is not close, but any step, any movement, however small, toward the curbing of the arms race and disarmament is all the more justified for that.

If we succeed in finding an opportunity whose realization would open up prospects for the solution of any question in this sphere, it is enough to say "eureka!" and the Soviet Union will be ready to react positively to any relevant idea or proposal from wherever it may come.

It lays absolutely no claim to a monopoly in putting forward such initiatives. Every state can advance them. It is merely necessary to have good intentions.

### III

Guided by the interests of strengthening European security and the objective and now acute need to achieve progress in detente in Europe, the Warsaw Pact countries have proposed concluding between all states taking part in the all-European conference a treaty renouncing the first use of nuclear and conventional armaments. These countries' initiatives at the Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and arms in central Europe create a good basis for achieving political accords. A graphic example of the sincerity of their desire to reduce the level of military confrontation in this region is the Soviet Union's unilateral withdrawal of 20,000 servicemen and 1,000 tanks and other equipment from the GDR's territory.

Together with the other socialist community states our country advocates holding a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe. Such a conference could become a major milestone on the path to consolidating the foundations of peace in Europe. A decision in principle to convene this conference and recommendations on the procedure and content of its works can and must be taken by the meeting now underway in Madrid of representatives of countries which took part in the all-European conference.

During the Madrid meeting the Soviet Union, firmly standing for strict observance of the principles and unconditional fulfillment of the provisions of the Final Act as a single whole and overcoming the unconstructive, one-sided approach of the NATO countries, is steering a line toward the elaboration of accords with a view

to stabilizing and enhancing the process of detente in Europe and implementing further steps on all the main aspects of the consolidation of security and the development of cooperation on this continent. In close cooperation with the other socialist community countries it is doing everything possible to ensure that the meeting's work does not mark time but proceeds in a serious businesslike atmosphere and that its results justify the hopes of the European peoples, but not only the European peoples.

However, not everything depends on the USSR or the socialist community countries. Delegations from a number of Western states taking part in the Madrid Meeting are attempting to focus attention on individual issues which most frequently have no important significance and at the same time to shelve, pretending they do not exist at all, the main issues concerning the improvement of relations between the countries taking part in the all-European conference in the political, economic and other spheres. They are steering a course the gist of which is to reduce matters to the level of a propaganda tightrope act attesting to an intention to paint the meeting in the black shades of hostile polemics and collisions.

They are making special attempts to depict matters as though the Soviet Union is inconsistently both maintaining a line aimed at detente and deviating from this line. Of course, this is a gross distortion of Soviet foreign policy which is built on ensuring that there is peace and that war is averted. Our party proceeds from the premise that not a single person wants war and that the course toward detente accords with the desire and aspirations of all peoples.

Obviously, these states taking part in the Madrid meeting would be acting sensibly if they were to embark on the soil of realism and follow the example of the all-European conference which ended in the agreement in Helsinki. A very important task for the Madrid forum is to attempt to find on a joint basis a constructive line in its work and conclude this work with good results.

L. I. Brezhnev's meetings with V. Giscard d'Estaing and H. Schmidt had highly important significance for mutually advantageous bilateral cooperation between the USSR and France and the FRG and the mobilization of efforts to overcome the negative phenomena of the present situation in Europe and the international arena. Our country intends to continue to support and develop good relations on a reciprocal basis with all the West European states.

Giving a fitting reply to Washington's steps aimed at undermining Soviet-U.S. relations and fueling tension in the world, the Soviet Union is displaying readiness to normalize and improve relations with the United States for the benefit for the peoples of the two countries and in the interests of world peace. The only reliable way of developing relations between the USSR and the United States is observance of the principle of parity and equal security. Our country is prepared to do business with the United States as equals if the U.S. side also displays a readiness to do this.

There are many important and topical international problems on which the two powers must seek a common language. And they can cooperate constructively here given mutual consideration for each other's legitimate interests.

In the United States recently, or to be more precise among those who determine U.S. foreign policy, currency has been given to the thesis that in examining a particular issue it is necessary to take into account its link with other problems or events in international life, in particular the actions of the Soviet Union. "Linkage" of this sort is sometimes presented as virtually a method in the style of one of the idols of Western diplomacy—the 19th century Austrian statesman Metternich.

In general there are probably few people who would deny that everything in the world and indeed in the universe is interconnected. That is an objective fact. But if you disengage yourself from universal scales and take a sober look at the development of international events over a long term, it becomes obvious that with this "linkage" it is essentially impossible to resolve a single international problem. Is it conceivable that all problems should be resolved at once?

Everyone knows that so far there has never been a situation when all states have agreed in their opinions on all issues of international life. Throughout human history there have been unresolved questions on which differences, disputes and conflicts have arisen between states.

That is also a reality of our time. If states had been guided by the "linkage" principle there would have been no unity among the allies in the anti-Hitler coalition. Nor would there have been the postwar peace treaties at the conclusion, of which incidentally, the Soviet Union embarked under conditions in which a quite definite orientation in U.S. policy—an orientation hostile toward the Soviet Union—had already emerged and the United States had set about developing a network of military bases around the USSR. Nor would there have been the series of treaties and agreements signed between the USSR and the United States over the past 10-15 years.

Life itself thus takes issue with the unsound concept of the direct dependence of the solution of each specific problem on the settlement of other problems. If this concept had been allowed to be introduced into international political practice to the advantage of someone's narrow interests—and we, and not we alone, have frequently had occasion to encounter attempts to achieve this—then a vicious circle would inevitably have taken shape in resolving urgent international problems and the overall state of affairs in the world would have been deadlocked, with all the ensuing consequences.

Conversely, the opposite concept, to wit that the solution of any specific problem, particularly if it is an important one, can facilitate the solution of other questions, is perfectly justified. For instance, after the SALT I accord did a warm wind not blow in the world and did the peoples not sigh with relief? And after that were positive results not achieved, particularly at the all-European conference?

We have proceeded and continue to proceed from this concept because that is how matters stand in real life. Understandably, much depends here on political wisdom and the ability, primarily of the major powers, to find their correct bearings in the situation and to focus efforts on the main area or areas and set about resolving the truly urgent problems.



#### IV

The Soviet Union has been and remains a supporter of the solution by peaceful means of the conflicts arising between states and of the liquidation of hotbeds of the danger of war and a champion of the peoples' freedom and independence. It firmly advocates a just, all-embracing settlement and the establishment of lasting peace in the Near East.

The USSR consistently supports the Arab countries' struggle against the separate Camp David deal concluded behind their backs and detrimental to their lawful interests. It was clear from the very first that it was impossible to resolve the Near East problem on its basis. To assert the opposite means to hope for a miracle like the miracles which have occurred in the Near East according to Biblical legends or the tales of the "Thousand And One Nights." But real policy cannot be built on that. Wonderful fairy stories are one thing and reality another.

To settle the Near East problem and consequently to ensure reliable peace in this region, accords are required which would rest on basic elements--Israel's withdrawal of its troops from all the Arab territories it occupied in 1967, the protection of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to create their own state, and an effective guarantee of the rights of all states of this region, including Israel, to independent existence and development under conditions of peace.

The treaty on friendship and cooperation between the USSR and Syria concluded in October 1980 is an important new confirmation of the principled-mindedness of the Soviet course in Near Eastern affairs and an indicator of the high level which Soviet-Syrian relations have reached in their development.

Our country is continuing to render the necessary aid to the people of neighboring Afghanistan in their defense of the gains of the April revolution and the protection of their state's sovereignty and in their efforts to achieve the halting of the armed interference in their internal affairs encouraged and organized by Washington and Beijing and an end to the armed incursions into Afghan territory from outside. This aid, granted at the request of the Afghan government, is in full accordance with the treaty on friendship, good-neighborliness and cooperation signed between the USSR and the DRA in 1978 and with the UN Charter.

The Soviet Union sees the correct path toward the settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan, which is and should remain a nonaligned state, in the political program put forward by the Afghan government on 14 May 1980. The countries which are truly interested in a peaceful settlement must embark on corresponding contacts with the Afghan government.

This applies primarily to Pakistan if, as its leadership asserts, it is indeed seeking good-neighborliness with Afghanistan and the normalization of the situation in this region. Of course, only the external aspects of the situation prevailing around Afghanistan and under no circumstances questions of an internal nature, which come wholly and entirely under the jurisdiction of its people and government, can be the topic of discussion.



After appropriate accords are reached the question of the withdrawal of the Soviet military contingent from the DRA will also be resolved. It is well known that part of this contingent was recently returned to the USSR in connection with the process of the normalization of the situation in Afghanistan.

We must point here to the paradoxical contradiction in the policy of those who are encouraging outside intervention against Afghanistan and at the same time shouting louder than anyone about the need to withdraw the Soviet contingent from the DRA. After all, they are essentially acting as though they had absolutely no desire for this contingent to return home.

Our country advocates the speediest peaceful settlement, without any outside interference, of the conflict which has flared up between Iraq and Iran. Its protraction is merely bringing new devastation and casualties to these states and pushing them between the millstones of imperialist policy.

The continuation of the conflict is advantageous to the aggressive circles of imperialism stoking tension in and around this region. The overt buildup of imperialist military penetration into the Near and Middle East is taking place. Its enemies are shaking the unity of the Arab world. Plans are being nurtured aimed at weakening the anti-imperialist orientation of the policy of both Iran and Iraq. Presumably the leadership of the two countries will come to understand this and realize--the sooner the better --the tragic senselessness of the Iraq-Iran conflict which in addition is having an adverse effect not only on the situation in the region but also on the entire international situation.

The present course of imperialist policy is creating a direct threat to the independence and security of many countries in the Indian Ocean zone. Suffice it to recall, in particular, the powerful grouping of U.S. Navy warships cruising off Iranian shores. Resolutely demanding a halt to the United States' bellicose intrigues in the Indian Ocean basin, the Soviet Union supports the littoral countries' idea for turning this ocean into a zone of peace and is prepared to cooperate with a view to implementing it with all interested states. The Indian Ocean has been and remains, we are convinced, a sphere of vital interest for the countries on its shores and no other countries.

Guided by the broad interests of international security, in May 1980 the socialist community countries proposed embarking on an examination of the question of limiting and reducing the level of military presence and military activity in relevant regions, be it the Atlantic, Indian or Pacific Oceans, the Mediterranean or the Persian Gulf.

A long-standing irritant is the absurd arguments of those who, measuring with a pair of compasses the distance from the Soviet Union's border--and for some time measurements have even been taken from Afghanistan's borders--to the Persian Gulf and with feigned terror estimating the time it would take Soviet missiles and aircraft and tanks to reach the Gulf region, allege that our country is on the point of seizing foreign oil sources and reaching "warm seas." May they measure better with the same compasses the distances between their own military bases and the countries against whom these bases are targeted. Then the true value of such arguments will become clear.

As a counterweight to the imperialist doctrine of aggression and diktat with respect to the countries of the Persian Gulf—a region which is now becoming an increasingly dangerous seat of international tension—and also taking into account the fact that the region is located close to Soviet borders, the USSR put forward the following proposal at the end of last year:

--Not to create foreign military bases in the Persian Gulf region and on nearby islands; not to deploy nuclear or any other weapons of mass destruction there;

--Not to use or threaten to use force against countries in the Persian Gulf region and not to interfere in their internal affairs;

--To respect the nonaligned status chosen by the states of the Persian Gulf region; not to bring them into military groupings with the participation of nuclear powers;

--To respect the sovereign right of the region's states to their own natural resources;

--Not to create any obstacles or threats to normal trade exchange and the use of sea routes linking the region's states with other countries of the world.

The Soviet initiative put forward by L. I. Brezhnev in Delhi during his recent visit to India with regard to reaching agreement on this score was addressed to the United States, the other Western powers, China, Japan and all states displaying an interest. Such an agreement, in which the countries of the region concerned must naturally be full participants, would accord with their vital interests and serve as a reliable guarantee of those states' sovereign rights and security.

The effective support of fraternal countries was one of the decisive factors ensuring the Kampuchean people's liberation from the dominance of the bloody pro-Beijing clique and the successful rebuttal of the aggression unleashed by Beijing against the SRV. This support is a substantial prop in the continuing struggle of Indochina's peoples to protect their right to a peaceful life and creative labor against the encroachments of imperialist and hegemonist forces. The Soviet Union is in complete solidarity with the Indochina countries' initiative on turning Southeast Asia into a peace zone.

Among the problems requiring resolution is the question of normalizing the situation on the Korean Peninsula. The USSR has advocated and continues to advocate the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and Korea's reunification on a peaceful, democratic basis with no outside interference, as the DPRK Government proposes.

The Soviet Union, while consistently opposing Beijing's expansionist aspirations and the aggressive nature of its policy, which is permeated with pathological anti-Sovietism, nevertheless considers it necessary to normalize Soviet-Chinese interstate relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence. And it is prepared to go its share of the way in this direction.

As before, our country wants stable, good-neighborly relations with Japan. We hope the Japanese leadership will be capable of maintaining an independent, realistic policy course, will display the ability to see things as they are and will be able to avoid falling under outside influence--influence which is pushing the country onto the path of militarization and actions hostile to the Soviet Union.

The USSR's line of strengthening friendship and cooperation with India, which has withstood the test of time, remains unchanged.

Friendly relations between our countries, which are developing fruitfully on the basis of the treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation, accord with the Soviet and Indian people's vital interests and serve as the embodiment of the principles of peaceful coexistence and as a powerful factor for strengthening peace in Asia and beyond. These good relations, the identity or proximity of the Soviet Union's and India's positions on the main problems of the day and their adherence to the cause of the peoples' independence, the cause of peace and equal cooperation among states and the struggle for disarmament and the prevention of a new world war are particularly important in the conditions of the present deterioration in the internal situation.

A valuable new contribution to the further development of Soviet-Indian friendship and cooperation along an ascending line is the result of L. I. Brezhnev's aforementioned visit to India.

Remaining loyal to Lenin's precepts, the Soviet state supports and will continue to support the forces of the national liberation movement. This is now manifest in particular with respect to the anticolonial, antiracist struggle of the peoples of southern Africa. Welcoming the Zimbabwe people's recent acquisition of independence, we believe that the just cause of the liberation of Namibia, whose people are fighting for freedom, under the leadership of their acknowledged vanguard--the South-West African People's Organization, will ultimately triumph and that the ignominious regime of apartheid in South Africa will fall.

The USSR firmly advocates that the historically significant UN declaration on granting independence to colonial countries and peoples, adopted 20 years ago on its initiative, be fulfilled in its entirety, with no exceptions.

The desire of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries to effectively promote the improvement of the international climate, the consolidation of the foundations of peace, the curbing of the arms race, the continuation of the detente policy, the development of international cooperation and the resolution of all disputes and conflicts by negotiation was again demonstrated convincingly at the December meeting of leading figures of the Warsaw Pact states in Moscow. The meeting participants stressed that the course of events in recent months confirms the correctness of the assessments of the international situation given by the May (1980) conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. They noted with satisfaction the topicality of the proposals made by the Warsaw Pact countries--proposals which are exerting a positive influence on the processes taking place in Europe and elsewhere in the world, on the expansion



of political contacts between states with different social systems and on the continuation of dialogue on the most important international problems.

Noting that the world situation remains tense, the meeting participants indicated the need to step up vigilance with respect to the aggressive aspirations of imperialist forces and reaction's attempts to damage the positions of the socialist countries, developing states and the national liberation movement and at the same time expressed their conviction that united efforts by all countries and peoples with an interest in peace, security and international cooperation can ensure that the relaxation of tension is established as the leading trend in world policy. The meeting declared with the utmost clarity the determination to strengthen the socialist countries' unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Having been briefed on the development of the situation in Poland, the meeting participants expressed their confidence that fraternal Poland's communists and working people will be able to overcome the difficulties which have arisen and ensure the country's further development along a socialist path. Here it was reasserted that socialist Poland, the PZPR and the Polish people can count firmly on the fraternal solidarity and support of the Warsaw Pact countries.

The Soviet Union is unwaveringly loyal to the peace program of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses. This program has convincingly proved its vitality and effectiveness both in the conditions of the favorable development of the process of relaxation of international tension, which it promoted itself to a tremendous extent, and in the atmosphere of the cooling of the world political climate, when all forces and potential must be mobilized in the struggle against the adventurist designs of the enemies of peace and for ensuring mankind's peaceful future.

Our country will continue to follow the Leninist course embodied in the peace program firmly, persistently and steadily. "...We are prepared to adopt all necessary measures aimed at reducing the threat of a destructive military conflict," L. I. Brezhnev stresses. "We do not want to compete in the production of instruments of death and we sincerely advocate the limitation and reduction of military arsenals and disarmament. We are prepared for the political solution of any international problems."

Soviet people unanimously approve the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. There is no doubt that the forthcoming 16th party congress will reassert the main directions of this policy and indicate new paths for the foreign policy activity of our party and country for the sake of peace, international cooperation, freedom and the peoples' independence.

CSO: 1802



## IDEOLOGICAL-THEORETICAL ARSENAL OF THE COMMUNISTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81 pp 28-39

[Article on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism]

[Text] No society needs scientific theory more than a society which is building communism. The Great October Revolution, which inaugurated a new age in the history of mankind, also laid the foundation for a qualitatively new process in the development of history. For the first time, this process was made purposeful, and progress toward a definite target is being made not spontaneously, but as a result of the conscious historical creativity of the toiling masses, led by the revolutionary party of the working class.

In defining the post-October tasks of the Bolshevik Party, V. I. Lenin said: "As we undertake socialist changes, we must clearly set the objective which must be ultimately achieved by these changes, i.e., the objective of creating a communist society...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 44). This goal can be reached primarily by following the scientifically endorsed method leading to it, which is based on knowledge of the objective laws governing social development and rendering scientific communism into practical application. Lenin pointed out to us that theory "is the substantiation of action...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 172).

In January 1921, the RKP(b) Central Committee passed a decree creating the K. Marx and F. Engels Institute, on Lenin's initiative. Its tasks were to study and help analyze Marxism and the history of the international communist movement, as well as scientific Marxist propaganda among the broad toiling masses.

The party undertook the collection and scientific publication of Lenin's works in the early 1920s. The Ninth RKP(b) Congress passed a decree calling for the publication of V. I. Lenin's complete collected works--a responsible and complex task. The V. I. Lenin Institute, which began operations in 1923, held its official opening during the proceedings of the 13th party congress in May 1924. The congress defined the main objective of the institute as being "the fully scientific and complete publication of Lenin's Complete Collected Works, and the preparation of a Leninist library for the broader masses of workers, comprised of V. I. Lenin's selected writings in the languages of all nationalities inhabiting the USSR.... Thus, the V. I. Lenin Institute must be a base for the study and dissemination of Leninism among the broad party and nonparty masses" ("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], Vol 3, pp 121-122).

In 1928, the V. I. Lenin Institute merged with the Istpart--the Commission for the Collection and Study of Materials on the History of the October Revolution and the RKP--which had begun its activities as early as 1920. This merger broadened the documentary and source base for scientific research considerably.

The new phase of national life, which gave priority specifically to the tasks of establishing socialism--the implementation of which was undertaken for the first time in history-- raised new problems for the party's theoretical cadres. In November 1931, the K. Marx and F. Engels Institute and the V. I. Lenin Institute merged into a single higher party-scientific research institute--the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute of the VPK(b) Central Committee for the purpose of elaborating further the problems of Marxism-Leninism as a uniform and purposeful international theory. Its tasks included the methodical preparation and publication of works by K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin, and writings by their collaborators; the study and analysis of the life and activities of K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin and their doctrines; the collection, study and publication of documents on VPK(b) history, scientific work on party history, problems in party organization and of the communist youth movement; and the collection, study and accurate publication of documents on the history of the Komintern.

In the period of building, strengthening and developing the socialist society, the institute did an enormous amount of work collecting documents by Marx, Engels and Lenin, publishing their works, and developing and disseminating of their ideological legacy. In the 50 years of the Soviet system, the total number of copies of works by Marxist-Leninist classics published in the USSR exceeded 400 million; more than 500 collections of documents and research monographs on topical problems of party policy and history were published. In 1956, the institute was renamed the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU.

The Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU was awarded the Order of Lenin for its great contribution to scientific development, and the publication and dissemination of the ideological legacy of K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin, in 1971, at the time of the 50th anniversary of its founding.

The process of building a developed socialist society in the USSR, in which problems of evolving communism are being directly resolved, determined the increased significance assigned to Marxist-Leninist theory and the role of the social sciences in the elaboration of the scientific foundations for social management. All this faced the IML [Institute of Marxism-Leninism] with increased requirements as defined by the Central Committee decree "On the Tasks, Structure and Table of Organization of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU," dated 15 June 1968.

In agreement with this decree and the decisions of the 24th and 25th party congresses, the institute intensively developed research on topical problems related to scientific communism, CPSU policy and history, party organization, and the international communist movement. Particular attention was paid to the active dissemination of the ideological legacy of the Marxist-Leninist classics, the

profound analysis of problems related to the concept of developed socialism, the solution of varied and complex problems involved in building communism, the new phenomena of the entire revolutionary process, and the exposure of bourgeois and right- and "left"-wing opportunistic and revisionistic falsifiers of Marxism-Leninism.

All of the CPSU's revolutionary-transforming activities are based on the solid foundations of Marxist-Leninist theory. "The theoretical legacy of Marx, Engels and Lenin," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "is the greatest wealth of our party and the entire global communist movement. It could be said justifiably that the strongest and most attractive feature in our party's entire historical activity is the creative development of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, and its organic fusion with the revolutionary practices of the working class and the toiling masses." The CPSU has always considered the thorough mastery of revolutionary theory and its creative development to be among its most important and basic tasks; the Institute of Marxism-Leninism is making a major contribution to the solution of this problem. The party and its Central Committee have always and unceasingly paid attention to the improvement of the institute's activities.

The most valuable contribution made by the institute to the ideological treasury of Marxism-Leninism is an extremely large and important collection of documents and one-of-a-kind publications of works by K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin. Lenin, who showed great concern for the literary legacy of the founders of Marxism, gave the K. Marx and F. Engels Institute the task of collecting their published works, original manuscripts, letters and other documents, and compiling corresponding catalogs (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 52, pp 63-64).

The Marx and Engels manuscript legacy is kept at the IML Central Party Archives and comes to more than 8,000 documents, about a third of which are originals. More than 6,500 letters addressed to Marx and Engels constitute an important addition to this collection. These letters frequently mention unknown documents by Marx and Engels, and quote their statements on theoretical and political problems.

Compilation of Lenin's literary legacy was started by the Istpart, which delivered more than 2,500 documents to the V. I. Lenin Institute. These included the first and third publications of the work "Who Are the 'Friends of the People' and How Do They Fight the Social Democrats?," the manuscripts of works such as "One Step Forward and Two Steps Backward" and "Two Tactics of the Social Democrats in the Democratic Revolution" and materials on the formulation of the party's program. Leninist documents arrived from party and state organs and organizations, archives, Vladimir Il'ich's fellow workers and relatives, party veterans, and foreigners. The search for Lenin's materials and their inclusion by the institute have continued steadily. A valuable new find among them is the manuscript of Lenin's work "On 'Left-Wing' Infantilism and the Petit Bourgeois Spirit." Recently, originals of Leninist documents have been received from the PZPR Central Committee, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, Finland's president, Urho Kalev Kekkonen, and Armand Hammer--the American industrialist who met with Lenin.

The TsPA [Central Party Archives] currently has on file more than 34,000 of Lenin's manuscripts, letters and documents, 396 photographs and 874 meters of film



of Lenin shot during his lifetime and 14 phonograph records of his speeches. The archives also contain stocks and collections which expand and interpret the contents of Leninist documents and include biographical information. The letters addressed to Lenin constitute an important collection; they are evidence that close ties existed between him and the local party organizations and leaders of the international communist and workers movements. Materials on the Ul'yanov family and N. K. Krupskaya are filed in separate archives.

The institute's personnel is engaged in the very important and responsible project of determining the authorship of works by the founders of scientific communism which were printed in their time either anonymously or under unidentified pseudonyms. This has led to the identification of hundreds of new articles, pieces of correspondence, and documents they authored.

The creation of a large and well-stocked documentary library archive has provided an invaluable base source for the publication of the literary legacy of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Beginning with the individual and best known works, the institute subsequently turned to the publication of selected material and topical collections of works by Marx and Engels. The collection "K. Marks, F. Engel's i Revolyutsionnaya Rossiya" [K. Marx, F. Engels and Revolutionary Russia] triggered a great deal of interest; it included letters exchanged by these notables with their Russian correspondents, in addition to other relevant works. The "K. Marx and F. Engels Archives" began publishing in 1924. It printed previously unknown or unpublished works for the first time, such as "The Dialectics of Nature," "On the Critique of the Hegelian Philosophy of the Law" (Russian Translation), and the most important parts of the "German Ideology." To date 15 volumes have been published by the "Archives."

With the approval of the Komintern Executive Committee, the 13th party congress instructed the RKP(b) Central Committee to "take all the steps necessary to insure the speediest possible publication of the complete collected works of Marx and Engels in Russian and other languages" ("KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh...", Vol 3, p 121). Publishing of such works began in 1928, and was essentially completed by 1940. A total of 28 volumes (33 books) were printed. This edition was of great scientific value because it included over 450 works and 779 letters written by Marx and Engels and never published previously. Moreover, it incorporated 1,247 works and 3,298 letters.

The CC CPSU passed a decree calling for the publication of a second edition of the works of K. Marx and F. Engels in 1954. The publication of this edition in a total of 50 volumes is currently near completion, and it contains over 6,500 works and letters, a considerable number of which will be published for the first time. The new material provides a great deal of valuable information helpful in the study of the views, lives and revolutionary activities of the founders of Marxism.

On the basis of the second edition and the research which its preparation involved, the institute published a number of topical collections and collective monographs on problems related to the establishment and development of Marxism, the scientific biography of K. Marx and F. Engels, and assorted recollections about them.



The party has always ascribed exceptional importance to the Leninist literary heritage. Marxism is not nor could it be what it is without the new features Lenin introduced into it; by enriching all components of Marxist theory, Lenin inaugurated a new stage in its development.

On 26 January 1924, the Second Congress of Soviets of the USSR passed a decree which stipulated that "The broad mass dissemination of his works, which will make the ideas of communism accessible to all working people, will be the best monument to Valdimir Il'ich Lenin" ("S"yezdy Sovetov Soyuza SSR, Soyuznykh i Avtonomnykh SSR. Sbornik Dokumentov" [Congresses of Soviets of the USSR and of Union and Autonomous SSRs. Collection of Documents]. Vol III. "S"yezdy Sovetov SSSR" [Congresses of Soviets of the USSR], Moscow, 1960, p 37).

The first edition of V. I. Lenin's works, publication of which began as early as 1920, consisted of 20 volumes (26 books) and included over 1500 works and letters. From 1924 to the beginning of the 1930s, the preparation and publication of the second and third editions of V. I. Lenin's works was the institute's most important project. Each contained 2,780 works. These editions played a major role in the study and dissemination of Lenin's ideas and contributed to the struggle for knowledge and implementation of the general party line. The fourth edition of V. I. Lenin's works, consisting of 35 volumes (subsequently expanded to 45 volumes), was completed in 1950. It contained works and documents previously unpublished, which added considerably to the Leninist literary legacy. This edition also contributed to a more profound study of Leninism, the party's history and the activities of its leaders.

Preparation and publication of V. I. Lenin's complete collected works consistent with the January 1957 CC CPSU decree was another major step in the institute's scientific-publishing and research work. The objective was to bring together Lenin's entire literary legacy, including both finished works and drafts, letters, notes, and similar material. This edition, totaling 55 volumes, included about 9,000 works and documents, more than half of which could not be found in former editions, and also more than 1,000 selected works and letters which had never before been printed. The publication of V. I. Lenin's complete collected works was a major event in the ideological life of the party, the Soviet people and the entire world communist movement.

The 39 Leninist collections--the main publication including Leninist manuscripts, materials and documents for the first time--represents a major contribution to the scientific development of Lenin's ideological legacy. The last three volumes alone contain over 1,250 new texts reflecting Vladimir Il'ich's comprehensive theoretical, political and organizational activities.

Millions of people all over the world are undertaking the study of Lenin's life and activities. V. I. Lenin's scientific biography (five completed editions, and a sixth being printed), was prepared and published by the institute, and over one million copies were distributed in Russian alone. This biography has been translated into all the languages of the USSR republics, and has been published in Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and many other countries.

The institute is planning to complete a basic 12 volume edition of V. I. Lenin's biographical chronicles in the very near future. It will contain about 30,000 annotated facts, as well as more than 10,000 Leninist documents, mainly resolutions, inscriptions and notes on working papers, with pertinent commentaries clarifying their meaning and significance--none of which has been previously published in full or in part. This new edition will make it possible to trace Lenin's heroic conduct and feverish revolutionary activities year by year, day by day, and sometimes even hour by hour. It will also be a source for party history and that of the world's first socialist state.

The institute has always considered the profound and comprehensive revelation of the historical significance of Lenin's ideological legacy in relation to the activities of our party, the international communist and labor movements, and the national-liberation struggle as one of its major tasks. The works prepared by the IML show the new features Lenin introduced into the theory and practice of the revolutionary struggle of the working class under new historical conditions. It interprets the essence and significance of the Leninist stage in the development of Marxism, and presents Lenin's irreconcilable struggle against attempts to revise, distort and debase scientific communism, and his efforts in favor of establishing a revolutionary Marxist party of a new type. A number of studies indicate that the Leninist plan for establishing socialism was the most significant feature of Lenin's works in the post-October period.

Our party has always ascribed the greatest possible importance to the collection and preservation of party history documents and materials. A great deal was accomplished in this respect by Istpart, under whose jurisdiction a scientific-historical party archive system was set up in 1924. As it progressed and increased its traditions, the IML Central Party Archives did tremendous work in gathering, storing and classifying documents and data pertaining to the history of the CPSU and the communist and workers movements, which it organized on a strict scientific basis.

The TsPA historical-party documents section has accumulated over 300 files totaling 1.6 million storage units. The archives contain the most valuable collection of documents related to the international communist movement, including the Alliance of Communists, the International Association of Workers (First International) and the Komintern Executive Committee, and the organizations working under its guidance.

The gathering, filing and study of the tremendous amount of archive data form the scientific base for the preparation of documentary materials whose publication is becoming ever more important. Included are documents on the history of the October Revolution, materials of the RSDWP(b) Central Committee, decrees dating back to the first years of the Soviet system and minutes and shorthand reports of party congresses and conferences. The eighth and most complete as well as ongoing publication of "Kommunisticheskaya Partiya Sovetskogo Soyuza v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh Suyezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TSK" [The Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences and Central Committee Plenums], whose 13th volume will be published very shortly, is of fundamental significance.

The activities of the IML on the publication and dissemination of the ideological legacy of the Marxist-Leninist classics and of party documents broaden the research base of the social sciences, and contribute to upgrading the standard of CPSU ideological and political-educational work. They represent a considerable contribution to the molding of the communist outlook of the working people. The profound study of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin and the historical experience of the Leninist party, inseparably linked to the solution of specific economic, social and political problems, are becoming ever more important prerequisites for successful practical work in all aspects of the building of communism.

The basic directions along which the social scientists must concentrate their efforts were defined by the 23d, 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses, Central Committee plenums, Central Committee decrees "On Measures for the Further Development of the Social Sciences and for Upgrading Their Role in the Building of Communism" and "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work", and others. Party documents provide a clear program for action aimed at enhancing further the role of science in the life of Soviet society, laying the foundations for the material and technical base of communism, perfecting socialist social relations, enriching the spiritual culture of the population and the communist education of the working people, insuring the more energetic and comprehensive work on major theoretical problems, creating summarizing works on topical problems of socioeconomic development and contemporary scientific knowledge and ideological work, and upgrading further the quality and effectiveness of scientific research.

These instructions were specifically determined by the CC CPSU decree, in relation to the duties, structure and organization of the IML. This landmark document directs the scientific collective of the institute--besides the tasks of collecting documents on Marx, Engels and Lenin, publishing their works, and studying and disseminating their ideological legacy--to conduct extensive scientific research work on topical problems of Marxism-Leninism, CPSU theory and policy, party organization, history, the contemporary experience of the international communist movement, and the exposure of anticommunist ideology. These problems are resolved through close cooperation of historical-analytical and theoretical work on the basis of the concept that the IML should combine all its structural components because it is the leading scientific research institution in the country engaged in the comprehensive study and elaboration of problems of Marxism-Leninism.

The most important prerequisites for the successful solution of these problems were to be found in the considerably increased potential of the entire system of social sciences, and the tremendous work done by the institute to develop a source base for scientific research. Some experience was also acquired in writing definite works. The five-volume edition of the "Istoriya Grazhdanskoy Voyny v SSSR" [History of the Civil War in the USSR] was completed, and six volumes of the "Istoriya Velikoy Otechestvennoy Voyny Sovetskogo Soyuza 1941-1945" [History of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union 1941-1945] were published.

All of this and the creative maturity of the scientific collective enabled the institute to carry out a fundamental study, such as the several-volume "Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy Partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union] (Vol 5 has already been published), in agreement with the CC CPSU



decree. This work contains a profound scientific summation of the universal-historical experience of the CPSU, and of its revolutionary-transforming activities. It depicts the laws governing the development of the party and the enhancement of its leading role in the building of socialism and communism, and provides a major landmark in the development of party history science.

The institute's scientific research in CPSU history covers a broad range of problems related to the party's activities at all stages of its struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution, and the reorganization of society on a communist basis. These include Lenin's creation of a party of a new type, the struggle waged by Bolshevism against reformism and revisionism, the activities of Lenin's ISKRA, the first Russian revolution and its historical significance, the growth of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution, and Lenin's role as the leader of the October Revolution. Lenin's plan for the building of socialism in our country has been comprehensively covered. Monographs have been published on the struggle waged by the party for the country's socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization, and on the cultural revolution and the solution of the national problem.

The institute's scientific-method office is engaged in fruitful activities. Its main task is to prepare for publication memoirs and collections of reminiscences by party veterans and active participants in the revolutionary struggle and the building of socialism. Over 100 memoirs recreating many heroic pages of history have been published.

The institute is conducting research in the field of party construction as organically linked with CPSU history. These studies are conducted independently, because the increased leading role of the party under developed socialist conditions makes party construction as a science acquire ever greater importance in improving the work of all units within the party organism. Priority is given here to a scientific analysis of the comprehensive functions of the CPSU, the mechanisms for the party's influence on social development, and the various areas and means for organizational and ideological-educational work used by the party in implementing its economic strategy and social policy.

In the light of the decisions of the 23d, 24th and 25th congresses, topical problems were made concrete. Such problems included the scientific approach to party work, unity between political and organizational leadership, growth and strengthening of CPSU ranks, control of their social structure, cadre policy at the present stage, improvement in the ways and means of party work, structure of party organs and organizations, and others. Particular attention was paid to the growing leading role of the party, in terms of its problems and historical aspects. Such is precisely the content of the monograph "Vozrastaniye Rukovodyashchey Rol'i KPSS v Stroitel'stve Sotsializma i Kommunizma" [The Growth of the Leading Role of the CPSU in the Building of Socialism and Communism].

Growing attention was also given to methodological problems of party construction as a science, to upgrading the quality and practical significance of research in this area, and to helping the party organs summarize their experience in party work.



The monographs "Marksistsko-Leninskoye Ucheniye o Sotsializme i Sovremennost'" [The Marxist-Leninist Doctrine of Socialism and Present Times] and "Razvitye Sotsializma" [Developed Socialism] are noted for their comprehensive approach to the study of socialism as a theory, and a social and global system. They analyze the nature and basic features of scientific socialism, the laws governing its establishment and development into a mature socialist society, and its criteria and historical role in the establishment of the communist socioeconomic system.

The Institute has undertaken the writing of a definitive work on the history of Marxism-Leninism as an integral international doctrine, inseparably linked with social practice, revolutionary struggle and building of socialism and communism.

The new tasks and scope of scientific research call for increased attention to methodological problems. Marxist-Leninist methodology, based on dialectical and historical materialism, enables us to summarize properly the achievements of the individual sciences, and to improve the means for scientific research; it is a most important factor in upgrading the effectiveness and quality of scientific work, and enables us to define precisely its subject and objectives, ways and means, and to obtain fruitful scientific results.

The IML pays constant attention to improving the organization of scientific research. The practice of setting up topic or problem groups for the entire institute as well as for its different subdivisions, with a view toward more operative and productive solution of the problems, has proved its usefulness.

Scientific conferences, which frequently include participation by other scientific research institutions, are a tried work method. The exchange of views, experience and scientific accomplishments makes it possible to broaden and intensify the analysis of many problems, reach substantiated conclusions and formulate specific recommendations.

Coordinated scientific research in the field of CPSU history, party construction and scientific communism makes it possible to engage in a comprehensive study of the historical process of the establishment and development of the communist system, to bring to life the party's contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory, and to depict its great revolutionary-transforming and constructive force.

The CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism is in charge of providing scientific-methodical guidance to the party history institutes of the central committees of communist parties of union republics, the Moscow City Party Committee and the Moscow and Leningrad Oblast Party Committees, which have branches of the IML. These institutes, which were established essentially on the basis of the Istpart commission, have developed into major scientific centers, and together with the IML they constitute a unified system of party scientific research institutions. They are making major contributions to the solution of problems, the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism, and the development of party history science and its sources.

The IML and its branches are expanding their research focused on problems such as the establishment and activities of local party organizations, the struggle for the victory of the Soviet system in one or another part of the country, the implementation of the Leninist national policy and its establishment at the

national-state level, the blossoming, cooperation and rapprochement among socialist nations and nationalities, the achievements of union republics in the field of economic and cultural development, and their increased contribution to the single national economic complex of the USSR. Greater attention is also being paid to party construction problems. These developments have enabled the institutes to make considerable contributions to the multiple-volume history of the CPSU. Their joint work in the creation of summarizing regional studies has yielded fruitful results.

The experience and higher level of scientific skills that have been acquired are creating the conditions for the expansion and intensification of creative cooperation between the IML and its branches, for the establishment of closer ties among their general-theoretical, all-union, regional and local problems, and their reciprocal enrichment.

The CPSU Central Committee assigned the IML the task of coordinating scientific research on party history and party construction. With a view to resolving this problem, the institute and its branches created, respectively, an all-union and republic coordination councils, which work closely with the regional and problem councils of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. This coordinated work is directed mainly at the development of historical-party science, the planning of local research, and the approval of topics for doctoral and candidates' dissertations. The institute's scientific-methodical and coordinating activities have greatly contributed to a decisive turn in the study of problems of topical theoretical and practical significance. Increased attention is being paid to methodological problems of party history science itself, and to its historiography and sources.

Since the Institute of Marxism-Leninism was created, all its comprehensive activities have been structured on an internationalist base. This is evident both in the lines followed by its publishing and research work, and in the direct scientific and creative relations with fraternal communist and workers parties. As Lenin pointed out, revolutionary theory "cannot be invented. It develops from the totality of revolutionary experience and revolutionary thinking, in all countries on earth. It began in the second half of the 19th century with what is known as Marxism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 27, p 11).

The institute commenced activities at a time when proletarian parties of a new type began to be founded in other countries and when the ideological and political foundations of the contemporary worldwide communist movement were being laid, following the example of the Leninist party. The comprehensive scientific development and dissemination of the ideological and theoretical legacy of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and of the history of Bolshevism and the international workers movement were of major importance to the young foreign communist parties.

The establishment of the world socialist system and the powerful upsurge of the communist, workers and national-liberation movements determined the new tasks, and at the same time, opened considerably greater new opportunities for international scientific cooperation. The IML is actively developing and strengthening creative relations with the party scientific research institutions of the members of the

socialist comity, and the scientific centers of a number of communist parties in capitalist countries.

Interest in the ideas of scientific communism and in the works of its founders has risen sharply in the contemporary world. Writings based on the second Russian edition of the works of K. Marx and F. Engels are being published in Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and other countries. The works of K. Marx and F. Engels are being published jointly in English by the IML and the Progress Publishing House (Moscow) and the "Lawrence and Wishart" (London) and "International Publishers" (New York) publishing houses. The reason for the extensive dissemination of this project among all English-speaking countries is its great political and scientific significance. For the first time, an international edition of the complete collected works of K. Marx and F. Engels is being published in the languages of the originals--the MEGA (Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe). This project is being conducted jointly by the IML and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the SED Central Committee, and its publication has already reached 40 countries. It is the most important source for the study of the history of Marxism and the ideological legacy of Marx and Engels, and provides an essential scientific foundation for further publications and reprints of their works in different languages. Translations from the fourth Russian edition of V. I. Lenin's works have either been completed or are being published in all socialist countries; they are also being published in France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Greece and Argentina. A number of socialist countries are translating V. I. Lenin's complete collected works.

Each publication of works by Marxist-Leninist classics expands the ideological-theoretical arsenal of the communist and workers parties, and is extensively used in the solution of economic, social and political problems, in the sharp confrontation with the opponents of communism, in the struggle for the triumph of the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and in the making of lasting peace and social progress.

Based upon an enormous volume of documentary data, the institute has prepared a number of studies on the history of the Communist International. For the first time in our historiography, these studies provide an overall picture of its activities, strategy and tactics, indicate Lenin's outstanding role in its creation, and substantiate the view that the Komintern was a combination of Marxism-Leninism and the workers movement, on an international scale.

The study the problems of the contemporary world revolutionary process is directed, mainly to the study of its motivational forces, and the strategy and tactics of communist and workers parties and of the entire liberation anti-imperialist movement.

The historical experience of world socialism enriched Marxism-Leninism with new conclusions and concepts, and broadened the horizons of revolutionary theory and practice. In agreement with the recommendations of the Conference of Secretaries of Central Committees of Communist and Workers Parties of Members of the Socialist Comity on International and Ideological Problems (March 1975) the institute is engaged in comprehensive work on the problem of "Laws and Characteristic Features of Developed Socialist Society." Main attention is focused on the nature and criteria



for developed socialism, the fuller utilization of its possibilities for the solution of problems of communist construction, the dialectics of the national and the international, and the interaction among economic, technical and social progress areas at this stage of the first phase of communism.

The institute has completed in recent years a comprehensive study of the combined experiences of the ruling communist parties in managing the socialist society, and of the characteristics of the stage of building developed socialism. The works which were published to substantiate theoretically the significance of social policy in the activities of Marxist-Leninist parties in fraternal countries, analyze the interconnection between their economic policy and ideological-educational work, and the interaction between objective and subjective factors, in the development of the new system. The universal significance of the principal laws for party construction, the international nature of the Leninist principles, the norms of party life, and the universality of the basic features of the very rich CPSU experience are depicted on the basis of a study of the directions and means to be used by communist and workers parties for guiding the activities of socialist countries. At the same time, the works also note that comprehensive consideration of the characteristics of our age and the specific historical conditions governing the building of socialism and communism are reflected in the nature of the approaches taken by the individual fraternal parties for the solution of ripe social problems and in the specific nature of some forms of party guidance for society.

The institute is engaged in the scientific elaboration of problems pertinent to the global communist movement--the most progressive and influential force of our time--to strengthening its unity and cohesion in the struggle against imperialism, and fomenting peace, democracy and social progress. Particular attention is being paid to the role of Leninism in the establishment and development of the contemporary communist movement, the ideological-political and organizational strengthening of fraternal parties, and the dialectical interconnection between the general, the specific and the isolated, in the revolutionary process.

One of the institute's main tasks is the criticism of bourgeois, reformist and revisionist concepts, the exposure of Maoism and of the falsifiers of CPSU history and policy, its decisive struggle against anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, and its defense of Marxism-Leninism from any attempt at distortion. All INL branches are taking part in solving this problem jointly with the specially created interdepartmental problem group in the struggle against ideological currents hostile to Marxism-Leninism.

The collection "Kritika Sovremennykh Burzhuaznykh i Reformistskikh Fal'sifikatorov Marksizma-Leninizma" [Critique of Modern Bourgeois and Reformist Falsifiers of Marxism-Leninism] is one of the results of the work of this group. It exposes the distorted interpretation of Marxist-Leninist philosophy of sociology, political economy and Marxist history, particularly in its Leninist stage, and critically analyzes attempts to distort the Marxist-Leninist theory of the socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the correlation between the struggle for democracy and for socialism. The work "Nauchnyy Kommunizm i Fal'sifikatsiya Yego Renegatami" [Scientific Communism and Its Falsification by Renegades] proves the futility of attempts by Marxist renegades to structure artificial



opportunistic "models" of the socialist society which are contrary to real socialism, and which reject the leading role of the communist and workers parties in the struggle for the socialist reorganization of social life. The book "Maoism Bez Mao" [Maoism Without Mao] exposes contemporary Maoist concepts. Bourgeois reformists and revisionist ideology is criticized on the basis of the positive elaboration of the most important problems of revolutionary theory and practice.

International scientific conferences and symposiums, prepared and held with the active participation of the IML of the CPSU Central Committee, play an important role in summarizing the experience of combined studies for various aspects of development of Marxist-Leninist theory, in connection with the practice of the revolutionary struggle, the building of a new society and the entire global revolutionary process.

Topical problems such as Leninism and the global revolutionary process, the Communist Manifesto in Our Time, the Communist International and its Revolutionary Traditions, and the international policy of the CPSU and the world communist movement have been given a thorough scientific interpretation at international conferences. Representatives of 39 communist and workers parties participated in the international conference on "Marxism-Leninism and Our Age," dedicated to the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth. The materials for these and other conferences provide an analysis of the latest trends of the global revolutionary process, problems of internationalism, the strengthening of the international positions of socialism, new phenomena in the workers and national-liberation movements, and the strategy and tactics of communist parties.

In recent years, conferences have been periodically held by the heads of scientific research institutions of central committees of communist and workers parties, in the course of which information is exchanged and recommendations are drafted for joint activities in the field of Marxism-Leninism. On the recommendation of one such conference, the IML prepared the collective work "The Influence of the Great October on the Development of the Global Communist Movement." Its material shows the profound changes which have taken place in the entire world, begun by the October Revolution, and provides a comprehensive study of the struggle, policies and practices of the fraternal parties at the present stage.

International cooperation by the IML of the CPSU Central Committee helps to strengthen international ties among communists, elaboration of current theoretical problems in the building of the new society, the global revolutionary process, and the development of Marxist-Leninist methodology in the social sciences.

The systematic enlargement and enrichment of the scientific research and publishing functions of the institute represent a vivid example of the constant concern shown by the party and its Central Committee for the creative development of revolutionary theory and its practical application.

The Central Committee draft guidelines for its 26th congress, "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990," calls for focusing efforts on the social sciences, summarizing the experiences of CPSU revolutionary-transforming activities and expanding research

on the theoretical problems of developed socialism, its social structure and political system, problems of communist upbringing, the all-round and harmonious development of man and the socialist way of life. The draft guidelines note that summarizing the experience of international communist and workers movements, study of laws for the development of the world socialist system, criticism of anti-communism and of bourgeois revisionist concepts, and exposure of the falsifiers of Marxism-Leninism are of the greatest importance.

The powerful creative force which is Marxism-Leninism--the theoretical base for all CPSU activities--is becoming more apparent in the course of solving the great problem of the economic and sociopolitical development of Soviet society and the struggle for peace and social progress. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has emphasized that "Marxism-Leninism is our manual for action. It is a science which has gathered within itself all achievements by the genius of mankind." The total 60-year tireless activity of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism has been dedicated to the comprehensive development of this science and to its extensive dissemination. This activity is inseparably linked with the grandiose problems which are being successfully resolved by the communist party and the heroic Soviet people, under the leadership of the Leninist Central Committee.

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## V. I. LENIN AS JOURNALIST AND EDITOR

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81 pp 40-51

[Article by V. Stepanov]

[Text] One of the most rewarding yet most difficult topics concerns Lenin, his life and revolutionary exploits, his character, his way of thinking and his whole fascinating personality.

It is rewarding because there is nothing more precious to us than Lenin. Leninism stands for something priceless, for the highest criterion by which we measure each of our steps in life. There is no human vocation more splendid than following Lenin and struggling for the cause to which he dedicated his entire being.

It is also a most difficult task, for one is always aware of the inadequacy, of words to express the magnitude of his genius and the profundity and wealth of content of his ideas.

Lenin was a great philosopher, a brilliant theoretician, and a convinced proletarian revolutionary and people's tribune. He was the founder of the Bolshevik Party and the inspirer and guide of the October Revolution. He was the creator of the Soviet state, the first socialist state in the world. He initiated the building of socialism in our country, organized the contemporary international communist movement and was the leader of the world's working class. These main features, in particular, characterize Lenin's activities as the continuation of the theory and works of Marx and Engels and reflect the entire basic content of our historical age in relation to the revolutionary transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism and communism.

### Great Political Journalist

In the light of the universal-historical problems of the 20th century, the topic of "Lenin and Journalism" seems to be retreating into the background. Nevertheless, Lenin was a journalist, an outstanding one. Journalism was a prominent feature of his entire life, and without it it would be difficult, perhaps even impossible, to understand Vladimir Il'ich's comprehensive activities. His career as a political leader began with journalism, by no random coincidence. The first volumes of Lenin's works, as well as other major and universally known writings such as "Who Are the 'Friends of the People' and How Do They Fight the Social Democrats?" and "The Development of Capitalism in Russia" also contain short journalistic notes and reviews. So does, for example, the political publication

"On the Subject of a Newspaper Note," and the reviews of books by political authors well-known in their time. He also wrote short articles under the general title "Random Notes," with journalistic headings such as "Strike But Not to Death," "Why Speed Up the Reverses of Fortune?" or "Objective Statistics." In these articles Lenin proved himself to be a true journalist.

Virtually all of Lenin's volumes contain newspaper and journal articles which could still be instructive to our journalists, not only because of their ideological-political content, but also because of their forms of expression, arguments, style, composition, choice of title, opening, plot and conclusion.

Let us take as an example the 1913 Lenin note printed in PRAVDA, "Who Benefits?" It does not exceed 100 newspaper lines, and yet it demonstrates successfully how advantageous it is for the bourgeoisie to promote chauvinism, "cannon patriotism" and the destruction of culture under the pretext of protecting them. The note teaches us that what matters in politics is not only who supports what view, but above all, whose purposes they suit. A single reading of the note will help us master this lesson once and for all. Our present journalists have frequently turned to it and its heading in their struggle against revisionists, nationalists and other anti-Marxists who attempt to use a Marxist screen to conceal their views.

It is quite significant that Lenin's very last works, dictated in 1923 when his hand was no longer able to hold a pen, were journalistic articles. They include such famous works as "Pages From the Diary," "On Cooperation," "On Our Revolution," "How To Reorganize the Rabkrin," and "Better Less But Better." They provide a specific plan for the building of socialism, with the need for the country's industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture and the cultural revolution as substantiation. They also prove the mandatory nature of the leading role of the communist party in this historical process. These articles, written in the form of testaments, became the theoretical and practical program of our party for the building of a socialist society. To this day they remain a political textbook for communists, and must be studied in order to understand the contemporary historical period of the growth of socialism into communism. Yet they appear to be no more than simple newspaper articles. All of them were published in PRAVDA, and none carry the official signature of "V. Ul'yanov (Lenin)," as do the documents. They bear instead the old literary journalistic pseudonym which Vladimir Il'ich adopted as early as 1901--N. Lenin.

In the questionnaire he had to complete to cross the Finnish border on 2 April 1917, Lenin listed his occupation as journalist. In October 1918, Vladimir Il'ich's petition to the Committee of the Professional Union of Soviet Journalists read "Please accept my membership in the Professional Union of Soviet Journalists." Lenin chose to affiliate himself with no other trade union except the Union of Journalists, precisely because he considered newspaper work his main field, even though he was a lawyer by training, as we know. In 1920, as the head of the Soviet government and a world famous personality, he listed his profession as "literary worker" on his card showing membership in the Moscow Soviet, even though he could have listed himself with full justification as a jurist, economist, or soviet worker. Again in 1920, in a survey of delegates to the Ninth Party Congress, Lenin listed his profession as "journalist." He thus asserted his affiliation with the leading genre of journalism, namely political journalism.



Lenin was a journalist in the broadest meaning of the term—he was a political journalist, editor, and publishing organizer. In the accountability report submitted by the RKP(b) Central Committee to the Eighth Congress, he discussed the organization of publishing. Lenin related it to the educational tasks of the party, thus showing for the first time in history that modern printing equipment is used "to satisfy the political requests of workers and peasants" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 38, pp 149–150). He emphasized the political significance of publishing in the Soviet state. "The printing press," Lenin wrote, "is our mightiest weapon" ("Leninskiy Sbornik XXXVII" [Leninist Collection No 37], p 70). Let us also recall Lenin's definition of the radio. He approached this innovation once again as a journalist, singling out above all its publicistic nature: "It is a newspaper without paper and 'without distances'..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 51, p 130). It was not technology, communications or a new form of entertainment that Lenin had in mind, although he was naturally aware of all this. He considered the radio to be above all a newspaper, a daily political instrument.

Lenin was the founder of Soviet journalism—journalism of a new type, inseparably linked with the people, scientific communism, the revolutionary party of the working class, and the first state of workers and peasants. "No mass movement in any country civilized to some degree can do without a journalistic apparatus," he wrote ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 99). Naturally, this applies to an even greater extent to the land of the soviets. The building of socialism and communism—the largest mass movement ever known in history—cannot do without thoroughly and extensively organized professional journalism.

The content of our journalism, Lenin taught, "must be communist" (Ibid); this concept defines Lenin's own journalistic activities. He discussed all aspects of social life—politics, economics, ideology, science, culture, technology, problems of war and peace, literature, education, upbringing, family relations, way of life and many others—in his journal and newspaper articles. There is no social problem which he does not mention in his works to some extent. Despite their comprehensive and varied nature, however, the living roots of Lenin's literary works, large or small, are always the same—communism, its scientific-theoretical substantiation, the definition of its features, and the clarification of the struggle to achieve it. Despite the variety of means of expression, unity of objective is the main characteristic of Lenin's journalistic legacy. All views contained in his articles and books come together like rivers flowing to the sea, and lead to a single huge central question—that of communism as a world outlook, a social movement and a life system for the people.

Lenin considered his press work as inseparably linked with all his revolutionary activities. He saw in it a sharp offensive weapon and a powerful constructive tool which he used aptly to the very end of his life. Such was the importance of journalism in Lenin's life, in both the prerevolutionary and the Soviet periods.

Let us take as an example one working month in Lenin's life—October 1919, in the difficult period of the Civil War. Although he was doing a tremendous amount of governmental and party work and addressing meetings, gatherings and sessions almost daily, Lenin found time to write a pamphlet on the dictatorship of the proletariat. In addition, he wrote the article "The Example of the Petrograd Workers," and answered the questions of a correspondent for the American newspaper

THE CHICAGO DAILY NEWS; he also wrote the articles "Greetings to the Italian, French and German Communists" and "The Workers' State and the Party Week," the appeals "To the Workers and Red Army Men of Petrograd" and "To the Red Army Comrades," and the articles "The Results of the Party Week in Moscow and Our Tasks" and "Economics and Politics in the Age of Proletarian Dictatorship."

And so it went, tirelessly, article after article.

Lenin, the greatest revolutionary journalist of the epoch, gave an expanded definition of political journalism itself. He indicated the nature of the tasks of political journalists.

In a series of articles entitled "Revolutionary Days" published in 1905 in the newspaper VPERED, Lenin wrote: "Political journalists must make the writing of history of our time their permanent task. They must try to write about it in such a way that our chronicles will be as helpful as possible to the immediate participants in the movement and the proletarian heroes on the scene of action. We must write in such a way as to help broaden the movement and promote the conscious choice of ways and means of struggle which will yield the best and most lasting results with the minimum outlay of forces" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 9, p 208).

It was precisely this statement by Lenin which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev quoted in his speech accepting the Lenin Prize, in which he spoke of modern party journalism and defined the tasks of journalists who are party members. We must consider every single word of the statement in order to understand as did Lenin that the essence of political journalism is the most important part of our party literary work.

The main task of journalists, as Lenin saw it, was to write the story of our time. This assignment remains valid to this day. It involves writing the history of the socialist revolution, the building of socialism and the defense of its gains, and the struggle for communism and peace. It involves describing the life and work of the people's masses and their thoughts, aspirations and expectations. It means writing in such a way as to help the party and the people build and perfect the new society, assert the communist principles and attain the greatest results with the least outlay of strength and means.

What is the main feature in the writing of the history of our time? On what should our political journalists focus their attention? How can they avoid writing about some totally unnecessary petty matter, about superfluous trifles, as is frequently the case, writing instead something socially significant, something which will deeply affect people's lives?

The main concern is the nationwide struggle for communism and the selfless toil of the people for its triumph. Obviously, the processes and actions related to this task characterize our time, our lives, and the main directions of modern history, and represent the meaning of our age. In our country, this task is synthesized and expressed in the work of enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes and establishments, and in the efforts of entire collectives and individuals. The modern journalist can reach his target by relating the solution of individual matters, occasionally minor, in importance to the overall objectives and tasks of the entire mass movement in the direction of the communist future.

The efforts and struggles of the Soviet people, the political, ideological, psychological and moral motives and the way they are manifested in the actions of individuals, collectives or million-strong masses provide an inexhaustible source of topics for the political journalist. What determines the content and wealth of our publicists are the successes and victories, difficulties and contradictions in the building of socialism and communism, the means by which they are attained or surmounted or could be, and in the final analysis, the manifestation of the results of the purposeful efforts of millions of people, and the totality of their creative work.

The statement and dissemination of the new, the communist features in the lives and economic conditions of the people, and the shaping of the outlook and morality of the people and of their new attitude toward society, labor and each other are the topics of today's publicist.

In referring to Lenin's words on the tasks of party journalism, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "What could be more important or nobler than to plunge into practical life, to help the people understand the meaning of this life and the direction in which it flows more clearly, and to help make this life better, more just, brighter and richer, not only materially but spiritually? This is the measure used by the party for all forms of ideological work."

Aiding the growth of what is new and progressive means sharper and bolder criticism of that which is negative and which unfortunately still abounds in our country, for example carelessness, slackness, irresponsibility, waste of the people's funds and work, bribery, and drunkenness. Other evil-smelling flowers in our way of life could be added to this poisonous bouquet. The task is to uproot them. There is place here for criticism and self-criticism, which are the tested means of party struggle against anything which hinders our progress. The sooner we put an end to undirected criticism, and the more accurately we aim at the specific carriers of such evils, the better off we shall be.

Criticism does not mean merely exposing and castigating the negative, but also asserting the positive. We must distinguish between good criticism and nihilism, self-humiliation and spiteful criticism, which have nothing in common with the Leninist understanding of political journalism. The purpose of Leninist-type criticism is not destruction but construction; it is made in the spirit of the party program rather than against it; it is equally incompatible with all-denying nihilism and the complacent optimism which views reality exclusively through rose-colored glasses and describes it only in an upbeat major tone which we today regard as ostentatious. As the CC CPSU has frequently pointed out, criticism and self-criticism are the party's law. They help to implement Lenin's wish to prevent our party from becoming conceited.

The purpose of Soviet journalism is to mold public opinion on each essential problem in domestic and foreign policy, in the spirit of their communist, party understanding and their Leninist, Bolshevik perception of the world.

#### Lenin's Mastery of All Genres of Journalism

What genres of journalism did Lenin master? All, without exception. For example, his outstanding scientific book "Imperialism As the Highest Stage of Capitalism" is described as a popular essay. Yes, the work was an essay on economics.



While passing through Krasnoyarsk on his way to Shushenskoye, Lenin wrote to his family in jest that he had even tried to write a poem. However, he writes, it was unfortunate that he did not get beyond the first line: "In Shusha, in the foothills of Sayan..." (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 55, p 35). Lenin had a different vocation: his was not poetry, but revolution. The revolution represented the meaning, the content, the purpose, the poetry of his life. This vital vocation was manifested in his activities as a publicist, in particular.

Lenin frequently wrote newspaper notes consisting of one, two or three paragraphs, such as those entitled "Messrs S. R. and Mensheviks, What Makes You Different From Plekhanov?" or "Rodzyanko's Justification." Another very popular one of his notes is entitled "On Iudushka Trotsky's Blush From Shame." The text is very short, 20 lines, but what a tremendous political impact it has! He also wrote newspaper articles of one column or more, as well as satirical articles. A very short one, no more than a paragraph in all, was entitled "The Social Democratic Darling." It focused on Potresov, one of the Menshevik leaders. The satirical article "On the New Faction of Conciliationists and the Virtuous" was published in the newspaper SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT, exceeded one full page, and was aimed at the liquidationists and conciliationists who had dug themselves in at the newspaper GOLOS SOTSIAL-DEMOKRATA, and who were nicknamed the "Golosovtsy." It was imbued with sharp and expository irony and showed that political parasitism is the essence of any kind of conciliation.

Lenin was a great master of the pamphlet, a militant genre which is insufficiently used by our journalists in the struggle against the numerous enemies of Marxism-Leninism, in my view. A combination of theoretical depth, current political interest and merciless irony are the features characteristic of Lenin's pamphlets. This type of his work includes "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautskiy," a major and essential political and theoretical book with a part describing Kautskiy's personality written in a pamphleteering style. Following its publication, the epithet "renegade" became a permanent fixture in reference to Kautskiy. A pamphleteering and satirical style is to be found in a number of sections discussing reactionary bourgeois theoreticians in Lenin's most important philosophical book, "Materialism and Empiriocriticism." This does not in any way reduce its strictly scientific level and wisdom. In it Lenin describes the ideological lackeys of the bourgeoisie as "philosophical scatterbrains" and "lackeys with diplomas," while their philosophy is defined as "gibberish," "scientific religious superstition" and "vulgar rubbish," epithets which Lenin substantiated extensively.

About a dozen of Lenin's articles are entitled "Among Newspapers and Journals." Such press reviews include, for example, the article "On the Journal SVOBODA." In it Lenin criticizes trite popularization, the idiomatic expressions and clichés, poor tone and affectations in literary works. He shows the difference between truly popular language and vulgar imitation of it. A popular style encourages the reader to think profoundly. It presumes a reader who thinks, who wants to use his mind. It helps and leads him forward. The vulgar writer presumes a different kind of readership. He resorts to "salty" jokes and facetiousness, presenting everything readymade, in such a way that the reader is given his food prechewed. This Leninist criticism applies to some present day publicists and lecturers as well.



The CC CPSU points out that a major shortcoming in our journalism, which is an inseparable part of the whole of our ideological work, is the frequent automatic repetition of general and thoroughly familiar concepts instead of interpretation of real facts. This is a method used by petrified dogmatists and formalists. Gertsen himself mocked such people bitingly, saying that "in society, they play the role of the second stomach, where they ruminate, and which never gets fresh food, but only that which is chewed for the pleasure of rumination" (A. I. Gertsen, "Izbrannyye Filosofskiyе Sochineniya" [Selected Philosophical Works], Moscow, 1940, p 35).

Let us say a few words about Lenin's book reviews. A book review is one of the most difficult genres in journalism, although for some reason, many people in our country consider it quite easy. Apparently, this is why meaningful and thoughtful reviews are rarely found in our newspapers and journals. The reviewers frequently retell the plot conscientiously, or on occasion carelessly, sometimes making "meaningless fine remarks." It is as though they have forgotten that a review is written not for the author or the publisher, to please or displease them, but for the reader.

Many of Lenin's works, including the most important ones, were written in answer to published works. The familiar work "Who Are the 'Friends of the People' and How Do They Fight the Social Democrats?" was the result of a critical analysis of the work of the narodniks. The reason for the book "Materialism and Empiriocriticism" can be directly traced to a critique of the works of Mach and Avenarius, the idealistic philosophers, and their foreign and Russian followers. This is characteristic of both Lenin's long and short works. For example, the article "A Talented Booklet" was in answer to the malicious writings of the White Russian emigre Arkadiy Averchenko. The familiar article "On Our Revolution" was written as a criticism of the notes by the Menshevik Sukhanov. The article "A Small Picture Which Clarifies Major Problems" was based on the booklet by A. I. Todorskiy "One Year With Rifle and Plow," of which Lenin took note. This booklet was published in 1918 in Ves'yegonsk, a city in the Tversk area, as the annual report of the uyezd party committee. Lenin's book "Imperialism As the Highest Stage of Capitalism," in which Marxist economic theory is developed further, begins with a note on the publication of a book on imperialism by J. A. Hobson and R. Hilferding and a Marxist evaluation and characterization of the work.

The large number of reviews written by Lenin can be considered as modern examples of this very valuable and useful journalistic genre. Lenin never engaged in retelling the plot, nor did he deviate from the topic. He analyzed the content of the work attentively, and showed the extent to which the author understood the problem and the virtues and faults of his work. He gave the reader a guideline. It is as though Lenin looked at the book to be reviewed through a huge lens, under the strong light of Marxist theory, and compared it to life itself, determining the class position from which the author had interpreted social phenomena, providing in conclusion a convincing and comprehensively substantiated rating.

We know how tremendously important editorials are for our press. They are usually described as the flagship of a given issue of a newspaper or journal because as a rule, they raise the main question of the day. In recent years, some of our press organs have questioned the need for editorials. Clearly, this should be seen as a

reaction to poor, boring, formal, and indifferent editorials, in which case, however, not the principle but its application should be criticized.

The tradition of the editorial article in our press comes from Lenin's first issue of ISKRA. It carried Lenin's editorial "The Essential Tasks of Our Movement," which for the first time proved the need to combine the Russian workers movement with scientific socialism, and showed that this historical task could be accomplished only by an independent political party of the working class, formed and acting on a Marxist scientific-theoretical basis.

Lenin ascribed great importance to editorials. He considered them a forceful press instrument and frequently wrote them himself.

The propaganda article occupies an important position in Lenin's literary legacy. This is essentially work which explains and popularizes one or several concepts of Marxist-Leninist theory. After this type of article appeared for the first time, it became quite popular in our party press. This is entirely understandable, since only a Marxist-Leninist party has a consistent, streamlined system of theoretical views and assigns it tremendous importance as a guide for revolutionary action and the spiritual education of the millions-strong masses, and is concerned with the purity, development and propaganda of its theory.

Lenin gave us models of propagandist and theoretical newspaper articles, an example of which is "Three Sources and Three Components of Marxism." This article, as its very title indicates, depicts the historical and spiritual sources of Marxism, describes its content, and defines its components: dialectical-materialistic philosophy, proletarian political economy and scientific communism. In particular, it contains the inspired sentence: "Marx' doctrine is all-powerful because it is true" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 23, p 43).

Lenin's work "The Historical Fate of Karl Marx' Doctrine" is an article of the same type. It describes the victorious path of Marxism over half a century, and predicts its future triumph.

Inspired by Lenin's example, our publicists must improve their propaganda articles and in no case should they stop writing them. Such articles must expose the social demagoguery of bourgeois propaganda and the deviations of revisionist renegades from Marxism. They must show the truth of life and cast light on the communist ideals and the ideas and principles of Marxist-Leninist theory--the only true and all-powerful theory.

It is sometimes alleged that Lenin opposed the use of quotations. This is untrue. However, Lenin sharply criticized the meaningless "citation-mania" of the dogmatists who refer to other people's statements and authority, seeking exclusively an interpretation of events thereby, instead of undertaking an independent study and analysis. Lenin clearly taught us how to use literary sources. A major work of his, "The State and Revolution" contains a number of quotations from the works of Marx and Engels. In view of the circumstances under which the book was written, it was necessary to present the Marxist theory of the state as accurately as possible and to describe its role in the future socialist revolution, which Lenin accomplished with tremendous skill. In this case, it would have been impossible to avoid quotations.

The great responsibility with which Lenin undertook the publication of his works is revealed in the concluding remarks in his pamphlet "Successes and Difficulties in the Soviet System." In it Lenin urged that neither shorthand minutes nor any other record of his speeches ever be used or sought. As a journalist and writer accustomed to precise words, accurate sentence structures and clear expressions, Lenin was well acquainted with the specific characteristics of verbal speech. He believed that it should be heard and not read. That is why he issued a categorical order that "records of my speeches" should never be published ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol. 36, p. 73). Naturally, this indicates not the weakness but the power of Lenin's verbal addresses, each word of which we cherish and must print strictly as it was pronounced. This demonstrates the tremendous importance Lenin ascribed to the printed word.

Comrades who were close to Lenin remember that, accustomed to writing everything in longhand and immediately seeing what he had written, he was uncomfortable when he turned to dictation and shorthand notes in the final years of his life.

All of Lenin's literary works were imbued with the revolutionary spirit of irreconcilable class battle. Virtually all of them were polemical, for communism had to "take every step in life fighting" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol. 17, p. 17).

The founders of scientific communism considered polemics the most important form of political struggle. "Das Kapital," Marx' main work, carries the subtitle "Critique of Political Economy." Engels' philosophical book "Anti-Duhring" is polemical even in its very title. Lenin's strictly theoretical and scientific book "Materialism and Empiriocriticism" is subtitled "Critical Remarks on a Reactionary Philosophy."

In his work "Sredi Knig" [Among Books], which he said was an "attempt to survey Russian book sources related to the history of scientific-philosophical and literary-social ideas," the famous Russian bibliographer N. A. Rubakin complacently stated that "In this century I never took part in any kind of polemic." In his review of the book, Lenin wrote that "the author forgets... that his objective is to survey the 'history of ideas.' But the history of ideas is the history of change, and consequently the struggle for ideas. It should be a question of either ignoring the struggle for ideas, at which point it would be difficult to undertake the writing of their history... or abandoning the claim of 'never participating in any polemics'" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol. 25, p. 112).

This Leninist statement is instructive to anyone considering avoiding polemics in matters pertaining to journalism or ideology.

Lenin himself never avoided biting words or strong expressions whenever it was necessary to nail down and expose an ideological or political enemy and to prove his stupidity or ignorance. "To write about something harmful without 'anger'," he claimed, "is to write in a boring manner" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol. 48, p. 78). In "Will the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?," a work written before the October Revolution, Lenin mercilessly mocked Plekhanov and his friends who brought up the rear in the revolutionary movement and were serving the Kerenskiy government, pointing out that they were merely "'looking at the backside' of economic materialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol. 34, p. 332). Many similar examples can be found in Lenin's works.



Lenin's articles were always party-oriented, polemical, politically sharp, ideologically focused, theoretically substantiated, and based on real facts. Their content went far beyond the limits of their time. However, they were written on topical subjects and frequently began with words such as "yesterday," "today," "recently," or "the other day." They are models of party-mindedness, of the use of scientific theory in the analysis and interpretation of events in economic, political, cultural and international life, and of the struggle waged by the working people for their liberation. They are examples of the combination of a scientific approach to social life with the militant party purposefulness of the revolutionary movement; they are also full of scorching sarcasm, which fully exposes the lies of ideologies and politics hostile to the working people.

Balzac once wrote that "...A journalist is like a thought in constant motion, like a soldier in battle..." (H. Balzac, "Sobr. Soch." [Collected Works] in 15 volumes. Vol 7. Moscow, 1953, p 276). Lenin was such a journalist. His entire journalistic work was militantly party-oriented. He noted in a letter that "This is my destiny. It is one battle campaign after another, aimed at political stupidity, triteness, opportunism, and so on. It has been going on since 1893, and this is why the vulgar people hate me. Nevertheless, I would not change in order to make 'peace' with them" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 49, p 340).

Lenin's polemic power did not lie solely in the fact that he used the most perfect and flexible methods and means of argument and exposure against his political adversaries, or in his iron and merciless logic. It was not only that he was able to discuss the most confused matters in simple and clear terms better than anyone else and as M. Gor'kiy said, "could make every word clearly visible," but also that he was guided in his speech by truth itself. This made everything he said and wrote irrefutable, convincing and invincible.

The most topical project for all our publicists is mastery of the Leninist art of polemics and acquiring the ability to penetrate into the very nature of things and to reiterate the inflexible conviction of the truth of revolutionary theory and its intolerance of any attempt to distort it. This is particularly important today, when Marxism-Leninism is being misrepresented by so many people who, using all sorts of pretexts, including "developing" or "renovating" Marxism itself, and using a "literary cover," distort or reject its foundations, its basic principles.

Our newspaper and journal articles, pamphlets and monographs frequently call for criticism of bourgeois ideology. Bourgeois ideology must be criticized constantly and consistently, something which is already occurring naturally. Unfortunately, such criticism is not always adequate. There is no analysis, there is no thorough consideration, study or systematic substantiation of the rebuttals to anti-Marxist statements presented in a sharp and vivid manner. The skill needed to accomplish this is apparently sometimes lacking. The only remedy lies in studiously learning the art of polemics from Lenin.

#### Language and Style Are the Weapons of the Publicist

Journalists know the great importance of article titles. The headings of Lenin's articles vary extensively. Some of them were inspired by literary works such as "What is To Be Done?," borrowed from Chernyshevskiy, "On the Eve," from Turgenev,



or "Defeat," from Zola. Others came from characters in literature, such as "Our Tartuffes." Frequently titles were borrowed from inspired literary statements such as "Who Are You Mocking? You Are Mocking Yourself," "The Little Locomotive That Praised the Cockerel...", or "On the Fox and the Chicken Coop." Many came from folk sayings, such as "A bird in hand is worth two in the bush," "Better late than never," or "Lay the blame on someone else." Some of Lenin's articles use questions as titles: "Where To Begin?," "Who Is Responsible?," "What Does the Soviet System Represent?," "How Can the Rabkrin Be Reorganized?," or "What Legacy Are We Rejecting?"

Lenin frequently entitled his articles "Publicist's Notes," with expressive and sometimes allegorical subtitles or chapter headings such as "On Climbing High Mountains..." or "On Fox Hunting..."

The headings of Lenin's articles pertaining to the most critical moments in historical development were distinguished for their brevity, shock value and energy. They sound like slogans: "Watch Out For Spies!," "The Bolsheviks Must Take Over," "Everyone in the Struggle Against Denikin!," or "Comrade Workers! We Are Joining the Final and Decisive Battle!" Other titles were more subdued: "The Main Task of Today," or "What Has Been Gained and Recorded." Some of Lenin's articles have very profound, important and quite simple headings, such as "On the Cooperative," "On Our Revolution," "On the State," "On Compromises," "On the Slogan 'United States of Europe'," or "On Twin Power."

It is impossible to find a Leninist heading inconsistent with the text, one that promises more than is found in the article or is blatant and used to entrap for purposes of publicity. The headings of Lenin's articles are always precisely consistent with the material and describe its essence in extremely simple and brief terms.

The following are examples of the way Lenin began his works. The familiar article "The Great Initiative" begins as follows: "The press has given us many examples of the heroism of Red Army men" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, p 3). The article then describes the mass heroism of the workers in the rear, gives the example of the communist subbotniks, and cites an article on this topic published in PRAVDA. It is thus that most of Lenin's articles begin, directly with a fact, with the essence, followed by a description and evaluation of the facts, an indication of their significance in terms of social life, and broad and far-reaching political and theoretical summations and conclusions.

The article "The Main Task of Today," written by Lenin in the railroad car transferring the Soviet government from Petrograd to Moscow, begins with Nekrasov's epigraph: "Mother Russia, you are poor and abundant, you are powerful and helpless!" This theme, the pivot of the entire article, leads to the most important and daring conclusion that this country, with its dislocated economy, will become a powerful and prosperous socialist state. This article proves that we have everything necessary to accomplish this: inexhaustible natural resources, a tremendous manpower reserve, and a high degree of popular creativity awakened by the October Revolution.

Lenin frequently used lines from Nekrasov's works as his epigraph in other writings as well. He repeatedly quotes this poet in his articles, sometimes paraphrasing him: "We hear sounds of approval, not in the sweet noise of praise but in the wild shouts of anger!" In the epigraph for the article on Engels' death, he once again borrows from Nekrasov's poem "In Memory of Dobrolyubov:" "What a shining mind has been extinguished, what a heart has stopped beating!"

The article "On Slogans," which discusses the Bolshevik tactics following the July 1917 counterrevolutionary coup and the temporary abandonment of the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" begins with a broad summation: "It frequently happens, whenever history takes a sharp turn, that even progressive parties are unable to master the new situation for a while and repeat slogans which, while accurate yesterday, have lost all meaning today..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 24, p 10). The article further explains the need to abandon the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" temporarily, as well as the new tactics to be followed; it substantiates one of the most important principles of our party's politics, strategy and tactics: "We must not look backward but forward" (Ibid., p 17).

The treason of the Mensheviks and the S. R. who rejected the October Revolution and emerged on the other side of the barricade, people such as Martov, Yushkevich, Peshekhonov, Potresov and others, was exposed by Lenin in his article "Wearing the Flunkies' Uniform." It begins with the news that several copies of Menshevik, S.R. and other similar publications have crossed the front lines and reached Moscow, and that they have been bitingly mocked. Even a few, disparate issues of such publications, Lenin writes, stink of servility. "Due to the very nature of his job, the lackey must wear tails. He must present a civilized appearance, have proper manners and wear white gloves" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, p 139). After providing this description of the flunkie's distinctive appearance, Lenin proves that the exaggerated tawdry civility, education and intelligence of the Mensheviks and the S.R. do not suffice to conceal their internal poverty, ignorance and spiritual servility, and he labels the entire S.R.-Menshevik emigre group "flunkies."

Some of Lenin's articles begin with dicta. For example, the article "Marxism and Revisionism" begins as follows: "According to a dictum, if geometric axioms affect the interests of the people, they will in all likelihood be refuted" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 17, p 17). In this case Lenin discusses class ideology and the fact that ideological struggle is always based on a clash between class interests.

Lenin began his articles in a great variety of ways. Among them, however, there was not one instance of a general or meaningless statement. The very first lines are always subsequently proved and expanded within the text. There is no "padding" in Lenin's articles, or any of the trite views occasionally surrounding the thoughts expressed in our newspapers and journals.

The endings of Lenin's articles are typical. They usually provide a summarized conclusion, a condensation of the entire topic. They also include a brief and expressive appeal to those to whom they are addressed, or they proclaim the party's current battle slogan.

The article "The Forthcoming Tasks of the Soviet System" ends as follows: "The working people and exploited masses can only be led by a class which is following

its path without hesitation, never losing its spirit or despairing even in the most difficult, hard and dangerous transitions. We do not need hysterical thrusts. We need the marching steps of the steel-girded proletarian battalions" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 26, p 208). This was the very topical ending of an article written in the period of the establishment of the Soviet system and of the struggle for a proletarian organization, and against anarchic slackness.

The article "On Hunger," written in that same period, has a similar ending. "Hunger and unemployment will not be defeated by isolated and separate efforts. A mass 'crusade' must be launched by the progressive workers throughout this huge country. We need 10 times more steel-girded detachments of conscientious proletarians totally loyal to communism. Thus we shall defeat hunger and unemployment. Thus we shall lead the revolution to the real threshold of socialism" (Ibid., p 364). How tremendously powerful this summing conclusion is!

One of Lenin's earlier articles, "Letter to the Editors of ISKRA," written in answer to Plekhanov's article "What Not to Do," has an interesting end; it concludes with words ascribed to Goethe. It is said that Goethe shouted "Light, more light!" when the darkness of death was beginning to surround him.

By using this quotation, Lenin emphasized the importance of extensive publicity in the party as a prerequisite for maintaining unity within its ranks and proper deployment of party forces. He writes about the division of labor within the party, and compares it with a huge orchestra in which one may be playing a sentimental violin, someone else a thundering bass, while yet another is conducting; it calls for collective leadership. "...More light," Vladimir Il'ich emphasizes. "Let the party know everything! Let it be supplied with absolutely all the necessary data with which to assess any difference, turns toward revisionism, violations of discipline, and so on. Let there be greater faith in the independent judgment of the entire mass of party workers" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 8, p 94). In this article Lenin formulates the most important principles of party construction and norms of party life.

The title, opening, development, the whole of the factual material and the end of Lenin's articles are logical, constructive, and ideologically bound by a single thought within an organically inseparable entity. They constitute a manifestation of the greatest dynamic power, which wins readers over.

When we speak of composition--not style but dramatical structure--we can compare Lenin's printed publications with those of Leo Tolstoy. They share something in common, despite the fact that Tolstoy was a great artist while Lenin was a great revolutionary publicist. They used the same means of expression--the Russian language--with inimitable mastery, each in his own area.

Tolstoy's sentence structure is very complex, even ponderous, grammatically. His work contains long sections, many additions and definitions, conjunctions, parenthetic clauses, gerunds, and identical words repeated several times within a single clause. However, when we read Tolstoy all this somehow goes unnoticed. All we see is the artistic portrait painted by the writer, in the same way that we do not notice the seemingly disorderly strokes of the artist's brush in a masterpiece.



For the sake of comparison, let us quote one of Lenin's sentences from the article "Better Less But Better:" "At all costs, we must set ourselves the task of renovating our state machinery. We must learn, learn, and learn again, and then see to it that science does not remain a dead letter or just a fashionable phrase in our country (this happens here quite frequently, to speak frankly); science must indeed become flesh and blood and a structural element of life, fully and entirely" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45, p 391). How complex this verbal structure is! Lenin uses some even more complex. As we read his articles, however, we look not for structural details, but for the generous, comprehensive, living thought. What the reader gets from these words is an artfully described representation of the truth. Obviously, his purpose is not "refinement" or unnecessary "beautification," but the precise and clear expression of an idea, in all its shades and connotations. Such is the nature of the dialectical simplicity and complexity of Lenin's printed words.

However, Lenin's literary style could also make use of other tools. We find short pertinent sentences in his works which have the impact of a bullet: "Socialism means, above all, accounting;" "We are joining the battle--this is the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat;" "Communism means Soviet power plus electrification of the entire country;" "Death to spies!," and "Win or be defeated!"

Political journalism is the twin sister of fiction, and all major writers in this genre have been exceptional publicists. Both literary modes depict life and man in his thoughts and actions. They merely do it differently. Political journalism selects bits of life as it is today, while literature may depict the past as well, making extensive use of artistic fiction, allowing the use of the imagination. Political journalism is about real people, while fiction may depict imaginary characters and events, and in the final account, the truth, also borrowed from life. Sometimes Russian literature has been described as the "literature of questions:" "Who Is Responsible?," "Who Are the Judges?," or "What Is To Be Done?" In his work Lenin gives exhaustive answers to the most confusing and urgent problems observed in social relations in real life and in Russian literature and to questions arising in the course of social development and pertaining to the lives of nations.

#### Organizer and First Editor of Our Party Press

Lenin was the initiator, organizer, inspirer and editor of ISKRA, the first all-Russian political newspaper. The Soviet people and the communist public throughout the world recently celebrated the 80th anniversary of the publication of its first issue. ISKRA played an outstanding role in the founding of the Bolshevik Party, in the Russian and global revolutionary workers movements and in the struggle against international opportunism. In 1901-1902 Lenin edited the journal ZARYA; in 1904-1905 he edited the newspaper VPERED. He directed the work of the journal PROSVESHCHENIYE (1911-1914). In 1915 he managed the journal KOMMUNIST, in Geneva. Lenin managed the newspaper VOLNA in 1906, in Petersburg; in the same year and city he managed the newspaper EKHO. It was under Lenin's guidance that PRAVDA's predecessor came out--the legally published Petersburg ZVEZDA. Lenin was the founder and manager of the newspaper PRAVDA. In 1912, he listed his occupation as "correspondent for PRAVDA, a Russian democratic newspaper published in Petersburg," in his request for a residence visa in Krakow. Between 1912 and 1914,



PRAVDA published about 300 of his articles; between April and October 1917 alone, it published over 200 articles, addresses and other documents by Lenin. This averages roughly one article daily. In that period, however, Lenin also wrote several major pamphlets and books, including "The State and Revolution." His literary legacy of this period reflects his entire life history with all its zigzags, contradictions and shadings, as well as the struggles among classes, political parties and groups.

Lenin laid the foundations for the new press, and fought throughout his entire life for its development and strengthening. "This will be free literature," he wrote in 1905, "for it will serve not the sated heroine or the 'upper 10,000' suffering from boredom or overeating, but millions and dozens of millions of working people who are the flower of the country, its strength and its future" ("Poin. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 12, p 104).

It was Lenin who coined the familiar definition: "The newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and collective agitator, but also a collective organizer" ("Poin. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 5, p 11). This is precisely the basis for the current party press structure, beside whose cradle stood Vladimir Il'ich.

In creating a new, free, and revolutionary people's press, Lenin relied on Marx' and Engels' experience and on the experience of Gertsen, Belinskiy, Chernyshevskiy, Dobrolyubov, Pisarev and Saltykov-Shchedrin, the Russian revolutionary democrats who laid the foundations for the free printed Russian word.

It is noteworthy that Marx and Engels, the leaders of the international working class, like Lenin subsequently, were great publicists. Marx began his political activities as editor of the RHEINISCHER ZEITUNG. It was here that his revolutionary-democratic and communist beliefs were shaped, and where for the first time he formulated the principles of a free people's press linked with the great cause of the social liberation of the working people. Marx described this press as the vigilant eye of the people's spirit, the verbal tie linking the individual with the entire nation, the spiritual mirror in which the people see themselves (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 1, pp 65-66). These ideas were developed by Lenin and became the foundation of our communist press. "I," Vladimir Il'ich admitted, "would demand nothing more than the opportunity to write for the workers, nor would I dream of anything else" ("Poin. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 46, p 12).

Lenin's activities in journalism can be judged from the originals--his articles; Lenin as an editor must be judged mainly from the testimony of his fellow workers and the few preserved copies of the texts he edited.

It is recalled that Lenin, who concerned himself with all the details of publishing a newspaper or journal, who was familiar with all professional fine points, and who did not shun heavy editorial work, never substituted himself for other contributors, but was able to involve everyone in a common project. As an editor he was very sensitive and gifted. He could edit an article quickly and accurately, but never did so without fulfilling a particular need, at the same time trying to preserve the author's language and style. If an article proved to be politically unsuitable, he simply rejected it, wasting no time on it, or demanded the deletion of parts with which he disagreed.

We are familiar with Lenin's letter to Lunacharskiy on the subject of the manuscript of one of his pamphlets. Lenin pointed out all the faults, but remarked that "...It would be a pity to eliminate your colorful style and waste a lively written work" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 47, p 121). Lunacharskiy's impressions about the process of Lenin's literary work are equally interesting: "He wrote exceptionally quickly in his broad but quite clear handwriting, quickly gathering data and immediately making the necessary additions. If time was too short and the work could not be proofed, we signed the article to press with complete confidence."

However, we also know that Lenin redrafted some of his articles several times, changing their titles, or even rejecting them. As a rule, Lenin began by making a very short outline of the plan for the article consisting of between 6 and 10 items "for his own use," amending it as he wrote the article. Krupskaya has given us an interesting and very typical description of the manner in which Lenin wrote: as he wrote an article or a speech, he usually paced the room and whispered to himself what he intended to write (see "Vospominaniya o Vladimire Il'iche Lenine" [Recollections of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin]. In five volumes, Vol 1, Moscow, 1979, p 605).

As an editor Lenin ascribed great importance to articles on theoretical problems. He wanted them to be profound and thorough. In a letter to Kasparov, the author of an article sent to the journal PROSVESHCHENIYE, he wrote: "I received and read your article. In my view the topic is suitable and properly developed. However, the style is not sufficiently literary. There is too much 'agitation,' if we may use the word, unsuitable in an article dealing with a theoretical problem" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 48, p 197).

People who worked as editors with Lenin, under his guidance, said that he demanded of authors first of all a profound knowledge of the subject matter; second, the ability to express thoughts in their own words and style; and third, the interpretation of events from the positions of the working class and its party.

Lenin was against sensationalism, unjustified harshness, pretentiousness and mannerisms. He demanded an efficient interpretation of the events or phenomena described. He ascribed great importance to the publication of works written by simple people who were close to the production process and the people's life, and who could see its daily flow more sharply and accurately. Lenin believed that our press should be the work of the people and for the people, without in the least denying the role of professional journalists and literary workers, who should be thoroughly party-minded in their creative work.

ISKRA proofs which have been preserved and which bear Lenin's editorial markings show the attention with which Vladimir Il'ich edited articles, doing so thoroughly yet cautiously, without changing their style or structure.

Such materials include the handwritten draft of notes published in ISKRA in 1902. Lenin personally edited the text.

The same applies to a letter received from Sumy, Khar'kovskaya Guberniya on disturbances involving members of a sect and the way they were dealt with. The

letter reports that the troubles seemed to have been deliberately provoked by the police for the sake of promoting a clash between sect members and members of the Orthodox Church. Lenin entitled the letter "Police Provocateur Among Sect Members," and added a brief note to the publication. He explained that the editors knew from other sources that there was indeed a provocateur sent by the Holy Synod in these areas, and he named both the agent and the person who had sent him, thus exposing the direct ties between the synod and the police. Lenin made a single amendment to the text which read "Hanging on the lamp posts of factory streets you will remember the tears...and the pain;" he edited it to read: "The day of the people's judgment will come and you will remember the tears of the Pavlovo muzhiks and the suffering of the first fighters for the great workers cause, for the people's happiness!..." The meaning remains the same but the wording is better, eliminating even any hint of anarchy.

There is a letter from Chernigov which describes the life and struggle of factory workers and their strike action. It is verbose, the handwriting is poor and difficult to decipher. However, the words of the workers themselves are colorful. Lenin's comment was, "Reduce by approximately one-third but retain the colorfulness and the dialogue." The letter was not edited.

A note from Odessa traveled a long way before reaching the editors. It describes the life of inmates in the Odessa jail. Clearly, it was written by a reasonably literate man, but because it was long-winded and bombastic and cited no facts, Lenin did not reject it but gave the instruction to "Shorten it suitably and improve on the style."

ISKRA carried a proclamation issued by the Association of Free Painters on a forthcoming demonstration of protest against autocracy. The style was somewhat vague. It took a long time for this proclamation to reach the editors. There was no way of finding out whether the demonstration it called for had taken place. Lenin, however, did not reject it. He made no corrections but merely gave it a title: "Painters and the Struggle for Freedom (A Document From the Recent Past)." The editorial note which followed the text read: "This is an interesting proclamation issued in St. Petersburg...." The fact that it was published in ISKRA showed that the front of struggle against the decaying monarchic regime was spreading among ever more social strata.

Coming across a pamphlet issued by the Don RSDWP Committee entitled "To the Russian Citizens" and written on the occasion of the execution of Balmashev, who had committed an act of terrorism against a tsarist minister, Sipyagin, Lenin neither abridged nor corrected it. He merely added a brief editorial note which read: "We do appreciate Balmashev's heroism. However, we do not make the error of the socialist revolutionaries, who give priority not to terrorism but to the workers' and peasants' movement" (see V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 6, p 371).

Lenin was directly responsible for the organization of the publishing industry in our country after the October Revolution. He considered publishing a structural component of the cultural revolution. He devoted a great deal of concern to it, gave advice to the publishing houses, demanded good work and took careless workers to task. Two Leninist documents related directly to the publication of political works are of interest:



The first is a note to V. V. Vorovskiy, who headed the State Publishing House. It is dated 24 October 1919. Lenin wrote:

"After looking over the pamphlet 'The Third International, 6-7 March 1919,' published by Gosudarstvennoye Izdatel'stvo, Moscow, 1919 (8 rubles), p 99, I issued a severe reprimand concerning this edition and demanded that all members of the collegium of the State Publishing House read this letter and draft serious measures to guarantee that such an outrage will never be repeated.

"The appearance of the pamphlet is disgusting. This is slovenly work. There is no title. Some kind of an idiot or wretch, obviously illiterate, must have compiled all 'materials,' petty articles and speeches while drunk and printed them haphazardly.

"There is no preface, there are no minutes, there is no precise text of resolutions. Resolutions are not separated from speeches, articles or notes; nothing matches! This is an absolute shame!

"A great historical event is debased by such a pamphlet as this. I demand the following:

"1. Corrections through insets (the culprits to be sent to jail and forced to put the insets in all copies).

Report to me concerning:

"2a. The number of copies printed.

"2b. The number of copies distributed.

"3. The proper reprinting of the pamphlet, galleys to be submitted to me.

"4. The formulation of rules so that a specific individual will be responsible for each item released (set up a record book for personnel in charge).

"5. Other measures for insuring order, to be drafted and submitted to me.

"Chairman of the Sovnarkom V. Ul'yanov (Lenin)" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 51, pp 70-71).

At the time the note was written publishing conditions were naturally different from those today. There were not enough skilled publishing workers loyal to the Soviet system. The sabotage by the bourgeois intelligentsia had not by any means been eliminated. The necessary discipline and responsibility were lacking, and publishing standards were low. However, many aspects of Lenin's note are worthy of our attention to this day.

Despite the tremendously heavy load of government and party work he was carrying, Lenin spotted the shortcomings in a single pamphlet immediately and accurately. Such was the concern of a leader for a single political book, a leader who realized the book's great importance. His assessment was that of an experienced specialist.

Another example is a letter to the RKP(b) Central Committee Politburo dated 15 April 1922:

"I have just received the book 'Materialy po Istorii Franko-Russkikh Otnosheniy za 1910-1914 gg.' [Materials on the History of Franco-Russian Relations Between 1910 and 1914].

"This 733-page volume evidences slovenliness which is shameful to the Soviet system and for which people should be sent to jail. The price is not indicated. There are no signatures by the responsible individual or individuals. There is no index!! A simple list of names has been drafted carelessly, and so on.

"I suggest that:

"1. Within 2 days Ganetskiy and Karakhran should identify all the individuals responsible for this publication;

"2. They must withdraw the book from the market;

"3. A list of the necessary insets should be drawn up;

"4. An index must be drafted; in short, by Thursday a brief report must be submitted to the Central Committee on all these outrages, for example the publishing defects and the means of correcting them.

"Lenin" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 54, pp 240-241).

Once again we witness the same concern, the same exactingness, the same Leninist attentiveness to printing quality.

Until the very end of his life Lenin maintained his ties with the press. He not only contributed to publications, but commented on shortcomings and gave advice on how better to organize the work.

To this day Lenin's articles, for example "On the Nature of Our Newspapers," which called for their more intimate involvement with life, and "Letter to the Editors of EKONOMICHESKAYA ZHIZN'," concerning its operational system, as well as his "Letter to G. Myasnikov" on the bourgeois understanding of freedom of speech, remain pertinent for our press, which is the carrier of the Leninist traditions.

In his answer to Myasnikov, who was subsequently expelled from the party and who asked for full freedom of the press in Soviet Russia for all political parties and groups, including the monarchists, with a view, as he said, to exposing the shortcomings within the party and the state, Lenin wrote that the type of broad freedom of the press guaranteed by the socialist state never existed nor could it exist in a class society. Freedom of the press when the bourgeoisie has been defeated but not destroyed, he pointed out, means "freedom for the political organization of the bourgeoisie" against the working people (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 44, p 79). Many lessons, past and present, prove the accuracy of this Leninist view.

"You wish to treat the party," Lenin wrote to Myasnikov, "but use lethal medicine. Shortcomings thin the party and the state must be fought with proletarian party means. Otherwise we may find ourselves tricked and sinking into the swamp of the bourgeois way of thinking and the bourgeois way of life."

There is a site named "Venets" in Ul'yanovsk, Lenin's birthplace, and a hill on which there stands a monument to the leader. The view from it is grandiose. We see the infinite width of the Volga and look far into the distance. A similar feeling of endlessness and greatness is experienced when we try to cover the entire content of Lenin's works and the ideas they express with our mind's eye.

It is a great honor for any Soviet journalist, wherever he may be working--on any publication, large or small--to belong to the trade union to which Lenin belonged, and to work for a press the foundations of which were laid as a result of Lenin's titanic efforts. It is both a great honor and a great responsibility--a responsibility to the party, the people and history for every word written and printed.

S003

CSO: 1802



## ROLL CALL OF THE TIMES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81 pp 51-54

[Article by Yu. Kayurov, people's actor of the RSFSR and laureate of the USSR State Prize]

[Text] Our entire immense country is functioning today in a rapid yet steady rhythm of preparation for the 26th party congress. We see in our mind's eye the years behind us, one after another, and the results of the last five-year plan and of the heroic toil of the Soviet people in all aspects of the building of communism.

The party congress is an important landmark in the life of the Soviet state, as well as an unforgettable event in the life of every party member. In agreement with Lenin's behest, significant dates must be noted with an exacting and forceful summation of results, a comparison between past achievements and future goals, and a sober interpretation of accomplishments and unresolved problems. It is precisely today that every party member, every Soviet person, as he addresses the memory of the leader of the revolution, must mentally report to Comrade Lenin, "not officially, but from the heart."

For the past 20 years, whenever I have begun work on the character of Lenin in a motion picture or played Vladimir Il'ich on the Malyi Theater stage, I have invariably considered this a tremendous artistic and moral test of my competence both as an actor and as a person. I feel like a participant in a unique attempt to embody the character of the great Lenin in our art. This is a highly collective undertaking for practitioners of all the arts, and for all the peoples of our country. I repeat, the greatness and scale of this unique undertaking is determined by the fact that Lenin's character combines within it the most typical and essential features of our age. The words of M. Shtraukh, an outstanding performer in the role of Vladimir Il'ich, to the effect that the recreation of the character of Lenin will take many generations of actors, sound amazingly true today. Each stage in history brings the features of this great and complex personality which most fully reflects the nature of our times to the foreground. On each individual occasion the audience looks to Lenin's character for answers to problems raised by our time.

The leader's works, his books, articles, addresses, letters, business notes, and marginal remarks are among the most important sources for artistic understanding of Lenin's character. As we read and reread them we are able not only to understand the ideological structure of Lenin's theory, but to detect the stylistic

characteristics of Vladimir Il'ich's living speech, the rhythmic architectonics of his thinking, and his favorite ways of conducting a debate. This is also of exceptional importance in the process of finding the "kernel" and playing the character such as to achieve even greater historical accuracy. We invariably recall Lenin's statement that "At any given instant one must be able to trace that particular link in the chain which one must clutch with all his strength in order to hold the entire chain together and firmly prepare the transition to the next link...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 205). When I work on Lenin's character, I always look for that "special link in the chain" which will enable me to single out and identify new features in the truly inexhaustible portrait of the leader.

The strict judgment of my own conscience forces me to admit that neither the motion pictures nor the stage performances in which I have had the honor and responsibility of playing Lenin have as yet brought me full creative satisfaction. I consider this natural, for the artistic representation of the amazing and unique combination of the most beautiful human qualities, enhanced by the historical significance of everything which Lenin accomplished, dreamed and thought, is a task of unusual and almost infinite scale and complexity.

Now, on the eve of the 26th party congress, we are completing work on a new feature in cinematographic Leniniana. Once again, as I did many years ago, I am experiencing a feeling of deep emotion and most profound responsibility when playing the character of the leader of the revolution.

A creative collective, headed by Sergey Yutkevich, is filming a motion picture on the period of Lenin's exile in Paris, and on the party school which was set up at the Longjumeau Commune. The concept of the new film is itself unusual. It is based on the roll call of the ages: today's and the one long ago, when workers, assigned by the social democratic organizations in Russia, were learning the "algebra of the revolution" in a small carpentry shop converted into a classroom.

I began working on the part of Vladimir Il'ich when a segment of the film had already been shot.

...The school day at Longjumeau has come to an end. Tired, worried, the students are dining, seated around the large table. Suddenly, as though outside the hall, there is a noise, and the sound of voices and the hubbub of a crowd are heard. The screen splits and one half shows the crowded amphitheater of a modern Western university. Today's students are arguing about and discussing current politics. Suddenly, a girl sees in front of her the Longjumeau school--those silent people of 1918, barefooted and, wearing Russian-style blouses. (That year the summer in Longjumeau was very hot and some party students went barefoot.) The girl is stunned. She rushes down the steps of the amphitheater and approaches the line separating the two historical epochs, the two worlds, and shouts: "Hey, who are you?" One of the students turns to her and answers: "We are the proletariat." "What are you doing here?" "We are learning." "What?" "Revolution!" The girl and her fellow students laugh: "Well, did you learn it?!" "We created it!"

The dramatic fabric of the film is based on a sensible (and not in the least artificial) mixing of time periods, on a comparison between times and generations,

and on contrasts which create a particular, unique feeling of closeness between those days and the present.

Having seen these and other scenes already filmed, I understood how to play Lenin in the movie. The desire to depict the brilliance of the leader and the monumentality of his thinking and perspicacious historical vision must absolutely be combined with a depiction of his real simplicity, principle-mindedness and the humaneness in his behavior toward his fellow fighters. One must penetrate organically into the atmosphere of this type of life and find the means with which to depict Vladimir Il'ich's natural behavior, feelings and sincerity. At that point the inexhaustible content and depth of his spiritual world can be convincingly and artistically depicted truthfully. "Totally alive" is my concept of the supertask I face in my new study of Lenin's character.

However, I continue to be excited by previous works on the Leninist topic, which constitute an important incentive in the endless effort to achieve artistic mastery of Leniniana. For more than a decade the play "Confession" has been on the stage at the Malyy Theater. Here Lenin is presented to the audience in the most crucial postrevolutionary period in the history of our homeland, that of the struggle for peace and the formulation of the young socialist state's foreign policy. The play is not performed frequently. This is proper in my opinion, for in such serious matters one should not abuse the inspiration of the actors or the shared emotion of the audience. As a rule, the initial reaction of the audience is one of caution. This is understandable, for the character of Lenin, so close and familiar to all, is not accepted on faith when seen onstage without substantiated artistic "proofs" of the accuracy of precisely this type of role. It is only gradually that I, who perform the role of Vladimir Il'ich, can begin to feel how the audience begins to believe what is happening onstage. This trust, which does not arise immediately, is inspirational, and provides a reliable guideline for the future and essentially endless work on Lenin's character.

Usually actors spend their last few minutes before coming on stage in the famous Yermolov foyer. As one gazes at the portraits of the famous originators of the traditions of the Malyy Theater and the outstanding masters who breathed into it a second life in the Soviet period which are hanging on the walls, one unwittingly thinks of the unique fate the Malyy Theater has had in the history of Russian literature and how great its importance has been in the artistic upbringing of our people.

The very name of the Malyy Theater is symbolic of entire periods in the development of Russian and Soviet stagecraft. Nonetheless, a good reputation cannot survive unless it is always backed by specific actions consistent with this fame. Here again, a number of things lead to some serious thoughts today.

The past 4 years have been marked by the struggle of our party and the entire Soviet people for public production effectiveness and quality. The leading theaters of the country, the Malyy among them, are companies of many hundreds of specialists with a great variety of skills. A theater is a large production organism with a complex structure, but because its "output" is not material but spiritual, it is measured not in terms of material indicators but of the effectiveness and quality of its influence on the spiritual culture of society. In



other words, I believe that the show itself is the highest measure of the effectiveness of the collective work of a theater. This means that not only a stage setting but a highly artistic production are necessary in order to hold the lively interest of the audience, and to earn the unanimous praise of theater critics and the public, or conversely, to create a play which generates a basic conflict of opinions but which unquestionably shows talent, is civic-minded and is organically a part of the developing tradition of the modern Soviet stage.

That is precisely why today, on the eve of the party congress, we must be particularly exacting concerning our activities and must ask ourselves the impartial question: why is it that we hold on so stubbornly to obviously poor works? Such are not only accepted by our artistic council--our theater's "technical control department"--but since they are retained as part of the repertoire sometimes for years on end, they are awarded the "emblem of artistic quality" without justification. In such cases, pretended concern over wasted efforts by the creative and production collectives and the financial side of the matter lower the professional standards of the personnel and do harm to the moral and esthetic upbringing of the public.

We are sincerely pleased by the great successes achieved by theaters in Siberia, the Baltic region, the Transcaucasus and Central Asia. Many of them have performed at Moscow's Malyy Theater and have given us examples of creative innovation, a fresh outlook, realistic sincerity and depth, and high moral expressiveness. However, even though we are pleased by such legitimate accomplishments, we must remember that centers for national culture such as the Malyy Theater have an extra-temporal significance, I would say. Therefore, references to the "natural" shifting of geographic centers in the contemporary process of the development of our stagecraft should never be used as a reason for lowering exigency with regard to our own work. Least of all would I like to see the Malyy Theater and other traditionally developed theater schools converted into museums exhibiting relics of historical value only. They must be the living creative blend of the great realism of the Russian classics, the revolutionary spirit of the new Soviet art born of the October Revolution, and the interpreted and esthetically proven search for today's artistic truth, illuminated by the ideas of socialist realism.

The roll call of the epochs.... Every artist aspires to recreate the link between the eras in his work, to penetrate the historical fabric of the people's destinies, and to make his life a reflection of the life of the entire nation.

My father died at the very beginning of the Great Patriotic War, and at the age of 13 I became the only man in the family. I immediately decided to go to work. I began by enrolling in a vocational school, and after graduation became a fitter at the Vulkan Plant in Leningrad. Day and night we hammered out weapons for the front. By the time I was drafted the war was already over. I was allowed the great honor of serving as seaman gunner aboard the legendary cruiser *Avrora*. While on duty during the long northern nights, I could see in the lazy waters of the Neva a reflection of our country's history: the splendid palaces of old Petersburg, the river banks and bridges draped in revolutionary glory, and the smoke of the factories and plants of Leningrad's revived industry. The weekdays and holidays in the great city alternated before my eyes. On the 30th anniversary of the October Revolution, I was entrusted with the firing of the first blank shot from the



famous gun of the *Avrora*, inaugurating the celebration volley. Such events remain engraved forever in the mind. Like a sensitive tuning-fork, they continue to hum in the memory, creating a field of ideological stress which tunes up human life.

The past 5 years in my professional life have been marked by an event of particular importance. I was asked to record the books by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev "*Malaya Zemlya*," "*Vozrozhdeniye*" [Rebirth] and "*Tselina*" [Virgin Land] for radio-broadcasting then for the *Melodiya Enterprise*. Needless to say, I felt a violent emotion as I rehearsed for these long hours of broadcasting such outstanding artistic-political works of the present.

The task I faced was tremendous. The depth and wealth of ideas and impressions make the material of the trilogy stunning. Following in the footsteps of the author, I had to experience all the events--the war, the blood and death of comrades, the heroic toil of the people who were rebuilding the country from ruins and ashes, and the grandiose virgin land epic.... Without this it would have been impossible to present the great historical truth contained in the trilogy.

It was as though the minds and the hearts of the entire Soviet people, to whom these noted books are dedicated, were concentrated in the small microphone in front of me in the silent studio. The feeling of closeness with millions of Soviet people became the test of my artistic and civic responsibility and the incentive for an unusual inner upsurge.

Today, M. Gor'kiy's words on V. I. Lenin have a prophetic sound: "...All the working people on earth hear his ever stronger and victorious voice, and there is no longer a place on earth where it does not stir the determination of the working people for revolution, for a new life, for building a world where all people are equal. Lenin's students, the heirs to his power, are performing this great deed ever more confidently, firmly and successfully."

No, not only is history Lenin's, but the present and the future are his as well. He is close to all mankind today, he is the "great real man of this world." May we be equally worthy of the tremendous and inexhaustible legacy of revolutionary thought inherited from the generation which carried out the revolution.

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CSO: 1802

## EFFECTIVE UTILIZATION OF SOCIAL FACTORS IN ECONOMIC GROWTH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81 pp 55-57

[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor M. Poleshchuk, weaver at the Silk Combine imeni P. P. Shcherbakov, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy]

[Text] The CC CPSU draft guidelines "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Through 1990" earmark a broad program for further increasing the upsurge in the country's national economy. Enhanced public production effectiveness and the growth of labor productivity comprise a course that leads to the highest objective of the party's economic strategy: the steady rise of the material and cultural living standard of the people and the creation of the best possible conditions for the total development of the individual. Important measures are planned for the further expansion of industrial and agricultural production in the 1980s, with a view to insuring the fullest possible satisfaction of the needs of the working people. Under the 11th Five-Year Plan, industrial group "B" will be developed at a faster pace than group "A." The "Basic Directions" give the food and consumer goods and services production development programs priority among the comprehensive target programs covering the most important socioeconomic problems. I am aware of the great importance which the party ascribes to such important problems, in my capacity as a member of the Commission on Consumer Goods and Trade of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This commission deals with specific problems in the increased production of many commodities in mass demand; specific suggestions are formulated on the use of available reserves and the elimination of shortcomings, which unfortunately still abound in the work of some ministries.

I consider the part of the "Basic Directions" which discusses the need for the effective utilization of the social factors of economic growth noteworthy. This I believe to be one of the most important prerequisites for the practical implementation of the great socioeconomic program for the development of our country for which the CC CPSU draft guidelines provide. The social factors, in my understanding, are those inherent in socialism—factors which have a direct impact on labor and people. It is under their influence that the individual develops comprehensively, that everyone reveals his capabilities ever more fully, and that labor itself acquires a creative content, becoming ever more fruitful and becoming a vital need.

Foremost among these factors is the development of relations of comradely cooperation, mutual aid, and collectivism.

When an enterprise or shop manages to develop that special microclimate which helps people work and resolve complex problems together, the collective becomes an educator imparting the best moral qualities. I am deeply grateful to my collective, which I joined many years ago, to the people who were my models in the performance of duty, and to those who were always ready to help me with their actions or good advice. A lifetime of experience has taught me the worth of the attention and concern of my comrades. Their support gives me a feeling of confidence and helps me to surmount many difficulties. The achievements of any leading production worker always owe a great deal to those who stood by him in his work.

The molding of a collective, the strengthening of its educational role and the development within it of a microclimate which contributes to the fruitful activities of every working person are tasks which are acquiring great importance today. The propagation of the brigade form of work organization must play a great role in fulfilling these tasks. The members of a brigade are united in the pursuit of a common production objective. Their efforts are directed toward achieving maximum results. This contributes to the creation of an atmosphere of collectivism and comradeship. It enhances the labor energy of every member of the collective and promotes a feeling of responsibility for assignments.

The work results and the relations which develop among people depend largely on the professional and personal qualities of the manager. This is understandable: as he heads the collective, he organizes the work of others, makes decisions and checks on their execution. The manager must be attentive to the people. He must support their initiatives promptly and assess the labor contribution of each of them properly. Difficulties arising in the solution of one problem or another should not be concealed from him. Only thus can the collective understand the difficulties fully and mobilize its forces. The manager's authority does not come with his position, but is the result of his practical, political and moral qualities, organizational capabilities, and proper attitude toward the criticism of shortcomings. Therefore, we must steadily improve the process of selection of leading cadres and promote the rank and file worker who has acquired due prestige in the collective as a result of his attitude toward his work and his comrades more boldly.

Production and educational problems can be resolved successfully when they become the personal concern, the object of interest, of every working person. The secret of the labor victories of progressive collectives lies in the high conscientiousness of the people and their feeling of personal responsibility. However, this is not easy to achieve, for on many occasions violations of labor discipline and negligent attitudes toward obligations are ignored and earn no disapproval.

The increased participation of the working people in production management plays a tremendous role in raising the collective's labor energy. During the 10th Five-Year Plan, millions of working people in various economic sectors did voluntary work as participants in permanent production conferences, voluntary design bureaus, innovators' councils and economic analysis bureaus. They persistently sought and found ways to resolve many current economic, organizational, social and technical problems. This gave them a sense of being the true owners of the

production facilities and contributed to enhancing technical and economic enterprise standards, strengthening conscious discipline, conserving substantial material resources, improving working conditions, organizing the work process and accelerating the upsurge in the socioeconomic effectiveness of the production system.

The progress achieved by our society and the development of the socialist way of life are directly related to the development of socialist democracy and the increased spirit of initiative in the working people. In order to broaden their participation in production management steadily, each enterprise and collective must increase its political-educational work, improve the economic training system and submit all topical problems pertaining to its social and production activities to the collective for discussion. Every economic manager must be aware of the views of the working person and listen to his advice. We must also see to it that all valuable suggestions on improving the organization of the work, the equipment, and the economical use of material resources submitted by the working people are attentively studied and implemented as rapidly as possible.

As a long-term participant in the all-union socialist competition, I have watched it gathering strength and seen its organization improving. The struggle for effective public production has brought to life new initiatives which have upgraded the work quality of many enterprises. An army of leading workers has been raised. Many working people fulfilled their five-year plans ahead of schedule and made a noteworthy contribution to the development of the country's national economy. The movement for a communist attitude toward labor has spread and its role in the growth of communist morality has been strengthened.

However, many shortcomings remain in organizing competition which hinder the full manifestation of its constructive power. The principal one is formalism, a bureaucratic approach to the matter. In some cases standardized obligations have been drawn up for the participants in competition which only required their signatures. Today, in all probability, this is no longer done. However, it does happen that one is approached by a comrade who has been put in charge of competition by the trade union, who asks that a form be filled out listing a number of obligations. But subsequently no one checks on the implementation of such obligations. Instead, a new form is drafted. Need we point out the moral harm such paper shuffling does to the competition movement?

In my view, in order to improve the organization of competition we must plan systematic checks on the fulfillment of obligations. The obligations themselves must be realistic and properly substantiated. They must lead us to the solution of the main problem, and all members of the production collective must participate in the drafting and discussion of them.

Socialist obligations are a public matter and the attention of the entire public must always be focused on the study of their implementation. This would prevent the development of unrealistic initiatives, which sometimes develop from a desire to originate "one's own" initiative. At the same time, this would force us to check on the development of truly valuable initiatives and promptly remove the obstacles hindering their application.



Material and moral incentives must play a significant role in the progress of socialist competition. Their improvement allows us to assess the labor contribution of the competitors properly and to encourage the best known among them. Yet, however important the forms of incentive may happen to be, speaking for many comrades and for myself I can say that the purpose of my work has never been to win a reward. The satisfaction derived from the fulfillment of my social duty is my compensation. I must mention this because here again formalism lets itself be seen. For example, some people believe that the regulations governing competition or the presentation of the title of shock worker of communist labor should include a full range of rewards, on which basis just about every step taken by the competitors would be assessed. This would be futile. Moral and material incentives should be assessed for what they truly are: the social recognition of one's labor. Such recognition must come from the collective instead of being based on a piece of paper.

Labor competitiveness is the basis of socialist competition. It is precisely this competitiveness which encourages us to improve work indicators, master the use of new equipment and use resources rationally. However, the desire to win in the labor competition is insufficient in itself. Little can be accomplished either through physical effort or endurance alone. The winner will be he who has mastered progressive labor methods to perfection and who displays real skills. Therefore, the dissemination of progressive experience--a condition governing high work effectiveness and quality--has become the most important prerequisite for the promotion of labor competitiveness.

During the 10th Five-Year Plan, together with my comrades V. Bobrova (today laureate of the USSR State Prize) and N. Martynova, I undertook to operate 19 looms instead of 6 as required. Later we were joined by Ye. Krasnoshchekova. The combine's engineering and technical personnel and the associates of the sectorial scientific research institute, who computed the most efficient way of servicing the looms, helped us to organize our working time better. In my opinion all participants in the competition will be able to master the new work method soon. This will enable our combine and other enterprises in the sector to increase the production of consumer goods considerably.

The current task is to strengthen the ties between science and production comprehensively. I believe that cooperation between scientists and production workers must be developed not only by arming the production process with new machinery, but by providing it with progressive labor methods and improving the organization of the work. The thorough study and summation of the experience of leading workers must be organized on a scientific basis. Recommendations must be drafted for its practical application. Propaganda on the most notable achievements of production innovators and leading collectives must be organized on the basis of higher standards. The five-year and annual enterprise plans must stipulate a system of measures to be implemented in mastering progressive experience.

It is a question of utilizing the tremendous potential for upgrading the socio-economic effectiveness of public production based on an increase in labor productivity, improved quality and lowered costs. In this respect I submit that the following text be added to the second part of the draft "Basic Directions:" "The

system for the dissemination and application of progressive experience must be developed and perfected in all sectors of the national economy."

The creative and constructive forces of our society are inexhaustible. The main task assigned by the communist party to the working people of our country calls for the utilization of all the advantages of the socialist system in order to accelerate social and economic progress for the good of man.

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CSO: 1802

## TOWARD NEW ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81 pp 57-60

[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor V. Yermilov, fitter-assemblyman at the Krasnyy Proletariy Plant]

[Text] Each line of the CC CPSU draft guidelines "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Through 1990" is proof of the ever growing concern of the communist party with the blossoming of our multinational socialist homeland and the improved well-being of the Soviet worker. The party has drawn up scientifically substantiated plans for laying the material and technical foundations for communism and further socioeconomic progress and the creation of conditions conducive to the all-round development of the individual and the molding of the members of the communist society. They are conceived on a huge scale, and the opportunities they offer enable us to become aware of the great constructive opportunities of socialist society, a society of free labor, in which class inequality and the exploitation of man by man have been eliminated once and for all.

The 26th party congress defined the path to be followed in furthering the progress of our society toward communism. On the threshold of the five-year plan, the production collective is preparing to reach new heights. We must identify all possible opportunities in order to implement their fuller use. We must pay very serious attention to shortcomings which hinder the work, if we are to surmount them.

The "Basic Directions" emphasize increased production effectiveness as the basic means for the development of the socialist economy, a condition which will insure the increased prosperity of the people. "In order to resolve the various economic and social problems facing the country successfully," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "there is no other way than the accelerated growth of labor productivity and drastic improvement in public production effectiveness." In this respect the machine tool building industry faces special assignments. The "Basic Directions" call for increasing the productivity of metal-cutting machine tools by a factor of 1.3-1.6, and for increasing their reliability, durability and precision; we must increase the output of metal-processing machine tools with digital programming considerably, particularly multiple-purpose tools with automated attachment changes, automated machine-building and metal-processing lines, including resettable ones, and heavy duty and one-of-a-kind metal-cutting machine tools.

Our main attention must be focused on speeding up technical progress and strengthening the ties between science and production. For the past 50 years I have been a

fitter-assembly worker at the Krasny Proletariy Plant and I have participated in mounting a variety of lathes, ranging from the legendary DIP under the First Five-Year Plan, to the modern multiple-purpose Model 16K20T1 digital programming lathe. Without the least exaggeration I can say that an entire era separates these two models in terms of technological advances. Our sector is working on the first types of machine tools which will be produced by our plant, and we shall be the first to see the new designs embodied in metal.

During the 10th Five-Year Plan our plant started competition under the slogan "First Rate Equipment for the Five-Year Effectiveness and Quality Plan," the approval of which was mentioned by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his greetings. After reorganizing its assembly line, the plant mastered the production of more than 20 lathe models and modifications, adding a considerable number of attachments, systems and other facilities to the standard model. This made the better satisfaction of needs of the various economic sectors possible. Output rose 45 percent; production of the advanced and most effective equipment rose from 14 to 57 percent; and that of machine tools with digital programming almost doubled. This saved the national economy 75 million rubles. Almost all of the increase in the plant's output volume was achieved by increasing labor productivity. We produced 1,203 more machine tools than the stipulated assignment, and 87 percent of the output was in the superior category. A search is under way for design, technological and organizational solutions which will insure the successful fulfillment of the new five-year plan.

The Krasny Proletariy Plant began its preparations for the new five-year plan in advance. We mastered the Model 16K20T1, screw-cutting lathe with digital programming using microprocessors for purposes of series production. It suffices for a lathe operator to "show" the lathe the sequence of operations in the machining of any given part only once and the lathe can "remember" it and duplicate it as often as necessary. The level of precision in the work is shown on a digital panel. In the case of large batches of complex parts, the operator is able to control several machine tools simultaneously. However, even this model which is a revolution in machining is only one step forward in the development of first-rate machine-tool manufacturing. The plant's collective is preparing intensively to manufacture a new basic model with a full family, consistent with modern requirements. The new model and its modified versions will almost double the productivity of 16K20 machine tools. In this practical way we are resolving our task of upgrading the technical standards and competitiveness of lathes considerably.

The national economic end result is manifested not only in terms of increased effectiveness in machine tool building, but also in terms of increased effectiveness in those sectors which make use of our output. For a number of years the plant has had a higher--or more accurately, a stricter--demand for machine tools, general purpose tools in particular. In this connection, my comrades and I ask the following: are the machine tools always used properly, and does first-rate equipment always insure high results? Unfortunately, the facts show that in many enterprises machine tools do not achieve even 50 percent of planned capacity. This is caused by the low level of production organization. The percentage of custom-made parts remains high, compared to parts manufactured in large series or on assembly lines. This structure creates a demand for underproductive general-purpose machine tools as well as a shortage of machine tool operators.



There is another major shortcoming: the law states that the supplier has a responsibility to the user. However, I do not know of a single case in which the consumer has been held responsible by the supplier for negligent and inefficient use of expensive equipment. Yet such cases are unfortunately still frequent. Machine tools come to our plant for repairs. They show evidence of entirely barbaric handling of the equipment! Dirt is a customary phenomenon. We feel pain and indignation when we see broken beds, twisted drawers and damaged assemblies and parts. Some of the machine tools break during transportation by rail or truck. The resulting repairs sometimes cost the state double and triple the production cost of the new equipment. Obviously, responsibility for equipment maintenance must be increased and proper penalties for equipment losses must be imposed.

It would be useful if machine-building plants and other suppliers of productive capital were given the right to meet consumers' requests for more equipment only when the existing equipment is being used at full capacity and when such requests have been comprehensively justified.

The USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply could be assigned the duty of providing effective supervision over the substantiation of requests. Organizing such control would make it easier to compare requests with data on the utilization of capacities and other indicators listed in the certificates issued by the production association (enterprise). Naturally, other ways of controlling requests would also be possible. I believe that this would lower requirement padding, eliminate shortages and make it possible to ship our goods to wherever they are most needed, above all for purposes of updating production equipment.

The "Basic Directions" call for a considerable increase in the production of highly effective equipment. However, in order to make full use of the economic potential of the new equipment and designs, we must improve the organization of the production process. A potential for specializing in the production of parts, many of which could be manufactured on an assembly line basis, can be found in any large or medium-size machine-building production association. Production intensification requires, wherever possible and expedient, that a conversion be made from customized to series or large-series part manufacturing. Radical technological changes must be made in order to take full advantage of the mass production method.

In this connection, when enterprises and associations draft their five-year plans, they should implement the stipulations of the "Basic Directions," which call for improving the organization of the production process through further development of specialization and cooperation. Since some industrial ministries are acting slowly in implementing such measures, the five-year plan should stipulate specific deadlines and levels of their implementation. It is on this basis that we must formulate the plans for technical retooling and reconstruction of existing production facilities by sector or production association. Such reorganization of the production process could yield tremendous economic benefits. It would enable us to reduce the production of general purpose machine tools and to increase that of highly productive equipment, as stipulated in the "Basic Directions."

We must consistently strengthen relations between suppliers and consumers. The purpose is to take into greater consideration the requirements of production enterprises with a view to upgrading their technical standards, productivity and

production quality, reducing heavy manual labor and replacing it with machines. Our collective tries to supply its customers with special and specialized machine tools the design of which makes it possible to apply progressive technology and take production characteristics into consideration. Who other than the machine tool manufacturer, together with the user, should define the purpose and best possible way to insure the full utilization of machine tools in the designing and manufacturing stages? Today such relations between suppliers and consumers are merely in their initial stage, a situation which may cause enterprises which have been supplied with new machine tools to use them for jobs inconsistent with their technical and economic parameters. How this affects production effectiveness is obvious.

The following must become the rule in contractual relations among enterprises: the consumer must provide the supplier with information regarding the nature of his work and the type of parts he produces; the supplier must develop the proper technology and machines with the necessary attachments. Such work organization must be further developed as the most important prerequisite for the efficient utilization of equipment, for insuring the growth of the production potential and accelerating the intensive development of machine building and all other metal processing sectors.

The CC CPSU draft guidelines "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" offer a broad program for furthering the growth of the people's prosperity and developing the socialist way of life based on economic upsurge and increased public production effectiveness. Much attention has been devoted to improving the social insurance system. In this connection, I would like to raise the question of hiring labor veterans. Today many enterprises are short of personnel. This need could easily be filled by hiring retired persons. They could work shorter hours, be provided with suitable working and resting conditions, and could be encouraged by means of a material incentive system. Unfortunately, many economic managers ignore this important problem, as a result of which many highly skilled workers leave work after reaching retirement age. Yet, they could accomplish a great deal by continuing to work at the enterprise. We need hardly mention the great importance of labor cooperation among people of different generations in the education of young people and promoting fruitful and creative activity in a collective. In terms of labor productivity, tremendous practical experience makes labor veterans not only as good as young workers, but frequently superior to them. Our assembling section employs four pensioners (three of them are piece-rate workers). They work a 6-hour day. In these 6 hours they manage to meet not only the 8-hour norm but also to systematically exceed it. The experience and skill acquired in long years of work are their irreplaceable labor assistants.

The party, trade union organizations and economic management of our plant deserve proper credit for this. They pay great attention to labor veterans. A reduced work-day, additional paid leave, priority in the use of rest homes and medical care are features which help them to keep up their good health and stay active. The respect and social recognition allowed the veterans makes them eager to work. The main incentive, however, is the work itself, the feeling of being useful to society. Nothing can replace the vivifying force of labor. It provides a steady supply of energy and good cheer. I believe that many of my contemporaries were very pleased

to read in the "Basic Directions" stipulations about the need to expand opportunities for participation by the retired in social labor and to increase the power of material incentives for active pensioners. In practice this calls for the formulation of measures for involving all able-bodied pensioners in active work when plans for the socioeconomic development of product associations and enterprises are drawn up. By participating in the creation of material and spiritual values together with all the working people, labor veterans will contribute to increasing the wealth of the socialist homeland and to strengthening its power.

5003

CSO: 1802

## METALLURGICAL PRODUCTION RESERVES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81 pp 60-62

[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor A. Kotenko, gas worker at the blast furnace shop of the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Combine imeni V. I. Lenin]

[Text] Ferrous metallurgy plays a most important role in furthering the growth of the country's economic potential. Economic growth rates and public production effectiveness depend on metal supplies to the national economy and on the quality of metallurgical output.

This imposes a special responsibility on us, the metallurgical workers. Today, as we are discussing plans for the development of the sector in the next decade in accordance with the CC CPSU draft "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Through 1990," we realize perfectly that the planned levels can be reached only through total dedication of effort, knowledge and skill, and the effective organization of the work at each enterprise and workplace. The collective of the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Combine, the recipient of four awards, has set itself the objective of reaching the highest possible end economic results in the 11th Five-Year Plan, mainly through reconstruction and technical retooling of production facilities, by using all available resources.

For several decades the Kuznetsk Combine led in the socialist competition in the sector. We launched many initiatives which were supported by metallurgical workers throughout the country. The competition for speed smelting and for high metal quality contributed to the fuller satisfaction of the growing needs of the national economy. Today all shops at this metallurgical giant are competing intensively in honor of the 26th communist party congress.

The combine's personnel have scored substantial successes. Thanks to the partial reconstruction of machine units, improved work technology and organization, and drawing on internal reserves, planned capacities for the production of basic items more than tripled. However, if we speak of the collective's achievements, we should not ignore shortcomings and difficulties. For many years this rapid growth occurred without the installation of new machinery or the renovation of many shops--a situation which led to certain disproportions and bottlenecks in basic activities, as well as major complications in insuring the supply of the necessary raw materials for the production process. Furthermore, a considerable share of the equipment became morally and physically obsolete. Immediate reconstruction was required. The Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, however, decided to allocate substantial funds for capital repairs. In the past 5 years they have accounted for



one-third of the value of the productive capital, totaling hundreds of millions of rubles. Unfailingly, economic effectiveness declined. Returns would have been considerably higher had these huge sums been used at the right time for the radical reconstruction of individual production facilities.

The combine's entire collective clearly realizes that a great deal depends now on ourselves. Work quality must be improved in each job or sector. This will be done. However, the collective must be helped to regain its former glory.

Even though the measures formulated in the 1960s for the reconstruction and expansion of the combine call for a proportional increase in capacities for the production of cast iron, steel and rolled metal, they were not fully implemented because of major planning errors.

Two sintering batteries, a blast furnace, a section for thermic processing of railroad tracks with 750,000 ton annual planned capacity, and a section for thermally strengthened steel sheets were built. Nevertheless, production bottlenecks remained because a converter shop was not built. Cast iron surpluses occurred, and there were essentially no facilities for converting them into steel since the capacity of the Martin furnaces was inadequate. The construction of blooming furnace No 2 was interrupted, which heavily increased the load of the casting mill. This adversely affected the quality of output and slowed its growth.

The section of the CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th congress on metallurgy stipulates that the main direction in the development of the sector will be radical improvement of quality and increased production of effective metal goods. In order to implement this party stipulation, we must complete the technical retooling and reconstruction of our combine's installed production facilities within the shortest possible time. This will enable us not only to increase output with lesser outlays, as compared to new construction, but also to upgrade quality substantially, to improve labor conditions and to free a considerable number of workers.

In my capacity as an AUCCTU member, I have frequently visited similar enterprises and discussed the possibilities for development of our sector with many metallurgical workers. A comparison of facts has shown that reconstruction of existing enterprises is far more effective than construction of new metallurgical plants. The needs of the national economy for rolled steel can be met in full despite a slower growth rate in the volume of steel and cast-iron smelting by emphasizing the development of high-grade metallurgy. All of us realize perfectly that quality is a key factor in increasing the effectiveness of our industry, for which reason we believe that emphasis should be given mainly to upgrading quality indicators for metal output rather than to simple quantitative growth. This would include, for example, broadening variety and increasing production of high-precision shaved-metal goods, and so on.

The extensive type of development predominated in our sector for quite some time. More extensive capital investments were allocated for the construction of new enterprises than for the reconstruction of existing ones. Whatever reconstruction was being done was reduced essentially to the updating and renovation of equipment which should have been replaced. In other words, what was needed was a type of

technical retooling which would insure a steady increase in production capacity, the use of the latest scientific and technical achievements and the ever fuller utilization of intensive growth factors, with a view to improving effectiveness and quality.

For example, one question of long standing involves replacing Martin furnaces with more advanced and more productive oxygen converters. This would help the combine to save 680,000-700,000 tons of metal and 600,000 tons of fuel annually and to reduce the personnel by 200 persons. Our Martin furnaces are quite old and need frequent repairs. Economists have estimated that capital repair outlays almost equal the cost of new construction. Compared with the use of Martin furnaces, the economic results of producing steel by the oxygen converter method would improve for both the combine and the consumer. However, the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy still has no plans to allocate funds for a converter shop.

The metallurgical workers face the major task of improving the extraction of ore components. The combine intends to achieve this through the reconstruction of an agglomeration factory. Currently, the iron content of the concentrate is 53-55 percent. After the reconstruction, the factory will deliver to the blast furnaces raw ore containing 62.8 percent iron. Raising the concentration of iron in the agglomerate by one percent increases the amount of iron smelted by 2-2.5 percent. For our combine this means 500,000 tons of cast iron per year additionally. The outlays for the reconstruction of the factory can be recovered in 6 years. However the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy is ignoring its own decisions, and has been postponing the target date for undertaking the reconstruction of the factory for many years, although it is clear today that without improving the quality of the agglomerate, the combine's blast furnace shop cannot function reliably and produce cast iron meeting stricter industrial requirements.

We are also experiencing difficulties with coke production. The combine's coking batteries, which have been in operation for almost 50 years, are beginning to break down. Replacing these small batteries with modern ones which have a productivity of one million tons of coke per year, and using advanced equipment and technology such as smokeless loading and systems for dry coke slaking and thermal processing of the coal batch, would raise capacity by a 2.3 factor, increase labor productivity by 65 percent and shorten stipulated construction deadlines.

However, the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy decided to replace the existing weak batteries with obsolete equipment. This will not only fail to produce expected economic results, but will also lengthen construction time by 28 months. Obviously, this decision should be reconsidered and an enterprise meeting today's scientific and technical requirements should be built.

The CC CPSU Central Committee draft guidelines ask metallurgical workers to increase steel production by using methods for developing special alloys and non-furnace metal processing. The possibility of achieving this within a short time does exist. However, the combine needs additional work space. It would be expedient, as capacities are being installed and their operations mastered in the electric steel smelting shop, to remove the Martin furnaces and to use the freed space for the installation of non-furnace metal-treatment facilities.

The Kuznetsk Combine ships its products to Siberia, the North, and the Far East. The quality of the metal must meet the stricter requirements resulting from the low temperatures. Heat hardening strengthens rolled steel parts by a factor of 1.5-2. This makes it possible to upgrade their reliability and durability while reducing the bulk of machinery structures by 15-18 percent. For example, the durability of rail tracks used in such areas, including the BAM (Baykal Amur Mainline), is higher than standard quality rails by a factor of 1.5.

In 1980 the combine supplied the country's railroads with nearly 600,000 tons of heat hardened rails. Substantial benefits accrued to the national economy. However, there were technological difficulties. Rails of specific length, accounting for 10-25 percent of the overall output volume, are subjected to heat treatment. The production of, shall we say, 750,000 tons of such rails per year requires more than one million tons of steel. Unquestionably, this is of no benefit to the plant or the national economy. We must therefore urgently update the heat-hardening facility and allocate the necessary funds which will be quickly recovered, for this purpose.

Social conditions must also be mentioned. In virtually all of our shops, labor conditions have actually remained at the 1930 level. Negative phenomena such as personnel turnover and lowered labor discipline are due to the fact that most shops have obsolete equipment and insufficiently mechanized and automated production facilities, not to mention violations of the requirements of industrial esthetics.

Naturally, the enterprise's administration and the party and the other public organizations which fail to show the necessary persistence in the solution of such problems should share in the blame. The fault, however, is largely that of the administrators at the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, who pay very little attention to problems of social development in the old enterprises. All they are interested in is the volume of output and the tonnage. They ignore the people and their increased requirements and demands in connection with the production process, communal housing facilities, and sociocultural life.

In our view, the problems related to the development of the Kuznetsk Combine should be included in the sectorial development plan. The main emphasis must be placed on the reconstruction of shops, technical retooling and the solution of social problems.

Today, when improving the quality of output and intensifying production are considered to be of prime significance, a creative search, the non-routine solution of problems and technical tasks which arise and the ability to set aside established views and develop a qualitatively new approach to the work are more than ever necessary. Inertia in economic thinking is very costly to society.

The wide horizons which are opening up for the creative solution of problems related to upgrading socialist production effectiveness demand that every metallurgical worker use all available opportunities to achieve the best possible final results with minimum outlays.

END

ISS: 1812

## MEANS FOR THE ACCELERATION OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81 pp 63-64

[Article by V. Aleskovskiy, rector of Leningrad University and USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member]

[Text] One of the strategic tasks of the developed socialist society, as formulated by the entire course of historical development, is assigning priority status to the organization of powerful production forces and to insuring higher labor productivity.

The CC CPSU draft guidelines "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Through 1990" emphasizes that "The greater acceleration of scientific and technical progress must be further insured.... Essentially new equipment and materials and progressive technology must be created and used in the production process.... We must insure the creation and extensive utilization of technical facilities and technologies for the comprehensive and fuller extraction of useful components from ores, and the development of ore deposits."

The production of material goods is expanding irrepressibly. Meanwhile, easily accessible, inexpensive and rich raw materials are becoming ever scarcer. Traditional raw material extraction and technological methods are no longer satisfactory, for they are becoming unprofitable.

Among the new methods, hydrometallurgy deserves particular attention. It represents a comprehensive production process which closely interconnects the extraction of the raw material, its treatment and the production of finished products, such as, for example, copper and nonferrous metals. It begins with the leaching of oxidized ores with a sulfuric acid solution and ends with the electrolytic extraction of the metals from this solution and their separation. The solution used, which contains sulfuric acid, is leached. Nothing is left unused. The main outlay is that of electric power, which can be reduced to a minimum amount. The complete automation of the process is easily achievable.

Equally interesting from this viewpoint is the production of metal, including iron and iron-based structural materials, by ore chlorination or from scrap metal. Like leaching, this enables us to extract a transportable chemically active concentrate of valuable elements--metal chloride vapors from lean ores. The application of the latest methods for the chemical classification of elements, "chemical assembly" in particular, make it possible to redirect the production process toward an essentially new type of finished products directly obtained from raw materials.



The developments and experiments organized at the University of Leningrad and, subsequently, in foreign countries, leave no doubt as to the new method's high technical and economic effectiveness.

What is the nature of these experiments? Iron ore was processed with gaseous hydrogen chloride heated to a temperature of about 400 degrees. The product was volatile iron chloride and water steam. The steam was removed while the hot iron chloride steam (pure or with alloyed additions of other metal chlorides, such as for example chromium) were reduced with hydrogen at a temperature of 600 to 800 degrees on a special base plate on which the layer of metal was deposited and hydrogen chloride formed. As the thickness of the synthesized metal stratum increased, the base plate was pulled out of the reactor while the hydrogen chloride was subjected to the first step of the initial ore treatment process.

This proved that by steadily adding ore and hydrogen and water vapors a finished metal product, a pipe for example, could be produced from it instead of spongy metal, as happens in a conventional metallurgical process. Pipes could be shaped if a pipe section was used as a base on which the metal was precipitated, and subsequently drawn and milled. Other more effective molds were also successfully used.

The hydrogen chloride merely carries the substance from the ore to the synthesized metal and, in principle, is not expended.

Let us point out an exceptionally important feature: the synthesizing process can be divided into individual stages, each one of them providing for a single chemical reaction, in the course of which a single layer of metal atoms is formed. The metal structure consists of separate identical or different individual strata. Thus, maximally precise dimensions and high surface quality in the synthesized items, unattainable by any other known method, can be achieved.

Programmed control of metal production conditions (temperature, nature of heating and cooling during the synthesizing process and following the production of the item, structure, thickness and sequence of strata of different composition and thickness), any desired componential and structural variety, and therefore quality, can be achieved with predetermined accuracy. The method makes it possible to produce items which cannot be obtained by any other means. This includes multiple layers of film structures representing any type of complex combination of individual strata within a given composition, having a predetermined thickness and positioned in a physically admissible sequence, such as for example a specific combination of metal, dielectric, and semiconductor strata.

Thus, a carefully prepared surface of a monocrystal silicon or germanium is treated in a vacuum environment at 300-400 degree temperature, initially with water steam, followed by silicon tetrachloride and once again, water steam. Meanwhile the volatile products of the reaction and the surplus reactants are separated. In this case, precisely one silicon-oxygen stratum is added to the surface. As the processing continues, alternately with vapors of silicon tetrachloride and water, each pair of operations yields yet another single stratum. This is now a stratified chemical combination of an oxide lining, whose thickness is determined by the number of synthesizing operations with an accuracy down to

the atomic level, is achieved. This lining is used to stabilize the electrophysical characteristics of semiconductors and to establish a clear separation between semiconductors and dielectrics in integrated circuits. A similar method can be used in a silicon-oxygen stratum for the purpose of adding, for example, a titanium oxide stratum consisting of the required number of individual strata. In this case the synthesis will involve titanium tetrachloride, and as many treatments of the surface with its vapors and water steam as required will be carried out until a titanium-oxygen multiple-stratum combination is obtained. A similar method is used to obtain strata of other oxides, sulfides, and metals. Therefore, we are dealing with a technology for the manufacturing of integrated electronic circuits and other systems based on the chemical combination of complex structures and corresponding structural units, i.e., a controlled process of product synthesis on the atomic level.

This approach enables us not only to reduce to a minimum outlays for the production of electronic equipment and the amount of energy needed for their production and treatment, but also to synthesize, in the literal meaning of the word, finished goods of guaranteed quality.

Our developments are already being put to practical use and promising high economic results.

The new technology whose outline we described will enable us to reduce to a minimum material and energy outlays. It will be virtually wasteless and, which is particularly important, it will insure the comprehensive use of raw materials, including some of poor quality, unprocessable by any other method.

Since all the important elements--metallic and nonmetallic--form one type or another of volatile compound, chlorides in particular, this is a universally applicable technology.

The process of transferring the metal using gaseous carriers and the chemical assembly process itself are relatively slow. This shortcoming, however, is balanced by the fact that absolutely identical duplicates of such items can be produced in any amount.

After mastering the relatively simple type of matter dynamics, as a consequence of progress in mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology, man is systematically mastering ever more complex ones. The development of mechanics is followed by advances in the quantum-wave theory and solid state nuclear physics; progress in molecular physics and chemistry leads to the development of molecular biology and solid state chemistry. Technology is developing on a corresponding basis.

Successing new generations of computers have been developed, and new sources of energy and materials and very complex machines, apparatus and instruments have been designed. The production process is becoming automated. Robots and automated plants have appeared. Wasteless production processes are being launched. Every day, these and many other features are becoming part of life and are laying the foundation for the further development of essentially new equipment and technology. Their main features have already become quite clear against a background of all possible types of innovations and improvements.

In this light, I submit that the following be added to the directive document of the 26th congress "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990," in the part dealing with the development of science and the acceleration of technical progress, subsection "In the Natural and Technical Sciences:"

"Developing means for controlling technological processes on the molecular and atomic levels, with a view to the manufacturing of products directly from raw materials through chemical synthesis."

Scientific and production collectives must make a joint effort in order to hasten the utilization of the opportunities arising for the conversion of leading industrial sectors into highly effective automated wasteless sectors of the national economy.

9003

CSO: 1802

## TECHNICAL RETOOLING AND RECONSTRUCTION OF OPERATING PRODUCTION FACILITIES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81 pp 65-75

[Article by A. Palamarchuk and M. Sukhopleshchenko]

[Text] Our country has the powerful economic and scientific and technical potential required for resolving many problems related to improving the people's well-being. Improving the capital investment structure has become one of the most important factors in public production intensification today. The CC CPSU draft guidelines for the 26th party congress emphasize the following: "Capital investments must be channeled, above all, into the reconstruction and technical retooling of enterprises and the completion of construction projects already started." The increased economic role of technical retooling and reconstruction is based essentially on the fact that they open the way to the speedier renovation of output and to upgrading socioeconomic and organizational-technical standards. This leads to high final economic results with minimum capital outlays.

In the present stage of economic development, the structure of capital investments in all sectors is showing progressive changes: the portion of new construction is declining while that of capital investments channeled into the technical retooling, reconstruction and expansion of operating enterprises is rising. The share of these latter activities in the overall volume of state capital investments increased from 68 percent in 1975 to 70 percent in 1979. This includes increases of from 71 to 79 percent in machine building and metal processing, from 60 to 64 percent in the chemical and petrochemical industries, from 73 to 80 percent in ferrous metallurgy, and from 64 to 78 percent in light industry. In step with party and government decisions, 1981 capital investments for such purposes will be 7 percent higher than under the 1980 plan.

The progressive changes occurring in the investment process help to improve the structure of public production in accordance with the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution. They lead to the installation of new equipment and the use of new technologies in all economic sectors. The number of comprehensively mechanized and automated sectors, shops and production lines increased from 22,400 in 1965 to 83,500 in 1979 and the number of enterprises from 1,900 to 6,400. In 1979 the country's enterprises operated 136,200 mechanized assembly and 24,300 automated lines.

The scientific and technical revolution opens up extensive opportunities for rapid growth in the socioeconomic effectiveness of socialist public production. The utilization of its achievements permits us to resolve a problem of tremendous social significance--limiting heavy manual labor--which it has replaced with



machines, thus freeing the workers from tiring and monotonous operations and making everyone's work creative. This also resolves a major problem in the field of national economic intensification, that of most efficient utilization of manpower resources. The substitution of machines for manual labor reduces the number of workers performing underproductive work. In turn, this paves the way for the elimination of existing manpower shortages.

In the final account, the success of the scientific and technical revolution is determined by the participation in it of the broad toiling masses. Under the 10th Five-Year Plan, socialist competition, in which the struggle for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress played a leading role, took on tremendous scope. Considerable results were achieved by collectives at leading enterprises in Moscow, Leningrad, Latvia and Chelyabinskaya and Zaporozhskaya oblasts in the raising of technical and organizational production standards. The competition slogan "Shift Manual Labor to Machines" channeled the efforts of the collectives into the elaboration and practical implementation of a set of measures leading to comprehensive production mechanization and automation. As they apply the achievements of scientific and technical progress and make their creative contribution to it, the participants in the competition pay unabated attention to problems of technical retooling and reconstruction of installed production capacities. They consider this to be the main prerequisite for the successful solution of the problem.

The working people of Sverdlovskaya Oblast achieved significant results in raising labor productivity, saving on capital investment and increasing output. The share of capital investments channeled into the technical retooling and reconstruction of existing enterprises in the overall volume of the oblast's industrial construction increased from 23.4 percent in 1976 to 33.6 percent in 1979. It accounted for one-half of the entire increase in industrial output, including 1.5 million tons of steel, 12,000 tons of pipes, and so on. Within a 5-year span, thanks to the intensive renovation of existing production facilities, overall economic results amounted to 653.4 million rubles. Capital investment savings over the cost of new construction were assessed at 500 million rubles. Capital investment recovery time was reduced to 2.5 years.

Labor productivity in many oblast enterprises increased considerably during the 10th Five-Year Plan. After the reconstruction of the "30-102" Mill, and the making of other changes, and without increasing the industrial personnel, the Pervouralsk Pipes Plant installed new equipment and mastered its production capabilities ahead of schedule at the three pipe-drawing shops. The reconstruction of one of the large shops at the Sverdlovsk Plastic Materials Plant tripled its output and reduced the number of workers by one-half.

The workers and the engineering and technical personnel of the Kirovgrad Copper Smelting Combine proposed that instead of building a new plant for processing recycled copper and zinc that a corresponding increase be achieved in the output of the existing enterprise, without stopping the production process or lowering the volume of black copper smelting. The objective was attained through reconstruction. With minimum capital investments and without increasing the number of workers, the collective was able to increase the production of smelted copper and bronze considerably. Previously wastes were dumped. Today seven different metals

are extracted from them. This is additional valuable output worth millions of rubles annually.

The collectives at many progressive industrial enterprises and construction organizations throughout the country are putting to use the tremendous economic advantages of technical retooling and reconstruction in order to increase their output, to modernize it, and to increase labor productivity. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev congratulated the workers, engineering and technical personnel and employees of the Saratov Industrial Glass Plant on their outstanding labor victory: the ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of assignments and socialist pledges made for the 10th Five-Year Plan, and drastically increasing the production of goods for the national economy. In accordance with the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the plant's collective carried out substantial reconstruction and technical retooling of production facilities with no work stoppage. This enabled it to increase its output of high quality glass panels by a factor of 1.7 and virtually to double its output of crystal ware. Its overall output rose by 86 percent, exclusively as a result of higher labor productivity.

The opportunities of the scientific and technical revolution can be fully used only with the steady improvement of technology and the raising of technological production standards. The "Basic Directions" call for "significantly expanding the scale of technical retooling and reconstruction of existing enterprises, to be reequipped with new highly effective tools, use of progressive technology and application of scientific organization of labor and production." This will mean a considerable increase in the manufacturing of equipment which will free workers from arduous and labor-intensive operations and raise the level of mechanization of loading-unloading and transport operations. In 1981 the production of automated and semiautomated machine tool lines and machine tools with digital programming will be increased by 11 percent; that of programmed automatic manipulators (robots), by a 2.4 factor; and that of automated and semiautomated forging lines, by 17 percent. The production of instruments and equipment for automation and computerization and spare parts will be increased. Particular care is being taken to supply targeted projects with all the necessary equipment. Such will also be provided for the modernization and reconstruction of operating enterprises in the electric power, metallurgical, chemical, petroleum, coal, and light and food industries.

Many enterprises face major changes in the organization of their production and technological processes. This must be linked with further changes in the structure and dynamics of the investment process in order to insure its optimum development. The broadened scale of technical retooling and the reconstruction of enterprises are proving to be the most economical methods of social production intensification, thanks to a comprehensive reduction in outlays and the accelerated installation of production capacities. Each of the two forms of capital investments scheduled to assume a leading position in the investment process has its own characteristics.

Technical retooling is a set of measures for raising the technical standards of individual production sectors, lines, and machine units, achieved by replacing (on the basis of individual plans) obsolete with new equipment and using mechanization, automation and new technology, as defined in the enterprise technical

development plan. When this is done, work areas are not widened and the number of workers remains stable. Reconstruction is based on a single plan and consists of the total or partial retooling and reorganization of production facilities on a new technical basis. If necessary, auxiliary or service facilities are added on or expanded. In reconstruction, morally obsolete and physically worn out equipment and mechanization and automation facilities are replaced; disproportions in technological units and auxiliary services are eliminated. This increases output, expands variety and upgrades output quality. A working enterprise may also be reconstructed with a view to changing its specialization and organizing the production of new commodities in the same production areas.

The proper assessment and utilization of economic advantages is a very important aspect of planning, designing and implementing the technical retooling and reconstruction of operating enterprises. In this case a number of economic factors become operational and substantially improve the effectiveness of both capital investments and the enterprise.

Above all, the amount of capital outlays is reduced. For example, in the electrical engineering industry, the ratios for the specific capital investments required to obtain the same volume of output in 1976-1980 were as follows (in percentage of outlays for technical retooling): reconstruction, 108.3 percent; expansion of production facilities, 136.3 percent; and new construction, 279.8 percent. The explanation for such disparities is that when operational production facilities are updated, outlays for fixed productive capital, which had accounted for a large share, are reduced sharply (plant buildings, various economic projects, production infrastructure). In new construction or expansion, they account for approximately one-half of total capital investments. Since capital investment outlays decline per ruble of output, capital outlay recovery time is shortened. New technological processes and equipment make it possible to use scientific and technical progress to reduce material intensiveness, to increasing labor productivity and to improving quality with smaller capital outlays.

Rapid scientific and technical progress makes the time factor decisive. The time required for installing and mastering the use of advanced equipment is shortened and conversion to the production of new goods is accelerated considerably thanks to technical retooling and reconstruction. This brings further economic benefits and resources which the national economy needs in order to meet social requirements better and better.

Let us note that, so far, these tremendous possibilities for raising socioeconomic effectiveness have not been fully used. Many ministries neglect improvements, the updating of existing productive capital, or the fulfillment of assignments on increasing production capacities. Some of the funds allocated for reconstruction are actually invested in increasing output, i.e., in the creation of new capacities, which require correspondingly greater manpower. Many sectors are feeling the need for additional manpower while some jobs remain vacant. Consequently, many enterprises are short of personnel even though it is well known that technical retooling and reconstruction not only lower manpower requirements but also free workers engaged in heavy manual labor; such workers can be used in basic production or in the service area.

It is equally noteworthy that in 1979 the installation of productive capital in autonomous industrial enterprises accounted for 7.4 percent of industrial capital assets (including 9.2 percent in machines and equipment). Meanwhile, the share of productive capital written off was 1.4 percent (machines and equipment, 2.4 percent). In terms of the reproduction process, this ratio between newly installed and written off capital assets results in the accumulation of obsolete equipment in the enterprises and slows down the increase in their economic effectiveness.

These and many other facts prove that the economic managers of few sectors, production associations, industrial enterprises and construction organizations are ascribing the necessary importance to improving the technical standards of installed production capacities. Objective difficulties are frequently cited. This is a poor excuse in matters of national importance. Clearly, the ministries should complete their plans for the technical retooling and reconstruction of existing enterprises and insure their systematic implementation in the shortest possible time.

The scientific and technical revolution makes dynamism one of the most important factors in increasing the socioeconomic effectiveness of public production.

Numerous and rapid changes are occurring in the process of socialist expanded reproduction itself. Growing material and spiritual requirements require considerable changes in the structure of population demand, since better satisfaction requires not only a larger amount of material goods but the broadening and regular updating of variety and quality improvement. The percentage of new goods the manufacture of which requires new types of raw and other materials and technological processes is rising steadily.

On the other hand, the steady improvement of production methods, the use of which at each enterprise is a prerequisite for effective work, is taking place in all economic sectors, under the influence of scientific and technical progress.

Such changes give rise to special requirements related to the adaptability and mobility of production machinery and the capacity for quick reorganization for the production of new goods and the utilization of the latest scientific and technical accomplishments. In order to take such requirements fully into consideration, the quality of capital investment planning must be improved, most of all in the case of capital investments in the renovation of productive capital at functioning enterprises. The significantly increased role of their technical retooling and reconstruction becomes a prerequisite for the rapid and dynamic development of public production. This makes possible the use of new technological processes within the shortest possible time and with the least possible outlays, in order to reorganize the production process for the manufacturing of new models of high quality goods, and to equate the level of its organization with the requirements of scientific and technical progress.

Due to the importance of the problem, the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers in their decree on improving the economic mechanism made it incumbent upon ministries and departments to include consolidated plans for the reconstruction and technical retooling of existing enterprises with estimates of required capital investments and equipment in their draft five-year plans. The decree stresses that



the plans should allocate material resources and equipment needed by associations and enterprises for this purpose on a priority basis and establish the maximums for capital investments and construction-installation and contracting work.

The study of the positive experience acquired by many enterprises in a variety of industrial sectors may be very helpful in formulating consolidated plans. This helps to upgrade the quality of reconstruction work planning and to define means of eliminating shortcomings. Practical experience indicates that the greatest socioeconomic effect of reconstruction is attained when the most effective variants of technical, economic, social and organizational targets are selected in the formulation of plans and projects, and when precise information on the reconstructed projects is made available.

Steady attention should be devoted to this latter circumstance, for data on the technical level of output should be the starting point in the drafting of the sectorial plan. Naturally, this plan cannot be based on a random choice of projects and enterprises. It must include sectorial and intersectorial aspects and be formulated on a long-term basis as a structural component of the sectorial development program.

Reconstruction becomes most effective only when it is planned on time and on a sectorial scale. Unfortunately, in many cases the reconstruction plan for a working enterprise is formulated with great delay, following major breakdowns in its activities after the substantial physical and moral obsolescence of the equipment have been detected. Delay in the renovation of productive capital forces many enterprises to continue to manufacture obsolete items the population is not demanding.

It is time to adopt a uniform methodological approach in all sectors. This will make it possible to determine the technical and economic level of any enterprise, and on this basis, the extent and time required for the renovation of its productive capital. Presently, in accordance with the decree on improving the economic mechanism each association (enterprise) is issued a certificate containing data on the installed production facilities and their utilization, the organizational-technical level and specialization of output, its quality, and other technical and economic data required for the drafting of five-year and annual plans. The stipulation is that such data must be refined every year. It would be expedient to refine the data in the certificate periodically through the certification of operating production facilities.

In the electrical engineering industry, a set of measures for assessing the level of production technology and organization at operating enterprises and for the formulation of specific proposals to upgrade their technical and economic standard has been in effect since 1972. As in the case of quality, production facilities fall into one of the following three categories: superior, first and second. The latter applies to enterprises, shops or sectors whose technical and economic indicators fail to meet contemporary requirements, whose high quality output is not maintained and which, consequently, should be either retooled or reconstructed. After certification, which is done once every three years, jointly with scientific-research institutes and subsequent to the recommendations of the sectorial certification commissions, the enterprises draft and implement measures to

insure the raising of technological and organizational production standards. The sector takes steps to augment the interest of enterprise and association collectives in the speedy and effective renovation of production facilities, and assigns the corresponding planned tasks.

The certification of all operating enterprises raises the quality of planning. Certification data are used in setting specific objectives and volumes of work consistent with the technical renovation of production facilities and in establishing the sequence and target dates for their implementation according to the amount of the savings expected as a result of the better organization of the production process, elimination of bottlenecks, greater production of new varieties of goods, quality improvements, higher labor productivity and lowered production costs.

Achievement of a high degree of organization in the production process, which makes the full utilization of the economic potential of new equipment possible, is one of the most topical tasks in planning the renovation of productive capital. Increased production concentration has improved the potential for itemizing specialization through the creation (by reconstruction) of specialized enterprises, shops, sectors and production lines. The substantive reorganization of technological processes has allowed many production associations and enterprises to make substantial progress in the areas of comprehensive mechanization and automation.

The "Basic Directions" deal extensively with perfecting the forms of organizing of industrial output, bettering production relations among industrial sectors and individual enterprises, and improving production specialization, cooperation and concentration. As a rule, the practical measures which lead to improvement in the organization of the production process, its specialization, above all, cannot be limited to individual enterprises. They must be implemented on a parallel basis by several enterprises linked by a common production process. This raises the requirements governing the comprehensive planning of all types of capital investments. The October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum called for the extensive use of the target programs method, in order to insure better planning. "Each such program," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the plenum, "must represent a substantiated and accurately computed complex of measures aimed at achieving final results and providing a full solution to one problem or another. It is also important for the program to stipulate the stages and sequence in the solution of a problem. Naturally, we must also keep in mind the problem control system, which will clearly outline individual responsibility for each work sector and provide for the necessary control rights."

Practical experience has indicated that comprehensive and balanced long-term planning of capital investments, used for the renovation of productive capital in operating enterprises, is achieved most successfully with the program-target approach. The following is an example taken from the electrical engineering industry: estimates showed that conversion to the series production of AC electric meters in the new standardized 4A series generating 0.25 to 100 kilowatts could save the national economy 200 million rubles as a result of their reliability, effective utilization by the clients and the substantial (15 percent) reduction in metal intensiveness. This demanded a tremendous amount of work: reconstruction of 18 plants, installation of much new equipment, including nonstandardized machinery, which had to be created, and development of technological processes and new

materials. Using standard planning methods, planning the technical preparation for such output would have taken some 6 years. Actually, the time required for mastering the production of the new electric motors was reduced by approximately one-half. The program and grid schedules drafted by the sector permitted all those involved to combine forces to synchronize all stages of the production renovation process, design operations, reconstruction and organization of shifts, and to supply the enterprises being reconstructed with equipment (incl. special technological tools developed and manufactured by the sector itself) and with new materials. The considerable economic advantages accruing to the national economy from the implementation of this program--shortened target dates, reduced material intensiveness and increased volume of output--clearly prove the effectiveness of the program-target approach in the renovation of productive capital.

It is within the framework of this approach that the organic link among related enterprises and organizations is secured. This enables them to gain time and to achieve the best possible economic results. In order for such ties to be firm, however, planning must be improved both on the scale of the enterprise, association or sector, and on the intersectorial level.

Enhanced economic effectiveness depends not only on the timely replacement of obsolete tools with new equipment, but on the quality of the new equipment, and on the extent to which it meets the concrete and frequently specific characteristics of the production process in a given enterprise. In this connection, the plans which define the production structure of metal-processing equipment in particular should stipulate specific measures to eliminate the shortage of forging equipment and medium and small, relatively simple but productive, machine tools. Today many enterprises are forced to purchase heavy and expensive machine tools which are not used at full capacity. This raises the value of productive capital unjustifiably and lowers effectiveness indicators. Meanwhile, thousands of tons of metal and manpower are unnecessarily used in machine-tool building. The optimizing of the production structure for metal-processing and forging equipment by increasing the percentage of machine tools and machinery, consistent with the specific production conditions in the different sectors, would make the elimination of such shortcomings possible. We must also substantially increase the production of mechanization facilities for auxiliary industrial activities, now manufactured by many enterprises using semiprimitive methods.

The efficient combination of sectorial and territorial planning is important in organizing the reconstruction and technical retooling of operating facilities. Unfortunately, sometimes the ministries which undertake such projects in order to increase enterprise production capacities, fail to contemplate corresponding increases in capital outlays for the construction of housing, sociocultural and service industry projects and the expansion of the production infrastructure. Such "forgetfulness" leads to totally unnecessary difficulties, disproportions in the development of individual industrial sectors, transportation and service industry overloads, or shortages of water and power facilities in one industrial area or another.

The size of capital investments used in the development of the social and industrial infrastructure, consistent with the standards of a given area, must be accurately determined in the formulation of plans for the technical renovation of



production facilities. Outlays for such purposes will yield their highest returns only after the departmental approach has been eliminated and the capital investments allocated have been used in accordance with the general plan for the development of a city or area. We must also block parochial trends, for we know of cases in which capital investment funds appropriated for reconstruction have been used for building projects totally unrelated to the reconstruction of the enterprise.

The formulation of a nationwide system for planning capital investments for the renovation of productive capital has become objectively necessary. Correspondingly, the role of centralization must be intensified in planning the technical retooling of production facilities, and enterprise initiative and responsibility must be increased on a parallel basis. The scale of reconstruction and technical retooling in one sector or another, the possibilities and rate of its development and the directions in which capital outlays are channeled must be defined by the USSR Gosplan. Problems in the development of subsectors (all-union and republic industrial associations) and production associations (enterprises), forms of capital outlays, structure of capital investments and sources of financing must be determined on the sectorial level. The development of one production facility, shop or sector or another, the structure of productive capital and changes in basic technical and economic indicators must be planned on the level of the association (enterprise).

In accordance with the decree on improving the economic mechanism, and on the basis of the party's long-range socioeconomic tasks and the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress, the USSR Gosplan, in conjunction with ministries and departments, will issue draft basic guidelines for the country's economic and social development for 10-year periods (divided into 5-year periods). The indicators for the first 5-year period will be broken down by individual year; those for the second will be computed during the final year of the first 5-year period (in the area of capital investments, they will be planned for the entire 5-year period). In particular, in order to insure the continuing effectiveness of capital construction plans and to upgrade the responsibility of customers and contractors for the timely commissioning of industrial capacities and projects, the decree stipulates that the five-year plans will contain lists of working enterprises whose expansion and reconstruction have been planned, specifying the basic technical and economic indicators which must be achieved. The extension of the planned period will result in considerable improvements in planning the reconstruction and technical retooling of standing production facilities on the national scale. It will allow us to consider the directions of scientific and technical progress most fully, to accelerate the utilization of its achievements, and to replace obsolete equipment promptly. It would be expedient to introduce two-year plans ("continuing Orel-type planning"), whose usefulness has been confirmed. In the case of extensive reconstruction carried out by stages, two-year plans allow us to combine preparatory operations with basic work and to insure the development of a necessary work area.

In the current stage of socialist economic development, optimizing the structure of the investment process has become one of the decisive factors in public production intensification. In order for the national economy to earn the highest



returns from capital investments channeled into the modernization of operating production facilities, the economic effectiveness of reconstruction operations themselves must be upgraded sharply.

As a rule, such work requires the participation of many industrial enterprises, scientific research and design institutes, and construction-installation, procurement and other organizations. The final national economic result of the collectives' efforts appears in the reconstructed project and can be gauged from the level of its socioeconomic effectiveness. The latter is determined by the quality of designs and plans for the organization of reconstruction, degree of technical perfection in the technological processes applied, quality of construction and installation work and time of project completion.

Many industrial sectors have gained good experience in the field of successful reconstruction work. Organized, high quality and efficient work has allowed many collectives to retool their production facilities very quickly and with minimum capital investment. Economic results have been considerable.

Unfortunately, not by any means all enterprises have used this experience because of isolated imperfections within the economic mechanism, planning and economic incentive shortcomings, and shortcomings in planned indicators and norms which have not been properly consistent with the specific nature of the technical retooling aspect of an operating production facility. Yet, such specific features may be important. They may include the lack of wide work space, the frequent impossibility of using standardized designs and highly productive construction equipment, a scarcity of spare space or the need to engage in construction-installation and start-up operations "on the run," without interrupting the main production process. All these things create considerable difficulties, which some economic managers have tried to bypass rather than surmount. Consequently, they have undertaken to expand production facilities or new construction under the guise of reconstruction. The result has been a loss of substantial profits which could have been earned thanks to capital investment savings, reduced construction time, more rapid achievement of production capacity, and reduced number of auxiliary production workers. Many enterprises have continuously delayed the starting of reconstruction and unjustifiably extended completion target dates. Studies indicate that some industrial sectors have not effectively checked on the meeting of deadlines and that many projects were reworked, being considered obsolete, either before the start of reconstruction or during it. Delays in updating production projects account for a substantial part of the overall volume of unfinished construction.

Organizational-methodical shortcomings adversely affect the level of economic effectiveness. Many reconstruction projects failed to stipulate their main purpose clearly, and outlays for active assets have accounted for less than one-half of all allocated capital investments. There have been virtually no reconstruction work norm deadlines. The recommendations issued by the USSR Gosstroy, which must be applied for the time being, on an experimental basis only, make the duration of the reconstruction project a function of construction and installation costs, but do not adequately take their complexity into consideration. Wage rates and output norms must be refined further.

Practical means of eliminating such shortcomings have now been formulated. The decree on improving the economic mechanism assigns problems in reconstruction and technical retooling an important role among the various measures for speeding up the commissioning of production capacities and projects and upgrading capital investment effectiveness. The rights and responsibilities of industrial enterprises and construction organizations have been increased, and the economic incentive system is being improved. Sectorial differential coefficients for corresponding operations will become effective as of 1 January 1981. A new bonus system will be introduced with a view to increasing the material incentives for workers in industrial enterprises and construction-installation, design and procurement organizations, in order to insure the fastest possible completion of new construction, reconstruction and technical retooling, and the commissioning of industrial capacities and projects on schedule or ahead of time.

The practical implementation of measures to upgrade capital investment effectiveness, as earmarked by the decree, requires work on a number of methodical problems. Above all, the basic aspects of the investment process must be more clearly delimited: technical retooling, reconstruction, expansion of production facilities and new construction. The current definitions hardly cover all features separating reconstruction from new construction. In our view, the purpose of reconstruction must also be defined more accurately in order to determine its socioeconomic effect and final national economic result more fully in each separate case. Usually, reconstruction projects list the measures to be implemented and projects to be built, and indicate direct economic results and capital investment recovery periods. Unquestionably, all this is necessary, but it is essentially only an interim result. In the selection of the best reconstruction variant, after priorities for the development of a sector or economic rayon have been set, the end result becomes decisive. However, it can be assessed only after the main reconstruction target has been defined.

It has been suggested that in order to improve the planning of reconstruction work and to insure economically backed incentives for it, based on the type of reconstruction, distinctions be made based on quantity and volume of work, with obligatory consideration of the level of complexity of the project. Such differentiation, based on quantitative and qualitative characteristics, will require the drafting of differentiated standards. Such standards must be applied in determining the time needed for the work, profitability and recovery periods for capital investments in various types of reconstruction, amounts of specific capital investments, levels of material and labor intensiveness, rates and norms of output and so on.

The formulation of technically substantiated norms and their use in planning and in the use of cost effectiveness by construction and installation organizations and industrial enterprises enables us to improve the socioeconomic effectiveness of the reconstruction of operating enterprises drastically and to accelerate the commissioning of updated production capacities.

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CSO: 1802

## MOST IMPORTANT LINK IN THE FOOD PROGRAM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81 pp 76-77

[Editorial note]

[Text] The increased well-being of the Soviet people depends on the increase in economic effectiveness and the closely related public production intensification of all economic sectors, the agrarian sector in particular. This was the basis for the CC CPSU decision on the formulation and implementation of a target food program, whose purpose is to combine the systematic growth of the scientific and technical and industrial potential in agriculture and the industrial sectors which service it and, on this basis, to speed up the implementation of the most important task in the building of communism. In this case grain farming, the basic link in the agroindustrial complex, is assigned an exceptional role for, as folk wisdom has it, everyone needs bread.

The cherished dream of the grain grower--growing two blades where one blade grows today--will never fade or become obsolete. The farmers, agronomists, chemists and selection workers consider it their task to outstrip the level of yields already achieved considerably. This is fully consistent with the increasing needs of our society. The latest research and the experience of the best farms in the country indicate that the potential for increasing farm crop productivity is far from exhausted.

Production effectiveness depends not only on the technical facilities available to the farmer but on progress in the biological sciences, particularly in the case of the physiological development of vegetal organisms. We know, for example, that wheat productivity is largely determined by photosynthesis in the green leaf. All other conditions being equal, the wheat plant yields several times the number of grains produced by a plant which for one reason or another is not receiving its daily quota of light; strains in a proper nutritive area develop better than others.

However, this possibility for increasing strain output has been poorly used to date even though it is quite well known. The reason for this paradoxical situation is the exceptional complexity of implementing farming measures on a mass production scale. Since ancient times, grain growers have empirically tried to influence the inner world of plants with a view to bringing out the fertility made possible by nature. Occasionally, individual, patient, good, experimental scientists have been able to achieve wonderful results on small plots (or beds). This was enough to make them feel almost like magicians suddenly given control over the powerful

force of life.... It is precisely such experiments that writer A. Il'chenko described in his historical essay "Grain--The Great Miracle," which follows this note.

The indications are that the time has come to put the individual productivity of plants to practical use, as leading agronomists have demanded in the past. Today the real prerequisites for this exist: the high level of development of biology and agronomy and a widespread network of selection and experimental stations and scientific research centers. Most of all, the rural labor collectives have at their disposal modern technical facilities and skilled agronomists and mechanizers who can resolve even the most complex technological problems related to the implementation of the party's great food program. We agree with the specialists (such as article author B. Moshkov) who believe that during the 11th Five-Year Plan, the utmost attention should be paid mainly to the development of cropgrowing technologies.

Incidentally, practical worker-innovators, rather than waiting for the completion of scientific projects and recommendations, have been focussing their forces on research with clear success. In this connection, Hero of Socialist Labor V. Pervitskiy, the famous team leader in the Kuban', writes: "We discussed, amidst sharp clashes of opinions, the complex problem of sowing norms. We use no more than half the amount of wheat seed used by the kolkhoses and sovkhoses in the vicinity. This is not in the least due to a desire to save on seeds, although on a national scale, such savings would also be enormous. Reduced wheat seed norms put out better side-shoots. The wheat does not try to grow taller, and bears large high grade grain. It does not flatten, is more resistant to diseases, and uses moisture and nutritive substances more economically. All of this leads to higher yields!"

Instructive results have also been obtained at Tuchkovskiy Sovkhoz, in the Moscow area, which developed its own system based on a reduced number of seeds plus the Mal'tsev soil cultivation system. The experiment started here 6 years ago on a small experimental lot has now been considerably expanded, and accounts for two-thirds of the farm's production area. This has had a favorable impact on sectorial effectiveness: grain production has been rising year after year.

There are many other examples of putting the latest means for controlling yields to practical use. For this reason, the editors hope that the publication of some materials on this problem (naturally, without claim to absolute accuracy or definitive conclusions and views, but calling for continuing adamant research, imbued with noble civic feelings), will arouse the interest of readers and a wide range of specialists closely involved in solving the vital problem of increasing food production.

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## GRAIN--THE GREAT MIRACLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81 pp 77-82

[Article by Aleksandr Il'chenko, Kiev]

(Text) Today as we plan the well-being of the Soviet people, we must not fail to consider the efforts and experience of the farmers in different epochs. In the past, they were unfamiliar with selection, the secrets of genetics, modern machinery, the miraculous effect of chemistry, the triumphs achieved in agronomy, and the glitter of the titles it awards. However, the most skillful and talented growers among farmers of the past performed the true miracle of growing grain. This is reliably proved by ancient records and the national memory.

Unexpectedly, the words of Nizam Gyandzhevi, come forward from the depths of the 12th century. They are revealed to us by the tireless Marietta Zhaginyan in the epigraph to the final section of her "Vospominaniya" [Reminiscences]:

"...The old man answered: 'Oh, forgive my answer! I do not think of whether there is water or not. To me, you see, water is the sweat on my back, My finger tips are my shovel. My great happiness is grain, 700 seeds for each one planted....'"

It is the final line that recently struck me: was this possible? All the farmer had were his fingertips, his sweat, his heart, strength and sharp mind--his main work tools and not our science and machines, yet he collected 700 grains for each one sown! Now could an Azerbaijani in the 12th century grow such a crop? Nowhere else do we find a mention or a hint of such a thing... Could it have been imagined, considering that today the highest ratio is 40 to 1? Usually, everything in a story is exaggerated. Since tremendous feats and exploits were ascribed to giants and heroes, obviously, they needed a great deal of bread, something which we, the builders of a new society need today!

But this information is followed not by hyperbolic exaggerations but by the documents, facts and testimony of people who participated in or witnessed such fine human accomplishments in more recent but still distant times.

Four centuries ago, in 1578, a "Chronicle" was published in Milan; it was authored by a cavalry captain named Guanini, who was serving in Vitebsk as chief of the guard at a prince's palace. In his book, the amazed Italian described as an eye witness report, among other things the Vitebsk fields where grain grew almost like a forest.

Three and a half centuries later, this fact tugged painfully at the heart of Yakub Kolas, the Belorussian folk poet. Homesick during the war, he reminisced with comrades about his garden in Minsk, where he had set up something like an experimental plot in which he sowed rye according to the Vitebsk prescription. By June 1941 the rye had reached a man's height. Each seed yielded 25 or more stalks, full and heavy.

The war broke out, however, and the cherished experimental plot in a peaceful Minsk street was mercilessly burned.

Some accomplishments are not forgotten. It became clear eventually, that the Italian cavalry captain had left to our Kolas the outline of a neglected Belorussian folk agrotechnology. Here is what Guanini wrote: "There is...a sowing method.... one part rye is added to two parts of barley and this mixture is sown at a specific time. The barley ripens and is harvested that same summer; the rye is under the barley and has just broken through the ground....and is left over to the winter. The following year the rye is so thick and bountiful that it is difficult to ride through it and is so tall that the rider is hardly visible; a single seed yields 30 or more ears."

Yakub Kolas followed the prescribed sequence strictly, this time in the spring of 1952. In the summer, the barley grew and ripened. After it was harvested the winter crop grew rapidly. However, in September it was mowed for cattle feed. A year later, the rye grew like wild: several stalks with heavy ears came from a single grain. Each was 12 to 14 centimeters long. The crop was harvested and weighed. One grain had yielded 700!

In 1953 Yakub Kolas described this in IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK BSSR. His conclusions were the following: in addition to grain economy, this method provides scope for the favorable development of each plant. The barley is not harmed by weeds which are blocked from growing by the rye. Therefore, the weeds are destroyed not with chemicals but through the efforts of the adjacent blade. The rye, whose root system develops well during the summer, becomes stronger, winters better, and grows earlier in the spring. The mowing of the autumn green rye yields a great deal of green mass which can be used as silage. Furthermore, frost cannot endanger the rye, which is protected by the high barley grass.

In the same article, entitled "A Forgotten Method for Sowing Winter Rye," Kolas asked: "Could this conclusion be too hasty? I believe not.... The experiment took place under not only poor conditions but, under very bad ones. Nevertheless, good results were obtained." He went on to say that: "Naturally, the method must be tested...." Yes, yes, naturally, in both practice and science everything must be refined further. If indeed a "horseman can hide in the rye," is this good or bad? Wouldn't such high-growing rye fall?

We must determine, Yakub Kolas wrote, continuing his discussion with the scientists, how to cultivate the soil, when and how to fertilize it, when to feed the green crops and with what. Practical experience will indicate the proper means for mowing or grazing the green rye and for loosening the soil in spring. In my view, however, these are specific problems which cannot overshadow the tremendous advantage and effectiveness of this sowing method. Now let the researchers and

practical workers have the floor. This experiment could be organized by any kolkhos or sovkhoz, for it requires no special conditions whatever, and can do no harm.

It is unpleasant even to recall the fierce objections which this short (and mild) article by the people's poet of Belorussia, which was immediately reprinted by many newspapers in the republic, aroused: Academician T. D. Lysenko, who was enjoying a great deal of prestige at that time, hurled his anger at the poet rather than launching an interested and objective study of the very striking facts. Administrative penalties were imposed: the Kolas article was considered unscientific, and its conclusions were deemed totally fabricated.

A certain pattern develops as information is passed on from one generation to another. Usually, the motive force is the people's strictly practical interest in the past experience of mankind, which in itself is one more attempt to make better use of the knowledge already acquired.

In 1936, I happened to meet the Russian historian Petr Nikolayevich Stolpyanskiy, a contemporary of Chernyshevskiy and Korolenko—an exceptionally intelligent and charming man, yet stern and reserved.

By then he was already quite old. We met frequently and discussed the mores and customs of the past and the present (Stolpyanskiy wrote a most interesting book on the old Petersburg). Once, in the course of a sleepless white night, my interlocutor took my hand and said, "Please do not consider me delirious for what I am about to tell you but, at some later point, pass it along to someone reliable." I prepared myself to hear the confessions of a man who had lived a great deal. Instead, I learned something incredible.

I learned about Andrey Ekleben, a court scientist-gardener forgotten by history, one of the charter members of the Free Economic Society in Russia, a person whose accomplishments were discussed both at home and in Western Europe. I also came across an article by M. V. Lomonosov, published in the 7 September 1764 issue of the SANKT-PETERBURGSKIYE VEDOMOSTI.

"In the imperial garden of the Summer Palace," the article stated, "the old gardener Ekleben sowed...wheat and rye last year to try his hand at the multiplication of various seeds. The result was that numerous blades grew in clusters from virtually every grain. In one such cluster... 2,373 grains germinated from a single grain... In another cluster there were 47 ripe and 12 green ears. There was one ear with 62 grains, while the cluster had a total of 2,523 grains, weighing 10.5 zolotniks...."

"This entire...experiment proves that in our northern areas as well nature may prove to be more fruitful than art." The Tsarina, "who expressed her pleasure, ordered that more experiments be conducted and studied assiduously in order to find out how such growth could be developed in significant quantities for the common good."

Eight years later, some very high officials--privy councilors who were "great agriculturalists," and had "organized a meeting" and "most thoroughly and extensively considered the matter, determined that the clump of rye had indeed come

from a single grain," and they were willing "if necessary to sign their names to this effect." A long list of people who saw all this has been preserved. They unanimously asserted that Ekleben's innovation was so simple that "even the simplest farmer could understand and use it..." for the royal gardener had "physically proved how and why this great multiplication had occurred," while actually concealing "the very nature of the matter, like a secret."

Andrey Ekleben's experiments went on for many years on ever larger plots. The advantages of this sowing method were obvious to any experienced farmer: the amount of seed grain required was less than the usual by a factor of 4 or 5: 60 to 70 kilograms were needed per desyatina. Even the Tsarina "honored me by coming to see my plant," and immediately ordered Lomonosov "to announce the fact to the public to the VEDOMOSTI..." However, at that time there were many officials who cared only for their own peace of mind. As Ekleben himself wrote, "Skillful and sensible farmers read the news with pleasure." However, there were also those who "in an effort to conceal their own ignorance described all this... as an obvious attempt at trickery."

One summer after the royal gardener had already revealed the secret of his discovery, once again "many members of the high nobility came to see Mr Ekleben." He showed them three cultivated fields "protected by a fence and by watchmen," i.e., with all possible scientific strictness.

What did the visitors see? Not only clusters of shoots of wheat and rye but a sequence of paradoxical contradictions.

"Throughout the fields the soil was totally free of manure." This meant that fertilizer was not the reason for the high yields. As they looked at the deeply plowed but unharrowed land, the noblemen were told by Ekleben that a leveled field "hinders increased fertility." Therefore, once again the source of power was not thoroughly cultivated land. They also saw the rye "for seed" and acknowledged that it was "quite mediocre and purchased from a store." Consequently, the strength could not come from what we would call today selection. On each blade they found a single ear and saw that this was not a "particular strain." Therefore, the use of a hybrid strain was not the reason for the unusual yield. Despite all this, Ekleben's rye grew in clusters.

As it turned out, the grain growers had been concerned for some time with the same question that concerns us: should we plow deep? Should we also sow deep? The wisdom of our ancestors and our current experience (each kolkhoz and sovkhos has its own specific experience) provide different answers, for, as we know, the plowman adapts his work to the characteristics of the season, the climate and the soil.

Andrey Ekleben summoned "a muzhik in his employ." Using the conventional method, the latter sowed two fields which today we would call control plots. "One of the muzhiks," we read on, "was given seed rye measured in large cups for drinking chocolate. He sowed the contents of 13 full cups per field. Even though the same sowing method was used on both fields, the harrowing was different. Then, Mr Ekleben sowed a third field in an entirely different way and used no more than half-cups or only a fraction of the 26 cups which, using the conventional method,



the muzhik had sowed." Ekleben "did not harrow but sowed using both hands and, as he walked, he used both feet to cover the scattered seeds," such that the seeds were not buried deep in the ground....

I have in front of me a recently published novel by M. Stel'makh, "Chetyre Broda" (Four Fords), in which one of the characters says: "...What a miraculous thing I learned from the Leningrad scientist!... We who live from the grain, are still treating it like barbarians. We know so little of its history, life and explosive charge. Just think what the presowing treatment of the seeds alone could accomplish!" The author then describes the contents of an article printed by the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences in "OBRANIYE NOVOSTI", the November 1775 issue (11 years after Lomonosov's article on Andrey Ekleben), reporting how one peasant treated seed grain in a lime and nutritive solution. The results were striking! "Imagine," M. Stel'makh's character goes on to say, "from each grain of rye and barley there sprouted 30 to 40 powerful ears and each ear had over 100 grains. There was almost a quarter pound of grain per seed. This sowing method requires one-quarter of the amount of seed grain per hectare we use."

Both wheat and rye develop clusters and, unless restricted, yield bountiful crops, whether in several rows only or over vast areas. This occurs whether or not the grain is soaked in special solutions and whether or not the soil is plowed deeply. It can be accomplished even without plowing. Discussions on the depth, density of seeds and growing area for the plants have been going on for a thousand years.

Unquestionably, increasing soil fertility is a complex problem and the more information we have the more complete our ideas and views on this subject become. No discovery is possible without research! Is this not the reason why people of different professions have voluntarily undertaken to experiment of late? Scientists, engineers and party and literary workers, along with the farmers, are considering how to increase the amount of grain and improve soil fertility. Yakub Kolas is a good example.

A taste for discovery frequently leads to a great deal of concern and complications whose consequences, as a rule, are unpredictable. Nevertheless, there is no thinning of the ranks of experimenters!

I was very pleased to find that in the Poltava area, kolkhoz members, mechanizers and agronomists, armed with good feelings, science and technology, are fighting the traditional plow and moldboard plowing method and protecting the soil structure over an area of 500,000 hectares of chernozem. Their purpose is to preserve its fertility for future generations, to eliminate erosion and to prevent dust storms.

The Poltava people are using disk harrows and cultivators on their fertile fields, avoiding deep plowing and greatly reducing seed norms, i.e., giving each plant as much growth space as possible! Regardless of the weather, their yields (excluding the spring emergency resowing) are far richer and more reliable than they were in the past. Side by side with scientists and grain growers, agronomist and writer F. T. Morgun, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Poltavskaya Oblast Party Committee, is dedicating a great deal of effort and time to experimentation, going through the periods of concern, doubt and conflict which sprout along with the crops in the fields.

What shapes the personality of the researcher? In his book "Khleb i Lyudi" [Bread and People], Fedor Trofimovich discusses the matter: "I am most grateful to my teachers--beet growers--for teaching me not only good agronomical methods but how to think like an agronomist, how to ignore the currents of fashion. It is they, my teachers, who instilled in me the fact that agronomy means creative work, which demands that constant attention be paid to what is taking place in the skies and on the earth. Woe to the farmer who forgets this and is guided only by memoranda and expects instructions from above!"

Striving toward the unknown and the new goes hand in hand with discarding conventional systems. This demands individual courage, daring, and the qualities of a fighter. Desirous of implementing the party's will, and without expecting additional instructions on the choice of optimum programs for each field, crop, or year, to use current terminology, party member F. T. Morgun decided that essentially obsolete methods had to be somewhat amended if a cherished dream was to be fulfilled, even though the farmers faced a mass of problems....

For example, we do not know why Ekleben stored the seeds between two layers of wilted sod. Did the sod have any biogenic stimulators, still unknown to us, which could trigger vital forces and would then concentrate in the ear? Was it possible that the faded grass, retaining the will to live, gave additional energy to the seeds? How can we forget the growth stimulators developed by the famous oculist Academician Filatov and the cornea he kept in a refrigerator which retained its vital force? What happens, for example, when grain is planted in the soil deeper than usual? Is this not done in order to force the shoots to develop a greater thrust toward the sun and to emerge with certainty in several shoots? In that case, what role do the secondary root systems play at such an unusual depth?

Questions, questions.... Who can answer them fully and thus teach today's farmer how to achieve the best results?

Hanging over my desk is a sheaf of rye grown from a single seed in the Kursk area. It has 67 rich and heavy ears; its thick root, widening slightly toward the bottom, appears thicker and longer than Chernomor's beard.

The root is the origin of everything! Yakub Kolas contemplated the behavior of the invisible grass roots; the documents found by historian P. N. Stolpyanskiy spoke of "the roots of plants which nourished both the ear and the people. I remember that I too was amazed by the tremendous power of the cluster of wheat as described by Guanini and grown by Ekleben, and in 1958 I shared my thoughts with the readers of KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA. My letter began thus: "I turn to the conscience and honesty of Soviet scientists, experimental agronomists and kolkhoz members with the following request: do not ignore the facts...."

The letter brought an exceptionally heavy mail response. The letters were various--good-natured, sensible, or argumentative. A letter signed by Prof I. Gunar was somewhat different.

Sternly, subject to no appeal, the author most seriously admonished me as follows: modern science and practical experience "have made great progress since Catherine's time and it is only that many of our writers whose entire thinking and

aspirations are hopelessly turned to the past, are looking to find miracles in it and are unwilling to become familiar with the true 'miracles' of today's science...." What then would be the point of paying attention to their thoughts? "No writer," the professor went on to say, "would dare to give mathematicians or physicists...new assignments based on archeological requirements without a preliminary study of the state of the art. The writer can only delicately express his views or puzzlement on the subject of one technological problem or another arising at the plant or factory...."

"In biology, agrotechnology and agricultural production, however, virtually everyone feels he has the right to raise, formulate and even... resolve any problem in passing."

I have always believed that the bigger an army is and the more advanced its organization, the more the soldiers and commanders will be confident of winning the forthcoming battle. But what irked and concerned the respected professor was that "incidental" people were showing excessive curiosity about problems which did not affect them directly, thus distracting those who were directly involved from their serious work!

It is true, however, that biological problems affect and concern many people, including members of the Union of Writers. Let us recall that Leonid Leonov sounded the alarm on the subject of the Russian forests; Yakub Kolas reminded his contemporaries of the forgotten Vitebsk method of raising winter wheat. We also have the essays of Valentin Ovechkin, Gavriil Troyepol'skiy and Anatoliy Kalinin.

But let us be totally frank. Have only "rural" writers shown a greater or even "immodest" interest in major national economic problems? Let us recall how insistently Aleksey Maksimovich Gor'kiy discussed the affairs of the young Soviet republic, urging, as journalists say, that steps to be taken. What about "Bitvu v Puti" [Battle Along the Way] by Galina Nikolayeva or "Iskateley" [Researchers] by Daniil Granin? It would be no exaggeration to say that these novels helped to resolve very topical problems in our industry... The party-minded and civic interest of writers and journalists in the problems of the national economy, as a whole, has always been welcomed and encouraged by our party. The spirit of socialism is deeply opposed to a narrow departmental approach to governmental matters, which is a variation of egotism. Therefore we cannot agree with the arguments cited by the respected Prof I. Gunar. True, this was merely his personal viewpoint...even though it would be difficult to imagine that a VUZ teacher would keep his thoughts to himself and fail to share them with his students or his own circle.

Meanwhile, the army of fighters for large-scale grain production never ceased to grow. In answer to my letter to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, I continued for quite some time to receive good news from various areas on experiments conducted by agronomists and practical workers "following Ekleben's example," or on discussions at institutes, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, the technical councils of ministries or the experimental plots of young naturalists on how better to adapt to the needs of the land such that it will fully respond to the concerns of man. Following up the fresh interest in the event, the editors published some of the letters. I was pleased by the essay written by journalist Anatoliy Ivashchenko. Let me quote just



a single paragraph: "...In science, ideas are only permitted to originate with high scientific organizations or men with titles.... Well, where are the great ideas expressed by those who should long ago have prepared for a leap forward in the fertility of our soil? What kind of satellite will be launched in the field of agriculture? Where is the institute with a plot on which the grain crop produced 500 poods, for example? Where is it? Let the people see it! Let the people be informed about scientific preparations for the future!"

The kind of pointed political journalism was justified, for it was a question of a particularly serious problem in the solution of which every citizen of our fatherland is interested. The problem is no less topical today and has even become more so. The grain growers, however, have not been wasting their time. At the Bol'shevik Poultry Sovkhoz near Leningrad, grain was sowed using Ekleben's method not on small plots but on an area of 154 hectares! Despite the objections of prestigious individuals who considered intensive clustering a waste of time, wheat, rye and barley grew in huge clusters, like wreaths, with some 100 grains per ear. Ridiculous though it might seem, the crop had to be harvested with sickles, since the combines could not cut through the "growth." The older people taught the younger ones the forgotten method of primitive harvesting by hand.... Bol'shevik harvested no more and no less than 300 poods per hectare. If we bear in mind that the amount of seed used was one-fifth of the norm, the effectiveness was 120 grains for each one planted. What is bad about that? Is it not flattering to raise in the Leningrad area a crop exceeding an average of 40 quintals per hectare!

After this was reported in the press, experimental workers, agronomists and students from all parts of the country hurried to the farm. At that time LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA wrote: "...The scientists would not hear of the idea. Even after the crop had been brought in and the experiment had proved its value, not one of them visited the Bol'shevik sovkhov out of simple curiosity, not to mention scientific interest. Yet this should have provided food for thought for selection workers, biochemists and engineers. Even though we could detect no weak points in the experiment, a great deal remains unclear. We must quickly and jointly unravel the secret of the golden grain." Naturally, we may add, we must also discover Guanini's forgotten secret.

A stream of modern "miracles" has been noted at different times in the fields near Riga, in the Valday, near Stavropol', in Kazakhstan, in the virgin lands, on the Apsheron Peninsula, in the Volyn and Khar'kov areas, in the kolkhozes around Moscow, in Dagestan, the Kursk area, and the Crimea. Official documents and records were drafted on these occasions and the grain was weighed and photographed.

In addition to agronomists and farmers, writers and journalists have entered the complex world of experimentation of their own free will. The struggle goes on. The victories which lie ahead will be hard won.

Here is a recent case: in Kirghizia, near Przheval'sk, striking results were obtained on the local state seed section plot. The "Ekleben technology" was partially used on an experimental field. In particular, the seed grain norm was reduced (26 seeds per square meter instead of the usual 144), and a unique crop was harvested--111 quintals per hectare--whereas the control lot was less bountiful, averaging 74 quintals. What if this were to be tried on large growing areas?



How would modern grain crop strains behave in a mass reproduction system? There is also a view which says that grain clusters are no longer desirable, and worldwide selection efforts are focusing on developing short-stemmed cereals with heavy ears. This does make sense. However, why should we ignore strawy cereals? Why not use their huge mass for the preparation of high-protein silage or a continuous seed crop? This is merely one of the practical aspects to which the science of agriculture should address itself.

I am absolutely confident that an unjustifiable error was committed in the past with regard to "Ekleben ear." Let us reformulate the question: Why not bring back the methods and means used by the Belorussian farmers and by Ekleben, the great gardener, and make better use of them? With due respect for the efforts of our agronomical scientists, I beseech them not to ignore the facts recorded in the chronicles of the struggle waged by the older generations for our daily bread, and to pay attention to the historical experience of the Russian farmers and those who helped them in their work and inspired them to seek further.

Allow me now to daydream: could it be that this method for growing miraculous grain discovered in ancient times was not extensively used because of the lack of suitable technical or other necessary means, just as today a physical or mathematical formula may go unused? Incidentally, our cosmonauts today are piloting spaceships along trajectories computed by mathematicians in the Middle Ages.

Such is the dialectics of life.

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## ON APPROACHES TO UNCONQUERED HEIGHTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81 pp 82-87

[Article by Prof B. Moshkov, VASKHNIL corresponding member, Leningrad]

[Text] Despite the successes achieved in recent years in basic and applied biology, some bourgeois scientists adopt a pessimistic view of the future. They believe that mankind is threatened by catastrophic hunger. The authors of such predictions use threadbare Malthusian "arguments" which can be reduced to the following: the planet is unable to feed an ever expanding population; yields of basic farm crops are nearing their limit, while productive farm land is steadily shrinking and being lost to construction... Should we seek new land? The dry land area is limited. Should the water element be used more extensively? Unquestionably, this has some possibilities, although neither is this element limitless. Most of all aquatic vegetation, including the familiar chlorella, could hardly replace field crops. Some hope can also be placed in chemical synthesis, capable of providing future generations with food of a kind unknown to us....

At the 12th International Botanical Congress held in Leningrad, scientists continued their discussion concerning our daily bread today and in the future. Those who think dialectically, without prejudice and who look to the future with confidence, believing that the food potential of the planet is practically inexhaustible (providing, naturally, that it is developed sensibly) and that it will keep pace with progress in the biological sciences, improved farming facilities and higher farming skills, are closest to the truth. It is around this major target that the peoples are rallying their strength, experience and knowledge. The resolution adopted by the botanists stated that: "While emphasizing the total dependence of man on the vegetable world...the congress demands that the governments of all countries... adopt urgent and effective measures...to stimulate and encourage research in the area of worldwide vegetal resources, on which the further successful development of agriculture, forestry, and other uses of vegetation depend."

This is a truly great challenge, for present grain crop yields, which sometimes appear almost to have reached their limit, are in fact far inferior to those which could be raised by the industrious farmer, in view of the biological possibilities. However, it is paradoxical that in the course of an agricultural millenium, mankind has been unable to make a proper study of the botanical structure of his planet. Even a crop such as wheat--the basic grain cereal on earth--contains many unraveled secrets. For example, Carl von Linne described five different types, two of which he classified as winter crops. In turn, Charles Darwin pointed out that

differences between winter and spring crops are hardly permanent, and that crops can adapt quite quickly to a new way of life. His contemporaries were able to plant winter crops successfully in spring.

Indeed, as the latest experiments confirm, most wheat strains contain both winter and spring features. Therefore it would be no great hardship to "turn" a winter crop into a spring one or vice versa. In reality, what we ordinarily consider a wheat strain is a complex conglomerate. Every time a seed is planted it is influenced by the weather and other climatic conditions. The specific population changes its racial structure or, as we say, the strain breaks down.... That is why the entire seed stock must be renewed every three to four years.

It is believed that winter wheat is more prolific than spring wheat. However, it has a major disadvantage: it tolerates low temperatures with difficulty. This precisely explains the spring resowing of grain crops, at tremendous cost to the national economy. The cherished dream of our selection workers is to develop a winter-resistant wheat, although in our view, work on spring crops must be pursued steadily. Spring wheat is naturally more resistant to temperature changes ranging from 8 to 15 degrees centigrade. In average latitudes, during a short summer season, spring wheat ripens fully, and in southern areas it can yield two or more crops per year. However, we rarely use this noteworthy feature.

"...What really feeds the peasant," K. A. Timiryazev asserted, "is not the land but the plant, and the entire art of agriculture involves freeing the plant and consequently the farmer from the 'power of the land'." This botanical scientist and journalist expressed confidence that the people of the future will find more efficient plant cultivation methods, as a result of which agricultural productivity will rise substantially.

Intensification is the main direction in the development of socialist agriculture. Following the party's course, kolkhozes and sovkhozes are increasing their basic output with every year and reducing production costs. Nevertheless, potential remains substantial in all sectors, without exception. This field of activity is endless and all that is needed is to single out the problems. Some of them are urgent and should be resolved speedily. Others pertain to the future. In no case should agronomy ignore the broad problems, for they are indivisibly linked with essentially new means for developing rural production forces. This is not strictly a matter of theoretical development, which must be accompanied by more energetic and extensive experimentation. Its purpose, in addition to everything else, also includes the psychological training of future generations of farmers in handling "unparalleled" technology.

Future farming will require essentially new strains of cultured plants. Even while anticipating their development, we must become familiar with their potential. This is being accomplished by our laboratory, which was set up by the Agrophysical Institute. It is equipped with modern technical facilities and instruments which make possible a deeper study of the laws governing the development of plants and their "likes," requirements and potential. Incidentally, after thorough experimentation and armed with new knowledge about plants, my colleagues and I have gained greater faith in the so-called literary data on the fantastic crops raised in the past by successful experimenters: this includes the work of Ekleben the gardener,

information on the gigantic "Vitebsk rye," and others. Nature is inexhaustible. Occasionally, it presents us with staggering surprises. What might happen if it were combined with science! Let us recall the words of the great Russian poet Nikolay Alekseyevich Nekrasov: "Man's will and toil create marvelous wonders!"

This is supported by innumerable examples.... On our industrial plots, i.e., using no soil (we used, instead, keramsit or hydroponic techniques), in total darkness, we are growing up to 160 kilograms of tomatoes per square meter, or 1,600 tons per hectare, and are harvesting six crops per year. We are using similar engineering facilities to grow our own selection of cabbage and radish hybrids. The interval between sowing and picking does not exceed 17-18 days. The leaves of the hybrid are tasty and rich in vitamin C and the entire plant, including the roots, is edible. Excellent results have been achieved in growing other crops, such as lettuce, cabbage, root crops, wild strawberries, currants, flowers, and grain as well. Wheat, the growing of which in an artificial environment was tried relatively recently, has revealed features previously unfamiliar to science.

An experiment conducted with branching wheat proved that some strains had incredible productivity: 200 grams per cluster and 30 ears bearing 4,700 grains. It is true that such clusters were infrequent but it was also clear that, since such existed, they could be developed. It is even more important to learn how to make practical use of the individual productivity of the plants. This is done, for example, in truck gardening or animal husbandry. In this case, productivity means the energizing of the photosynthetic process within a given time unit, taking into consideration the size of the surface photosynthesized, and the ripe crop of vegetable mass.

Logically, the two indicators should be directly interdependent. However, our studies revealed the existence of entirely unfamiliar characteristics in cereal crops whose ears, when subjected to intensive photosynthesis, form an abundant vegetation mass with a rather modest grain yield; conversely, a moderate photosynthetic process leads to better results. This suggested to us the existence of inner forces in the vegetable world which were heretofore unknown to science but which make their presence known under certain conditions, and sometimes decisively influence crop results.

The concept of individual plant productivity is frequently underestimated in farming practice. We rely essentially on the field cenosis, i.e., on the volume of crops raised on a given area. Usually, we waste an unjustifiable amount of seed when we plant a field, thinking the more, the better! However, biological laws apply here with their cause and effect relationship, which cannot be ignored. The paradox is that dense sowing (5.5-6 million grains per hectare) does not contribute in the least to the effective utilization of land and plants. This system leads essentially to the development of species which are less sensitive to the shortage of light, nutritive substances, moisture and so on. Therefore, crops which we tend to consider bountiful do not match the potential of existing intensive wheat strains. Even selected seeds are densely sowed, for the developer of a new strain prepares his offspring for life under extreme conditions (unquestionably, this has its own logic). Yet enthusiastic experimenters who begin work with the first samples they can lay their hands on, common wheats as a rule, act



intuitively and use rather limited amounts of seed (30-70 grains per square meter). Sometimes, the results are overwhelming: the rows become literally covered with clusters, and a single seed yields 25 to 30 ears. Thus despite the fact that for a number of years the wheat has been planted thickly, it "remembers" its ability to grow in thick clusters. How can we fail to use nature's generosity?

In addition to higher sowing norms, particularly in the case of spring cereals, the time of sowing in areas with daylight lasting 17 hours or more, substantially reduces yields. With long periods of daylight the earing of wheat, rye and barley is accelerated. However, this is accompanied by some losses: the rapid development of the fruit-bearing organs lowers the multiplication coefficient, as a result of which the crop's productivity is diminished. These precisely are the internal reasons for accelerating biological processes, which may be considered a form of negligence.... Failure to adhere to the best time for sowing grain crops in areas with extensive daylight (the Nonchernozem, the Northwest) contributes to the fact that the sprouting and the subsequent development of the plants coincide with the beginning of the summer daylight hours. As they try to catch up, the plants develop as if on an accelerated program, the result of which is early earing and rapid ripening. In itself, this may look like a positive factor. However, our satisfaction may be premature, for in such cases the vegetable mass is small and results in a low yield. Short-sighted specialists try to blame nature for their obvious errors. We hear such excuses for example, that the crop looked outstanding, but toward the end of the summer grain forming ended prematurely as a result of deteriorating weather conditions.... However, the true reasons are clearly far more profound. It is time to eliminate the merciless attitude adopted toward plants, which as we know react quite strongly to their environment, from practical farming entirely. All agricultural methods must be entirely consistent with the physiological characteristics of the strain. This would amply justify any amount of material outlay.

Let us also frankly admit that scientific information takes its time before reaching the production area. For example, few agronomists are aware of the actinorhythmic phenomenon caused by diurnal variations. Incidentally, there is no single plant phenomenon or characteristic independent of the alternation between light and darkness. In the end, this affects individual productivity. The underestimation of actinorhythmia in strain zoning leads to biological distortions. Not so long ago, a substantial quantity of spring wheat seed raised in a moderate zone was hastily used in the south. The new strain, however, fell below expectations. Laboratory analysis proved that the strain could not yield better results, since the daylight in the area came to less than 16 hours. This disturbed the natural course of very complex biochemical processes within the plant organism.

The areas within which one crop or another can be raised and crop specialization should not be based on practical considerations alone. The physiological manifestations of actinorhythmia must be considered as well. It would not be expedient to sow wheat where the yield is low and the grain is not of the best quality, whereas rye or other cereal crops would yield magnificent crops. Conversely, wherever wheat can be grown perfectly well, the land should not be used for second rate crops (for that area), unless so required by agronomical circumstances or crop rotation characteristics.

Frequently, the optimal sowing seasons are based on spring and summer rainfall periods. This is quite important but does not fully guarantee favorable conditions for the growth of one crop or another. Occasionally even a secondary factor may become decisive, for which reason nothing should be absolutized or given preferential treatment such as to violate the overall harmony of the process.

Of late some agricultural production specialists and organizers have been strongly overemphasizing the significance of newly developed strains, ignoring basic agrotechnical rules. We must remember that new strains are classified intensive particularly because they demand of the farmer harder work and better growing conditions. In turn, the crop provides adequate compensations for all outlays. As with rare human talent, society must properly preserve this ability of the plants and make maximum use of their potential, for the sake of the common good.

Agrarian production is a very stable process by its very nature. It firmly follows deeply rooted methods which, however, are not always consistent with the requirements of the new strains. This precisely is why it is rare for all selected prototypes to behave in the best possible way, for they are not cultivated under proper conditions everywhere. Traditionally, for example, it has been believed that winter crops develop best when the external temperature is between 8 and 12 degrees centigrade. Extensive experimentation has proved, however, that such processes are intensive in winter wheats tested at temperatures ranging from 25 to 32 degrees centigrade. Lower temperatures substantially extend the vegetation period for all strains, since early strains ripen as late as winter crops. Spring wheat, in reality, requires less heat. This is precisely the reason for the spring sowing custom. Unlike winter wheat, spring wheat planted in the autumn perishes because although the relatively higher autumnal temperatures are entirely suitable for the reproduction process, the heavy frosts terminate it. The fact that spring cereals do not require higher temperatures than winter crops, and that their growth is slow with insufficient warmth, make them entirely suitable for early and even extra-early spring sowing. This is justifiable from both the agronomical and economic viewpoints.

Historically, problems in growing cereals, wheat in particular, have been divided into two inconsistently coordinated groups. The first is based on the biological characteristics of the plants, and thus determines technological cultivation methods. The second is based on the actual possibilities existing at a given time for extensive practical farming, and is influenced by a set of organizational, economic and other measures.

Time, as always, is a decisive factor. However, something else must also be taken into consideration: how much time will be required before a scientific result achieved in the laboratory can be put to practical use? In the final account, it is precisely the rate of application which determines the effectiveness of new technological solutions dictating the organization of the work in production sectors or determining the fate of an entire sector. Let us recall Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's statement at the 25th party congress: "The success of the scientific and technical revolution and its beneficial impact on the economy and all aspects of social life cannot be achieved by the scientific workers alone. The involvement in this process of historical importance of all those who participate in public production and of all the units in the economic mechanism is playing a growing

role." Our party warmly supports mass experimentation in agrarian production, for this is one of the reliable means of accelerating scientific and technical progress, although, naturally it is the scientific collectives who must set the pace here.

Among the many urgent problems of tremendous practical significance, the development of more advanced methods for the growing of basic farm crops deserves particular attention. Incidentally, agronomy pursued this line as a result of the familiar 1976 CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures for the Further Enhancement of the Effectiveness of Agricultural Science and for Strengthening Its Links With Production." In particular, attention was drawn to the fact that we have fallen behind in the development of new crop strains which meet the requirements of intensive highly mechanized production, particularly in the case of highly frost-resistant winter strains, and high yield spring grain crops resistant to flattening and to disease. Agricultural science was harshly criticized at the July 1978 Central Committee Plenum. A great deal of work must be done by the scientific collectives to improve their research effectiveness. We must firmly remember that agricultural production intensification, the real need for which has been accepted by most kolkhozes and sovkhozes, requires not half measures but essentially new technological solutions, which must become the base for the long-term development plans of the individual sectors.

D. N. Pryanishnikov himself formulated the inviolable farming law that the better the conditions, the less seed should be used.... The implementation of this formula will create a substantial number of organizational-economic, scientific and technical problems, some of which have already become apparent. One of them is the development of industrial technology for a specific strain, rather than the formulation of agrotechnical measures for a given crop. This requires proper machinery and equipment. Naturally, tremendous, complex work lies ahead, to be pioneered by scientists and practical innovators. Encouraging results have been obtained by the All-Union Scientific Research Grain Resources Institute (Shortanda). There spring wheat is sowed in smaller quantities--180-200 grains per square meter--and the resulting crops equal or even exceed those in areas using ten times as much seed. Each seed planted yields 350-400 grains! This has been achieved in a risky farming area in the heart of the droughty steppes of Kazakhstan.

Let us also mention incidentally that the yardstick of "so much and no more," formerly used by grain growers, has been abandoned. Its expediency was unquestioned, for it made possible a more accurate estimate of economic effectiveness. However, it is not merely a matter of seed overexpenditures, although on a national scale this does amount to dozens of millions of tons. Unnecessarily thick sowing conflicts with the biological features of the grasses. Such growing conditions can be termed extreme. Even if the soil is fully saturated with all the necessary chemical elements, the insufficiency of light reaching the surface of the leaves limits photosynthesis and weakens the plant. In thickly planted crop areas the individual plants exhaust each other in an intra-strain struggle, as a result of which, as a rule, the most productive ones perish. This is the reason for the disparities in yields between fields cultivated by different labor collectives. This can be avoided by fully adapting grain cultivation technology to the requirements of the strain and its specific biological characteristics.



Why stop here? Anything we do is a combination of components and complex and heterogeneous elements. They are not simply identified, and determining their production capacity, i.e., penetrating deep into the matter, is even more difficult. Today there is no grass each of whose individual seeds (in a big batch) has equal productivity. Sparse crops require impeccable cultivation, and fields free from weeds, properly fertilized and watered. Naturally, they also require special machines, as yet nonexistent.... Does this mean that farm workers must be patient and wait calmly for readymade decisions and orders? Many creatively daring people work in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes--inventors, rationalizers, and experimental workers inspired by their research--and urge scientific and technical progress onward by their efforts. It makes sense to encourage more energetic experimental and research work in the best labor collectives and, on this basis, to organize scientific-production associations, as is being done today in industry.

The time has come to develop strains requiring low sowing norms. This is very labor intensive work and, given the present organization of selection work, could take 15 to 17 years. Actually, we are already very familiar with the characteristics of future wheat strains. They must have a high coefficient of productive clustering (40 to 50 blades per cluster) and a long ear and bear a large number of grains, at least 100, and weigh no less than 70 grams per thousand grains. In addition to their high productivity, such ears must be fast-growing, ripening in 70 to 90 days, show adequately broad adaptability to the daily alternations of light, darkness and temperature, and be immune to disease. They must also be lodging-proof! In recent years farmers in all areas have faced major difficulties because toward the end of the vegetation cycle, the stems are unable to support the weight of the ear and some of the grain drops to the ground. The lifting of fallen crops is a complicated and very expensive operation, and lodging is invariably caused by thick crops. In such cases the likelihood of losing a ready crop and lowering the quality of the grain increases sharply. Generally speaking, the selection scientists have a major obligation to the farm workers and the more rapidly they meet it, the more effective the grain growers' work will become.

The development of a new strain is a slow process requiring decades of persistent and dedicated effort. That is why it is very important that the developed strains be used for as long as is possible. Such is the case with the "Saratovskaya-29" strain, which was introduced by V. N. Mamontova in the mid-1950s.

Today, selection technology is experiencing a period of upsurge: everyone is awaiting the development of exceptionally productive cereal strains. While such strains are being developed, we must try to introduce into the plant mechanism the ability to make fuller use of solar energy. It is light precisely, as confirmed by latest research, which controls the molecular apparatus of the living organism, converting it from rest to activity and from vegetation to reproduction. This may be noted even with the naked eye under ordinary field conditions: as a rule, the edge of a grain field consists of powerful, strong and productive specimens, for here the plants are receiving abundant solar energy. Generally speaking, morning and especially direct evening light is particularly beneficial to the grass. Ignorance of this factor considerably reduces yields.

In experimenting with light systems, we were able to shorten the vegetation period of winter crops by a 2.4 factor and to develop stable spring strains. A spring



strain was developed from Aurora winter wheat. It did not lose the high productive capacity of its predecessors, but instead gained valuable qualities such as low and strong stands. Another noteworthy feature is that under artificial conditions the selection process is speeded up severalfold, in the course of which the range of individual variations within the strain becomes entirely apparent. This widens our choice of promising strains. In an artificial environment, the rate at which cereal crops multiply is substantially accelerated to as many as five generations per year. This is something which our selection workers did not even dream of while experimenting under open skies.

Strain testing is part and parcel of the selection process. In this matter, however, there is a great deal of traditional thinking which comes from the old rules and mental inertia and conflicts with production requirements. Thus, a strange metamorphosis occurred after testing a new radish strain with unaprooted leaves, which was obtained as a result of interstrain crossing (cabbage with radish): the selection worker failed to recognize his offspring, for a number of the valuable qualities of the strain developed in the course of its growth were lost. What happened? The investigation revealed that, motivated by so-called good reasons, and following the existing rules strictly, the personnel of the seed-growing organization had decided to increase the density of the plants drastically (by a factor of 10 as compared with our requirements). This had considerably weakened the inner potential of the plants.

A strain is considered new only when its biological characteristics distinguish it from others of the same variety. Such being the case, it also requires different conditions, including different combinations of temperature and light, which determine planting times and norms.

Therefore, agrotechnology is always in fact selective. The selection begins in the strain testing stage. That is why strain testers are accurately described as the assistants of selection workers. This is also consistent with the corresponding organizational measures. The two should be merged in a single creative collective, for they share the objectives and tasks of giving the farmers highly productive strains consistent with the age we live in.

Cereal grass symbolizes the materialized biological energy of the earth. With every successive generation, year after year, the methods used for growing them are improved. However, a great deal more remains to be done if the productivity of each plant is to be raised.... This is a major undertaking which will require spiritual enthusiasm and a great deal of thought on the part of both natural scientists and grain growers.

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## RIGHT TO LEAD

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81, pp 88-93

[Article by Yu. Demin on the L'vov Kineskop Production Association party accountability and election conference]

[Text] The 10th Five-Year Plan, which was jammed with outstanding and unforgettable events in the life of the country and the party, has ended. On the eve of the 26th CPSU Congress, the party organizations are summing up their accomplishments in the course of the accountability and election campaign, determining the experience to be developed further, studying the reasons for existing shortcomings and earmarking ways of achieving the utmost utilization of internal reserves. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in his 29 August 1980 Alma-Ata speech that "This campaign is a great school. It could be described as a university course attended by all party members."

The party members and the collective of the Kineskop Production Association in L'vov have reason to be proud. Their output--the electronic "hearts" of television sets--has been in great demand for quite some time. In 1976, the association was given the new task of organizing the mass production of color rather than black and white picture tubes. This was accomplished successfully. The variety of goods was updated. All annual plans were completed ahead of schedule and the five-year plan was fulfilled in 4.5 years. Output more than doubled and 90 percent of the increase came from higher labor productivity. Goods worth dozens of millions of rubles were sold over and above the plan. The plans for lowering production costs and increasing capital returns were also overfulfilled. Items bearing the state Emblem of Quality accounted for 82 percent of the total output. A total of 628 different measures (estimated annual savings of 27 million rubles) were implemented on the basis of technical development and increased production effectiveness plans. Nineteen assembly-mechanized and automated lines were installed and six shops and 20 sectors were reconstructed with virtually no work stoppage. During the five-year plan, returns per ruble invested in technical retooling exceeded a factor of five. The collective's accomplishments were highly appreciated by the party and the government. In 1979 the association was awarded the Red Challenge Banner of the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee, and its name was inscribed on the All-Union Honor Board. It has frequently won the competition in its sector and scored high among L'vov and Radyanskiy Rayon enterprises.

The party organization, which properly noted the results of these efforts, has also been aware of the importance of not resting on past accomplishments. Under

the 11th Five-Year Plan the production of color picture tubes must be doubled in virtually the same production space.

A careful approach to all the positive experience acquired coupled with a critical and efficient study of the shortcomings, was the distinguishing feature of the recent accountability reports and elections in the 35 party organizations and 125 party groups of the association. Virtually all party members addressed the party groups; one out of every three spoke at shop party organization meetings. Key attention was focused on unresolved problems. A similar mood prevailed at the accountability and election party conference attended by 455 delegates representing 1,387 party members and 69 CPSU candidate members. Even though a discussion and assessment of the party committee's work since the last elections, held two years ago, took place, the work was essentially considered from a broader perspective, covering the entire period since the 25th CPSU Congress. This is understandable, for in order to welcome the 26th congress properly, we must truly and profoundly expose omissions, look ahead, and link current activities and results with long-term prospects and the way intraparty life is developing within the association.

The tone of the discussions was set by V. I. Aprintseva, association party committee secretary. In her report she concentrated on problems pertaining to the utmost utilization of internal reserves, the need to upgrade the responsibility of party members for their assignments, and the all-round strengthening of discipline and organization. The successes achieved by the party organizations were mentioned very briefly. However, some aspects of their activities should be discussed in greater detail.

As we know, the standard of party management and the ability to use party methods in resolving current problems, instead of assuming the functions of the administration, whose direct obligation is to manage the various aspects of the production process, greatly influence the increased effectiveness and work quality of labor collectives. Without dividing its efforts, the party committee at the Kineskop Association concentrated on supporting the effective initiatives of the masses directed at technical retooling and reconstruction of the production process, greater labor productivity, greater output and improved quality.

....At the start of 1978 key attention was focused on the production of color picture tubes. The difficulty was that they had to be manufactured without building new facilities, mainly through technological retooling and reconstruction. Furthermore, the output was to be raised by 18 percent annually. There were many difficulties; the production process was erratic, and the percentage of rejects very high. The association began to lose the rank it had held in the production of goods with the state's Emblem of Quality. It was said that this was natural, for the organization of the production process would take a long time.

This view was rejected by the party committee. By coordinating and leading the party, trade union and other public organizations, it applied its political influence in order to promote an atmosphere of real efficiency and creative search. Naturally, there are no formulas or decrees on how to establish such an atmosphere. It must be achieved in the course of practical work and through the efforts of the entire collective.



The labor and political activeness of the masses and their enthusiasm are based, as we know, on creative conscientiousness, a profound understanding of assignments, and a clear idea of what is required for their successful implementation. The party committee assumed control of the work of the party members in the chief engineer's and other services in identifying on the spot the most typical features of rejects and the reasons for rejection. They sought and found effective means of eliminating them. In order to increase the responsibility of production workers for the quality of output, on the party committee's initiative several brigades were organized to work closely with the performers: they instructed them on the nature of the physical processes occurring in the production of picture tubes. Using specific examples, they showed them the sad consequences of even the slightest deviation from the precise technological process, and so on. Rigid control of the quality of incoming materials and complementing parts (phosphor, cone, screen) was exercised. Technical creativity was energized. In particular, with the participation of the chemical processing sector, the rationalizers' brigade, headed by senior foreman M. D. Opaynik (who subsequently became the best in the field in the oblast), made a detailed study of standard production technology and suggested some changes leading to the best possible utilization of existing equipment. This suggestion led to increased production of color picture tubes and to a drop in the number of defective parts.

After hearing the party members' reports on their work, the party committee coordinated their efforts and gave ideological support to their successful performance. Participation in the political and economic training system and attendance at technical progress universities assisted in the theoretical explanation of the efforts to improve quality and to sum up progressive experience. A series of lectures on quality was organized by the plant's Knowledge Society board. In order to publicize this movement suitably, the party organization engaged in extensive visual agitation and made use of mass information media, the LAMPOCHKA IL'ICHA plant newspaper, and the Volna plant radio journal. Creative research was added to specific planned decisions and to the use of a variety of propaganda and agitation means. All of this contributed to the completion of the reconstruction ahead of time and to the organization of the mass production of color picture tubes. As early as 1977 this product was awarded the pentagonal honor seal.

The collective's unity and maturity developed in the course of the joint pursuit of the common objective. In the year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, the collective was assigned mastery of the production of color picture tubes for Elektronika LTs-430 small portable television sets. Before the development of these products and production preparations were even completed, the party committee, using all available party influence measures and promoting broad publicity on the measures implemented, created a general interest in fulfilling the assignment: the small-sized color picture tube was ready on time. In 1978 the association began to curtail its production of black and white television screens and to convert to the exclusive production of color tubes. One year after the reconstruction of the last shop this assignment as well was completed successfully.

The report included an exacting and demanding study of the conditions prevailing in the various association subunits. It also exposed existing shortcomings. V. I. Aprintseva pointed out in particular that for several years no clear trend toward



the reduction of technological losses in the production of picture tubes (basically caused by the existence of an "alien object" on the screen, such as a speck of dust, etc.) had been detected. Because of work time losses and equipment idling, the association loses more than 10 percent of its potential increase in output every year. The result of delayed procurements of complementing parts and materials used in making the screens is that the television shop of the Universal Plant, which produces lamps and thermoses, actually does not begin work at full capacity until the second half of the month. Even though the plan is fulfilled in the end, such haste means that production capacities remain underutilized, the volume of rejects rises, and overtime becomes necessary. Expensive machine tools with digital programming remain idle due to the lack of effective programs. Insufficient attention is paid to labor mechanization in auxiliary work (the percentage of manual operations in former glass shop No 1, now part of the glass manufacturing complex, for example, is close to 70 percent). The 11th Five-Year Plan program for the reduction of manual labor does not fully cover the most important features, such as mechanization of control operations or automated loading and unloading of parts in the metal processing sections. Blunders are committed in the education of the members of the collective, added to shortcomings in party and economic training and atheistic propaganda; antisocial acts are committed, and so on.

The report exposed the reasons for many work shortcomings and identified the culprits by name. The criticism was addressed not only to those guilty of obvious errors but also to those who failed to display true initiative or to use all existing opportunities for improving effectiveness and quality. Conversely, managers, specialists, and rank and file party members who showed no tolerance or complacency, those who tried to make creative use of the available possibilities and were not content with their achievements, won praise. V. I. Aprintseva urged the party members to study conditions in each party group and organization in order, as Lenin said, "to gather, check, and rework attentively, thoughtfully and effectively, precisely the practical experience, precisely what every one of us has done, completed and seen others do and complete...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 40, p 144).

Not a single person remained indifferent to the meaningful report, which was imbued with a principle-minded approach to all production, political or organizational problems.

Those who spoke on the party committee's work pointed out that it had done a great deal to improve the style and ways and means of work. Suggestions for its advancement were formulated. In particular, R. I. Balakireva, an assembly worker at the metal procurement shop, requested that a short course be offered for young party group organizers, so that novices in party work could gain a certain amount of knowledge. V. I. Goova, a controller at the picture tubes assembly shop No 1, asked that the problem in providing greater ideological support in the implementation of socialist pledges in collectives with party groups, sponsoring seminars on actual situations, etc., be considered.

Obviously, no one likes criticism, for as the people say, it does not taste like honey. Usually, when errors or omissions are pointed out, those affected feel embarrassed or even insulted. It is very important not to feel hurt or seek

revenge for such blame, forgetting the interests of the cause, but to assess statements accurately instead and to think of how to eliminate shortcomings. In their discussion the delegates made no attempt to gloss over or ignore errors. They self-critically acknowledged the accuracy of the remarks aimed at them. The speakers tried to analyze the reasons for shortcomings profoundly and to single out the undesirable subjective factors which could be eliminated by great strictness and firm observance of performing and technological discipline, using the knowledge and experience of the workers and emphasizing the objective hindrances which party organizations or collectives cannot eliminate alone. In this connection the speech by G. P. Bogomolov, party committee secretary of picture tube assembly shop No 2, was quite indicative.

In this shop two combined lines have an output only 30 percent higher than one single line in shop No 1. The other technical and economic indicators of this shop are also low. However, the adoption of such a purely quantitative approach would be wrong. The work should be assessed on the basis of the actual difference existing between production facilities and the potential. Otherwise, the competition between the two collectives becomes formal and ineffective. A feeling of disappointment develops, the individual's faith in his own efforts is undermined and initiative drops. "Naturally, a correction coefficient could be computed and applied in order to insure a more accurate comparison between work and competition results," G. P. Bogomolov said. "However, this can only provide a 'patina of success.' In our view, the very decision of the association's management to rebuild two vacuum processing lines was incorrect, for they were not set up for the production of color picture tubes. The potential for increasing their speed has been virtually exhausted and the specific nature of the product's design makes mechanization or manual labor impossible. That is why personnel turnover in the vacuum sector is very high despite relatively high wages. A radical solution to the problem must be provided on the basis of future development possibilities, for work results depend greatly on economic measures and are supported, above all, by the quality of managerial decisions."

Speaking for his collective, G. P. Bogomolov voiced specific suggestions which could contribute considerably to increasing the production of color picture tubes by the shop, energizing labor competitiveness and summing up more objectively competition results. In their speeches, N. P. Kon'kin, the association's general director, and A. M. Borits, the chief mechanic, supported the suggestions.

Other shortcomings in the organization of socialist competition were also noted. The Kineskop workers, who fulfilled their 10th Five-Year Plan ahead of time, supported the appeal of the leading workers for work under the slogan "26 Shock 10-Day Periods in Honor of the 26th CPSU Congress." Some subunits, however, assume greater obligations but fail to act upon them. The glass complex and the compressor and ion exchange sectors of the energy shop formulated no measure at all in honor of the forthcoming congress. Frequently 10-day competition results are summed up belatedly. This hinders functional control of the fulfillment of obligations. The new party committee was instructed to pay greater attention to this matter and to make more principled assessments of the contributions of managers or collectives to the organization of the competition and the adoption of an active life stance by the association's personnel.

The CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" emphasizes that primary party organizations and party groups must become the hubs of ideological and educational activities. They must rally the collective, do skillful work with individuals, promote a feeling for the new and increase the effectiveness and concreteness of propaganda and agitation and their links with life and with the solution of economic and political problems.

The speakers who discussed the party committee's work pointed out that the committee accomplished a great deal in this direction. Today more than 60 percent of the shop party organization secretaries are higher school graduates. One-third of the party group organizers are engineers or technicians; 75 percent of the secretaries have been reelected to second or third terms. These are experienced and knowledgeable people who are ably promoting an atmosphere of joint work in the labor collectives. They include B. I. Goral', G. M. Sidorenko, V. A. Stepanov and others. The aktiv of the Kineskop party organization is being steadily reinforced with prestigious and educated party members. Many of them are graduates of the oblast party committee Marxism-Leninism University and have increased their knowledge in courses and seminars sponsored by the city, rayon and association party committees. They work as propagandists, agitators, and political informants. Under the 10th Five-Year Plan, the number of people attending all forms of party, economic and Komsomol courses in the association increased by 2,000.

Increased attention is being paid to subjects of production effectiveness and quality of output in the courses on "Socialism and Labor," "Engineering Work in the Socialist Society" and "Managerial Work." Seminars and theoretical conferences are held on these topics. Many students are making individual plan-pledges which they must justify to their classmates and they must submit reports on the progress in their implementation. In turn, the propagandists give engineering and ideological support to student initiatives and help the students to formulate and substantiate obligations. Papers are collectively discussed and justified in training courses.

Practical experience indicates that experienced propagandists, suitably familiar with conditions in the association and its shops and brigades, could do a great deal to concretize general political-educational tasks in terms of the situations in their own collectives, and could assist the students in their study of production and economic activities from Marxist-Leninist and party positions and focus their attention on resolving topical problems. The accountability report listed party member S. S. Kvurt, chief of picture tube assembly shop No 1, as one of these.

At the very beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan, Sergey Semenovitch voluntarily transferred to this lagging subunit. He was able to resolve a number of its production problems with help from the students who attended his seminar on "Managerial Work." He began with a study of production bottlenecks and, with the shop's assignments and the inclinations and nature of the activities of his students in mind, he gave all of them practical assignments. The assignment discussions were lively, and interesting suggestions were made. The propagandists saw to the application of the most valuable ones. As he developed his collective, S. S. Kvurt worked steadily with the many young people in the shop. He knew their



feelings and needs. He not only attended Komsomol meetings but actively participated in them. A good moral-psychological climate developed in the collective, thanks to the sense of mutual aid and strict exigency. The people began to work more energetically and their achievements became more substantial. The shop not only overcame its lag and assumed a leading position, but was the first in the association to master the production of large color picture tubes, which earned the state Emblem of Quality. With no change in equipment, output rose by a 1.5 factor. This is the highest indicator reached in this sector to date. The collective won the championship, based on the results of the 1979 socialist competition among all the ministry's enterprises.

Many of the propagandists always try to convert the knowledge they share with the people into part of the people's outlook and moral stance. This helps the people to have a fuller and better life and work. Guided by the propagandists, the students in the economic training system have actively participated in competitions for the economical utilization of raw materials, materials and energy resources. In 1980 alone the association applied 1,098 suggestions and was able to save 1.9 million rubles. By the end of the five-year plan it had about 300 comprehensive creative brigades which included scientists, engineers, technicians and workers. They applied 1,385 rationalization suggestions for an annual saving of 3 million rubles.

We know that the militant nature of a party organization depends on the qualitative structure of its ranks and strengthened party influence on the production sectors which determine the success of the collective. In the past two years, the percentage of workers among the new party organization members in the association reached 82 percent. As a whole, CPSU members account for 6.8 percent of the production workers today; 7.4 percent of the workers in the leading professions are party members. The party committee sees to it that candidate party members are given proper ideological training and submit reports on their production and social work and their candidacy training. An overwhelming majority of the candidate members justify the faith placed in them. They are in the vanguard of the socialist competition and energetically participate in social activities.

However, the speakers also pointed out that the party stratum is not increasing among workers in some professions (particularly among batch makers and pourers and drop forging workers). They cited cases showing that undisciplined and rude people with abusive alcohol consumption had been accepted as CPSU candidate members. Naturally, such people, who failed to rise to the high title of party member are not granted full party membership. However, the party committees in some production subunits failed in objective assessment of the actions of Ye. M. Bunkov, D. I. Kozlovtshev, Ts. I. Poplavskiy or L. I. Shchebetovskiy, who gave candidate members unsubstantiated endorsements. The association's party committee itself was slow to criticize them. The delegates to the conference demanded that the new party committee strengthen party ranks on a more principled basis.

At the 25th CPSU Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed that today's manager must organically blend party-mindedness with great competence and merge discipline with initiative and a creative approach to the work. Those were the precise criteria on which the party committee based its cadre selection, deployment and training.



There is a happy moment in the life of every person when his capabilities become clearly apparent, and when acquired knowledge and experience manifest themselves. However, lack of opportunity for further advancement creates a feeling of dissatisfaction and even of stagnation. In order to rate someone's potential accurately and waste no time when a party member becomes ready for something new, the party committee has worked more adamantly and purposefully with people showing growth potential in the past 3 years. The comrades selected by the cadre department, party members and collectives, were recommended for work in elective positions and appointed to temporary duties in the absence of the incumbents. Favorable conditions were created for promoting the raising of their technological and ideological standards. Many of them were issued individual assignments (in the social and production areas) and allowed to take part in production conferences. This enabled the party committee to assess the ability of the people more accurately, to take prompt note of their shortcomings and to help them to correct them. Currently more than 90 percent of the leading positions on the higher and middle levels of the association are held by graduate specialists capable of handling complex problems.

However, as was stressed in the report and the delegates' speeches, blunders are still being committed in the association's cadre policy. For example, the position of deputy general director in charge of capital construction remained vacant for almost a year and a half; there are no properly trained substitutes for the chief mechanic and some chiefs of shops and departments; the meshing of experienced workers from different generations who could act as substitutes is not the most successful possible.

In all the sectors, the state of affairs depends largely on the level of work discipline and the work standards of managerial cadres. It was noted at the party conference that many production managers are undemanding of themselves or tolerate shortcomings. Consequently, the suggestion was made that their sense of responsibility be increased by asking them to submit personal reports more frequently, as this is a tested form of party influence. Such reports should not be stereotyped or reduced to a description of the quantitative or even qualitative work results of a subunit. They must feature the political and business qualities of managers and prove that they can on a daily basis provide optimum solutions to complex problems, generate a good moral and psychological climate in the collective, and remember that their first obligation is to participate in the education of the people and to show concern for training proper replacements.

In discussing the importance of the accountability and election campaign in the party organizations preceding the congress at the October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "The critical remarks and suggestions made by party members are very valuable. Party committees which immediately take specific measures based on them act quite properly. This is good. This upgrades the effectiveness of both meetings and criticisms."

It was suggested at the meetings of party groups and party organizations in the association that all remarks and wishes expressed by the party members be recorded on information cards to be submitted to the party committee, filed, studied and sent to the individuals criticized (with deadlines for response). In her report, V. I. Aprintseva self-critically acknowledged that the party committee does not as yet always show the necessary insistence and strictness in acting on the remarks

and wishes of delegates to previous party conferences. This is why not all planned measures are promptly carried out even though some of them could be implemented quite simply.

The suggestion on the reuse of containers made by party member N. N. Vashchenyuk was used as example. Currently, 150 people in the cardboard shop are employed making cardboard containers. They are used in each production subunit by 20 to 30 workers to package picture tubes. The use of containers in which eight picture tubes could fit would considerably speed up transportation to the neighboring Elektron Production Association. Breakage would be reduced considerably, cardboard would be saved and fewer workers would be needed. In discussing this subject, L. G. Zemlyulin, fitter at assembly shop No 3, also remarked: "It puzzles us that the administration and the party committee, which are capable of resolving very complex problems, are unable to resolve this altogether easy one."

The delegates were greatly concerned about the fact that the 11th Five-Year Plan had not precisely defined the development of the association in some directions. In accordance with the ministry's instructions, the design bureau is developing a color picture tube with an entirely new design (smaller and brighter). A prototype will be ready in 1982. However, the ministry has still not decided which of the sectorial enterprises will undertake its mass production. If this assignment is to be given to the association, production preparations should begin immediately. Reconstruction would be needed, and the type of equipment to be installed would have to be defined. The production line for the manufacture of one of the basic picture tube components will be set up during the first and second quarters of 1981. To judge from the experience of other plants it will take about a year to master its operation. In other words, mass production may be undertaken in the second quarter of 1982. The trouble, however, lies in the fact that the production of this item is geared for picture tubes which will have become obsolete by then. Therefore, if the association is to be given this assignment, the production line should be reorganized without delay, taking the features of the new item into consideration, instead of having to redo it later, wasting precious time and state money and generating nervousness and haste in the collective. In this connection, the delegates criticized the position of the association's general director, N. P. Kon'kin, and chief engineer N. N. Vashchenyuk, who are passively awaiting instructions "from above," making no effort themselves to insure the timely solution of the production variety problem.

Other constructive suggestions as well were made during the conference. V. A. Nikolayev, head of the consumer goods complex, stated that the branches of the complex are dispersed in cities throughout the oblast. This is why there is no single trade union committee person to head socialist competition or even to tabulate its results. V. A. Nikolayev stressed that appeals to higher trade union authorities had been unsuccessful and asked for help in untying this "Gordian knot."

The delegates pointed out that the party committee and the public organizations are assigning many commissions to tour production subunits, frequently without coordinating their work (leading to duplication and taking people away from their jobs), and that the engineering and technical personnel are not always held individually responsible for technological violations. They suggested that the

party members in economic services submit reports within the shortest possible time (since the association was shortly to convert to the new planning system based on the normed net output indicator), expand the use of the brigade labor organization and incentive method (currently being used by one-half of the brigades), and so on.

Since G. I. Bandrovskiy, first secretary of the L'vov City Party Committee, was present at the conference, a number of problems related to the urban economy were discussed.

The conference was in its seventh hour and 15 delegates had already spoken, but a long list of speakers remained. The delegates asked that the proceedings be summed up and requested the comrades whose turn had not yet come to inform the presidium briefly of their wishes and critical remarks.

Many members of the previous association party committee were reelected. This meant that the party members had faith in those to whom they had entrusted the management of the organizational, educational and ideological work. This showed the maturity of the party organization, which had developed a truly party-minded approach to the work in the collective a truly party-minded approach to the work.

During the accountability and election campaign, 112 suggestions and critical remarks were submitted. The association's party committee will study them attentively and take steps to insure that no single interesting thought is neglected. This will help to implement the collective's tasks. It will enhance the principled-mindedness of the party members and increase their concern with the state's interests and their responsibility for improvement in the work. The more consistent and confident the actions of every party member become, the more effectively this will guarantee our further successes in all sectors of the building of communism.

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CSO: 1802

## VIRGIN LANDS EXPLOIT CONTINUED

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81, pp 94-99

[Report by V. Barayev on the accountability and election party conference in Atbasarskiy Rayon, Tselinogradskaya Oblast]

[Text] Today's visitors to the virgin lands are amazed by the youthful aspect of cities and settlements there, both those recently built and those founded in the 19th century. Even though Tselinograd, formerly Akmolinsk, which consisted almost exclusively of single-story adobe houses, recently celebrated the 150th anniversary of its founding, it has become entirely unrecognizable as a result of its recent beautification and rejuvenation. Other cities, settlements, and sovkhoz and kolkhos centers are also being improved. Renovation features can also be seen in Atbasar, the center of one of the largest and most distant rayons in Tselinogradskaya Oblast.

The rayon's party members held their accountability and election conference here, on 15 November. The conference was attended by 311 delegates representing more than 2,500 party and candidate party members. Their spirit was high. This is understandable, for the rayon's party members--grain growers and livestock breeders, construction workers and workers in industrial enterprises--had worked well in the past 5 years. They had come together in order to discuss their achievements critically, to sum up the experience acquired in party-political work, to discuss future plans and to earmark means for their implementation.

Many of the delegates were young people attending such an important event for the first time. They were familiar with the epic of the virgin lands only from books, motion pictures and their parents' stories. That is why they particularly liked Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's outstanding book "Tselina" [Virgin Lands], which included many vivid descriptions of the Atbasar people and their accomplishments. The work names almost all large farms in the rayon. The young had only heard of the many events related to the storming of the land in the first years. "Tselina," which is a document on the exploit of the pioneers, also gave them reliable information about the daring, legendary crossing of the Ishim, near Atbasar; the appeal the virgin land workers of Marínovskiy Sovkhoz addressed to all girls and women in the country, urging them to go to the virgin lands; and how thanks to Leonid Il'ich's personal intervention, a railroad spur was laid in numbered days across the barren land in the vicinity of the Atbasar grain elevator and a grain reception center was set up in the open. Great quantities of grain have been shipped here since then! The year 1979 when the rayon harvested a record-setting crop, was a particularly busy one for the elevator. Last year the drought



prevented a repetition of this achievement. However, on the whole, the Atbasar people overfulfilled both their annual and their five-year plans. Now the grain from the new crop has been poured into the elevator. Not far away is the massive structure of yet another powerful storage bin--the Atbasar Grain Products Combine.

"Millions of Soviet people in the virgin lands pursued the revolution," L. I. Brezhnev wrote. "Under the new historical conditions, they increased revolutionary gains and through their living experience pursued the victorious building of developed socialism." Naturally, the conditions under which the virgin land workers are toiling have radically changed since then. Today, it is no longer a question of developing new land (although to this day, saline and alkaline soils are still being reclaimed) but of the intensification of the soil of the virgin lands, more accurately, the further application of a scientific farming system and raising grain crop yields and livestock productivity. However, as L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, the phrase virgin lands does not mean only farmland. It means housing, schools, hospitals, kindergartens, nurseries, clubs, new roads, bridges, airfields, animal husbandry buildings, grain elevators, warehouses and plants or, in a word, everything necessary for normal life and modern developed agricultural production. This, precisely is what was discussed by the party members at their accountability and election conference.

In beginning his report, K. A. Taukenov, first secretary of the rayon party committee, noted that the conference was summing up the work of the rayon party organization not only for the accountability period but, in fact, for the entire five-year plan, the final year of which was crowded with major events in the life of the Soviet people: the country solemnly celebrated the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth, the 35th anniversary of the victory in the Great Patriotic War, and the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Kazakh SSR and the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. The speech which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev delivered at the anniversary ceremonies in Alma-Ata, in which he called upon the republic's working people to fulfill their 10th Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule and to welcome the 26th CPSU Congress worthily, is still fresh in the memories of the people.

Grain growing remains the most important feature of agricultural production in Atbasarskiy Rayon. Under the 10th Five-Year Plan, as a result of the application of a soil protection farming system and progressive cultivation methods, the rayon's grain growers increased grain crop yields by 2.7 quintals per hectare and harvested more than 1.8 million tons of grain, or almost half a million tons more than during the 9th Five-Year Plan. During the same period, grain sales to the state increased by 430,000 tons.

What makes such achievements particularly substantial is the fact that Atbasarskiy Rayon like all the rayons in northern Kazakhstan, is located in an uncertain farming area in which two out of every five years may be characterized by severe drought. However, while drought was considered an insurmountable natural disaster in the past, today's virgin land growers are harvesting quite substantial crops even in droughty seasons, as was the case, incidentally, last summer, as a result of the application of a soil protective farming system.

The advantage of the farming system developed by Academician A.I. Barayev is that it protects fields from both wind erosion and drought. Optimum sowing times and

proper crop rotation, which play a role both in the accumulation of moisture and in the struggle against weeds, and the energetic and skillful use of modern farming equipment such as subsurface cultivators, deep soil cultivators, disk-seeding machines and spiked harrows, have considerably weakened the notorious influence of sultry weather, and crop extremes have been substantially reduced. The use of new and more drought-resistant strains has been another major contribution.

Skillful party management of agricultural production is of tremendous value in the application and utilization of scientific and technological achievements. The new grain-growing system requires exceptionally good organization, a greater sense of responsibility, and high-level production and work discipline. Neglect of a single link within this complex chain inevitably leads to breakdowns, and farm crop losses may be measured not in kilograms but in quintals per hectare.

The accountability report included a clear example of this; the Shuyskiy and Novosel'skiy sovkhoses are north of Atbasar. Their fields are side by side, literally separated by the road. Both the soil and amount of precipitation are the same. However, the Shuyskiy crop is twice as high, averaging 17 quintals per hectare, compared with 8.4 at the Novosel'skiy (the indicators were those of brigades Nos 3 and 5, respectively).

Such a tremendous disparity demands an explanation. The grain growers of Shuyskiy Sovkhoz plowed the land earlier in the autumn. On three separate occasions in the winter, they took snow retention steps. Conversely, they did not hurry with the sowing in the spring. They waited for the wild oats to appear, removed them, and only then, at the very end of May-beginning of June, did they sow the grain. The resulting crop was even in size and weed-free.

The land of the Novosel'skiy Sovkhoz looked entirely different, although it had been subjected to virtually the same operations. The point was, when and how? The land was plowed up somewhat later and the sowing was done somewhat earlier, and only one snow retention operation was conducted. There was less moisture in the soil and the early shoots perished with the first heat. The wild oats, which used up the remaining moisture, literally choked the wheat, and the stunted crop grew unevenly. This resulted in crop losses, for it is far more difficult to harvest low stand wheat. Poorly repaired combines only worsened the situation....

In this case both the grain growers and the management and party organization of Novosel'skiy Sovkhoz, which relaxed their control of the work of the brigades are to be blamed. No regular party group meetings were held. The competition was organized formally, and the field control groups and posts did poor work. All this was bound to affect production and labor discipline. The people began to neglect their obligations and lost some of their feeling of responsibility for the crops. Consequently, Novosel'skiy Sovkhoz averaged no more than 10 quintals per hectare and fulfilled its 1980 grain procurement plan only 65 percent. Unfortunately, it was not the exception. Only thanks to the selfless work of the grain farmers in sovkhoses such as Shuyskiy, Yuzhnyy, Krasnyy Mayak, Atbasarskiy and imeni Tel'man and the Kolkhos imeni V.I. Lenin, which considerably overfulfilled their grain procurement plan, did the rayon as a whole fulfill its annual plan and overfulfill its five-year assignment.

The people of Atbasar are very successful in developing the "second virgin lands"--animal husbandry. In the past 3 years meat production increased by 4.4 thousand tons, milk by 14,500 tons, and wool by 456 tons. The average weight of cattle on delivery increased as follows: large-horned cattle, from 351 to 423 kilograms; and hogs from 80 to 100 kilograms.

These results were achieved with the help of measures adopted in 1976 to promote animal husbandry specialization and concentration. This made breeding and veterinary work easier. Breeding quality improved and livestock productivity rose.

B. F. Matkovskiy, the director of Samarskiy Sovkhoz, noted the timely and very effective results of animal husbandry specialization. Joining efforts with the sovkhoses imeni Karl Marks, Sadovyy and Shuyskiy, Samarskiy Sovkhoz receives from them 10-day old calves which it fattens until they average 350 kilograms and then ships back to the farms. In 3 years the sovkhos has raised 5,775 calves and earned a net profit of 694,000 rubles. Furthermore, this has helped the breeding farms to improve breeding quality, to raise the productivity of the basic herd and to increase milk production by 14 percent.

The worthiness of this idea was supported by A. P. Pobedinskiy, the party committee secretary at the Novaya Zhizn' Kolkhoz. He reported that in the 3-year period the farm's animal husbandrymen raised 8,412 calves instead of 7,640 as planned, and delivered them to the Atbasarskiy Rayon Specialized Farming Association, also making a considerable profit. The collective at the livestock farm of the Novaya Zhizn' Kolkhoz was awarded the Red Challenge Banner of the oblast party committee, oblast executive committee, oblast trade union council and oblast Komsomol committee. On the eve of the 63rd anniversary of the Great October Revolution, it was awarded a diploma as the winner in the all-union socialist competition.

In their speeches the delegates emphasized the role of feed production and the establishment of modern feed shops which facilitate the organization of animal husbandry on an industrial basis, involving the mechanization of all labor-intensive processes. They view the development of underproductive and saline lands as a major opportunity for increasing feed production. If properly cultivated, such areas could yield good protein-rich feed crops.

The imeni Karl Marks, Samarskiy, Shuyskiy and Novosel'skiy sovkhoses fulfilled their five-year milk and meat production plans ahead of schedule. This proves that the livestock breeders in Novosel'skiy Sovkhoz are performing much better than the grain growers. S. B. Izbasarov, the head of the sovkhos's crop-growing complex, self-critically explained the reasons for the lag and reported that at their accountability and election meeting, the party members had analyzed the reasons for the poor work and issued a serious warning to chief agronomist F. Ye. Shafrik, the brigade leaders and the party group organizers, not only on the subject of severe agrotechnical omissions but also their poor party-political work with the farmers.

The farm's party members believe that they will be able to set the grain crop situation right. The farm's party organization is a good and capable one. It was



no accident that it was precisely Novosel'skiy Sovkhoz that presented as a gift at the opening of the conference the fulfillment of its meat procurement plan ahead of schedule. The farm delivered to the state 1,841 tons of beef, 10.8 percent more than the planned figure.

However, successful cattle feeding is rather rare. Thus during the 5-year period Sochinskiy and Yuzhnyy sovkhoses failed to fulfill their annual meat sales plans on three occasions. Unfortunately, virtually all farms, occasionally even the leading ones, have brigades and sectors doing poor livestock breeding work because of a shortage of personnel, or more often, negligence on the part of animal husbandrymen. In the winter, they do not look after the prompt and proper feeding of the animals or the heating and cleaning of the premises. In summer, they do not water the cattle on time and they graze the animals carelessly. They are negligent in selecting pasture grounds or preventing the scattering of the herds over the steppe, as a result of which the animals fall prey to wolves or rustlers.

Because of all this, the rayon lost 760 head of cattle, 15,800 sheep, 2,400 hogs and 70 horses last year. In 1979 230 head of cattle, 4,200 sheep and 40 horses were lost or stolen. Both the report and the delegates' speeches justifiably subjected the party committees of several farms and the rayon people's control committee, procurator's office and militia to sharp and principled criticism. They were requested to undertake more effective measures in the fight against negligence and theft of socialist property.

The scarcity of shepherds, cattle breeders and milkmaids is a major reason many farms are lagging in the field of animal husbandry. Few of their members are young people, Komsomol or party members. Party members account for no more than three percent of all the milkmaids, four percent of the cattle breeders and 3.9 percent of the hog breeders. Naturally, with such small forces it is difficult for the party to encourage the livestock farms to improve their productivity. Nevertheless, in the period under consideration, Atbasarskiy, Marinovski and Sochinskiy sovkhoses failed to recruit a single livestock breeder for the party, not to mention the fact that party membership here declined due to attrition and the expulsion of members for violations of party and labor discipline.

In order to get a good start in the new five-year plan, the Atbasar people must resolve a number of problems. Rural workers' living and housing conditions need considerable improvement at a number of farms, particularly in the remote areas. It is precisely because of the shortage of housing and the lack of proper clubs and houses of culture that people are leaving the distant settlements and villages. Not only recently arrived mechanizers but at times, even people born there leave. Every year more than 300 mechanizers leave the rayon's sovkhoses and kolkhoses. Adding in the other specialists who also leave, this figure almost doubles. Even at some leading farms, Shuyskiy for example, as many as 180 people leave every year.

It would be an error to think that all this is solely caused by just the lack of cultural conditions. Most settlements and villages meet modern requirements. Some people leave their jobs because of lack of responsiveness, and occasionally even the absence of elementary courtesy toward them. An insult hurled in the heat of an



argument can hurt. In his speech, S. T. Mukhitbekov, chairman of the rayon agricultural workers trade union, said that in Sochinskiy and Shuyskiy sovkhoses there have been frequent cases of callous bureaucratic behavior, resulting in violations of paid leave schedules, overtime abuses, and unjustified job transfers. M. S. Dubovskaya and G. Ya. Kemm, the respective directors of these sovkhoses, have on occasion illegally fired workers without the agreement of the trade union committee. This has led to trials, has not of course contributed to retaining cadres, and has destabilized the moral and psychological climate.

The rayon faces a rather grave problem with regard to the cadres of mechanizers and livestock breeders. As they have done in the past, one-half of the farms hire combine operators for the harvest season. The rayon has only 1,800 mechanizers for 3,500 tractors and combines. The people of Atbasar are actively training cadres. Every year more than 400 people earn their combine operator's and tractor driver's certificates at city enterprises and agricultural mechanization technical schools. More than 300 people are attending courses at the sovkhoses and kolkhoses. Students in many secondary schools are earning their mechanizer's licenses as well. However, few of them end up as mechanizers.

Still the rayon's population grows every year, both as a result of the higher birth rate and the arrival of new settlers. The overwhelming majority of the newcomers settle here permanently with no intention of leaving the virgin lands they have chosen as their home. As a rule, the families of the native-born population of the virgin lands--Russians, Ukrainians, Kazakhs, Germans and members of other nationalities--are large, averaging 7 to 10 members.

People are continuing to move to the virgin lands from various parts of the country. Last year, the large Yusupov family, from the Checheno-Ingushskaya ASSR, started work on one of the remote pasture grounds of the Samarskiy Sovkhoz.

The rayon agricultural administration headed by Yu. P. Deryagin is energetically promoting the system of family shepherd brigades at other farms as well. The advantages of the system are obvious. Naturally, mutual support and shared responsibility exist in ordinary brigades as well. In family brigades, however, the work is more united, difficulties are easier to cope with and final results--meat and wool production--are, as a rule, better, while losses and thefts are low. The main feature of family brigades is that they are more durable and stable.

In recent years, the people have been more willing to engage in sheep breeding. The shepherds earn well and their cultural and living standards are improving. It is hoped that the introduction of the family brigade system in sheep breeding, added to other measures, will resolve the shepherd personnel problem.

The delegates called for accelerating the pace of housing construction and the implementation of social projects with a view to resolving demographic difficulties more effectively and for more daily concern with the comforts of the virgin lands people, in the broadest meaning of the term. "Comfort means supplying goods to the people and showing concern for them," L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in "Tselina." "It does not always apply to economic work only. It means, above all, pursuit of a policy in which errors become very costly."

Concern for the people and providing all the necessary conditions for their work and relaxation characterize the line followed by our party. Everything we do is for the good of the working man, for the good of the Soviet people, so that they can devote their entire strength to the good of society and to developing their forces comprehensively.

In the first years of the development of the virgin lands, many clubs, schools and hospitals were built in the new settlements. Since then, however, the population has increased considerably and what was once considered adequate by the virgin lands people should now be expanded and updated.

E. G. Kokareva, a brigade leader at the Sovkhoz imeni Karl Marks dairy farm, stated that the population of her sovkhos has risen to 2,300 and that the old club, with its 250 seats, is now too small. That is why, as instructed by the sovkhos party members, she asked the rayon organizations for help in building a new house of culture. M. Ya. Matveyeva, secretary of the party organization at the Atbasarskiy rayon hospital, criticized the managers of the Novaya Zhizn' Kolkhoz and the neighboring farms for not undertaking repairs at the hospital in the village of Pokrovka, which services several settlements. B. Mynzhasarov, a shepherd at the Rodina Kolkhoz, reported that the new club in Titovka Village has no movie projector, as a result of which the kolkhoz members cannot see motion pictures.

The construction organizations were sharply criticized. During the last five-year plan, the construction workers built about 90,000 square meters of housing. Still they are lagging considerably in their tasks. Last year the housing plan was fulfilled only 62 percent, such that the construction workers fell short by 5,400 square meters of housing. Only one-half of the planned premises were completed at the Shuyskiy, Krasnyy Mayak and imeni Karl Marks sovkhoses, while at the Sovkhoz imeni Tel'man, not a single new house was finished.

Year after year, the completion deadlines for a substantial number of industrial and agricultural projects are being violated. It took the Tselinogradtyazhstroy Trust more than 7 years (instead of 2 years and 9 months as planned) to complete the Atbasar cheese-making plant. Mobile Mechanized Column No 80 lagged in the construction of a dairy complex at the Sovkhoz imeni Karl Marks and a central repair workshop at the Sadovyy Sovkhoz.

The rayon has a large detachment of construction workers: mobile mechanized columns Nos 80 and 82, Construction-Installation Train No 110, and many other specialized installation organizations. During the 10th Five-Year Plan they spent more than 95 million rubles on capital investments and installed productive capital in excess of 70 million rubles. Animal husbandry premises for 30,000 head of cattle, grain and vegetable storage facilities and haylage and silage trenches were built. However, the successes of the construction workers could have been more substantial had the party members working in these organizations, maintained stricter production and labor discipline and paid greater attention to the introduction of the brigade contracting method.

During the development of the virgin lands extensive industrial facilities were built in the rayon. The first repair plant for K-700 and K-701 tractors in the

country was built in Atbasar. The machine repair plant reconditions the powerful Kirovets tractors and manufactures spare parts for other types of agricultural machinery. In 1971 the plant was awarded the Order of the Red Labor Banner for successfully mastering tractor repair technology. According to the plan, the plant will increase the number of ordinary repairs from 5,100 to 10,400 by 1985. The number of Kirovets tractors in Kazakhstan is increasing, and by 1990 they will number about 50,000. Repair requirements are rising year by year, for which reason this repair base in Kazakhstan is reconstructing and expanding basic shops without reducing its work volume.

Today Atbasar is supplying the country with erosion-preventing agricultural machinery, repair equipment, items made of keramzite-concrete, and reinforced concrete structures for industrial and nonindustrial construction. Goods produced by Atbasar enterprises are exported to 15 foreign countries. Five items have been awarded the state's Emblem of Quality. In 1980 local industry produced milk and dairy goods, flour, clothing and other items worth 13.5 million rubles more than in 1976.

Many collectives fulfilled their five-year plans ahead of schedule, including the grain elevator, grain products combine, clothing factory and rayon printing press. Unfortunately, however, there are also enterprises which fail to fulfill the state plan year after year. They include the meat combine, and the keramzite-concrete goods and reinforced concrete structures plants.

It is a fact that these enterprises are lagging for a variety of reasons. Conference delegate Ye. T. Niyazbekov, director of the Atbasar Meat Combine, stated that after applying progressive technology, the collective improved its labor productivity by 1.5 percent in a single year, and also reduced production costs by 609,000 rubles and produced goods bearing the Emblem of Quality worth 1.2 million rubles. The net profit totalled 1.5 million rubles. Nevertheless, the meat combine was among the lagging enterprises, not only because of irregular cattle deliveries by Tselinogradskaya and Turgayskaya oblast farms, but also as a consequence of the unfounded increase in the figures planned by Kazakhstan's Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry.

The delegates made it incumbent upon the party members employed at rayon industrial enterprises to pay most profound attention to improving production management, to earmark effective measures for upgrading its effectiveness and quality of output, and to insure an increase in of labor productivity, to wage a decisive struggle against violators of planning and labor discipline, and to insure the thrifty utilization of raw materials and fuel-energy resources.

In accordance with the decisions of the 25th party congress and the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work," the rayon party committee and the primary party organizations have tried to make an active contribution to the solution of economic and social problems. They applied and urged a comprehensive approach to ideological-political, labor, and moral upbringing, and to the molding of an acute political conscientiousness.



In their speeches and addresses, the delegates discussed the tasks facing propagandists and agitators during this school year, which falls between two events: the end of the 10th Five-Year Plan and the beginning of the 11th. Whereas at the beginning of the school year, they did everything possible to insure the successful completion of the 10th Five-Year Plan and to be properly prepared for the party forum, they will have to concentrate all their forces in the immediate future on the dissemination and implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

In the course of its preparations for the current school year, the rayon party committee paid great attention to adequately staffing the party's training system with personnel, to observing the principles of continuity and a differentiated approach to the organization of student groups, and to strengthening propaganda and agitation cadres with the most experienced specialists and managers. Their information system was thoroughly planned. They improved their skills and training premises and classrooms were readied.

The rayon has more than 20 voluntary political education offices. The party committees at the locomotive engine depot of Atbasar station, Mobile Mechanized Column No 80, the Grain Products Combine, the Sovkhoz imeni Karl Marks, and the Novaya Zhizn' Kolkhoz are helping the propagandists to learn to make broader use of methods which insure an individual approach to the students, such as talks, reports, and practical assignments dealing with specific production situations, together with traditional training methods such as seminars and conferences.

Delegate B. Mynzhasarov described the experience of the propagandists at the Rodina Kolkhoz, where great attention is paid to the economic training of animal husbandrymen. Shepherds, hog breeders and milkmaids who were instructed in the elements of production costs in farm output have begun to work more economically and to make better and thriftier use of production resources. In this way they were able to fulfill their cost effectiveness assignments in pastures and livestock farms better and to improve their work results considerably. The flock shepherds headed by B. Mynzhasarov raise no less than 97 lambs per 100 ewes and shear more than 4 kilograms of wool per sheep annually....

There are 3500 students enrolled in the political education system, and 11 students are taking economic training courses. In the period under consideration, more than 180 party members--managers and specialists working in various organizations--graduated from the Marxism-Leninism University of the Tselinogradskaya Oblast party committee and the party and economic aktiv course sponsored by the rayon party committee; 86 students are pursuing their training. This has improved the qualitative propaganda and agitation structure and has raised teaching standards. The rayon has 19 people's universities and courses in communist labor and progressive experience. More than 470 lecturers and 126 speakers and political informants address the working people on various aspects of the theory and practice of the building of communism and the international situation.

Some shortcomings still remain in the organization of political and economic training. Frequently training at the Marinovskiy, Samarskiy and Sadovyy sovkhoses, the rayon communications center and the repair-construction administration is substandard, and the material taught is largely unrelated to specific practical tasks.



The delegates, who shared their experience in ideological and political work, appealed to all the rayon party members to improve party propaganda and agitation so that the party's ideas and decisions can reach the minds and hearts of every student and provide strong support in the struggle for the implementation of specific plans and obligations.

The entire conference and the nature of the reports and speeches which were submitted clearly reflected the work style and methods of the rayon party committee. The efficient and self-critical way in which the delegates discussed their successes and exposed shortcomings proved the rayon party committee's combat capability and effectiveness. Its apparatus is made up of young people. All the secretaries and many department heads only recently assumed their positions. However, by plunging energetically into the work, they have developed as true leaders of the rayon party members and all the working people. After the candidate-heads of the rayon party organization were discussed at the organizational plenum of the new rayon party committee, its members unanimously elected K. A. Taukenov first rayon party committee secretary, while V. A. Ponomarev and A. D. Dzhasin were made secretaries.

Four other rayon party committees in Tselinogradskaya Oblast held their accountability and election conferences the same day: Alekseyevskiy, Astrakhanskiy, Kurgal'dzhinskiy, and Seletinskiy. The Atbasar people received congratulatory telegrams from the delegates attending these conferences and then reciprocated. This is a customary and now traditional gesture which shows the concern of the virgin lands people with maintaining friendly relations with their neighbors. This feeling of unity has frequently helped in busy periods and daily work.

The representatives of superior party organizations provided substantive and effective support in the preparations for the conference. The conference was attended by S. P. Kandalov, an inspector in the organizational-party work department of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee; B. A. Bonomanko, secretary of the Tselinogradskaya Oblast party committee; and senior oblast party committee officials A. K. Vasilenko, S. S. Zhumabeko and I. I. Lashin. They arrived in Atbasar several days before the conference and contributed to its success by specific advice and practical instructions.

The people of Atbasar have delivered millions of tons of grain since the beginning of the virgin lands epic. The rayon has become one of the republic's major granaries. It has trained hundreds of skillful grain growers. The leaders in the socialist competition include Heroes of Socialist Labor Ya. S. Bragin, M. Ye. Devznik, and M. A. Samartsev. They were the first in the rayon to reach a 20 quintal average and by challenging others to turn this record into a norm, launched an initiative under the slogan of "Let Us Increase the Productivity per Virgin Land Hectare."

To some people the figure may seem modest: the average yield in the Kuban' is as high as 50-60 quintals. However, the land here is not chernozem and there is far less precipitation than elsewhere. Furthermore, the heat is intense. Let us recall that at the beginning of the 1950s the country's average grain crop yields did not exceed 9 quintals per hectare. In 1979, the brigade headed by M. Ye. Dovzhik

average 22.2 quintals; last summer, when not a single drop of rain fell on the fields, the grain growers averaged 13.2 quintals per hectare in the dry fields. They fulfilled their annual plan and overfulfilled the five-year plan by a considerable amount.

M. Ye. Dovzhik is one of the characters described in 'Tselina.' His tent is exhibited at the Museum of the Revolution in Moscow. As a deputy in the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet and a member of the Tselinogradskaya Oblast Party Committee Bureau, he does extensive public work. He willingly shares his experience with grain farmers in neighboring sovkhozes and visits the fields of Marinovskiy Rayon, against which Atbasarskiy Rayon is competing. Shortly before the rayon party conference, he visited fraternal Mongolia as a member of a delegation of Kazakhstan virgin lands workers. In his address to the peasants and grain growers of the Mongolian People's Republic, M. Ye. Dovzhik described the conquering of the virgin lands in the USSR and wished the Mongolian virgin land workers success.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev made the inspiring statement that "People raised the grain on the land and the land raised the people. The virgin lands, metaphorically speaking, yielded their richest crop in working people, patriots, and masters of their work." Atbasar has become a real smithy of cadres, not only grain growers but also party and soviet workers. More than a dozen first secretaries of rayon party committees and chairmen of rayon executive committees in Tselinogradskaya Oblast began their careers in Atbasarskiy Rayon, and many Atbasar people hold responsible positions in neighboring oblasts, in Tselinograd and in Alma-Ata.

"The virgin lands worker is a historical figure who characterized a historical period," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out. The phrase, "virgin lands worker" means a person with a special character molded by the needs of the time." After years of trials, this character has been strengthened and tempered. Leonid Il'ich emphasizes repeatedly that "The virgin lands people proved their heroism," and that "These people accomplished a real exploit." The exploit is continuing to this day.

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## PARTY MEMBERS OF THE NINETEEN EIGHTIES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81 p 100

(Editorial note)

[Text] The letters, drawings, essays, and articles received by the editors in the final year of the five-year plan are convincing proof of the full support which the Soviet people are giving the domestic and foreign policy of our Leninist party and the proceedings of its 24th and 25th congresses, and of their approval of the practical activities of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet government, which, relying on the constructive energy of the people, are consistently and purposefully implementing this policy. The mail brings numerous practical suggestions and theories concerning important national economic problems and problems in improving social relations and cultural construction. All are focused on the implementation of the party's plans and confirm the close unity of the working people, rallied around the CPSU.

The letters from rank and file workers discussing party members and comrades at work or engaged in social activities, heads of collectives, party and soviet workers, scientists and men of culture, are a vivid and specific manifestation of the attitude of the Soviet people toward their political vanguard. On the eve of the 26th CPSU Congress, the number of such letters has increased noticeably.

"The daily work and Leninist life stance of a party member," writes T. S. Shchelukhin, from Peredovaya Village, Stavropol'skiy Kray, "set a permanent example for those around them; this applies to an ever greater extent to the manager, who is also a party member." A stricter measure is applied in judging the manager's activities, actions and character. According to the author, these requirements are perfectly met by N. K. Baranov, director of the Sovkhoz imeni Kirov, who has been heading one of the leading farms in the kray for more than a decade. The people are drawn to this man. They trust him, value his knowledge and organizing talent, and respect him for his accessibility, his simplicity and sincerity in his relations with people, and his loyalty to the party cause.

In his essay entitled "Like the Commissars in the Past," retired Guards Lt Col A. I. Girdo (Donetskaya Oblast) describes retired Col D. P. Nikashin, head of the political department of the 27th Guards Infantry Division in the Great Patriotic War. He is one of those party members about whom Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev said in "Malaya Zemiya" that their only privilege, right and duty was to be the first to attack and the first to rush toward enemy fire. In D. P. Nikashin's case, retirement is a relative concept: he is retired as an officer but as a party

member he has kept his place in the party's battle ranks. He has remained a commissar participating actively in sociopolitical life, such as meetings with young people at enterprises and military subunits, and he teaches classes in courage in the schools, a major and important aspect of military-patriotic training.

Workers' correspondent V. P. Mukhin describes spinner Mariya Ivanovna Simonova, a party group organizer at the Ozerskiy Cotton Fabrics Combine, Moscow Oblast, in his note entitled "The Collective's Honor is Your Own." She enjoys well-deserved prestige in the collective. She leads in everything--in work and in social activities. She is honorably keeping her pledge to fulfill two five-year plans within a single five-year period.

Comrades A. T. Kuchenev (Kaluzhskaya Oblast), V. I. Kiselev (Orekhovo-Zuyevo), I. K. Rodin (Ryazan'), D. I. Sirota (Kislovodsk), L. N. Zubachev (Klin), and many others describe leading people and party members who are actively building a new life in their letters to the editors.

The following are three characteristic notes selected from the large volume of mail received by the editors.

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## ALWAYS ON THE FIRE LINE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81 pp 100-102

[Letter to the editor by metallurgical engineer M. Berezhnoy, Kommunarsk, Voroshilovgradskaya Oblast]

[Text] "I have two passions that torment me," says Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Kachalov smilingly: "Martin furnace smelting and mushroom picking. Unfortunately, here in the Donbas we have no good mushroom areas. As to furnaces and hot metal, this I have every day"....

As I listened to him, I was thinking of one of the most complex periods in the life of the Kommunarsk Metallurgical Plant. On the surface everything appeared normal. The Martin furnaces were rumbling monotonously, and the metal, flaming like a torch, was whirling in the bucket. As they poured the next batch into the furnaces, the charging machines seemed to quiver from the unbearable heat. Meanwhile, freshly smelted metal was being poured into the huge buckets.

It was vastly quieter in the office of Anatoliy Vasil'yevich Grebenyukov, chief of the Martin furnace shop, but not at all peaceful. The telephone rang and he picked up the receiver: "Yes, Yuriy Feodosiyevich!"

The director's straight question called for an equally direct answer:

"How much 'I' (improved) steel will be smelted today?"

"It looks like....not even one bucket," the shop chief answered, after a slight hesitation.

"Not even one bucket?!" Yu. F. Voronov asked again. "Do you know what this means?"...

The shop chief nodded:

"We cannot smelt today. There is so much sulfur in the iron that trying for 'I' quality would be hopeless. Yesterday we poured three buckets of it."

"Do me no favors! Before the end of the shift you must find a way to smelt improved steel." The director hung up.

"What steelmaker would try to smelt the difficult 'I' type under such circumstances?" the shop chief asked himself. Kachalov would be the only one.

Subsequently, in answer to a question, steel smelter Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Kachalov, laureate of the USSR State Prize, answered simply:

"Yes, it was troublesome and the sulfur was quite a 'challenge'. I shared my concerns with the new shop chief but I also had faith in the strength of my brigade. And we succeeded."

The fire in his Martin furnace has been burning brightly for more than a quarter of a century. Aleksandr Kachalov, a boy from Smolensk, a Komsomol member and factory training graduate, arrived at the Kommunarok Metallurgical Plant in 1952 and started his ascent to the peak of professional skill. It was here that he became a party member in 1959, and it was here that recognition came--the Order of the Labor Red Banner, awarded for achieving high production indicators in the Eighth Five-Year Plan, and the Order of the October Revolution, won for successes in the Ninth Five-Year Plan. Finally, for outstanding labor accomplishments in the 10th Five-Year Plan--participation in mastering the smelting of new high grade steels--he was awarded the title Laureate of the USSR State Prize. Today, the main task of his brigade is to produce this difficult type of steel.

The "Basic Directions in the Development of the USSR National Economy in 1976-1980," adopted at the 25th CPSU Congress, stipulated specifically that production of the most effective varieties of metal goods must be increased by 50 to 100 percent, and that the production of quality steels must also be increased. No technical progress is possible without such metals. Our icebreakers are plying the Arctic Sea and are already approaching the North Pole. As the petroleum and gas industry is developed in the Extreme North and Siberia, an urgent need for higher quality pipes for drilling, and for petroleum and gas pipelines is created. All of this demands reliable types of metal which are corrosion-proof and able to withstand tremendous pressures and the whims of nature. That was why, Aleksandr Mikhaylovich told me, the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy asked several plants to master the smelting of "I" quality steel. "We were able to achieve this before the others. We mastered this operation by adding manganese, vanadium, silicon and nitrogen, which give the metal strength, plasticity, frost-resistance and other important qualities."

He said this simply, modestly, with no mention of the intensive effort it required. Steel smelter Kachalov and his assistants Nikolay Lobach, who now heads a brigade at the neighboring furnace, along with Aleksandr Grenkin and Yuriy Stetskov, developed this type of smelting from the experimental to the industrial stage and were among the pioneers blazing the path toward the manufacturing of "I" grade steel. Today Kachalov's collective is one of the best suppliers of high grade metal in the republic's metallurgical sector.

There is no night at the Martin shop. Whenever you happen to come here you can always see the flames of the smelting and the impressive sight of the flowing steel, for at least one of the 10 powerful Martin furnaces lined up in a row, with a capacity of 300 to 600 tons, will be pouring out metal at that time.

Martin furnaces were developed at the end of the 19th century. Naturally, today's models bear no great resemblance to their predecessors, except for the principle

on which the operation is based. Unquestionably, they far outstrip the older models in terms of capacity, mechanization, automation and simplified control.

Let us make the immediate stipulation, however, that neither advanced computers nor any other type of automation will soon be able to reduce the work of the smelter substantially, or to free him from decision making, not to mention the possibility of taking his place. They remain, however, his loyal helpers.

"How was it in the past? I do not have that much seniority," Aleksandr Mikhaylovich admitted. "But even I have been able to see here, with my own eyes, how much has vanished forever. But it certainly did exist...."

His small historical aside naturally turned our conversation to the hard postwar times--the period of the heroic rebuilding of our industry in which he participated, and remembers, despite his youthful age then. At the start of the 1950s, the Kommunarsk Metallurgical Plant had yet to rise from the ashes. Kachalov came here when the second Martin shop was barely beginning operations.

"Sometimes I reread Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's 'Vozrozhdeniye' [Rebirth] and I catch myself thinking of how familiar the events described in this beautiful and sincere book are. If you asked why, I could not give you a prompt answer. For one thing, it focuses mainly and specifically on the rebuilding of the metallurgical industry in which I have been inseparably involved. For another, it specifically mentions Zaporozhstal', an enterprise which I have visited a few times only but where I nevertheless feel at home. Good friends of mine work there and its present director, Lenin Prize Laureate Lev Dmitriyevich Yupko, is one of our people from Kommunarsk. After the war he worked at our plant as chief engineer."

A. M. Kachalov and I discussed his shop, his fellow workers, and metallurgy. I was interested in his views on a variety of production situations and he shared them willingly. He also recalled an "industrial" dialogue in the FRG, during a cruise he took in the Baltic area. He talked with one Christina Muller, who was employed at the (Hill) plant in Lubeck, which makes teletypes. She believed that she had no right to complain.

"Actually, she did not. I asked her, 'Christina, what is your salary?' She answered: '1,300 marks.' All in all, this was not bad.

"'And what if you were a man?'

"'Had it been you,' she answered with a smile, 'your salary would have been 50 percent higher.'

"I noticed, however, that her smile was forced.

"'Why?'

"'I do not know,' she answered. 'Actually, I am grateful to have a job. Some people do not have even that.'

"'Do you have children?'

"I have a three-year-old daughter."

"Does she go to kindergarten?"

"What are you talking about?" asked Christina. "There are no kindergartens in our enterprise. I have to hire a babysitter. It is quite expensive."

"I found out," A. M. Kachalov said, continuing his story, "that this large enterprise has no rest center or facilities for children (actually, this is not an isolated case). The plant does not provide transportation for the workers. In a word, the administration is not concerned with how the workers live."

He then suddenly recalled his own Kommunarsk, the snow-white yachts sailing on the Isakiyevskoye Water Reservoir, which is like a real man-made sea on the Donbass Steppe, surrounded by picturesque summer homes and boarding houses owned by the plants, and the rest center for Kommunarsk metallurgical workers in Gelendzhik, on the Black Sea, where he had frequently spent his vacation with his family.... He remembered the facility for children in which his daughter Larisa, now a student at the mining-metallurgical institute, was raised.

"At that point I felt particularly proud of my socialist homeland and of the fact that I was its son!" Aleksandr Mikhaylovich went on to say. "Believe me, I have traveled a great deal and have seen many interesting and instructive things. However, nowhere have I found such inspired labor, such confidence in the future as my compatriots have."

I listened to him and thought how important and symbolic everything that this famous Ukrainian steel smelter had told me was. Let us consider just the fact that he, of Russian nationality and birth, has been able to achieve great professional skill and to earn social recognition on Ukrainian soil, while Ukrainian Gennadiy Il'ich Shirenko, a close acquaintance of his and former graduate of the Kommunarsk Mining-Metallurgical Institute, who is today chief engineer at the Nadymgazpromstroy Trust, which is laying pipelines made of metal smelted by Kachalov, was made USSR State Prize Laureate for providing several scientific and technical solutions related to the accelerated development of the Medvezh'ye natural gas deposits in Tyumenskaya Oblast, and earned his fame on Russian soil. Both are involved in the same great project: the building of communism.

The creative fire of the Martin furnace smelters, started by A. M. Kachalov one-quarter of a century ago, is firmly under his control. Both literally and metaphorically, this party member is always on the fire line, fulfilling his party's responsible and complex assignments.

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## AT THE HEAD OF THE COLLECTIVE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81 pp 102-103

[Letter to the editors by Ye. Gneusheva, V. Lugacheva and A. Petrova, labor veterans at the fine cloth combine, Ulan-Ude]

[Text] Klavdiya Pavlovna Al'tsman came to the Ulan-Ude fine-cloth combine as a young girl and has come a long way since those long-gone years. Today she is famous throughout Buryatiya, and many people are amazed at the way this woman is managing a huge enterprise perfectly, better than some men could. She headed its reconstruction and expansion and, essentially, the building of the new combine. She invested a great deal of effort in organizing and unifying the collective. In the course of these comprehensive activities, K. P. Al'tsman has always relied on the support of the party members and the entire party organization. She works in close contact with the trade union committee and the other public organizations. She discusses all production matters with the economic aktiv.

The overall impression made by the combine reflects a personal, considerate approach to the work and sensibly strict yet humane good order. Everything reveals the prevailing high standards. The cleanliness and tasteful neatness and the attentive attitude shown by the administrative personnel toward the workers who turn to them on work, social or private matters. The entire territory around the combine is landscaped and covered with flower beds. Excellent order prevails in the shops. This proves that the collective has a very meaningful life.

Klavdiya Pavlovna walks through the shops, checks on the situation and talks to the workers every single day. She knows everything: how well a worker is doing, what his family situation is, and how he spends his leisure time. Such knowledge helps the director to resolve both work and social problems properly.

She is an experienced instructor who values the positive qualities of each worker, and it is natural that everyone at the combine should love her and work well, with spirit, like a member of a single family. That is why the fine-cloth combine leads in the all-union socialist competition for the production of finished goods and is the first communist labor collective in Buryatiya.

Recently, the enterprise collective took on additional socialist obligations in honor of the forthcoming 26th congress of the Leninist communist party. No one who

knows K. P. Al'tsman, party member and republic supreme soviet deputy, doubts that these obligations, which will require the mobilization of the collective's full efforts, will be met successfully.

Our commentary on a woman who is an able manager of a large combine is merely one example of the way tens and hundreds of thousands of women party members are working.

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## GREATHEARTED PERSON

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81 p 103

[Letter to the editors by V. Petrosyan, teacher, Baku]

[Text] The increased scale and complexity of economic and social construction tasks in the development of the socialist society require an ever higher standard of party leadership. This, in turn, depends decisively on the cadres. In our republic, extensive work is being done under the guidance of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee on further improving the selection, placement and training of leading cadres. The results of such activities are influencing practical work favorably. Many of our managers, while avoiding petty busywork and ostentation, are confidently implementing the communist party plans. They show an attentive attitude toward the people and their needs and requirements, as well as being exigent toward themselves and others.

The people of Nasiminskiy Rayon in Baku mention the name of Lidiya Khudatovna Rasulova, first secretary of the rayon party committee and chairman of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Auditing Commission, with a feeling of deep respect. I recently had occasion to see her in her office. I spent more than 3 hours with the first secretary and could not fail to sense her profoundly party-minded and efficient approach to official and production problems and her unusually great responsiveness to people.

Every day, party and nonparty members address themselves to the rayon party committee secretary on social or personal matters or simply approach her to exchange a few words or to seek advice. They listen to her with great attention and interest, for she talks simply and clearly and, most important, very persuasively.

L. Kh. Rasulova, a person with a big heart, a party member and political leader, is noted for her respect and love for the people, her faith in their strength, political conscientiousness, and constant concern for others.

Now, on the threshold of the new five-year plan, when our country faces economic, political and ideological problems of exceptional complexity and scale, the personality of the leader is frequently the main factor in the successful implementation of decisions and state plans and assignments. That is why I ask KOMMUNIST to publish my letter about L. Kh. Rasulova, a professional party worker who, in my opinion, is fully keeping step with the requirements of our time.

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## UPHOLDING THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81, pp 104-111

[Article by William Kashtan, Communist Party of Canada secretary general]

[Text] It was pointed out at our party's 24th congress held a year ago that we are entering a new stage in the struggle being waged in the conditions of continuing economic decline, greater discord within the monopoly camp on the subject of constitutional reform, and aggravation of Canadian-American relations caused by the struggle for control over Canadian natural resources, and under the circumstances of a growing threat of global nuclear war. We also stated that "the impression of a noticeable shift by the Canadian people to the right created by the monopolies and their mass information media was entirely wrong. Actually, Canadian political forces--both on the right and the left--are becoming increasingly polarized." This assessment was substantiated by the federal elections which followed the congress, and their outcome.

The minority government, headed by the conservative Clark, was defeated 8 months after taking office. It was replaced by a liberal majority government headed by Prime Minister Trudeau. The new democratic party, which enjoyed the support of the Canadian Labor Congress, garnered a greater majority of votes. Today it holds 32 parliamentary seats.

This rapid turn of events in domestic policy proved that most Canadians had rejected the extreme right-wing course of the conservatives who were backed by the large corporations. These corporations and the English-language mass information media supported the conservative party, deeming it "preferable." The party also enjoyed the support of the Carter administration in the United States.

After promising to lower taxes, provide new jobs, and restrain inflation, taking over, the conservatives did precisely the opposite when they took office. Through their budget they imposed an additional burden on the working people, added new taxes, and increased inflation and unemployment. Their intention to turn the Petrocan State Petroleum Company over to private interests and to raise the prices of natural gas and oil to world levels, and meaning even higher profits for the multinational petroleum corporations, owned by American capital but operating in Canada, were particularly alarming.

Most Canadians rejected the openly pro-American stand taken by the conservatives during the electoral campaign, in the course of which their party shamelessly and



totally supported the "Carter doctrine" of the U. S. imperialist policy in the Near and Middle East and the policy of increased NATO military spending and malicious anti-Sovietism. By their votes, the Canadians indicated that they opposed subordinating the country's interests to those of American imperialism. The Canadian people expect of the newly elected government implementation of a program which will put an end to price increases, inflation and unemployment, and will reduce U. S. control over the Canadian economy.

Will the Trudeau government be able and willing to pursue such a policy? During the electoral campaign, the liberals promised to take steps to boost the economy, and some in the social area, to broaden regional development programs, and to promote the "Canadization" of the economy by raising Canadian ownership of energy resources to the 50 percent level by 1990.

In our electoral campaign declaration we emphasized that "There is no certainty at all that a liberal majority government can keep its electoral campaign promises and will not make a turn to the right under monopoly pressure." Our claim is still valid. A slide to the right can be prevented only by the action of the masses and unabated pressure from them, for the liberals were in power for 16 years and did virtually nothing to resolve the crisis in favor of the working people.

Political work must not be limited to electoral campaigns and voting. It requires a constant effort in which mass actions are combined with education. This enhances the class awareness of the working class. We know that a policy of class cooperation leads nowhere. Only the united and independent actions of the workers, based on a policy of class confrontation and sensible coalitions, that can pave the way to substantial accomplishments for the working class and the democratic forces in the forthcoming period. It is precisely unity of action among all democratic forces that can prevent a Canadian swing to the right. The establishment of such unity is the main task of the country's democratic movement.

The Canadian right wing and the Carter administration in the United States were displeased with the outcome of the elections. With this in mind, it was quite possible that the reactionary forces in the country and our neighbor to the south would pressure the liberal government into turning toward the right and would force it to follow a policy detrimental to the working people, making them the principal victims of the developing economic crisis.

The polarization of forces in the country has been one of the major features of recent Canadian political life. On the one hand, it reflects the trend in Canadian policies toward being "against" but not necessarily "for." On 22 May 1979, the voters in Ontario were "against" Trudeau and voted for Clark. On 18 February 1980 they were "against" Clark and voted for Trudeau. In the western provinces, those who were "against" the conservatives voted for the New Democratic Party, since the liberals were not considered a viable alternative. On the other hand, there are also long-term polarization factors, caused by the uneven development of the different parts of the country and the conflict between the industrially developed eastern part of Canada and the western provinces, which are rich in energy and mineral resources but unwilling to remain merely a raw material appendage. Parochialism--another reflection of disparate economic aspirations--plays an important political role in Canadian life, along with national problems and the problem of U. S. control over key Canadian economic sectors.

Of late acute contradictions among the different monopoly groups have surfaced. The multinational U. S.-owned petroleum corporations would like to raise petroleum and natural gas prices to world levels and thus increase their profits. The industrialists in the eastern part of Canada support low prices in order to remain competitive in the global marketplace. The main reason for the defeat of the conservative government was precisely the questions of prices and ownership of energy resources. Our party was right in pointing out the shaky state of the unity between eastern and western financial interests in their support of the conservatives in the 22 May 1979 elections, a unity which began to break down as a consequence of the sharp conflicts which broke out in the conservative camp. It is not impossible that the monopolies in eastern Canada, taking their common interests into consideration, will in the final account reach the conclusion that such interests are best served by some aspect of state control over energy resources, a conclusion to which the U. S. multinational petroleum corporations operating in Canada will object sharply. The American monopolies are supported in this struggle by the U. S. government, which opposes the nationalization of Canadian energy resources.

Be that as it may, the election results proved the grave differences existing in the monopoly camp. It is becoming equally clear that monopoly control is precisely the reason for the growth of separatist trends in Quebec, and the western provinces. In Quebec, monopoly control blocks the path toward a democratic solution of the federation crisis; in the west it makes use of the dissatisfaction with a situation which assigns these provinces the role of suppliers of inexpensive raw materials to the monopolies.

Some monopoly interests are seeking a political means of ending the crisis by advocating some sort of proportional representation system. Obviously, this would influence electoral results considerably. However, the monopolies fear that such an electoral reform may in the final account benefit the working class and the democratic movement. That is why it has been suggested that proportional representation be limited in a way which would essentially favor the parties linked with monopoly capital.

However, proportional representation would not remove the main reasons for the sharp differences which characterize Canada's current situation. They are related first of all to the national problem, pending the resolution of which Quebec's separatist tendencies will intensify even further. They are also related to the complex problem of resources, in terms of their ownership, control and the extraction of profits, and to the problem of the all-round economic development of the western provinces and coastal areas. The present structure of the federation cannot be preserved, for the demand for full national equality can no longer be ignored. Our position is extremely clear: the working class must oppose separatism and the splitting of the country, for this could bring about even greater foreign control over natural resources and pave the way toward the absorption of the country by U. S. imperialism.

The solution of such problems urgently requires organizational and constitutional amendments and the substitution of a specifically Canadian constitution for the British North America Act. Such a constitution would be based on the equal and

voluntary cooperation between the two nationalities in a binational state. State ownership of resources and their development by joint federal and provincial government corporations, for the common benefit of the peoples of the individual provinces and the entire country, would be equally necessary. As we know, the British North America Act denies the existence of a French Canadian nation. It lets the multinational corporations strengthen their hold on the Canadian economy. Consequently, it is a question not merely of constitutional change but of the very future of Canada and its independent economic and political development.

The main attack mounted against the monopolies and multinational corporations, which favor the preservation of the status quo, should be backed by a struggle to provide a democratic solution for the crisis within the federation, as suggested by our party, namely the establishment of equal and voluntary cooperation between our nations within a binational state, based on the rights to self-determination and full equality. This should be codified in a new independent Canadian constitution. The events bring into focus more sharply than ever before the need for organizational reform, not only for the sake of resolving the crisis within the federation, but also to insure the all-round economic development of the country and thus initiate the process of lifting U. S. domination from our economy.

We are entering a new stage in the crisis, which is becoming increasingly typical of the other deepening crisis in the fiscal system of the capitalist world. This in turn could aggravate the economic and political crisis being experienced by world capitalism. The mass information media are hinting at two-digit inflation and even super inflation. The upheavals which have embraced over the capitalist world will run deeper and last longer than previous ones did.

The drastic increase in interest rates in the United States triggered the same type of increase in other capitalist countries, including Canada. This reflects the growing rivalry within the imperialist camp and, to an equal extent, the worsening instability of the capitalist system. As inflation and interest rates rise, real wages decline and the living standard drops, while corporate profits continue to rise.

The crisis in the automobile industry is spreading to other sectors. Plant closings are becoming an ordinary phenomenon. Last year in Ontario alone, 50 plants, which were actually branches of U. S. plants, closed down. In cities such as Windsor, unemployment has already reached a staggering figure — 19 percent. Workers in the automobile industry are facing the exhaustion of unemployment compensation and supplementary aid funds. The strike at the Howdale Plant aggravated the situation and drew attention to the situation of the working people and the company's callous attitude toward them. We congratulate the Howdale working people on their victory, which is a victory for the entire working class. Nevertheless, we must point out that this is merely a partial gain. We have yet to resolve the main problem of jobs and full employment. This is the essence of the struggle to which the working class must commit itself.

A difficult situation is developing in housing construction as well. The construction of apartment units has declined to approximately 185,000 per year and may drop to 160,000. This means a rise in unemployment in the building industry. The problem is further complicated by limited purchasing power, deliberately promoted



by the government, and the rise in interest rates. This not only deprives the working people of the possibility of buying their own homes, but may even force several hundred thousand people to lose theirs because of inability to refinance their mortgages. For the first time since the war, dozens of thousands of working people face the threat of losing their homes, although they have jobs. Furthermore, builders are steadily pressing for the lifting of rent controls.

Aware of this critical situation, the party makes the following additional demands in addition to our "National Housing Program": mortgage interest rates should not exceed eight percent; all families entitled to a housing subsidy should receive it, so that rents will not exceed 20 percent of income; a law should be passed banning eviction and deprivation of buyers of the right to pay off their mortgages. The more than \$3 billion spent on military aircraft should be applied to housing for the working people and subsidies for related outlays.

Like Clark's administration, the Trudeau government has shown its obvious inability to deal with unemployment, inflation and economic stagnation. Its economic policy is actually aimed at encouraging an economic decline rather than its elimination. The time has come for the working class and all working people to say to the government bluntly: "If you are unable to resolve the economic and social problems facing the country, stand aside and let a democratic coalition, which would include the communist party, carry out this task on the basis of a new national policy of 'getting Canada back to work.'"

Unlike the situation in Canada, where plants are closing down, an entirely different process is under way in the Soviet Union. During my visit to the USSR last summer I asked how many plants had been closed in the Soviet Union. The answer was: "We do not close down plants, we open them. Between 1976 and 1980 we commissioned more than 1,200 industrial enterprises, in addition to reconstructing and expanding existing plants and factories." I asked about unemployment, and was told that for more than 50 years there has been full employment in the Soviet Union, and that unemployment is totally nonexistent. Job opportunities are listed on the bulletin boards at the gates of the large Moscow enterprises, with long lists of skills needed. The newly developed areas in Siberia and the North need an unlimited number of specialists in virtually all fields. In 1980 alone one million new jobs were created in the USSR.

The bourgeois press tries to conceal the actual achievements of the Soviet economy, directing the people's attention solely to the critical remarks made by the Soviet leaders themselves with a view to correcting one shortcoming or another. The falsehoods of bourgeois propaganda are particularly noticeable if we compare the new Canadian budget with the 1981 USSR State Budget. The Canadian budget actually anticipates further increases in unemployment and inflation, reduced rates of economic development and deteriorating living conditions. Conversely, the USSR budget calls for raising the living standard of the working people, a new economic upsurge, full employment, and stable prices for goods and housing. All of this is possible only on the basis of a planned economy aimed at meeting the needs of the people. The Canadian budget shows most consideration for the interests of the monopolies and their profit increases, rather than the good of the Canadian working people. A comparison between the two budgets immediately reveals which of the two systems is in a deep state of crisis.



These differences between the development of Canada and the Soviet Union are determined by who owns the productive capital--the monopolies or the people. Under socialism, the needs of the people and their welfare come first. Under capitalism, priority is given to corporate profits. These differences between our countries indicate that the real Soviet threat is not military. The threat to capitalism feared by the monopolies and the reactionaries lies in the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

Inflation and unemployment are the constant companions of modern capitalism. Their elimination requires the substitution of nationalization and planning, under democratic control, for capitalist production relations. Here "cosmetic measures" are of no help. The nature of the crisis requires that drastic steps be taken to restrict the power of the monopolies and multinational corporations. It calls for an increased budget and a policy which can stimulate an increase in purchasing power, extensive housing construction throughout the country in order to satisfy the needs of the people, the creation of new jobs and, above all, the strengthening of Canadian independence. Instead, the monopoly circles are trying to regain control over wages and prices despite the fact that such control clearly does not suffice to hold back inflation. The working class should recognize those suggestions which benefit only the corporations. The struggle against inflation demands not wage controls but control of the monopolies and multinational corporations which, together with the armaments program, are the sources of inflation. In order to protect the working class and the working people from the consequences of inflation, higher interest rates and higher prices and monopoly profits, our party has called for government subsidies which would lower the prices of basic foodstuffs and other items of prime necessity, the maintenance of rent control and protection of the people against rising energy prices. Our overall slogan must be "The Needs of the People Are More Important than Monopoly Profits!"

The election results and the widening scope of the struggle waged by the workers prove that the working people are rejecting the policy of shifting the main burden of the crisis onto their shoulders. The increasingly energetic and organized opposition of the working class to monopoly policy is becoming particularly important. The awareness that it can defend its rights and improve its living standard by uniting in the struggle against monopolies and multinational corporations is increasing in the ranks of the working class. Major victories are possible only by uniting all antimonopoly and democratic forces. The Bell Telephone workers' strike is an example of such a struggle. Here, as in many other strikes women, who constitute the main labor force, took a firm stand.

The long strikes were a protest against the rigid monopoly policy aimed at weakening the labor union movement and blocking wage increases. We must not underestimate the struggle being waged by the workers for higher wages, guaranteed employment and the satisfaction of other needs. This includes the most important actions pursued by the working class against monopoly policy, actions worthy of total support. It also includes the struggle for redistribution of the national income in favor of the working people and for expansion of the domestic market through an increase in the population's purchasing power. This position is the precise opposite of the monopoly line, since in order to earn maximum profits, the monopolies are curtailing the domestic market, undermining purchasing power, and

aggravating the economic crisis. The struggle for substantial wage increases, secure jobs, frozen mortgage interest rates, and extensive housing construction, and to obtain the right of the workers to participate in the solution of all problems affecting them, must be meshed with the struggle for Canadian independence, peace, detente and disarmament, and must assume a central place within it.

The party must work energetically for the implementation of its basic tasks. As was stated at the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of Canada, "The situation we are entering into requires an upsurge in the struggle waged by the working class against the consequences of the policy of crisis pursued by the monopolies and their governments. Such an upsurge, however, will not automatically enhance the class and political awareness of the workers or spontaneously reinforce party ranks. On the contrary, it is only the conscientious and consistent efforts of communists, wherever they happen to be employed, which can increase our party's strength and solidify the class and political awareness of the workers. It is this task, precisely which requires conscientious and systematic effort, and must be the focal point of our attention today. This demands greater initiative and daring, the eliminating of sectarian trends and a more specific approach to party construction." The congress' instructions must be retained as our manual for action both today and in the future.

In recent years we have seen the Carter government take many steps aimed at undermining detente. U. S. imperialism turned sharply back toward the cold war and the arms race, playing the "Chinese trump" and resorting to economic blackmail in pursuit of its objectives. At the December 1980 plenum of our party's Central Committee, we pointed out that the struggle for peace and detente has become the main task of all mankind today. With its aggressive policy and NATO imperialism, the U.S. is trying to block progressive changes in the world and to rescue the entire capitalist system from its deep state of crisis. However, the examples of Cuba, Vietnam, Kampuchea and Afghanistan prove the futility of such efforts, for the forces of peace are stronger than those of war.

The offensive mounted against the Soviet Union, peace and detente in the spirit of the cold war has currently assumed the nature of an open threat of thermonuclear warfare. This conceals the aspiration to legitimize the use of nuclear weapons and to gain support for a first nuclear strike policy. That is why the Carter administration approved Directive No 59, which essentially means the adoption of a new nuclear strategy based on the admission that a limited nuclear war is possible. However, everyone understands that the concept of "limited nuclear warfare" is as impossible as being "slightly pregnant." A so-called limited nuclear war, should it break out, would most rapidly turn into a major nuclear catastrophe which would spread throughout the world. Directive No 59 represents a marked withdrawal from the former positions of nuclear restraint and the unacceptability of nuclear war. It is actually closer to the position of Mao Zedong, who stated that a nuclear war would not be so horrible, after all. What if one-half of the population on earth is destroyed? he asked. The other half will remain!

Without advance consultation with their allies, the American imperialists are trying to involve them, including Canada, in dangerous adventures which threaten the peace and security of the earth and the peace and security of our country.

Without advance consultation with their allies, the American imperialists are trying to involve them, including Canada, in dangerous adventures which threaten the peace and security of the earth and the peace and security of our country. American imperialism is trying to strengthen its power over its allies and to undermine their sovereignty with the help of the cold war. It has tried to win their active support for economic sanctions against Iran, the cessation of economic, cultural and scientific exchanges with the Soviet Union, and the ignominious and unsuccessful Carter campaign to boycott the Moscow Olympics by the capitalist world. All of this is based on yet another objective of the American imperialists: to consolidate U.S. control over the raw material and energy resources of other countries, in particular, the developing nations, to win spheres of influence and, not least, to extract maximum profits, all in the name of "national interests." This and this alone underlies the "Carter doctrine." Meanwhile, ignoring all provocations, the USSR emphasizes that the only sensible course in today's world is that of easing international tension, putting and end the arms race and settling problems on an equitable basis.

The thoughtless and adventuristic policy of the U. S. imperialists is meeting with growing opposition even within the NATO bloc, not to mention that of the young developing countries which are refusing to bow to American imperialism.

We deem it our most important duty to tirelessly explain to the masses that it is precisely imperialism which opposes detente and disarmament and favors aggression wherever it can. It calls for the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe as a feature of the preparations for waging a war on the Soviet Union. It is increasing its military power in the Persian Gulf, aimed not only against the national liberation movement in that part of the world but also against the USSR. It is helping the Beijing leadership to turn China into a weapon of NATO policy aimed against the Soviet Union, national liberation and detente. All of this repeatedly emphasizes the need for maximum vigilance, combined with steadily mounting efforts to preserve peace. This precisely was what was most strongly emphasized at the Paris meeting of communist and workers parties, which drew attention to the struggle for peace and disarmament, unquestionably, fated to play an important role in rebuffing the American imperialist and NATO counteroffensive.

The struggle for international peace, disarmament, for strengthening detente, an independent Canadian foreign policy, and Canada's withdrawal from NATO is our major current task. The normalizing of economic, cultural, scientific and trade relations with the Soviet Union is a major step in this direction. Let us note in this connection the positive significance in the development of Soviet-Canadian relations of Canada's refusal to join in the U. S. embargo on shipping grain to USSR, which most seriously affected the interests of Canadian farmers. Anti-Sovietism is being used by the reactionary imperialist forces in their preparations for a new war. The propaganda efforts in the socialist foreign policy are a structural element in the struggle for peace. For Canada this means the strengthening of Canadian-Soviet friendship, a cause which merits tireless efforts.

This year we shall begin extensive preparations for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Canadian Communist Party. This anniversary will

be observed extensively at the 25th anniversary congress to be held in February 1982, transforming our celebration into a mass political campaign for the strengthening of party ranks. We need a strong party, for without it no real unity between the working class and the other democratic forces can ever be attained. Another important reason for which we need a strong party is in order to wage an increasingly energetic struggle for peace, social progress and socialism.

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## TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81 pp 112-118

[Article by Franz Muhri, chairman of the Austrian Communist Party]

It is in any unit of the world's communist army, the party congress, its highest authority and forum, is always considered not only a significant event in party history, but a landmark in the struggle headed by the communists. The congress assesses the work done and domestic and international circumstances. It notes prospects for further activities, and is a permanent manifestation of the great responsibility communists feel toward the people and the toiling masses.

It was with an awareness of this responsibility that the 24th Congress of the Austrian Communist Party was prepared and held on 6-8 December 1980. Following a discussion of the accountability report submitted by the Central Committee, the congress defined the political status and tasks of the ACP [Austrian Communist Party] and the party's future general line in a detailed resolution. The draft of this principal political document was discussed in advance, during an extensive democratic debate within the party, as a result of which several amendments and improvements were suggested and considered for the final draft. Accordingly, the main tasks of the ACP in the immediate future can be reduced to the following: struggle for peace and international solidarity; employment; preservation and increase of sociopolitical and democratic gains; greater efforts to develop unity of action with blue and white collar workers affiliated with other political movements, socialists, nonparty people, and Christians; alliances with other democratic and antimonopoly forces; and political, ideological and organizational strengthening of the communist party itself.

The importance of the 24th ACP Congress is also defined by the fact that the Leninist norms of party life have been codified more clearly and consistently in the party bylaws than in the past, in accordance with the specific conditions under which our party operates. Political documents and the election of new party leadership organs were considered in the course of the creative, critical and self-critical discussions. The congress confirmed party unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, unity regarding ideological and political problems, and unity between theory and practice. This means that the party workers must above all set an example in defending and implementing the party's basic principles. Finally, it is also a question of unity between old and young cadres and organizational unity based on strict observance of the

Leninist norms of party life. Experience shows that the preservation and consolidation of this unity are not at all automatic. This must be considered a permanent task in which unity within the party's leadership plays a key role.

During preparations for the 24th ACP Congress, the Central Committee made the decision that the time had come for drafting a new ACP program. The initial drafting of the program was assigned to a special commission. It was submitted to the 24th ACP Congress delegates and published subsequently. At the congress itself it was not the focal point of attention, since its extensive public discussion has been planned for the immediate future. The program which will come out of this draft will be considered at an extraordinary party congress, which will make the final decision in this matter.

It is self-evident that an accurate assessment of the main trends and forces governing the course of international development and a study of state-monopoly capitalism in Austria and of its particular characteristics should be the starting point for our party program. What is the nature of these characteristics in the economic and political structure of state-monopoly capitalism and what aspects does its domination in our country assume?

The draft program justifiably notes that to date the political, economic and moral crisis in capitalism has affected Austria less than most other developed industrial capitalist countries. Thus, following the 1974-1975 economic crisis and up to the present, Austria has been able to avoid high unemployment. The social democratic government is doing everything possible to take credit for this fact. In fact, this is how it has managed to increase the absolute parliamentary majority it achieved in 1971 in one election after another.

Actually, however, there have been a number of objective facts which have played a decisive role in enabling the social democratic government to alleviate the consequences of the economic crisis.

In Austria, many key positions in industry, the energy sector and the largest banks are either entirely or mostly in the hands of the state. The existence of a state-capitalistic sector has made it possible to take energetic state-monopoly steps to control the economy better than anywhere else.

Specific circumstances can be added to this decisive political fact. As we know, tourism plays an important role in the Austrian economy. Year after year this has allowed the country to earn considerable amounts of foreign currency and has given the service industry greater opportunities to use available manpower and to absorb any potential unemployment in the production of goods. Austria also has a relatively good domestic raw material and energy base. Furthermore, the permanent neutrality of the country has even further facilitated the strengthening of economic relations with developing petroleum-producing countries. Even before World War II, Austria had established traditional economic relations with Eastern Europe. Dynamic economic development, based on the socialist planned economy in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries after World War II, provided an opportunity for expanding economic relations with them. Austria was thus able to secure a substantial number of jobs and to neutralize the effects of the energy crisis.

The so-called "social partnership" system is yet another important characteristic of Austrian state-monopoly capitalism. Let us immediately point out that this is a specific type of reformism and class cooperation. Specifically, this means that important economic-political decisions and those on social policy, prices, wages and in other social and economic areas are made by very small groups including heads of management associations, blue and white collar worker chambers, and representatives of the government and the trade unions. This system functions whatever the ratio of forces in parliament or the structure of the government in power. It is entirely clear, therefore, that the essence of this "social partnership" lies in limited trade union democracy and the reduced role of the parliament.

From the ideological-political viewpoint "social partnership" means the surrender of autonomous class positions and, to a large extent, refusal to use the strength of the working class in the struggle against monopoly capital. This is achieved in the guise of a fictitious "common responsibility" shared by workers and capitalists, which is endlessly stressed by the ruling class. Let us also add that the sole reason such a "social partnership" system could function in Austria was that during the long interval of favorable economic circumstances marked by high economic growth, many reforms became possible. They resulted in the substantial improvement in the living standard of the working people and even larger capitalist profits. The reforms were effected by the bourgeoisie, through discussions held within the "social partnership" institutions, in order to block the launching of major class battles by the workers. In this respect, the relative weakness of the Austrian bourgeoisie also played a certain role and the social democratic leaders did not miss the opportunity to use the progress in living standard as a justification for the "social partnership" and the propaganda on "social peace," through which it was alleged, more could be accomplished than by means of strikes. Naturally, the "social partnership" is only possible in Austria because the social democratic movement, which holds sway over the working class and the trade unions, is quite strong.

One consequence of the "social partnership" system is that the working class has become far more passive. Its sense of solidarity has weakened. This is the reason for yet another feature of Austria's development: whereas in most industrialized capitalist countries, increased exploitation of the workers and other toiling categories aggravated the class struggle when the 1974-1975 economic crisis began, the burden of the crisis in Austria was shifted to the working people, meanwhile blocking major class actions by the workers. The fear of job loss was unquestionably the main pressure lever used in preventing actions in the enterprises. In such cases, particularly strong pressure is often put on communists and other blue and white collar workers whose leftist feelings are known.

The fact that Austria has been able, for the reasons mentioned, to avoid unemployment thus far is also used extensively in promoting the merits of "social partnership." Its defenders also claim that the numerous strikes which have occurred in other capitalist countries have only worsened their economic situation and caused more unemployment. It is self-evident that all of these specific forms of state-monopoly capitalist rule in Austria create objective hardships in the struggle being waged by the ACP.

At our 24th party congress, we also noted that the ability of the state-monopoly system to maneuver in the area of economic policy has currently been reduced. Notwithstanding the fact that the taxes paid by the broad popular strata have tripled in the past 10 years, the national debt had increased to 286 billion schillings by 1981. The pace of economic growth has declined while capital investments designed to achieve greater efficiency are reducing the number of job openings, particularly in industry. The initial symptoms of a growing readiness on the part of the workers to oppose the closing down of enterprises as a result of the implementation of efficiency measures are already becoming apparent. The service industry today is less able to absorb manpower than it was in the past. Capitalism is trying to shift the consequences of the crisis to the shoulders of the working people. Such a policy reduces the purchasing power of the masses, and this in turn leads to more crises.

Another feature of the Austrian situation, as I have already pointed out, is that in our country the social democrats, who have been running the country for more than 10 years, are very strong. Today high SPA officials hold leading positions on all levels of the governmental machinery and in the management of the economy, banks and cooperative organizations, and on an unparalleled scale. Such positions offer substantial privileges and incomes running into the millions. This means an acceleration of the bourgeoisification of the stratum of SPA party officials and their integration within the state-monopoly system. They have become its direct support and executive arm. This is a new phenomenon, quite different from the traditional workers' aristocracy of the past.

The other face of this process is the parallel increase in the number of social democrats, particularly in SPA youth organizations, who are criticizing the policy of the party's leadership ever more harshly. These left-wing socialists are beginning to organize within the SPA and to print their own publications. Several of their requirements are similar to those of the ACP. They criticize the "social partnership" and the pull-back from the class positions of the working people, demand a return to a principled socialist position, and so on. We noted at the 24th ACP Congress that this confirms the start of a certain process of differentiation within the SPA, a reflection and a consequence of currently existing and growing contradictions. The main weakness of the left wing within the SPA is that it does not occupy a strong position in the enterprises and trade unions.

We hold the view that the left wing in the SPA is performing a positive task, for it is developing critical political awareness and creating the prerequisites for joint action. However, if the policy of the SPA and the social democratic government were to undergo a radical progressive change, there should be no more demands for a type of monopoly wherein decisions can be made only by the SPA and unity between the working class and working people can be achieved only within the ranks of that party. Extensive progressive changes could be achieved in Austria by intensifying the joint struggle being waged by the working class and all working people, and by considerably strengthening all left-wing and antimonopoly forces, including, naturally, the communist party.



In this connection, the 24th ACP Congress noted that we must intensify the struggle against the social demagoguery of both bourgeois conservative parties--the so-called Austrian People's Party and the Austrian Freedom Party. Both parties, with the aid of the neofascists, are trying to profit from the ulcers of capitalism and the opportunism of the social democratic leadership for the sake of making political capital of the legitimate discontent of the working people.

What conclusions can be drawn from all of this? What direction will events in our country take? The most important aspect of the 24th ACP Congress and the draft party program is that both try to provide a scientific answer to such questions and to delineate the Marxist-Leninist orientation of further party activities.

To begin with, a scientific study has shown that the basic contradiction in Austria is not between the socialists and communists, as the right-wing social democratic leadership claims. The contradiction between the working class and capitalism remains the basic contradiction in our society. That is why the line adopted by our party, calling for unity of action by the working class and alliance with various antimonopoly forces with a view to the satisfaction of their demands, offers real opportunities. The anticommunist policy of divisiveness and diversionary maneuvers cannot conceal this possibility for long.

However, positive changes will not occur in Austria by themselves. Secondly, let us mention the historical task and role of the communist party, as was done in a special section of the draft ACP program. The Austrian Communist Party considers itself the heir to and continuator of the revolutionary traditions of the Austrian labor movement, which was rejected by the social democrats. Our party has assumed the duty of politically organizing the proletariat, helping it to become aware of its own situation and tasks, and preparing it ideologically and practically for the struggle. The survey of capitalism included in the draft program, provides proof of the historical doom which awaits it and indicates the forces which can and must bring about progressive changes. They include the working class, as the leading force; the labor intelligentsia, the significance of which augments with the scientific and technical revolution; and the peasantry and other social strata who are increasingly suffering from monopoly oppression. The communists promote no special interests and have no objectives inconsistent with the interests of the workers and other working groups. What separates the communists from such groups is their awareness of the nature and conditions which influence social development. This enables them to represent the interests of the entire labor movement in its various stages and with a view to its future.

Thirdly, one of the basic ideas included in the draft program is that the communists will be unable to play their role or perform their task if they merely promote them in the abstract sense. This problem must be resolved practically in the course of concrete daily ideological-political and organizational work, which must be linked with the requirements and opportunities presented by the circumstances. For us communists, the purpose of a revolutionary change in the social system is inextricably linked with the current struggle for the working people's rights. Furthermore, the main part of the draft program is a program of action for the present and the future. We look at it as a platform for the specific struggle for unity of action and the preparations for and organization of class battles.

This action program includes many specific measures within the framework of an antimonopoly economic policy aimed at preserving existing jobs and opening up new ones, and maintaining and raising the living standard of the working people. It is precisely now, with the new aggravation of the crisis, that such problems become even more important.

The action program also contains several demands related to the preservation and broadening of the democratic rights of the working people. Thus, we have been able to establish a broad antifascist unity of action recently in the efforts to ban neofascist organizations and their propaganda.

Important problems exist in the area housing construction. Here we work from the principle that everyone has the right to housing and that this area should not be monopolized by a handful of people who earn unlimited profits from it. This part of the program also includes demands for a democratic reform in education, an expanded health care system, and so on.

A special section of the program deals with the current tasks in the struggle to encourage Austria's active contribution to the preservation and intensification of detente, disarmament and lasting peace.

The demands in the action program can be met within the capitalist framework. Their implementation will promote the struggle to limit and overcome monopoly power and unrestrained profit-making.

A special section of the draft program reflects the views of the Austrian communists on the path to socialism based on our country's specific conditions. We proceed from the premise that simply criticizing capitalism is insufficient. Such criticism must involve proof that there is an alternative to the capitalist profit system and that socialism is not only a historical necessity but also a better social system. The positive presentation of our sociopolitical objectives is an important structural part of the struggle against anticommunism, which is particularly widespread in Austria and is the main obstacle in the path of radical democratic progress.

Notwithstanding the claims of anticommunist propaganda, according to which we, the communists, are the enemies of democracy and freedom, we prove in our program that a socialist revolution is the most democratic action in history. The draft program calls for the creative application of the universal laws of socialism in accordance with our country's specific conditions. Our objective is to follow a path to socialism consistent with the national conditions and traditions of our country such as, for example, the use of a multiparty system which, naturally, will require a radical change in existing structures and a qualitative change in the ratio of forces in favor of the working class. In all probability, the path to socialism under Austrian conditions will lead through antimonopolistic democracy.

Socialization of the most important productive and commercial capital will be the economic basis of socialism in Austria. This alone can make possible the elimination of exploitation of man by man and the planning and management of the national economy on a nationwide scale for the benefit of the people's well-being.

The main problem in socialist reorganization is the establishment of rule by the working class and a qualitatively new, socialist democracy. Marx and Engels described such a state as the "dictatorship of the proletariat." The liberation of the working people from exploitation and the building of socialism require a leading force: the organized working class with its revolutionary communist party, which is carrying out assignments with the equal cooperation of other parties and groups which also favor the socialist way of development but may represent the specific interests of certain social strata or groups as well. The leading role of the revolutionary party cannot simply be decreed. It can only result from the ability of the party, on the basis of scientific socialism and developed intra-party democracy, unity and the discipline to aim at objectives which can be jointly achieved. It requires selfless, purposeful and active participation in the struggle for the liberation of the working class, for all working people and for the building of a new society. We must struggle ceaselessly to secure the leading role of the party and earn the trust of the masses.

The question of the preservation and continuation of detente, disarmament and peace was effectively discussed at the 24th ACP Congress. Under today's conditions, small countries and peoples too have considerable opportunities for making a positive contribution to this matter. Taking a long-range view, we see in the position of the Austrian government a positive turn on some foreign policy problems. Relations with the socialist countries have improved. This is both an example and a proof that peaceful coexistence, as the basis for the development of relations between countries with disparate social systems, is both possible and advantageous. Austria favors detente. The Austrian government has also changed its position for the better on the Middle Eastern problem.

However, considering the circumstances in which the imperialists, mainly the Americans, are mounting attacks with a view to burying detente, and are formulating new rearmament measures, it is not enough to make general statements in favor of disarmament and detente, as the Austrian government does. Our country, working in a spirit and with an active policy of neutrality and peace, must speak out specifically against the implementation of NATO's December 1979 decision on producing new medium-range missiles and deploying them in Western Europe. We demand that Austria speak out in favor of ratification of the SALT II Agreement and the further removal and restriction of armaments on the basis of equal reciprocal security. This also requires the successful completion of the Vienna talks on reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. Austria also must and can actively encourage the more positive development of the Madrid meeting, which is the continuation of the Helsinki conference.

We must not allow general statements in favor of peace and disarmament to be combined with tolerance of or even assistance to the tireless propagation of anti-Soviet slander and lies about the "Soviet military threat" by the mass information media, particularly state-owned radio and television. It is by such means that the U. S. military-industrial complex and the reactionary forces within NATO hope to substantiate and justify further rearmament measures. Preservation of the peace demands the active rebuttal of such anti-Soviet propaganda. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries threaten no one. On the contrary, they are the most powerful factors for peace on earth. This was confirmed yet once again in the recent statements made by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary.

Our party has organized a broad campaign in favor of international detente, disarmament and peace, based on the decisions of its 24th congress. The ACP believes that differences in ideology and outlook should not constitute an obstacle to the joint struggle for peace. In this connection, more active participation by the working class and the trade unions in the peace movement is particularly important. The main political resolution passed at the congress notes that "Neutrality will offer no shelter from the effects of an atom bomb. The atom bomb does not distinguish between socialists and communists or between people of different parties, social strata or religions. A qualitative assessment of the new mass destruction weapons proves that the preservation of peace means the exercise of the most important human right--the right to life."

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## HISTORY OF INCEPTION OF MARXIST PHILOSOPHY

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[Review by V. Shevchenko, candidate of philosophical sciences, of the book "Marksistskaya Filosofiya v XIX Veke" (Marxist Philosophy in the Twentieth Century) (in two volumes). Editors: I. S. Narskiy, B. V. Bogdanov and M. T. Iovchuk. Nauka, Moscow, 1979, Vol 1: "From the Appearance of Marxist Philosophy to its Development in the 1850s-1860s," 486 pages. Vol 2, "Development of Marxist Philosophy in the Second Half of the 19th Century," 398 pages]

[Text] The publication of this collective monograph on the shaping and development of dialectical and historical materialism in the 19th century may be considered a noteworthy event in the development of Soviet philosophy in recent years. This work is only part of that planned, for future publications will treat the Leninist stage in the history of Marxist philosophy in detail. Naturally, this will make possible a complete assessment of the entire complexity and scope of the authors' intention (they include scientists from the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and the CC CPSU Academy of Social Sciences) to summarize previous results more extensively. However, it is already possible to discuss the basic theoretical-methodological principles which were adopted as a manual for action, and the specific conclusions stemming from their application.

This is an extensive and comprehensive work which offers a full interpretation of the revolutionary turn made in the field of philosophy by K. Marx and F. Engels, of the nature of their early works, and the differences and connections between such works and more mature ones such as "German Ideology," "Poverty of Philosophy," "Communist Party Manifesto," and others. The work discusses the basic stages in the history of Marxist philosophical doctrine, such as its coming into being, enrichment through the revolutionary experience of the mid-19th century, intensification in the process of the creation of scientific political economics in the 1850s and 1860s, and subsequent development in the period between the 1870s and the beginning of the 1890s. A separate section deals with the spreading of Marxist philosophy among the European countries, the Second International, and the ideological struggle which was waged within it.

The monograph contains many studies completed in the past 10-15 years in the area of Marxist social science and the study of the ideological legacy of the founders of scientific communism. Most sections clearly perform a most complex theoretical task, analyzing the material in close relation to the level achieved in modern philosophy, and with still insufficiently studied problems which are topics of discussion and creative debate in mind.

This has made it possible, on the whole, to avoid a shortcoming sometimes present in this kind of publication: the tendency to describe or illustrate classical concepts. In other words, it has made possible an analytical description of the topic dealt with. The chapters discussing the philosophical aspects of "Das Kapital" are particularly good. A thorough study has been made of works such as "German Ideology," "Anti-Duhring," "The Dialectics of Nature," and "The Origins of the Family, Private Ownership and the State." The authors have considerably expanded the range of topics in the works of Marx and Engels analyzed. Unfortunately, however, the early drafts of "Das Kapital" have as yet received relatively little study. Although they are mentioned in the monograph (see Vol 1, pp 338-345), and individual concepts contained in the manuscripts have been used in some of the chapters, our scientists have yet to address themselves to an overall philosophical analysis of these variants from the logical-gnosiological and socio-philosophical viewpoints.

The extensive data included in the monograph can be clearly divided into at least three groups of related problems. They serve as systematizing factors in the description of the history of Marxist philosophical thinking. They include Marxist philosophy as an ideology and as the theoretical foundation for the outlook and revolutionary activity of the working class; its irreconcilable struggle against all possible bourgeois schools of thought and trends, and its development as a result of this struggle; and finally, the unbreakable tie linking Marxist philosophy to the other sciences.

Marxism is a truly scientific system of theoretical views expressing the basic interests of the proletariat as a class. It is precisely in this connection that we should look for an interpretation of the reasons for the appearance of Marxism on the historical stage and its rapid dissemination and subsequent transformation into the most influential ideological force of our time. It is no accident that the authors ascribe such significance to a detailed study of the prerequisites for the shaping of Marxist philosophy as an overall concept, particularly as of the autumn of 1842, when Marx became the editor in chief of RHEINISCHER ZEITUNG. The subsequent theoretical growth of Marx' and Engels' views was most closely related to the course of the factual political struggle.

This collective work clearly proves that it was precisely Marx' and Engels' conversion to proletarian class positions which triggered radical changes in their philosophical and political views. The substantiation of the historical mission of the proletariat and the resulting need for the formulation of a specific program for the struggle for communism demanded a radical revision of their previous views on society, clarification of the factual laws governing historical development, and firm rejection of the Hegelian and teleological method of thinking. "Marx' and Engels' party-minded position guided their theoretical interests and contributed to their conversion from the abstract-philosophical to the specific-social formulation of a great humanistic task.... Thanks to their revolutionary-democratic and, subsequently, proletarian social orientation, Marx and Engels exposed not only the bourgeois content of English classical political economy but that of German classical philosophy as well...." (Vol 1, p 254).

Naturally, it would be an error to separate the works by the founders of Marxism published in the "German-French Yearbook" and "Manuscripts From 1844" from the

later and by then fully mature works related to the new stage in the shaping of Marxism in any arbitrary fashion, not to speak of contrasting them, as the monograph justifiably points out (see Vol 1, pp 158-159). Both groups of works are steps in the steady development of Marxist doctrine. Obviously, however, some aspects of this complex process require further study, concretizing, and sober scientific assessment. Let us note, incidentally, that the monograph does not make a sufficiently clear distinction between the spiritual evolution and the ideological searches conducted by Marx and Engels and the emergence of Marxist philosophy itself as a consistent proletarian theoretical concept (this, among other things, is also reflected in the work's title).

The revolutionary turn which Marx and Engels took in philosophy, as the work convincingly proves, was related to the need to substantiate the practical nature of human activities and all social life. Historically and logically, their thinking progressed from a systematic scientific interpretation of the correlation between social life and social consciousness to a consistent scientific formulation and resolution of the problem of the correlation between being and thinking in general. That is what made it possible to bridge the gap between ontology and gnosiology, nature and mind, and object and subject inherent in pre-Marxist philosophy. As the authors emphasize in Chapter 9, "The materialistic understanding of history is not of an "applied" philosophic nature but is general, for by the nature of its very essence it is a general conceptual and general methodological idea" (Vol 1, pp 335-336). The unity and interdependence between dialectical and historical materialism have so many layers and are so deep that the study of their correlation, viewed in terms of the general and specific categories, cannot show the actual structure of Marxist philosophy as a theoretical system of views or the ties and transitions occurring within it.

One of the undeniable virtues of this work is its apt depiction of the manner in which the development of the class struggle waged by the proletariat in the West gave priority to one specific theoretical problem or another in Marx' and Engels' scientific activities. The authors have focused on this organic connection between Marxist philosophy and the workers movement, and between scientific theory and living practice.

Let us note in particular that the work (see Vol 1, part 3) gives an extensive description of the sociophilosophical set of problems found in "Das Kapital"—Marx' principal lifetime work. Marxist scientists in our country and abroad have made an extensive study of the dialectical method in "Das Kapital" and of dialectics as logic, including some such important aspects as the ascent from the abstract to the concrete, its historical and logical aspects, and many others. "Das Kapital" is a work with a unique political-economic and extremely rich sociophilosophical content.

The authors describe public production as the central category in historical materialism. They offer a thorough analysis of such important problems as the natural historical process of legitimate change in socioeconomic systems; they interpret the further theoretical Marxist substantiation of the inevitable substitution of a new and most progressive communist system for the last class-antagonistic one, and they discuss problems in the dialectics of the base and the

superstructure, the objective and the subjective, and revolution and class struggle. They update a number of concepts in historical materialism formulated by Marx in "Das Kapital," but not to date sufficiently expanded in our scientific publications.

From the start, Marxist philosophy developed not only under the determining influence of the vital class tasks of the proletariat, but also in the course of a fierce battle against all sorts of nonproletarian philosophical and sociological doctrines, opportunism and anarchism in the workers ranks, and bourgeois and petit bourgeois ideologies.

Being profoundly aware of the exceptional role which the ideological struggle played in defining the fate of the workers movement, Marx and Engels paid close attention to work on ideological problems, including identification of the class roots of bourgeois ideology, which tried to present the distinct and specific interests of the exploiting class as those of society at large. Only the class aspirations of the proletariat coincide with the expectations of all the toiling masses--the majority of the population--and are consistent with the objective course of the historical process. Hence the need for the proletariat to know the laws governing the development of society. However, the formulation of a truly scientific ideology which substantiates the historical mission of the working class and the ways and means of revolutionary transformation of the capitalist system is insufficient. "...it is only to the extent that the ideas of scientific socialism are actually accepted by the class itself and that these ideas penetrate the class mind that it becomes subjectively able to accomplish its historical mission" (Vol 1, p 327).

The extensive data contained in the monograph helps us to realize what tremendous theoretical work was done by the founders of Marxism in the struggle to combine the ideas of scientific socialism with the workers movement and to expose groundless utopian views, particularly the philosophical-methodological concepts of Proudhon, Lassalle, Bakunin and Blanqui. The more Marxism developed as an influential factor in the spiritual and political life of capitalist countries, the fiercer the attacks mounted against it from various sides became and the more rapidly the importance of the struggle waged by the Marxists against their ideological opponents who tried to block the influence of the revolutionary doctrine on the awareness of the proletariat and on the outcome of the class battles grew. The authors deal extensively with this aspect of the shaping and development of Marxist philosophy, particularly in Vol 2, which discusses the period between 1870 and 1890.

A consideration of the ideological circumstances and specific historical conditions which prevailed when Marx and Engels wrote a given work contributes to a better understanding not only of the specific ideological functions which this work performed in its time but also its permanent theoretical value and the features and nature of individual concepts and formations. The same approach has been used in the study of several works, "Critique of Gotha Program," "Anti-Dühring," and Engels' letters on historical materialism, written in the 1890s, in particular.



The monograph discusses the interconnection between Marxist philosophy and the individual sciences extensively. The need for an overall conceptual outlook on nature, society and human thinking was dictated not only by the entire course of universal history and the class struggle of the proletariat. By the middle of the 19th century, the contradiction between the tremendous scientific achievements, in the natural sciences above all, which demonstrated the dialectical nature of natural phenomena and processes ever more clearly, and the mechanical-metaphysical method of thinking which had become rooted in the minds of the natural scientists had become sharply aggravated.

Chapter 13 offers a thoughtful description of the birth of the Marxist concept of natural science, and above all, the philosophical importance of the work done by Engels in his "Dialectics of Nature," which he was unable to complete. This work was the first systematic application of Marxist philosophy to problems in the development of the natural sciences. It was also the first systematic scientific substantiation of the initial premises of dialectical materialism in the history of thinking, related to the elaboration of its categorical apparatus precisely on the basis of natural science data" (Vol 2, p 69). Let us point out that the objective need for natural scientists to master the dialectical method, the set of problems in dialectical materialism itself as a science, and its methodological functions, has been given a very profound interpretation. The authors properly emphasize the prime significance of the use of dialectical materialism in the formulation of a Marxist world outlook. As the theoretical result of the age-old history of human cognitive efforts, dialectical materialism alone can be properly effective and act as a truly scientific methodology of knowledge and revolutionary practice. Hence the inseparable link between Marxist philosophy and the individual natural and social sciences and their continuing reciprocal fructification and enrichment.

The reorganization of the entire structure of the natural and humanitarian sciences began with the appearance of Marxist philosophy, and the totality of the knowledge which mankind had acquired by that time began to be subjected to a critical reinterpretation based on dialectical-materialistic positions. This "dialectizing" process has become particularly tangible today. It is now the focus of the closest possible attention on the part of philosophers. The nature of this process, its initial stages and current status, particularly as it applies to the humanities, could have been more extensively described in the monograph, precisely in terms of its theoretical-methodological aspect. In this connection interesting data can be found in the passages devoted to the study of philosophical problems in Marx' "Mathematical Manuscripts." Many theoretical-cognitive and methodological ideas discussed in this work remain topical not only in mathematics but also in other scientific fields.

The work "Marksistskaya Filosofiya v XIX Veke" most convincingly shows the force and historical truthfulness of Marx' and Engels' immortal doctrine, a powerful theoretical weapon for the revolutionary-practical transformation of reality. Again and again it confirms that further intensive study of the creative legacy of the Marxist-Leninist classics is a noble and permanently topical task for our social scientists.

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## STUDY OF IMPORTANT CATEGORIES OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81 pp 122-123

[Review by S. Mareyev, candidate of philosophical sciences, of the book by N. V. Pilipenko, "Dialektika Neobkhodimosti i Sluchaynosti" [Dialectics of Necessity and Chance]. Mysl', Moscow, 1980, 263 pages]

[Text] F. Engels described the study of thinking and logical categories as a very rewarding and necessary task, which had not been pursued since Aristotle except by Hegel (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 20, p 555). Marxism is the legitimate heir to this tradition. Marxism has also organized the study of categories on a scientific, dialectical-materialistic basis, for the factual foundation of the system of categories in human thinking and language rests on practice.

The monograph by N. V. Pilipenko, which deals with two of the most important dialectical categories, follows in this tradition precisely.

As the author justifiably points out, the topicality of the interaction between necessity and chance is the result of the current status of science and social practice, in which a consideration of accidental events becomes a necessary scientific task. Today hardly anyone would question the objective significance of chance. This in turn, however, raises questions related to an understanding of the subject of science in general and the reinterpretation of such an important category as causality, in particular, and so on. It is clear that the proper solution to such problems can only be found with the help of the dialectical materialistic method. Furthermore, this problem is both methodological and conceptual. It is directly related to the shaping of modern man's concept of the world.

How can necessity be combined with chance if they are opposites? How can a historical law and necessity be combined with free will and the historical creativity of the broad people's masses? What in this case is the role of the individual? Such questions have been asked ever since people began to think about the universal characteristics of life, i.e., ever since philosophy became an independent form of social awareness. However, only Marxist-Leninist philosophy can answer such questions, although approaches to them are to be found in German idealistic dialectics, particularly the writings of Schelling and Hegel.

Understanding the dialectical nature of necessity and chance is a theoretical postulate for the practical achievement of the "kingdom of freedom" (Engels), or the building of a communist society.

The monograph paints a panoramic historical view of the conflict among different trends in the interpretation of necessity and chance--materialism and idealism, and dialectics and metaphysics. The dialectical approach alone has made possible the correlation of chance and necessity as consisting of identical opposites. Human practice has shown that everything in the world obeys inflexible laws of necessity. However, Aristotle himself noted that chance does not exclude causality. Chance is something the reason for which has not been defined and which occurs not for the sake of something specific, not at all times, not most of the time, and not on the basis of any specific law.

The isolation of theory from life and practice has had a fatal influence on our understanding of the correlation between necessity and chance. These categories were broken down into a metaphysical "necessity" the significance of which was exaggerated and should be established by science, and "chance," which exists only as an "opinion" rather than a fact. Such, generally speaking, is the viewpoint found in classical metaphysics, which saw its completion in Christian von Wolff's metaphysical system.

As Engels pointed out, the metaphysical way of thinking was transferred to philosophy from empirical natural science. In particular, this was manifested in the unnatural break between chance and necessity. Empirical natural science, like science in general, becomes interested in chance only when it appears as a form of the manifestation and implementation of necessity. However, this situation did not develop until the end of the 19th century, when a conflict arose between new scientific facts and the restricted metaphysical thinking method used in the natural sciences.

However, long before that Hegel, who had far surpassed the level achieved by the natural sciences in his time, clearly formulated and generally substantiated the concept that chance is necessary, that necessity defines itself as chance, and that this chance represents absolute necessity.

The founders of Marxism alone were able to provide a suitably high assessment of Hegelian dialectics and to rework it on a materialistic basis. Engels in particular emphasized that Darwin's theory confirmed the essential accuracy of the Hegelian interpretation of the correlation between necessity and chance.

The monograph convincingly proves that today's science is rich in factual data on the interpretation of the interaction between these categories. Using the extensive information provided by modern science and practice, the author proves that chance is entirely objective in nature and represents a type of causal dependence rather than noncausality, much less the existence of "free will" in an electron, for example, as natural scientists who lack proper philosophical erudition claim.

The author discusses the general and the specific nature of the manifestation of the dialectics of necessity and chance in organic nature, society and human cognitive and practical activity in detail. He supports this with facts culled from biology, cosmology, astronomy, social statistics and other fields.

This applies in particular to the study of social phenomena and to the interpretation of historical processes. The essential nature of these processes is found

precisely in the fact that, as Schelling himself noted, freedom and necessity are one and the same thing and can be understood only through the lens of this unity. Many modern bourgeois philosophers consider history either a series of random events or "blind necessity." This is mainly due to their desire to proclaim Marx, Hegel and even Plato, i.e., all those who have believed in the possibility of social progress to be "false prophets," as Karl Popper, one of the pillars of modern positivism, thinks they were.

However hard some bourgeois philosophers and sociologists have tried to understand and interpret the legitimate and necessary nature of the process of social development, "We note on the whole a refusal by bourgeois philosophy, sociology and history to acknowledge the existence of an objective law and necessity in the development of society and the study of it"(p 189).

The author offers an interesting interpretation of the role of chance in scientific creativity. Here the dialectics of necessity and chance can surmount two extremes: arbitrariness and formalism.

Chance has always been irrational and unexplainable from the viewpoint of metaphysics. However, whenever a scientific discovery has involved a fair amount of chance, this has not meant at all that it was basically unexplainable, as Kuhn, for example, claims. This author, who has become quite notorious of late, has tried to explain the nature of "scientific revolutions" by seeking their origins in the irrational mentality of the crowd (see T. Kuhn, 'Strukura Nauchnykh Revolyutsiy' [Structure of Scientific Revolutions], Moscow, 1975, p 121).

Naturally, any scientific discovery involves chance to a certain extent. However, the prerequisites for its appearance are found in the entire development of the science, technology and culture which preceded it, while its revolutionary consequences are unavoidable. Thus, a discovery is an accident which encompasses both extremes--possibility and reality--and loses its abstract nature, becoming, to quote Hegel, a necessary chance.

This monograph makes a noteworthy contribution to the study of the categories of dialectical materialism. Unquestionably, it will provide a great incentive for further philosophical studies.

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## SCIENTISTS AID SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1. Jan 81 pp 123-125

[Review of booklet series by G. Kochar'yants, candidate of historical sciences]

[Text] In his address to the Third All-Russian Komsomol Congress, V. I. Lenin urged young people to master the great Marxist doctrine and, together with the workers and peasants, to build a communist society. He stressed that "One can become a communist only after one has enriched one's memory with the entire wealth of the knowledge acquired by mankind" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 305).

In reminding young people of Lenin's advice "to learn, learn and learn," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev says: "The party is concerned with developing the young builders of communism as thoroughly educated and creatively thinking people. Young people must realize clearly that there are no limits to the development of science and technology. That is why, while still in school, one must develop an unquenchable thirst for knowledge and be actively receptive to new scientific and technical discoveries."

As it takes over from its elders, the new generation is confronted with the need for great new accomplishments in all realms of social life. The building of the higher phase of the new society under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution demands of the millions of working people not only high-level professional skills but also the ability to find their way in scientific-production problems.

The party is doing everything possible to raise the growing generation in a spirit of ideological firmness and comprehensive development, so that young people will have a creative approach in all fields of activity. The great successes achieved in our public education system, from the grammar school to the university, and the tremendous concern devoted to the publication of works for children, including popular science books, vividly confirm this fact. Thus, in two decades--from the end of the 1950s to the end of the 1970s--three editions of a one-of-a-kind encyclopedia for children have come out. They include 34 thick volumes and have been issued in almost 18 million copies. Each volume covers a specific branch of knowledge. The edition as a whole gives young readers a clear idea of the general laws governing the development of nature and society and of the prevailing conditions in the field of science.

The "Little Library of the Children's Encyclopedia"--booklets of the "Scientists Aid Secondary School Children" series--has become a kind of logical extension of this publication (editor in chief Academician and Hero of Socialist Labor I. V. Petryanov). Noted scientists and men of literature, the arts and education have joined their efforts to create a series of books comprising an encyclopedic library. Taking school curriculums as a basis, the scientists help students to develop an active interest in the various sciences and, above all, an active attitude toward the subjects they study, and to awaken their creative thinking.

More than 20 booklets in the series have come out since 1974. The first, entitled "The Unknown Is Your Fate," begins with the following address to the readers: "The 'Scientists Aid Secondary School Students' children's encyclopedia library is for those whose will is strong, whose eyes are sharp and whose hands are skillful, those who wish to accomplish a great deal in life and who have already realized how much knowledge this requires, those who fear no difficulties and have faith in their ability to surmount them, those who are no longer satisfied with their textbooks alone."

The young reader can find much interesting data in this series. It describes the process for making artificial diamonds, metal welding in outer space, unusual properties of solutions, the unraveling of the secrets of light rays, most complex engineering solutions to modern construction problems, the role of animals in the earth's biosphere, promising new methods for food production, and the development of cosmonautics.

The student will find out that a great deal remains unknown about Mendeleyev's periodical system of elements. He will read about the hopes of scientists looking for superelements in the universe. He will learn that everything in the world, even the most ordinary objects such as ordinary water, for example, contain an endless number of still unknown, astounding and strange properties.

Three issues in the series deal with our homeland's past. The booklet "The Birch-Bark Mail of the Centuries" describes the story of the discovery of the birch-bark manuscripts which enabled us to study the way of life and culture of medieval Novgorod. The booklet "The Kulikovo Battle" describes not only the battle on the Nipryadva itself, during which the Russian troops led by the Moscow Grand Duke Dmitriy Ivanovich defeated the Golden Horde, but the historical consequences of this great battle, which was a turning point in Russian history.

The booklet "The Revolution Is Defending Itself" is a vivid narration of the struggle waged by the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, against the interventionists and White Guards.

All of these things are described with fatherly concern and tact by Academicians I. P. Gerasimov, B. Ye. Paton, I. V. Petryanov, N. N. Semenov and G. N. Flerov, USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Members B. V. Deryagin, Yu. A. Polyakov and V. L. Yanin, Doctors of Sciences and Professors A. G. Bannikov, V. I. Buzanov, N. V. Vershinskiy, A. A. Leont'yev, D. N. Trifonov, D. V. Fedoseyev and Yu. Ya. Fialkov, Cosmonaut Yu. N. Glazkov and others.

While discussing the latest scientific achievements, the authors have also tried to forecast future developments and to describe the transformation of hypotheses and puzzles into precise knowledge. This type of approach inspires young readers to engage in independent observations. It helps them to develop their curiosity, liking for research, active inquisitiveness and a creative attitude toward school subjects. It encourages their interest in technology and helps them to adopt an active life stance. Not surprisingly, these books are sought after by millions of members of the Young Technician, Young Naturalist and Young Astronomer circles, members of the NOU (student scientific societies), and young inventors and rationalizers who are trying to make as great a contribution to social objectives as their abilities allow.

The fact that the members of scientific and technical organizations of school students and students within the vocational and technical training system have provided a tremendous number of inventions, rationalization suggestions and scientific developments, yielding substantial economic benefits, is instructive.

The Children's Encyclopedia and its "Scientists Aid Secondary School Students" series help boys and girls graduating from secondary or vocational-technical schools to realize the infinite scope of possible knowledge and accomplishments and to find in this vastness the roles and professions they will love for the rest of their lives, and which will make them happy through creative self-expression.

Naturally, booklets in which the scientists who are advancing science today describe its latest accomplishments, peaks and prospects, neither can nor should be very easy to read or very simple, for they describe the results of extensive and intensive work and quite naturally must demand both close attention and serious work of their young readers.

It is true that not all the issues in the series present their subjects in graphic, intelligible and interesting fashion. Obviously, the organizers and editors are aware of this. The further progress which must be achieved in connection with one scientific problem or another is not always described for the readers with sufficient clarity. However, it is precisely this type of impetus which might give the the readers' scientific interest a tremendous boost. Clearly, a thorough plan is needed for the new works in the series, which cannot be unlimited in number, so that the entire series will cover a specific range of knowledge. Furthermore, with each new printing the individual booklets could be made increasingly attractive, picturesque and captivating.

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## SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81 pp 125-127

[Review of two books]

[Text] A. N. Yefimov. "Problemy Obosnovaniya Gosudarstvennogo Plana" [Problems of State Plan Substantiation]. Ekonomika, 1980, 200 pages. Reviewed by Prof A. Alekseyev, doctor of economic sciences and laureate of the USSR State Prize.

In this work, Academician A. N. Yefimov, a noted scientist interprets a number of central and basic problems related to the accurate understanding and assessment of ways and means of upgrading the scientific standard of planning.

The starting point for the author's study is the social direction of the state plan, which is a reflection of the main objective of public production under socialism: the ever fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people.

The author points out that it is only by giving priority to the scientific substantiation of the plan's social tasks that we can accurately project the required output of steel, electric power, petroleum, natural gas and so on. Such problems must be viewed through the lens of production effectiveness and work quality and the determination of scientific proportions. A. N. Yefimov points out that the speediest possible practical implementation of party and government decisions on improving planning at all levels of the economic system takes on particular importance in connection with the preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress, which will determine the main directions of the country's socioeconomic development in the 1980s. It is precisely then that the conversion of the entire national economy to intensive development, effectiveness and quality and greater emphasis on final results of economic activities must be completed. The high scientific standard of the methodology used in the substantiation of state plans and the most rational and efficient organization of all planning work will play a significant role in achieving these objectives.

In his interpretation of these problems, the author's purpose was to combine a scientific analysis of basic economic problems in several key directions leading to the improvement of planning activities at all levels of the economic system with the formulation of specific practical recommendations, whose implementation can upgrade public production effectiveness at the present stage in the building



of communism. The chapters entitled "Target Orientation of the Plan" and "Public Production Effectiveness" are quite interesting in this respect. They describe the mechanism governing the growth of the economic potential in the USSR and the effectiveness of its utilization to enhance the country's economic power and to strengthen its international positions. The author justifiably emphasizes that scientific planning must be oriented toward the latest achievements in the areas of economic, scientific and technical thinking, and toward the accurate assessment and consideration of social needs.

The book offers a basic system (model) for the planning process. It consists of a general logical system for the drafting of national economic plans; a system for the formulation of plans of varying length; a correlated system for individual planning systems; and a consolidated and combined national economic system (see page 32).

Let us also mention other positive features of this work, such as the simplicity and scientific nature of its style. This simplicity is not achieved through a reduction in the work's theoretical standard. A particularly successful chapter in this respect, in our view, is that entitled "Balance Method for National Economic Planning," which describes the role of national economic planning and all its most important elements in the elaboration of long-term plans. "...Balance methods," the author emphasizes, "help us to make a broad range of planning computations which serve as an effective means of insuring a high scientific standard in economic planning" (p 171).

This book, which makes an unquestionable contribution to the theory and methodology of socialist planning, can be useful to a wide circle of theoreticians and practical workers at all planning levels.

V. Goncharov. "Kamarada Viktorio" [Comrade Victorio]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 302 pages. Reviewed by V. Samarin.

A documentary on the life of an outstanding revolutionary is always, to one extent or another, a revelation, a new page written in the field of historical research, and an appeal to those who are taking over and carrying on the struggle for the bright future of mankind.

Such precisely is the book by V. M. Goncharov, with which Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoy Literatury begins a series of factual stories about people whose names are inseparably linked with the international communist and workers movements. To the extent to which the first work in this series allows us to pass judgment on the entire project, the concept of such a publication, aimed at the readership at large, deserves approval and support. The lively and touching stories of proletarian revolutionaries of our time and the Leninist guard on earth, based on strictly factual and documented data, can make a valuable contribution to the cause of international and communist upbringing. "Comrade Victorio" is precisely this kind of a touching story, about the heroic fate of Victorio Codovilla, a courageous proletarian fighter and one of the founders and leaders of the Communist Party of Argentina.

This is a concise description of the life of this outstanding person, a life which was unusually intensive and saturated with stormy events. The facts and documents, interpreted decades later, recreate the original process of his moral and ideological development as a fighter for the workers cause and as an internationalist Leninist which will be of instructive value to future generations. What makes the story of this development even more convincing is that the work is also based on the personal reminiscences of the author, who was a close friend of his for many years, the recollections and testimony of many fellow workers of this Argentine communist, and little-known archive documents.

What emerges from the book is the picture of a captivating and courageous person who dedicated himself to the most noble goal--fighting for social justice and for the happiness of the working people. V. Codovilla became involved in revolutionary activities in his native Italy at 16, when he defended the rights of farmhands and appealed to them to unite in opposing the landowners. In Italy, he joined the Socialist Party, but soon afterwards, hounded by the reaction, he was forced to emigrate to Argentina which had by the turn of the century become a second homeland for many European political exiles. Here again, V. Codovilla immediately found his place among the most consistent revolutionary fighters, and he became one of the leaders of the internationalist wing of the communist movement.

"Less than 2 months had passed since the victory of the Great October Revolution in Russia," V. M. Goncharov stresses, "when the creation of an independent political party of the Argentine proletariat was announced in Buenos Aires. The Argentine communists proudly consider themselves the pupils of Leninism and of the Great October" (p 36).

Along with Luis Emilio Recabarren, Miguel Contreras and Juan Ferlini, Comrade Victorio was in on the beginnings of this party--the party of patriots and internationalists.

Let us mention the fact that as he traces step by step Codovilla's life, the author does not limit his narrative to a description of the outstanding personality and heroic fate of the hero alone, but paints a broad landscape of the period. He closely ties the destiny of this individual, this outstanding leader, to that of the communist party and people of Argentina. This is entirely proper, for, as Orestes Guioaldi, one of the hero's closest fellow workers, has said, to speak of the historical distance covered by the party is to speak of Victorio Codovilla's rich life. To speak of Victorio Codovilla is to speak of the party" (p 216).

"We must always remember," V. Codovilla emphasized from the rostrum of the Seventh National Communist Party Conference held in clandestinity in April 1967, "Lenin's statement to the effect that success in the revolutionary struggle of the working people requires the steady enhancement of the party's role as the vanguard of the proletariat and the entire people. We must be guided by the immortal Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the principles of proletarian internationalism" (p 250).

The author expressively depicts not only V. Codovilla's organizational work in the party, but also his activity as a Marxist theoretician. His assessment of various

international problems or situations in capitalist countries remains pertinent and significant to this day.

This is clearly seen in the description of the adamant and complex struggle waged on two fronts--against errors, distortions, and reformist and leftist leanings--by V. Codovilla, to promote a solid alliance between the revolutionary proletariat and its communist vanguard, on the one hand, and all communist and progressive forces, on the other. All we could add to this is that the ideas V. Codovilla defended were subjected to strict and impressive tests, one of which was his long and heroic work in Spain as Komintern representative. It is hardly necessary to recall that for many years, V. Codovilla was one of the most notable officials and members of the leadership of the Communist International.

Finally, there is a historical fact which enhances the timeliness of this publication: V. Codovilla died 10 years ago. The Communist Party of Argentina proclaimed 1980 a commemorative year and launched a party recruiting campaign in his honor. The Communist Party of Argentina Central Committee decided to reprint his most topical works. Seminars and scientific conferences on various aspects of his theoretical and practical activities were sponsored by the party. The Communist Party of Argentina received many letters from people who personally knew Codovilla at various times, and from his fellow workers in the struggle for the workers cause. They included Dolores Ibarruri, Luis Corvalan, Orlando Millas and many other world-famous leaders of the international communist and workers movements.

"We are convinced," wrote Rodolfo Guloidi, a member of the Communist Party of Argentina Central Committee Executive Committee, in his preface to V. M. Goncharov's book, "that this book on the life and work of Victorio Codovilla will strengthen the internationalist and revolutionary convictions of the readers and will emphasize that firm friendship with the Soviet Union and the CPSU is a trait inherent in all communists" (p. 7).

The statement L. I. Brezhnev made at the 24th CPSU Congress fully applies to Victorio Codovilla: "The communist's lot has been one of most difficult trials ever experienced by fighters for the people's cause. However, we remember Lenin's words that: 'Boundless loyalty to the revolution and revolutionary sermons to the people are not wasted even when whole decades separate the sowing from the harvesting!' ...we shall never forget the tremendous sacrifices made in the struggle. The names of the heroes of the communist movement and their examples of courage and loyalty to the cause of the working class will forever be sacred to all true revolutionaries. They will forever remain sacred to Lenin's party and to the Soviet people, who were the first to raise the banner of the victorious socialist revolution."

The Soviet Union honors the memory of this outstanding revolutionary and loyal friend of our party and people. As we know, a secondary school and a square in Moscow have been named after V. Codovilla to honor his memory. The Soviet tanker "Victorio Codovilla" is plowing the oceans. V. M. Goncharov's book is yet another tribute to our remembrance of and respect for Comrade Victorio.

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## BOOKSHELF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81 p 127

[Text] Marx, K. and Engels, F. "Sochineniya" [Works]. Second edition, Vol 48. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 683 pages.

Engels, F. "Proiskhozhdeniye Sem'i, Chastnoy Sobstvennosti i Gosudartva" [The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State]. Work related to the studies of Lewis H. Morgan. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 382 pages (on the occasion of the 160th anniversary of Friedrich Engels' birth).

"Osnovnyye Napravleniya Ekonomicheskogo i Sotsial'nogo Razvitiya SSR na 1981-1985 Gody i na Period do 1990 Goda" [Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990]. CC CPSU Draft Guidelines for the 26th Party Congress. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 96 pages.

Brezhnev, L. I. "Rech' na Plenum Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 21 Oktyabrya 1980 Goda. Postanovleniye Plenuma TsK KPSS" [Speech at the 21 October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum. CC CPSU Plenum Decree]. G. E. Tsukanov in charge of publication. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 16 pages.

Tikhonov, N. A. "Po Leninskim Zavetam, po Puti Oktyabrya" [Following Lenin's Urgings Along the Path to the October Revolution]. Speech delivered on the occasion of the 63rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses on 6 November 1980. V. I. Vlasov in charge of publication. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 32 pages.

"Vizit Babraka Karmalya v Sovetskiy Soyuz, 15-24 Oktyabrya 1980 Goda" [Visit to the Soviet Union by Babrak Karmal, 15-24 October 1980]. Documents and materials. A. M. Aleksandrov in charge of publication. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 48 pages.

"Druzhba i Sotrudnichestvo vo Imya Spravedlivosti i Mira" [Friendship and Cooperation in the Name of Justice and Peace]. Visit to the Soviet Union by Hafiz al-Assad, 8-10 October 1980. Documents and materials. A. M. Aleksandrov in charge of publication. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 32 pages.

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FOLLOWING THE PUBLICATION IN KOMMUNIST OF THE ARTICLE 'SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH:  
RESULTS, PROBLEMS AND TASKS'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 81 pp 127-128

[Text] The editorial "Sociological Research: Results, Problems and Tasks," published in KOMMUNIST No 13, 1980, was discussed by the Presidium of the Board of the Soviet Sociological Association (SAA). A report was submitted by Prof Kh. N. Momdzhyan, SSA chairman. The SSA Board Presidium made a positive assessment of the principled analysis of the status of sociological studies in our country and the description of unresolved problems and future possibilities. A decree stipulating that the editorial was "topical and of exceptional importance to the further successful development of sociology as theory and practice" was approved.

"The article published in KOMMUNIST during the preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress," the decree states, "is of essential significance for mobilizing Soviet sociologists to participate actively in the solution of sociopolitical and national economic problems on which the CPSU and the entire Soviet people are working, in order to complete the 10th Five-Year Plan and to earmark what is to be accomplished during the 11th. The KOMMUNIST editorial will help to strengthen scientific relations between the party committees of union republics, krays (oblasts), cities and rayons, on the one hand, and sociologists and sections and branches of the Soviet Sociological Association, on the other. This is a prerequisite for upgrading the effectiveness of all of our scientific research and organizational and propaganda work. The strengthening of such relations is one of the basic tasks of the USSR Academy of Sciences SSA Board Presidium."

Having approved the views and conclusions set forth in the article, the Presidium of the Board of the Soviet Sociological Association recommended that the bureaus of the republic (regional) SSA branches discuss it within their organizations and be guided in the future by its views, recommendations and conclusions in drafting their work plans for 1981-1985 and pursuing their further activities; the SSA Board Secretariat was instructed to supervise the implementation of the decree.

The article was also discussed at a meeting of the editorial collegium of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA. Its resolution reads as follows: "The conclusions and views expressed in the article are approved in their entirety. They will be considered the methodological base for work aimed at further upgrading the role of the journal in consolidating the efforts of Soviet sociologists and disseminating the scientific results of studies and methodical experience. In accordance with the tasks formulated in the article, changes will be made

in the long-term plan for basic directions in the journal's activities and in the topics of most current publications. Measures to insure the all-round enhancement of the political, scientific and literary standards of articles will be formulated and implemented. One of the first tasks of the editors is the broadening of the range of authors so that the journal may reflect any noteworthy achievement by the sociological centers in the country and the sociologists working in the national economy, and summarization and description of the results of theoretical and applied studies in related social science sectors. Bearing in mind that the editorial in KOMMUNIST points out major shortcomings in the area of criticism of bourgeois sociology and in the study of the sociological work done in developing countries, the decision to formulate additional measures for improving the pursuit of this line by the journal was approved.

"Coverage of scientific life will be improved. Attention will be focused on the all-round and timely informing of the sociological public about problems on which scientists are working and on the scientific and practical worth of the results, with a view to strengthening the journal's coordinating role. The editorial will be studied within the professional training system for editorial personnel."

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