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# **USSR** Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 9, June 1982

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# USSR REPORT TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 9, June 1982

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

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#### COMMUNICATION ON THE CC CPSU PLENUM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 82 p 3

[Text] The regular CC CPSU plenum was held on 24 May 1982.

The plenum heard a report submitted by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman "On the USSR Food Program for the Period Through 1990 and the Measures for Its Implementation."

The following comrades participated in the discussions on the report: V. V. Shcherbitskiy, Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee first secretary; D. A. Kunayev, Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee first secretary; V. V. Grishin, Moscow City CPSU Committee first secretary; G. V. Romanov, Leningrad Oblast CPSU Committee first secretary; D. K. Motornyy, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Kirov, Khersonskaya Oblast; M. S. Solomentsev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; T. Ya. Kiselev, Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee first secretary; I. G. Khmara, Starominskiy Rayon CPSU Committee, Krasnodarskiy Kray first secretary; Sh. R. Rashidov, Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee first secretary; G. A. Aliyev, Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee first secretary; E. A. Shevardnazde, Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee first secretary; A. E. Voss, Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee first secretary; I. A. Bondarenko, Rostovskaya Oblast CPSU Committee first secretary; I. Ye. Klimenko, Smolenskaya Oblast CPSU Committee first secretary; M. P. Trunov, Belgorodskaya Oblast CPSU Committee first secretary; M. Z. Shakirov, Bashkirskaya Oblast CPSU Committee first secretary; V. S. Kostin, brigade leader of the Ziminka Mine, Kemerovskaya Oblast; V. K. Mesyats, USSR minister of agriculture; L. S. Kulichenko, Volgogradskaya Oblast CPSU Committee first secretary; Yu. A. Ovchinnikov, USSR Academy of Sciences president; and A. A. Yezhevskiy, minister of tractor and agricultural machine building.

The CC CPSU plenum unanimously passed a decree on this problem, which is published in the press.

The CC CPSU plenum considered organizational problems.

The Central Committee plenum elected Comrade Andropov, Yu. V., CC CPSU secretary, member of the CC CPSU Politburo.

The Central Committee plenum promoted from candidate members to members of the CPSU Central Committee Comrades S. A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU, Ye. I. Chazov, director of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences All-Union Cardiological Scientific Center, member of the academy, and V. S. Kostin, brigade leader at the Ziminka Mine, Kemerovskaya Oblast.

With this the CC CPSU plenum concluded its work.

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ON THE USSR FOOD PROGRAM FOR THE PERIOD THROUGH 1990 AND THE MEASURES FOR ITS IMPLEMENTATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 82 pp 4-15

[Speech by L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, at the 24 May 1982 CC CPSU Plenum]

[Text] Dear comrades!

The CC CPSU Politburo submits for consideration by the Central Committee plenum the problem of the Food Program and the measures for its implementation. The program was drafted in accordance with the resolutions of the 26th party congress.

The objective of these measures is to ensure the reliable supply of the country's population with foodstuffs within the shortest possible time. This is not only a primary economic but a topical sociopolitical problem. Meeting the vital requirements of the Soviet people--I emphasize this most firmly--has been and remains our party's most important programmatic requirement. That is why, comrades, this plenum has a particular meaning and significance.

The CC CPSU plenum was preceded by extensive preparatory work done by the USSR Council of Ministers and its leadership and a special task force of the CC CPSU Politburo, the Gosplan and the respective ministries and departments. It involved the participation of scientists, kolkhoz and sovkhoz managers and specialists. The suggestions of the republic central committees of communist parties and councils of ministers, the obkoms and oblast executive committees and raykoms and rayon executive committees, the materials published in the press and the letters of the working people were taken into consideration.

A number of documents were drafted as a result. They include the draft Food Program and CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decrees on some more specific matters such as decrees on improving management in agriculture and other sectors within the agroindustrial complex; measures to improve the economic mechanism and to strengthen the economy of kolkhozes and sovkhozes; measures to strengthen the material incentive of farm workers to increase output and improve its quality; the taking of additional steps to retain workers engaged in animal husbandry in the kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises; measures to ensure further improvements in the housing, communal and

sociocultural living conditions of the rural population; and the further strengthening of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes with leading cadres and specialists and increasing their role and responsibility in the development of agricultural production.

Since the members of the Central Committee are familiar with the documents, I shall discuss merely a few basic problems.

I shall begin with the results of the work done in agriculture. It would be proper to start with the March 1965 CC CPSU Plenum. As you remember, at that time the party took the course of increasing capital investments in agriculture, strengthening the material and technical base and improving planning and economic incentive in agricultural production. The plenum paid particular attention to strengthening the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, increasing their autonomy and improving the life of the rural population. The stipulations of the March CC CPSU Plenum, developed in the course of a number of subsequent plenums and at the 24th-26th CPSU Congresses, laid the foundations of the party's contemporary agrarian policy—a scientific and proper policy from which we have not retreated and shall not retreat (lengthy applause).

The material and technical base of agriculture was qualitatively renovated in the period which followed the March CC CPSU Plenum. The power-labor ratio more than tripled. The size of irrigated and drained lands increased by a factor of 1.7. Deliveries of chemical fertilizers tripled. Specialized animal husbandry complexes and major poultry farms using industrial production technology were commissioned. Highly effective interfarm and agroindustrial enterprises and associations are being developed. As a result of all this labor productivity in kolkhozes and sovkhozes virtually doubled.

New agricultural servicing sectors were created, such as machine building for animal husbandry and feed production, rural construction, and mixed feed and microbiological industry. Agricultural machine building and the use of aviation in agriculture developed substantially. Over the past 15 years the basic productive capital in the food sectors of industry increased by a factor of 2.7.

Meanwhile, profound changes took place in the living and working conditions of the Soviet peasantry. Many social problems were resolved successfully. The wages of agricultural workers were increased substantially. Pensions and social insurance payments were raised and so were payments and benefits from social funds. The professional and cultural standards of kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers increased. Currently the agricultural enterprises employ about 2 million specialists with higher and secondary specialized training. The entire appearance of the villages has changed in many parts of the country. The way of life of the rural working people is becoming considerably more meaningful and interesting.

The measures taken by the party and the selfless efforts of kolkhoz members, sovkhoz workers, specialists and industrial workers are yielding rather impressive results. The participants in the plenum are well acquainted with the efforts of the enemies of socialism to ignore or denigrate the successes achieved in Soviet agriculture. However, the facts say differently. Despite

the numerous whims of nature, gross agricultural production increased from an annual average of 82.8 billion rubles in the 7th Five-Year Plan to 123.9 billion in the 10th, i.e., by 50 percent. For comparison's sake let us point out that the same indicator rose by 31 percent in the EEC countries and by 29 percent in the United States, although natural conditions in our country are substantially less favorable and our legacy in this area was rather unenviable.

The following table will give us a more specific idea of the growth of Soviet agricultural output.

Production of Basic Types of Agricultural Commodities (Annual Average--Million Tons)

	1961-1965	1976-1980	Growth in %
Grain Sugar beets	130.3 59.2	205.0 88.7	157 150
Vegetables	16.9	26.3	156
Fruits and grapes	6.5	15.2	234
Meat (slaughtered weight)	9.3	14.8	159
Mi1k	64.7	92.7	143
Eggs (billion)	28.7	63.1	220

We were able to ensure that the growth of agricultural production systematically outstripped the growth of the population, which increased by 35 million people since 1965. As a result, during the period under consideration, the average annual volume of per capita agricultural output increased by 28 percent. Over the 15-year period per capita consumption increased 41 percent for meat and meat products, 25 percent for milk and dairy products, almost 100 percent for eggs, 35 percent for vegetables, 24 percent for vegetal oils and 30 percent for sugar.

Therefore, comrades, the party's agrarian policy, the substantial funds invested in agriculture and the efforts of millions of people ensured a substantial increase in the production of foodstuffs (applause). Nevertheless, we cannot be satisfied with such achievements or ignore the fact that the food problem is still firmly on the agenda. Whereas in terms of the overall level of calories the nutrition of the Soviet person is consistent with physiological norms, the nutritional structure must be improved. Demand for meat and dairy goods is not being met. There are shortages of vegetables and fruits. In many areas there are breakdowns in the food trade.

What is happening? It is mainly a question of the fact that demand for food products is still outstripping food production, although it is increasing with every passing year. This is the result of the population's higher income which, with stable state retail prices of basic food commodities, leads to greater consumption. This is also caused by a reduction in the number of people directly employed in the agrarian sector of the economy and the increased size of the urban population. This is also due to the fact that the rural population itself is increasing its food purchases from the state trade network with every passing year. Finally, this is also affected by the insufficiently fast increase in the efficiency of agriculture and the entire agroindustrial complex.

Taking all of these factors into consideration, the CC CPSU Politburo has deemed it necessary to draft a special Food Program for the period through 1990. The preparations for and implementation of such a program is an essentially new step in our planning system and socialist economic management. The program embodies a target, a comprehensive approach to the solution of the food problem.

The most important characteristic of this approach is to link and combine agricultural work with the work of the servicing sectors in industry, transportation and trade and to subordinate all of their activities to the common end objective—the production of high-quality foodstuffs and to bring them to the consumer.

What makes this task even more topical is that because of a number of reasons certain disproportions have developed within the agroindustrial sectors. Short-comings have developed in the procurement, storage, transportation, processing and trade in agricultural commodities. Consequently, in order to contribute to the solution of the food problem, greater attention must be paid to all the links within the chain along which agricultural commodities reach the consumer.

Another important requirement which the CC CPSU Politburo deemed necessary to include in the program is the further enhancement in the efficiency of the work in agriculture and in related industrial sectors and achieving a decisive conversion to primarily intensive growth factors. It was precisely this approach that was adopted at the latest CPSU congresses as the foundation of the party's economic policy. This is the most efficient and virtually the only possible means for the solution of the food problem as well.

We are following this path confidently. However, a great deal of work remains to be done. We know that not all farms make efficient use of the land—the main natural resource. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes fall short of a great deal of output as a result of the still insufficient level of comprehensive mechanization of agricultural production and the improper utilization and low quality of many types of agricultural equipment. There is a shortage of chemical fertilizers and herbicides. Their reliable protection and efficient utilization has not been ensured everywhere. Purchase prices are not consistent with required production outlays. All of this has slowed down the growth rates of agricultural output.

Therefore, comrades, we see that the contemporary stage in the country's development faces agriculture and the entire agroindustrial sector of our economy with new tasks which are greater, more complex and more responsible. Efficient large-scale steps must be taken to eliminate the existing difficulties and disproportions, to enhance agricultural production efficiency and to meet the growing needs of the country for foodstuffs. Such measures have been formulated and are to be discussed at the present CC CPSU plenum.

As I have already pointed out, while directing the government toward the comprehensive solution of the food problem, the CC CPSU has called for ensuring the stable supply of the population will all types of food, substantially to increase the consumption of high-quality products and substantially to improve the nutritional structure. The draft Food Program, which was submitted by the

USSR Council of Ministers, meets this assignment. It also represents specific concern for the people, for the Soviet person (applause).

The program provides data on the planned dynamics of agricultural production. Let me cite a few figures. During the 12th Five-Year Plan average grain production must reach 250-255 million tons; meat--20-20.5 million tons; milk-104-106 million tons; vegetables--37-39 million tons; fruits and berries--14-15 million tons.

During the 11th Five-Year Plan, along with meeting the population's demand for bread and a great variety of baked goods, potatoes and sugar, the needs for groats, confectionary goods, margarine, eggs and fish will be met, and meat, milk, vegetal oil and fruits and vegetable supplies will be improved. The emphasis during the 12th Five-Year Plan will be to increase the consumption of meat, vegetal oil and basic types of fruits and vegetables.

## Consumption of Basic Foodstuffs (Annually, Per Capita in Kilograms)

	1980	1990
Meat and meat products	58	70
Fish and fish products	17.6	19.0
Milk and dairy products	314	330-340
Eggs (pieces)	239	260-266
Sugar	44.4	45.5
Vegetal oil	8.8	13.2
Vegetables and melon crops	97	126 <b>-</b> 135
Fruits and berries	38	66-70

Naturally, it is assumed that the consumption level indicated in the program is average for the country. In the individual rayons consumption will be based on national traditions, weather conditions and other characteristics.

In order to reach the set objective, the program calls for the interrelated and better balanced development of the entire agroindustrial complex. During the 12th Five-Year Plan it will account for approximately one-third of the overall volume of capital investments in the entire national economy.

The program continues the party's line of further development of agriculture. This is proper, for it is precisely the starting base for the radical solution of the food problem. The basic productive capital in agriculture will be increased by approximately one-half; energy generating capacities in kolkhozes and sovkhozes will be increased by a factor of 1.6 and deliveries of chemical fertilizers to the countryside by a factor of 1.7. During the current decade the production of tractors, combines and other machines for the countryside will be increased and their quality will be improved. The size of the irrigated land will reach 23-25 million hectares by 1990.

However, these measures can yield the necessary returns only if we learn how to make far better use of machines and fertilizer and of everything at the

disposal of agriculture, today and in the future, compared with the present. We have extensive arable land. We have huge cattle herds. However, both yields and productivity are increasing quite inadequately.

The desire for having the widest possible areas in crops is understandable, particularly when we bear in mind our difficult weather conditions.

However, the main thing today and even more so tomorrow is to increase yields. This means giving priority to selection and seed growing. It presumes the efficient utilization of all types of fertilizer. This requires a scientific and well-planned farming system, which would make full use of the natural-economic conditions of each zone and oblast, rayon and individual farm.

Equally understandable is the desire to increase the cattle herds. However, in animal husbandry the main feature today is to increase milk production per cow and the average weight of beef cattle. This calls for improving the qualitative structure of the herds and the development of highly productive cattle breeds. Naturally, we must also ensure a considerable increase in feed production, quality and efficient utilization.

In a word, the key to agricultural efficiency is production intensification. This precisely is the path indicated by the Food Program. Hence the important tasks which face our science. The Soviet scientists have done a great deal to enhance agriculture. However, what satisfied us yesterday is clearly insufficient even today, not to speak of tomorrow. That is the basis on which science must proceed.

The efficiency course requires the accelerated development of sectors related to agriculture. With increasing frequency we face situations in which not production but the storage and processing of commodities and taking them to the consumer become the bottlenecks. Already now, for example, with our more developed food industry, we could have produced a great deal more margarine, pasta goods and confectionary items, foods for children, concentrates and other products. I have already mentioned the substantial losses due to the fact that the capacities of the processing industries do not match the volumes of procurements of cattle, poultry and milk. I have also mentioned the losses of potatoes, vegetables and fruits in their storing and processing.

In order to correct the situation, the plan calls for the upsurge of the food and the meat and dairy industries. The capacities of refrigerated areas and elevators will be increased. The production of containers is being developed. However, some corrections will have to be made in the course of the implementation of the program. All of us realize that our possibilities are far from limitless, and even less so in the middle of a five-year plan. However, by 1990 we must achieve a fuller availability of storing facilities for potatoes and vegetables and accelerate sugar beet processing. Further work will have to be done on all of these problems.

Maximal attention will have to be paid to the timely completion of the projects within the agroindustrial complex which will enable us to increase the production of foodstuffs within the shortest possible time. So far, no order exists

in this area. The plans for commissioning agricultural machine building and chemical industry enterprises, animal husbandry complexes, mechanized ware-houses for storing chemical fertilizers, silaging installations, greenhouse combines, fruit storage areas, mixed feed enterprises and food industry and trade projects are being fulfilled unsatisfactorily. The party, soviet and economic organs and the trade union and the Komsomol must firmly correct the attitude toward construction projects within the agroindustrial complex. They should be considered the shock projects of the country (applause).

Measures for the social reorganization of the countryside are an organic part of the food program. This means the construction of comfortable housing, essentially of the garden type with outbuilding for the private auxiliary farms. The construction of schools, children's preschool institutions and clubs will be increased. Medical, trade and consumer services to the rural population will be improved.

It is self-evident that the more energetically and substantively we undertake housing, cultural and road construction in the countryside, the more productive will farm labor become. That is why, during the 1980's approximately 160 billion rubles will be invested in these areas. This is a substantial figure even on our level. However, it is more than a large figure. It is a major policy aimed at the elimination of social disparities between town and country, which means the implementation of one of our programmatic stipulations scientifically substantiated by Marxism-Leninism (lengthy applause).

Foreign economic relations is another feature of the program which has been developed in detail. The participants in the CC CPSU plenum know that in recent years we have been forced to purchase abroad grain, meat and many other products, especially because of poor harvests. This was done in the interests of the people. In the future as well, we do not intend in the least to reject the possibilities of foreign trade with a view to supplementing the food resources, naturally on the basis of economic expediency. It is entirely natural, therefore, that the draft program calls for cooperation with the foreign countries, the socialist above all.

The plan is based on the need to reduce food imports from capitalist countries. The country's interests demand of us to have adequate domestic comestible and feed resources to guarantee us against emergencies. At the same time, as you know, the leaders of some countries are trying to convert ordinary commercial operations such as grain sales into a means of pressuring our country and a tool for political pressure. We have never tolerated this nor do we ever intend to do so (applause). I hope that the CC CPSU members will support such a formulation of the problem (lengthy applause).

Therefore, comrades, the draft Food Program is consistent with the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the party line of upgrading the well-being of the people. It deserves our essential approval (applause).

As to the specific indicators regarding the production of one type of food or another, they should be considered minimal. We must devote all efforts not only to fulfill but to overfulfill them (applause). Many suggestions were

made as we worked on the draft regarding increasing the volume of capital investments and material and technical resources. Some of them have been taken into consideration while others will be considered in the elaboration of the annual plans and the 12th Five-Year Plan. Consequently, the USSR Council of Ministers and the Gosplan must go on with their work by intensifying and concretizing the program and improving some of its aspects so that we shall know precisely the extent to which every passing year and each invested billion will bring us closer to our objective and the extent to which this is being accomplished (applause).

Comrades! The Food Program includes problems with different deadlines--long-term, medium-term, short and urgent. It seems to me that it is precisely the latter that must now become the focal point of our concerns.

I believe that all of us unanimously consider that the food program must yield its initial results this very year. This increases requirement regarding the entire cycle of work in agriculture and in the entire agroindustrial complex.

Each rayon, oblast and republic must plan and implement an efficient system of measures for the struggle against losses and the uninterrupted work of procurement, transportation and trade organizations. The shorter and simpler the relations between the field and the store become, the more the consumer will benefit. This year must become a major test for the Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry.

As far as the struggle against losses is concerned, let me point out that it must be waged in the consumption area as well. Let us be honest, substantial amounts of food are wasted in public catering, sanatoriums and rest homes. As we know, these are institutions which are given priority in product supplies. However, quite frequently valuable food products are either discarded as waste or misused because of the poor quality of the food prepared, the lack of prepackaged semifinished products and frequently the unconscientiousness of the personnel. A thrifty attitude toward products is proof of high consumption standards.

A major problem which is deservedly considered in the Food Program is that of the private auxiliary farms and the truck gardening cooperatives. As we know, they account for a substantial share of the production of meat, milk and poultry and even more so of potatoes, vegetables and fruits. Giving such farms more aid by the state and the local soviets, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes—on a mandatory and systematic basis—could yield quick and tangible returns. Tsentrosoyuz could also do a great deal in this respect. It could address itself to the problem of the private plots and help them in conducting their normal activities.

Fuller use should be made also of the possibilities of the auxiliary farms of enterprises. Each industrial enterprise and organization which could have such a farm should have one. To this effect the industrial enterprises and organizations must be given the necessary amount of farmland. The use of the water reservoirs of many enterprises for fish breeding could yield good results as well.

Such problems must be resolved quickly, daringly and with initiative. This could yield noticeable results immediately.

Allow me to express my confidence that the rural workers and the entire personnel in the agroindustrial complex will mark the first year of the implementation of the Food Program with shock labor (applause).

Comrades! Along with the food program we must discuss and formulate a system of measures aimed at improving the management of the agroindustrial complex and the economic mechanism. The connection between these problems is unquestionable.

The solution of the food problem presumes the further development of the production forces in agriculture and the increased capacity of the processing industry. However, this is only one aspect of the matter. A no less important one is to improve production relations. The management and planning methods, the incentive system and the economic management mechanism must be such as to create conditions for highly productive work. Your decrees are based precisely on these essential stipulations. Briefly stated, what are they?

For the first time, the agroindustrial complex becomes a separate target of planning and management. This will enable us to combine better and more efficiently territorial, sectorial and program-target planning. The latter, I repeat, is the basis of the end result—the uninterrupted supply of the country with food. This precisely is the result and the objective of the unified system of agricultural management and of related sectors, centrally and locally.

Agroindustrial associations are created in the rayons, krays, oblasts and autonomous republics and agroindustrial commissions in union republics and in the center. On a parallel basis, their apparatus will be simplified and made less costly in order to eliminate unnecessary units and ensure greater management efficiency and effectiveness.

The rayon level is ascribed particular importance. It is here that the truly full-powered and democratic management organ is established, which can fully affect the production process in accordance with the interests of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The experience acquired by the agroindustrial association in the rayons of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Georgia, Latvia and Estonia indicates that this is a proper and promising measure. This also enhances the responsibility of republic, kray, and oblast party and soviet organs for the development of a unionwide food stock and for the food situation in their own areas.

Let me also emphasize the role and significance of the last unit—the agro-industrial commissions. They are being granted extensive rights. They are also given the responsibility to improve food supplies to the population and to co-ordinate the work of all ministries and departments within the agroindustrial complex.

As we know, the exceptional variety of production and natural-weather conditions is a distinguishing feature of agriculture in our country. This is no place for stereotypes or uniformity. It is particularly here that we need cunning, autonomy in decision making, and initiative. That is why the CC CPSU proceeds from the need comprehensively to strengthen the kolkhozes and sov-khozes and to enhance their organizational-economic autonomy.

Our rural cadres have grown up immeasurably and can resolve major and complex problems. The essence of the party's policy in this respect is one of trust in the managers, exigency and an interested approach toward their activities, encouragement of their initiative and enhancement of their personal responsibility for assignments (applause).

We must firmly eliminate red tape and petty supervision of kolkhozes and sovkhozes which have been described with full justification as the foundation of all agricultural production. Absolutely no one must have the right to ask of them to carry out assignments not stipulated in the state plans or to demand information other than that stipulated in the state accountability system. This rule must be strictly observed on all levels and without exception. I hope, comrades, that we unanimously agree on the importance and necessity of this measure (applause).

The upsurge of agricultural efficiency is impossible without stable economic conditions for real rather than formal cost effectiveness. Unfortunately, today such conditions are quite rare. Many kolkhozes and sovkhozes work at a loss. They sell their meat, milk and other animal husbandry goods at a loss. This is due to a variety of reasons but the consequence is the same—prices, profits and credits lose their role as economic levers and do not stimulate the growth of output.

In order to improve the economic situation in the countryside, the CC CPSU Politburo deems it necessary to implement a number of measures. In terms of their scale, and the range of their effect on all kolkhozes and sovkhozes without exception, they represent a most important economic-political act.

The purchase prices of cattle, hogs, sheep, milk, grain, sugar beets, potatoes, vegetables and some other products will be increased as of 1 January 1983. Price markups will be added for goods produced under worse circumstances in losing and underprofitable farms. State expenditures for such purposes will total 16 billion rubles per year.

Another important measure is increased state aid for housing construction and the construction and upkeep of children's preschool institutions, Pioneer camps, clubs and other cultural and consumer projects, and roads in underprofitable and losing kolkhozes. The annual cost of this will be 3.3 billion rubles. This represents a firm backing which must be used most profitably.

Finally, in order to improve the financial status of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, they will be forgiven bank loans totaling 9.7 billion rubles and the repayment of obligations in excess of 11 billion rubles will be postponed. This will enable the kolkhozes and sovkhozes to channel such funds into further increase of production.

Sovkhoz and kolkhoz wages will be improved. The main thing here is for every working person to see, to feel the direct, simple and understandable connection between his output and his earnings.

This very five-year plan, the brigade and collective contracting method and the piece rate-bonus system will be extensively applied in the agroindustrial sectors. As is the case with industry, natural and climatic conditions will be taken more into consideration in the wages paid agricultural workers. Rayon coefficients will be applied in many parts of Siberia, the Far East and Kazakhstan. Wage supplements for continuous work will be paid to animal husbandrymen in sovkhozes and other state enterprises. They will benefit from extended annual paid leave.

The salaries of sovkhoz managers, specialists and employees will be increased by an average of 30 percent. Specialists who have been transferred from management organs to kolkhozes and sovkhozes will retain their average monthly former salaries for a period of 3 years (or 5 years if transferred to underprofitable or losing farms). They will also receive a one-time aid ranging from three to five monthly salaries. Additional benefits for young specialists are planned as well.

Many of the letters received by the CC CPSU note that in recent years the importance of payments in kind is being clearly underestimated. This is adversely affecting the interests of kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers, weakens the foundations for the development of private auxiliary plots and reduces the possibilities of the kolkhoz market.

That is why the practice of payments in kind will be expanded. Thus, workers in brigades and teams engaged in grain growing will receive free of charge as much as 15 percent of the grain they have grown over and above their plan. Grain will be issued to all permanent workers and citizens participating in the grain harvest instead of wages. Sovkhoz workers and other citizens involved in growing and harvesting potatoes, vegetables, fruits, berries, grapes, and melon and feed crops may receive up to 15 percent of the planned produce in kind and a certain percentage of goods produced above the plan in accordance with the farm's regulations. The same procedure has been recommended for the kolkhozes as well.

Generally speaking, comrades, we must encourage the activeness of the kolkhoz members and strengthen control over the observance of the democratic principles of production management. It is no secret that in many kolkhozes the general meetings which, as we know, are the supreme organ of kolkhoz management, are held irregularly. This lowers the role of the kolkhoz members in resolving problems of intrakolkhoz life. We must not circumvene or restrict the democratic procedures stipulated in kolkhoz bylaws. Life and practical experience call for upgrading the role of intrakolkhoz democracy. This can only benefit us (applause).

Improving the democratic system of participation in management by sovkhoz workers and employees will be equally useful. Major possibilities exist in this area. Their utilization will offer new opportunities for production upsurge.

Major changes are being made in relations between kolkhozes and sovkhozes and servicing organizations such as Sel'khoztekhnika, and construction, reclamation and procurement personnel. The work of such organizations and the bonuses awarded their managers and specialists must be based, along with the performance of their services, also on the results of agricultural production and output. Increased production of grain, meat and milk and increased food deliveries will mean bonuses and high wages. Should such indicators drop, the managers and specialists of organizations servicing kolkhozes and sovkhozes will receive no bonuses. This is just. As to the activities of procurement organizations, they will be assessed directly in accordance with the implementation of the state plans for the procurement of agricultural commodities.

Here is another important feature: in order to make fuller use of the goods produced and to preserve and process them fully, during the 12th Five-Year Plan we shall complete a conversion to the delivery of cattle, poultry, milk, potatoes, vegetables, fruits and berries directly at the kolkhozes and sov-khozes. The transportation facilities of the procurement organizations will be in charge of hauling such produce.

In 1983 more than 30 billion rubles will be invested additionally in the implementation of these measures aimed at strengthening the economy of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, consolidating the cadres and encouraging agricultural production. The task now is for such funds to be converted into a substantial increase in output within the shortest possible time. This problem must be mandatorily resolved (applause).

Comrades! The fulfillment of the Food Program will require the stressed toil of millions of Soviet people. The knowledge and organizational skill of our cadres and the entire rich practical experience of the party among the masses must all be put to use.

There are 6 million party members in the countryside—one—third of the party's entire membership; 2.8 million party and candidate party members and 4 million Komsomol members are directly engaged in agricultural production. It is precisely they and they above all who must set the example of selfless toil, initiative, willpower and persistence (applause).

Let me particularly mention in this connection the primary party organizations in kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Their activities will decisively determine the moral and psychological climate in the collectives, the level of organization and discipline, labor returns and end results. It is important for the party organizations to focus their efforts on the main feature, which is work with the people.

A great deal also depends on the managers of agricultural production facilities. We are confident that this sector is headed by people who are knowledgeable, who care for the work and who know how to work with people. It is said that such managers are people in their proper place. We must promptly note and promote capable and promising workers. We must help them to master the art of economic management and education, which is the direct duty of the party's raykoms and obkoms.

It is well known that as a rule high results in the work of collectives are achieved when the management is stable. It is precisely this that the example of the leading farms indicates. Unfortunately, this example is not being properly taken into consideration everywhere. In many oblasts managers of kolkhozes and sovkhozes are being replaced with unjustified frequency. It is obvious that with such a cadre policy, if we may call it such, it would be difficult to raise kolkhoz and sovkhoz production to the level of contemporary requirements.

As always, comrades, the main burden falls on the party raykoms. They have acquired extensive experience in organizational and ideological-political work among the masses, the level of which must be enhanced even further today. Taking into consideration the complexity and variety of the problems resolved in the rayon, the decision was made to take a number of steps to strengthen the rural party raykoms and, in particular, to create agricultural departments within the raykoms.

All of us believe that the program formulated by the party for improving the food situation in the country will meet with the unanimous support of the Soviet people and will trigger a new upsurge in the socialist competition. The trade unions have the direct obligation to see to it that the competition covered the entire agroindustrial complex and encouraged the struggle for quality and effectiveness in agricultural production and for high end results.

Comrades! In order for our constructive plans to be implemented, we must preserve the peace. Therefore, we shall maintain the country's defense capability on the necessary level and will persistently and purposefully continue our efforts to encourage detente, both political and military (lengthy applause).

However, we also know well something else: the successful implementation of our plans is an important prerequisite for strengthening peace. The toil of the Soviet people is the most reliable foundation for strengthening the power and prosperity of our homeland.

The Food Program we are considering does not represent merely a radical turn in the upsurge of agriculture and related sectors. In terms of its nature and scale it must ensure the progress of the entire national economy.

I believe, comrades, that we can be confident that the decisions of our plenum will have an impact on the life of our country and its economy no lesser than did in their time the resolutions of the March 1965 CC CPSU Plenum, which was justifiably described by the party and people as historical (lengthy applause).

We, the communists, are opening a road to the future, following virgin tracks. We are marching with a truly revolutionary scope, storming ever new heights and reaching new levels.

One of them is the implementation of the tasks which today's plenum will formulate. As all of us realize, they are difficult and responsible. However, there neither is nor could there be any doubt among us that this level as well in the building of communism will be reached successfully! (Lengthy applause.)

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CSO: 1802/15

DRAFT USSR FOOD PROGRAM FOR THE PERIOD THROUGH 1990

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 82, pp 16-17

[24 May 1982 CC CPSU Plenum Decree]

[Text] Having heard and discussed the report submitted by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, "On the USSR Food Program for the Period Through 1990 and the Measures for its Implementation," the CC CPSU Plenum decrees:

- I. To approve fully and in their entirety the proposals and conclusions presented in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at the present plenum and to accept them as the basis for the practical activities of the party, state and economic organs and trade union and Komsomol organizations on the implementation of the Food Program and the systematic implementation of CPSU agrarian policy.
- II. To approve the USSR Food Program for the period through 1990, as formulated in accordance with the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

To sanction the following CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers Decrees submitted by the Central Committee Politburo;

"On Improving the Management of Agriculture and the Other Sectors of the Agroindustrial Complex;"

"On Measures to Improve the Economic Mechanism and to Strengthen the Kolkhoz and Sovkhoz Economy;"

"On Measures to Increase the Material Incentive of Agricultural Workers in Increasing Output and Improving Quality;"

"On Additional Measures to Retain in Kolkhozes, Sovkhozes and Other Agricultural Enterprises Personnel Engaged in Animal Husbandry;"

"On Measures to Improve the Housing, Communal and Sociocultural Living Conditions of the Rural Population Further;"

"On Further Strengthening the Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes with Leading Cadres and Specialists and Upgrading Their Role and Responsibility in the Development of Agricultural Production."

- III. The USSR Council of Ministers, USSR Gosplan, ministries, departments and councils of ministers of union republics shall formulate the annual plans for the country's economic and social development and the draft plan for the 12th Five-Year Plan on the basis of stipulations of the Food Program and the need to ensure a more profound turn of all economic sectors toward the solution of problems related to the further upsurge of agricultural production and the development of the agricultural complex as a whole, in order to resolve the problem of uninterrupted food supplies to the population within the shortest possible time.
- IV. The central committees of communist parties of union republics, kraykoms, obkoms, okruzhkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, union ministries and departments, local soviet and economic organs, managers of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and of industrial, construction and transportation enterprises and primary party organizations shall develop energetic organizational and political work among workers, kolkhoz members and the intelligentsia on the implementation of the tasks stemming from Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report to the plenum, the Food Program and the related CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decrees. Each republic, kray, oblast and rayon, each economic sector and all labor collectives in town and country must maximally contribute to the solution to the food problem, which is the main task of the party and the state in the 11th and 12th Five-Year Plans.
- V. The CC CPSU Plenum emphasizes that now, when the state is planning to make greater investments in agriculture and to promote its intensification with a view to the faster increase in food supplies in the country, it is particularly important to focus the efforts on the all-round enhancement of crop growing and animal husbandry standards, the struggle for improving the utilization of the land, productive capital, material, manpower, and financial resources and for upgrading labor productivity and work quality, elimination of losses, economy and thrift and lowering production costs in kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

The increased scale of output and worsened economic relations formulate new requirements toward cadres in all sectors of the agroindustrial complex with a view to improving planning and management, and ensuring material and technical procurements to agriculture. The activities of the subdivisions in this economic area and their high responsibility for achieving the best possible end results and increasing their interest in upgrading the production of good quality food products must be closely connected and coordinated at all management levels.

The immediate task is to achieve this very year a substantial increase in crop growing and animal husbandry productivity and ensuring the fulfillment and over-fulfillment of state plans for grain, meat, milk and other commodity purchases, the prompt processing and complete preservation of the goods and to create a reliable foundation for the faster upsurge of agricultural production in subsequent years.

The CC CPSU Plenum expresses its firm belief that the party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations, the economic organs, the kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers, specialists and scientists, workers in industry and the entire population in the countryside and the urban working people will do everything necessary to ensure the implementation of the decisions of the present Central Committee plenum and will develop a nation-wide socialist competition for reaching the planned levels in increasing food resources as one of the main prerequisites for the steady enhancement of the well-being of the Soviet people and strengthening the economic power of our homeland.

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CSO: 1802/15

USSR FOOD PROGRAM FOR THE PERIOD THROUGH 19901

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 82, pp 18-44

[Text] Under the leadership of the communist party the Soviet people have achieved outstanding successes in laying the material and technical foundations for communism. Today our country has highly developed production forces, a powerful progressive industry and large-scale highly mechanized agriculture. A developed socialist society has been built in the USSR. The achieved successes reveal vividly and convincingly the great advantages and tremendous opportunities of the socialist system.

Concern for man and for creating increasingly more favorable conditions for the all-round and harmonious development of the individual was and remains in the center of attention of the party and the Soviet state.

Major steps have been taken in this area during the past 15 years. Wages have nearly doubled. Population payments and benefits from the social consumption funds increased by a factor of 2.8; the real per capita income doubled and more than 160 million Soviet people improved their housing conditions. Education, culture, health care and population services were developed further.

The Soviet people enjoy extensive socioeconomic and political rights—the right to work and have leisure time, housing, free education and medical care. They actively participate in the administration of social and governmental affairs. The rights of the Soviet citizens are guaranteed by the USSR Constitution.

Conscientious work, which ensures the steady growth of the country's economy, is the base on which the living standard of the Soviet people rises. During the last 15 years alone basic productive capital in the national economy increased by a factor of 3.2 while the national income increased by a factor of 2.4. The volumes of output of industrial and agricultural commodities increased dynamically and the pace of scientific and technical progress was accelerated.

The country's current economic and scientific and technical potential makes the successful solution of new large-scale communist construction problems possible.

<sup>1</sup> Presented as exposition.

In formulating a broad program for social development and for upgrading the well-being of the people, the 26th CPSU Congress gave priority to improving food supplies to the population. A USSR Food Program through the year 1990 was formulated, as the most important structural component of the party's economic strategy for the forthcoming decade, on the initiative of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR supreme Soviet presidium chairman.

I.

Main Results and Development Tasks of the Agroindustrial Complex

Systematically implemented the agrarian policy course formulated at the historical March 1965 CC CPSU Plenum and developed in subsequent plenums and the 24th-26th CPSU Congresses, the communist party did extensive work to enhance agricultural production.

The material and technical facilities of the agroindustrial complex were considerably strengthened as a result of the improved effectiveness of the country's economy.

Technical outfitting in agriculture improved substantially. The structure of the machine-tractor fleet was qualitatively renovated and the level of work mechanization in crop growing and animal husbandry was raised. Labor productivity in kolkhozes and sovkhozes grew.

Land chemization and reclamation underwent a faster development. Over the last 15 years deliveries of chemical fertilizers to agriculture tripled while the size of irrigated and drained land increased by a factor of 1.7.

Specialized animal husbandry complexes, operating on the basis of an industrial production technology, and major poultry farms are being organized. Highly efficient interfarm and agroindustrial enterprises and associations are being developed.

New sectors for servicing agriculture were created: machine building for animal husbandry and feed production, agricultural construction and mixed feed and microbiological industry; agricultural machine building and the use of aviation in agriculture were developed further. The production capacities of sectors related to the procurement, storage and processing of agricultural commodities increased. During the past 15 years productive capital in the food industry sectors increased by a factor of 2.7.

Kolkhozes and sovkhozes are actively applying the latest scientific achievements. A farming system based on soil protection, highly productive farm crop strains and hybrids and progressive production technology and labor organization are being applied ever more extensively.

Substantial positive changes have taken place in securing kolkhozes and sov-khozes with cadres. There are 1.8 million specialists with higher and secondary specialized training and nearly 4.5 million tractor-machine operators and

truck drivers working in the countryside. The number of highly skilled workers in other mass professions has increased.

A great deal has been done to improve social and living conditions in the countryside. Compared with 1965, by 1980 the average monthly wage of sov-khoz workers and employees has doubled, kolkhoz member wages had increased by a factor of 2.3 and the pensions of rural workers had been raised. Within that period a housing area totaling about 500 million square meters, children's preschool institutions for 2.6 million children and culture clubs and houses with another 7.7 million seats were completed in the rural areas.

The taking of steps to implement the party's agrarian policy, despite some difficulties caused by adverse weather conditions in recent years, resulted in an increase in the average annual gross output of agricultural commodities to 123.9 billion rubles, or half as much compared with the 5-year period which preceded the March 1965 CC CPSU Plenum.

Grain production in the country increased significantly. Its average annual gross harvest increased from 130.3 million tons to 205 million tons. Production rose from 9.3 million to 14.8 million tons of meat (in slaughtered weight), from 64.7 million to 92.7 million tons of milk, and from 28.7 billion to 63.1 billion eggs. Fruit and vegetable production increased substantially, as follows: vegetables by a factor of 1.6; fruits and soft fruits by a factor of 2.6; and grapes by a factor of 2.

All of this, despite the population increase of 35 million people compared with 1965, made it possible substantially to upgrade the food consumption level. Uninterrupted population supplies with bread, bakery and pasta goods and sugar were ensured comprehensively. Per capita meat and meat product consumption increased by 41 percent; milk and dairy products, 25 percent; eggs, by a factor of 1.9; and vegetables, 35 percent. In terms of calories, the nutrition of the Soviet person is consistent with physiological norms.

Now the party sets the following task: by using the country's increased economic potential to ensure within the shortest possible time stable population supplies of all types of foodstuffs and substantially to improve the nutritional structure of the Soviet people by increasing the consumption of the most valuable products.

In addition to meeting population demand for a wide variety of bread, bakery and pasta goods, potatoes and sugar, demand for products such as groats, pastry goods, margarine, eggs and fish will be met in full and meat, milk, vegetal oil, fruits and vegetables will be improved.

The consumption of meat, vegetal oil and vegetables will be increased substantially in the 12th Five-Year Plan, on the basis of further production increases.

By the end of the 12th Five-Year Plan the consumption of basic products per capita will be approximately the following: meat and meat products, 70 kilograms; fish products, 19 kilograms; milk and dairy products, 330-340 kilograms; eggs, 260-266 pieces, vegetal oil, 13.2 kilograms; vegetables and melon

crops, 126-135 kilograms; fruits and soft fruits, 66-70 kilograms; potatoes, 110 kilograms; sugar, 45.5 kilograms; and bakery products, 135 kilograms. This will be the average national consumption level. Consumption in the individual areas will be based on climate, national traditions, and other characteristics.

The basic directions which will be followed in the implementation of the USSR Food Program are the following:

Proportional and balanced development of the agroindustrial complex, and management, planning and economic incentive improvements in all its sectors, with a maximal orientation of the production process toward high end results;

Ensuring the high pace of agricultural production on the basis of its systematic intensification, highly effective utilization of the land, comprehensive strengthening of the material and technical base and accelerated development of the achievements of science and progressive experience;

Comprehensive improvements in the utilization of the production-technical potential of the agroindustrial complex, considerable increase in returns on capital investments and material resources, and development of production specialization and concentration on the basis of the expansion of interfarm and intersectorial ties;

Struggle for economy and thrift and for reducing losses and improving the quality of agricultural commodities through the extensive application of progressive technologies for the production, processing and storing of the products, and organization of specialized transportation facilities;

Further improvements in social and living conditions in the countryside.

The kolkhozes and sovkhozes play a decisive role in increasing agricultural production. The efforts of party, soviet and economic organs must be focussed on ensuring the steady growth of labor productivity in all farms, decisively improving their activities and enhancing the economy of losing or underprofitable kolkhozes and sovkhoves.

In order to increase food resources, auxiliary enterprise and organization farms must be developed comprehensively, wherever proper conditions exist, in order to ensure meeting the public catering requirements of workers and employees for meat, milk, vegetables and potatoes maximally. The possibilities of the private auxiliary farms of citizens and of collective truck gardening must be extensively used.

Economically as well as politically the food problem is the main problem of the current decade. The fulfillment and over-fulfillment of annual plans and of the overall 11th Five-Year Plan are prerequisites for its successful resolution.

The implementation of the USSR Food Program is a nation-wide project and the primary duty of all party, soviet and economic organs, trade union and Komsomol

organizations, and all working people in kolkhozes, sovkhozes, other enterprises within the agroindustrial complex, of every Soviet person.

II.

Production of Basic Food Commodities. Organization of Trade in Comestible Goods.

Production of Grain and Grain Processing Products. The Food Program emphasizes that the accelerated and steady growth of grain output is a key problem in agriculture.

The task is to ensure the growing needs of the country for high quality food and fodder grain in the next few years and to develop the necessary state grain reserves and export resources.

Without increasing the areas under grain crops, the main way for increasing grain production is the comprehensive increase in yields. Within a decade grain crop yields must be increased by 6 to 7 quintals, reaching an average of 21-22 quintals per hectare by 1990.

The average annual grain production will be increased to 238-243 million tons in the 11th Five-Year Plan and 250-255 million tons in the 12th.

The central committees of communist parties and councils of ministers of union republics, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, the local party, soviet and agricultural organs and the kolkhozes and sovkhozes have been asked to take the necessary measures to increase grain yields and gross harvests, and to improve grain quality and to reduce its losses.

The farms in the Kazakh SSR, the Northern Caucasus along the Volga, in the steppe areas of the Urals and Siberia, and the southern parts of the Ukrainian SSR must ensure stable increases in the gross harvests of high quality hard and strong wheat strains.

The stable increase in winter rye production in the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR, along the Volga, the Ukrainian Poles'ye, the Belorussian SSR and the Baltic republics must be ensured.

Gross harvests of barley strains used in brewing must be increased in all areas where it is grown for marketing purposes.

Yields and gross harvests of millet and buckwheat must be increased, above all in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the Tsentral'no-Chernozemniy Rayon and the Nonchernozem Zone in the RSFSR, along the Volga, the southern Urals, Western Siberia, the Ukrainian SSR and the Kazakh SSR.

Fuller use must be made of the great possibilities of corn in order to increase feed grain resources along with increasing the production of barley and oats. The 1985 gross grain corn harvest must be reach no less than 17 million tons, rising to 20 million tons by 1990. Measures must be taken to ensure the further

specialization and concentration in the production of corn for grain in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the Ukrainian SSR, the Moldavian SSR, the Northern Caucasus, the lower reaches of the Volga, the southern part of the Central Chernozemniy Rayon in the RSFSR, the Kazakh SSR, and the republics of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus. Industrial technology must be applied in growing and harvesting this crop wherever it is planted.

Leguminous crop production must reach 12 to 14 million tons in 1985 and 18-20 million tons in 1990. A considerable increase must be achieved in the gross harvests of such crops along the Volga in the Central Chernozemniy and Tsentral'nyy rayons in the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, the Belorussian SSR and the Kazakh SSR.

The introduction and mastery of scientific farming systems must be ensured on the basis of the specific natural and economic conditions. During the 11th Five-Year Plan production of grain crop seeds must be reorganized on an industrial basis. The use of new highly productive strains and hybrids must be accelerated. Insurance and rotating seed stocks of grain and leguminous crops must be established in the necessary amounts.

The USSR Ministry of Agriculture and the councils of ministers of union republics have been instructed to increase deliveries of chemical fertilizers for grain crops by no less than a factor of 1.7 by 1985, compared with 1980, and by a factor of 2 by 1990. The increased amounts of fertilizer will be shipped primarily to areas ensuring the greatest increase in commodity grain harvests.

While comprehensively increasing grain production, steady concern must be shown for the economical and thrifty utilization of food and feed grain, bread and bakery products.

The program sets assignments on flour milling from state grain resources and the production of groats and pasta goods.

Animal Husbandry Products. The task is to raise the average annual production of meat (in slaughtered weight) to 17-17.5 million tons in the 11th and 20-20.5 million tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan; milk production must reach respectively 97-99 million tons and 104-106 million tons; eggs--72 billion and 78-79 billion.

The program emphasizes that the central committees of communist parties and councils of ministers of union republics, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and the local party, soviet and agricultural organs and the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, while concerned with the growth and protection of the herds must ensure a comprehensive conversion to intensive animal husbandry methods and ensure a considerable increase in the productivity of all types of cattle and poultry. The livestock farms and complexes must be strengthened with the appointment of skilled cadres.

Selection and breeding standards must be enhanced. The network of breeding farms must be expanded. The possibilities of purebred livestock must be used efficiently. Herd reproduction must be improved and the production of young livestock must be increased. A system of preventive veterinary medicine

measures must be implemented to lower the morbidity and mortality rates among cattle and poultry. The material base of the state veterinary service and of enterprises engaged in the production of biological preparations must be expanded and strengthened.

Accelerated beef production must become the main line in increasing meat resources. Beef production (in slaughtered weight) must reach no less than 7.8 million tons in 1985 and 9.5 million tons in 1990. The systematic conversion of the raising and feeding of cattle in kolkhozes, sovkhozes and interfarm enterprises to an industrial base with feeds procured essentially by the farms themselves will be continued. Raising time must be shortened and the marketing of young cattle in peak condition—weighing no less than 400-500 kilograms—must be attained. The cattle must be raised and fattened primarily with green, coarse and fresh feeds and the auxiliary products of the food industry.

More work must be done to develop cattle breeding for meat in areas possessing the necessary pasture land and possibilities of developing intensive feed production on reclaimed land.

Greater attention must be paid to the further development of hog breeding as a livestock sector with the fastest maturity. Pork production (in slaughtered weight) must reach no less than 6.5 million tons in 1985 and 7-7.3 million tons in 1990. Hog breeding efficiency must be improved.

Along with the organization of highly intensive hog breeding at industrial livestock farms and complexes, fuller use must be made of the opportunities for increasing the production of pork in the livestock farms of non-specialized kolkhozes and sovkhozes, auxiliary rural farms of enterprises and organizations and private auxiliary farms of individual citizens. In each kolkhoz and sovkhoz where suitable conditions may be found hog breeding farms must be organized to meet the needs of the farm for meat and to sell small pigs to the population.

More effective use must be made of the possibilities of the steppe, forest-steppe, semi-desert and mountainous parts of the country to increase the production of mutton and reach an output of no less than 1 million tons (in slaughtered weight) by 1985 and 1.2-1.3 million tons by 1990. Measures must be taken to increase the number of Romanov, Tsigay and other meat and wool breeds of sheep in their traditional raising areas. In the areas of intensive sheep breeding the sector must be systematically reorganized on an industrial basis.

Poultry meat production (in slaughtered weight) must reach no less than 2.6 million tons by 1985 and 3.4-3.6 million tons by 1990. The construction of new and reconstruction of existing broiler farms must be accelerated. Specialized farms for the production of turkey, duck and goose meat must be created.

Rabbit meat production must be increased. The work of the voluntary rabbit breeding associations must be improved and population demands for purebred rabbits must be satisfied better.

Measures must be taken to increase meat resources through the development of horse and reindeer breeding.

Increasing cow productivity is the main way to increase the production of milk and dairy products. The task is to increase average milk production in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes to 500-600 kilograms by 1990. Average annual milk production in areas with developed dairy farming must reach 4,000 kilograms per cow.

Systematic work must be done to convert dairy animal husbandry to an industrial base, mainly by expanding and reconstructing existing farms. Milk quality must be improved.

The organization of procurements of cattle, milk and other animal husbandry products must be improved. The network of procurement enterprises and centers must be widened and brought as close as possible to production areas. The responsibility of procurement organs and enterprises for the prompt acceptance and proper preservation of the produce must be increased. Conversion to the delivery of cattle and milk directly at the farms must be accelerated.

On the basis of the stipulated volumes of output of animal husbandry products, the program calls for the procurement of meat and dairy products from state raw material resources. Measures have been earmarked to improve the variety and upgrade the quality of meat and dairy products.

Creation of a Firm Fodder Base for Animal Husbandry. The program calls for reaching a total feed production of 500 million tons in 1985 and 540-550 million tons by 1990 in terms of feed units. By 1990 hay procurements must reach 110-112 million tons and feed root crops 60-63 million tons.

The central committees of communist parties and councils of ministers of union republics, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the USSR State Committee for Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture, the local party, soviet and agricultural organs and the kolkhozes and sovkhozes must implement the necessary measures to ensure the further intensification of feed production from fields and meadows, and to upgrade the productivity of all farm land under feed crops, so that each farm can meet all the needs of animal husbandry for high-grade coarse, fresh and pasture feeds.

Feed production in kolkhozes and sovkhozes must be developed as a specialized sector. Particular attention must be paid to ensuring the balanced nature of feeds in terms of protein and other components and to improve the quality and the rational utilization of feeds and to reduce feed losses.

Areas under alfalfa, clover, lupine grass, soybeans, grape and other high protein crops must be increased. Within the decade natural feed land must be radically improved over an area covering 27-29 million hectares. Irrigated hay mowing and pastureland covering 2-2.2 million hectares must be developed and an area covering 36-38 million hectares must be supplied with water.

The production of alfalfa, clover and other feed crop seeds must be improved. Farms specializing in the production of alfalfa seeds must be organized in the Uzbek, Kazakh and Kirghiz SSRs, in the southern areas of the RSFSR and the Ukrainian SSR so that the neccessary quantities of such seeds may be procured to the all-union fund.

Progressive feed procurement and storage technologies must be applied. During the decade silage and haylage installations with a capacity totalling 240-245 million cubic meters, hay storage areas for 60-65 million tons and root crop storage areas with a capacity for 30-35 million tons of products stored simultaneously must be commissioned. The construction of storage areas for grain feeds, grass meal, and briquetted and granulated mixed feeds must be considerably expanded in order to meet in full kolkhoz and sovkhoz needs.

Measures are planned to increase the production of mixed feeds at state and interfarm enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes with a view to ensuring the efficient use of feed grain. The production of full milk substitutes will be increased considerably so that more milk for human consumption may become available. Fuller use of food wastes in feeding the cattle must be made everywhere.

Assignments have been formulated on increasing the production of rich proteinvitamin supplements for interfarm enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

The USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration of the Microbiological Industry, the USSR Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry and the USSR Ministry of Food Industry were issued the assignment to increase the production of fodder yeast and fodder lysine; the production of fish meal has been assigned to the USSR Ministry of Fish Industry and the USSR Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry was assigned the production of feeds from animal origins.

Production of Fruits and Vegetables and Potatoes. The program stipulates large-scale measures to improve population supplies of fruits and vegetables and potatoes by further increasing their production and improving their quality and drastically reducing losses along the route travelled by the produce from the field to the consumer.

The average annual production of vegetables and melon crops will reach 33-34 million tons in the 11th and 37-39 million tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan; the production of fruits and soft fruits will reach respectively 11-12 million and 14-15 million tons; and of grapes 7.5-8 million and 10-11 million tons. Vegetable production in protected grounds will be increased considerably. The average annual gross potato harvest must reach 87-89 million tons in the 11th and 90-92 million tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan.

Large specialized farms and agroindustrial enterprises for the production and processing of fruits and vegetables will be created in the southern areas of the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, the Kazakh SSR, the republics of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus and the Moldavian SSR. These areas will become the main centers for supplies for the urban population in the central and northern parts

of the European part of the country, the Urals, Siberia and the Far East with heat-loving vegetables, fruits and soft fruits. Population demand for potatoes and for later fruits, vegetables and soft fruits will be met essentially from production in the consumption areas.

The creation of specialized areas for the production of marketable potatoes on a industrial basis must be completed, above all in the Belorussian SSR, the Nonchernozem Zone of RSFSR and the Baltic republics.

Areas growing early potatoes in the Ukrainian SSR and in the republics of the Transcaucasus and Central Asia must be broadened. Potato production in kolkhozes and sovkhozes must reach no less than 7 million tons in 1985 and 9-10 million tons in 1990.

The agricultural base for the production of potatoes and vegetables in Siberia and the Far East, particularly in the BAM Zone must be developed at a faster pace, with a view to maximally meeting population demand for such items from local production.

The USSR Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, the USSR Ministry of Trade, Tsentrosoyuz and the councils of ministers of union republics must take measures to ensure the efficient location of areas for storing fruits and vegetables and potatoes with a view to considerably reducing losses of such products and quantities which have to be hauled during the mass procurement period. Extensive use must be made of progressive methods for storing potatoes, fruits and vegetables. The quantities of fruits and vegetables hauled in constant-temperature freight cars, refrigerated trucks and specialized river boats must be increased.

Tsentrosoyuz and the USSR State Committee for Forestry must considerably increase the harvesting and procurement of wild fruits, berries and mushrooms. Measures have been formulated to ensure the accelerated increase of capacities for processing and storing fruits and vegetables. Assignments have been issued to increase the production of canned fruits and vegetables, fresh frozen fruits, soft fruits, vegetables and semi-cooked products made of them, and for the processing of potatoes in semi-finished and finished shape. The production of canned goods for children and diet foods will be doubled by 1985 and increased by a factor of 2.5 by 1990 compared with 1980. The production of tomato products, fruit and grape juices, jams, preserves and stewed fruits will be increased considerably.

The creation of capacities for processing and storing fruits and vegetables directly in kolkhozes and sovkhozes has been recommended, so that the entire output may be preserved, processed and sold.

Sugar Production. The average annual production of sugar beets will reach 102-103 million tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan.

To this effect, the conversion to industrial technology in the growing of sugar beets must be essentially completed during the 12th Five-Year Plan. The needs of sugar beet-growing farms for the necessary equipment, transportation and

loading facilities, chemical fertilizers, and highly efficient herbicides and chemicals for the protection of the crop from pests and diseases must be met. The development and use of highly productive strains and hybrids of one-seeded sugar beets with a sugar content of no less than 17-18 percent must be accelerated. The production of seeds of non-transplantable sugar beets must be expanded in the southern part of the country.

The party, soviet and agricultural organs and the kolkhozes and sovkhozes must focus their attention on increasing sugar beet yields, improving their quality and considerably reducing losses.

Assignments have been issued on sugar production. With a view to preventing losses, measures have been formulated to reduce the length of the sugar beet processing season to 100-105 days by 1990. During the decade mechanized warehouses and paved areas totalling 15 million square meters will be built at the sugar beet reception centers, where the sugar beets will be stored with active ventilation facilities; the use of biologically active substances and new materials for covering the beet pits will be considerably increased.

The bulk transportation of sugar in crystals will be increased and liquid sugar supplies to industrial food sectors will be increased considerably. The production of sugar-containing substances from starchy and other raw materials will be developed.

Honey production will be increased considerably. The creation of specialized honey farms and apiaries, operating on an industrial basis, will be continued. Greater attention will be paid to the development of agriculture in the private plots.

The production of sugar substitutes will be expanded in order to meet in full the population demands for food for the diabetics.

Production of Vegetal Oil and Margarine. Ensuring a considerable increase in the production of oleaginous seeds and improving the organization of their delivery, storage and processing and reducing oleaginous seed losses is a major assignment facing the party, soviet and agricultural organs, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and procurement and processing enterprises.

The average annual production of sunflower seeds must reach 6-7 million tons in the 11th and 7.2-7.5 million tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan; soybean production must reach, respectively, 1.4 million tons and 2.2-2.3 million tons. Irrigated areas under soybeans in the European part of the country, in Central Asia and Kazakhstan must be increased. With a view to increasing vegetal oil resources, the cultivation of rape will be mastered in the western areas of the Ukraine, Belorussia, the Baltic republics, the Tsentral'nyy and Tsentral'nyy -Chernozemniy rayons in the RSFSR, along the Volga, the Urals, Siberia and Northern Kazakhstan during the 11th Five-Year Plan; the gross harvest of rape seed must reach 0.5 million tons in 1985 and approximately 1.5 million tons in 1990.

Industrial technologies must be applied in the cultivation of oleaginous crops.

The assignments stipulated in the program call for a rapid increase in the production of vegetal oils and margarine and for measures to improve their quality during the 11th and the 12th Five-Year Plans.

Production of Pastry Goods, Food Concentrates, Grape Wine, Beer and Non-Alcoholic Beverages.

The production of pastry goods must be increased to reach no less than 4.4 million tons by 1990, while the production of food concentrates must reach 350,000 tons. The production of goods enjoying greater population demand will be increased. This will include fudge-jam and flour-based pastry goods with a reduced sugar content.

The production of non-alcoholic beverages, beer, and grape and fruit-berry wines will be increased. The development of capacities for the treatment of grapes will be carried out at a faster pace in the Azerbaijan SSR, the Ukrainian SSR and the Moldavian SSR.

The tea leaf harvest must be raised to 560,000 tons by 1985 and 740,000-750,000 tons by 1990; the production of untreated tea must reach, respectively, 230,000 tons and 280,000-300,000 tons. The quality and variety of the tea produced must be improved considerably.

Fish Production. Measures have been formulated to increase the production of fish and sea products and to improve the productivity of the industry and the efficiency with which the fishing industry fleet is utilized. The ports will be equipped with the necessary facilities and mechanisms, service-auxiliary vessels and automotive transportation; technical facilities will be developed and installed for effective all-weather loading and unloading operations.

During the decade the production of marketable fish by fish breeding farms will approximately triple as a result of intensification of pond fish breeding. The material and technical facilities of fish breeding enterprises will be reconstructed, developed and technologically retooled. They will be equipped with modern material and technical facilities for the efficient exploitation of water reservoirs and hydro-engineering systems.

Ministries and departments will make extensive use of industrial water reservoirs of subordinate enterprises suitable for fish breeding.

The fish industry output must reach 4.2 million tons in 1985 and 4.3-4.5 million tons in 1990; The production of canned fish goods must reach, respectively, 3 billion conventional tins and no less than 3.2 billion conventional tins.

The USSR Ministry of Fish Industry must take measures to ensure the considerable expansion and renovation of the variety of fish goods and to improve the quality and taste of fish products. During the decade the production of fresh and frozen fish must approximately double.

Suitable refrigeration, freezing and storage facilities for fish and fish products must be installed in industry by 1990. During the decade refigerated areas for 220,000 to 240,000 tons of fish must be commissioned.

Auxiliary Farm Production. The central committees of communist parties and councils of ministers of union republics, ministries and departments and party, soviet, economic and trade union organs must take measures considerably to increase food production in auxiliary rural farms of enterprises and organizations. Such farms must be allocated the necessary land and supplied with agricultural equipment, with fertilizers and other material and technical facilities along with kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Such enterprises and organizations must undertake the extensive building of greenhouses with the use of heat waste and to develop animal husbandry farms and storage areas for fruit and vegetables.

The creation and development of auxiliary farms will be financed out of overall capital investments and material and technical resources allocated by the respective ministries and departments.

The most important task of the councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics, kray, oblast and rayon executive committees, agricultural organs, heads of farms and enterprises and trade union organizations is to create conditions for every rural family to have a private plot and raise cattle and poultry.

The consumer cooperatives must organize the timely purchase of surplus farm produce from the population. The network of permanent and temporary centers for reception and procurement of produce and cattle and poultry slaughter, and shops for the processing of agricultural commodities must be expanded. During the decade the enterprises of the consumer cooperatives must increase the production of sausages by 50 percent, of canned goods by 40 percent and of pastry goods by 70 percent.

Organization of Trade in Food Commodities. The councils of ministers of union republics and USSR ministries and departments managing commercial systems must considerably increase the level of commercial services to the population.

Measures must be taken to expand and ensure the efficient location of stores, cafeterias and other trade enterprises and to improve their work regimen with a view to making them maximally convenient to the population. Cafeterias must be opened at all major enterprises, construction projects and schools.

Active work must be done on the reconstruction and technical re-equipping of existing trade enterprises and the application of progressive selling methods, self-service in particular.

The network of kolkhoz markets must be expanded and the organization of trade at the markets must be improved. Their material and technical facilities must be strengthened.

Comprehensive support must be given to the development of the consumer cooperative and to the expansion of trade in agricultural commodities purchased from the private auxiliary farms of citizens. The cooperative organizations must be given premises for the sale of such products in industrial centers and helped in procuring the necessary transportation facilities.

The organization of trade in bread, bakery and pasta goods, groats and other foodstuffs must be improved. The efficiency of their delivery to the trade network must be enhanced. Steps must be taken to expand the network of seasonal trade and fruit and vegetable stores. Larger amounts of goods must be sold in small packaged quantities.

Direct relations between trade and kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other enterprises within the agroindustrial complex must be developed and improved.

TIT.

Developing the Material and Technical Base of the Agroindustrial Complex.

The acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the highly efficient utilization of the production potential and the strengthening of the material and technical base of agriculture and all sectors of the agroindustrial complex on the basis of the further development of production mechanization and chemia zation and extensive land reclamation, are the most important prerequisites for the successful implementation of the USSR Food Program.

Complex Mechanization of Agricultural Production and Technical Retooling of Food Industry Sectors

The program emphasizes that completing the comprehensive mechanization of crop growing and animal husbandry and re-equipping the food industry sectors on a new technical basis, to be completed essentially through 1990, are the primary tasks of the machine-building industries and all ministries and departments within the agroindustrial complex. The technical level, quality and, particularly, the reliability of tractors, combines, machines and equipment for crop growing, animal husbandry and feed production and for the food industry sectors must be improved steadily. The material-intensiveness of the manufactured equipment must be reduced systematically.

The following will be supplied to agriculture during the decade:

3,740,000-3,780,000 tractors, no less than 200,000 excavators, 215,000 bull-dozers, 93,000 scrapers and 13,000 automotive graders;

1,170,000 grain harvesting combines and other agricultural machinery worth 67-70 billion rubles as follows: 38-40 billion rubles for crop growing and 29-30 billion rubles for animal husbandry and feed production.

During the decade technological equipment worth 15-17 billion rubles will be allocated for the food industry sectors, state trade and the consumer cooperative.

The amount of electric power going to agriculture will be increased and will reach 210-235 billion kilowatt hours by 1990.

Measures have been earmarked to strengthen the engineering service in agriculture and to enhance its responsibility for the utilization and maintenance of the equipment, further development and specialization of repair-service bases in kolkhozes, sovkhozes and Sel'khoztekhnika organizations, and the procurement of machine tools, forge-press and repair-technological equipment for workshops and repair enterprises. The quality of repairs must be improved and the level of technical readiness of machines and equipment must be enhanced. The premature write-off of such items must not be allowed.

The machine-building industries have been asked to organize the production of spare parts for tractors, motor vehicles, agricultural machinery and technological equipment in accordance with requirements and established norms. The USSR State Sel'khoztekhnika Committee must considerably increase the amount of rebuilt parts.

The task in tractor and agricultural machine building is to ensure the production of new and updated power-saturated tractors and to undertake the production of general purpose plowing tractors developing approximately 150 horse-power during the 12th Five-Year Plan.

The updating and reliability of the Niva, Kolos and Sibiryak grain harvesting combines must be completed during the 11th Five-Year Plan. The production of rice harvesting caterpillar combines must be completed during the 11th Five-Year Plan. The series production of grain harvesting combines with increased handling capacity must be undertaken in 1986.

The production capacity and the manufacturing of the necessary quantities of the following machinery for agriculture must be developed at a faster pace:

Machines for the application of soil protecting technologies;

Combined machine units, heavy disk tools, precision sowing machines, sugar beet loading machines and other equipment required for the application of industrial technologies in the cultivation of sugar beets, corn, potatoes, vegetables and other farm crops;

Highly productive machines and equipment for the transportation, mixing and application of solid mineral and liquid complex fertilizers and liquid ammonia;

Machines and equipment for the preparation of pesticide solutions and for their use in small quantities;

Wide-scope self-propelling and attached windrows and assembly lines and equipment for the post-harvesting processing and storage of agricultural commodities;

Small tools needed by the kolkhozes, sovkhozes and the population.

During the 11th Five-Year Plan the machine-building industry for animal hus-bandry and feed production will concentrate essentially on machines and equipment representing unified technological complexes for fodder procurement, preparation and delivery and for the mechanization of production processes in animal husbandry. Capacities for the annual production of 20,000 self-propelling and 20,000 hitched fodder harvesting combines and for the production of self-propelling mowing-milling and other machines needed for the comprehensive mechanization of feed production and of animal husbandry and poultry breeding work will be developed and used.

The needs of agriculture for machines and equipment for the transportation and application of solid and liquid organic fertilizers will be met. Particular attention will be paid to increasing the production of 8-16 ton capacity machines and highly productive loading facilities.

The manufacturing of new highly productive loaders, bulldozers, self-propelling scrapers and trenchless drain pipe layers will be mastered and the production of rotary ditchdigging and cleaning machines will be increased.

The light and food industry machine-building sector will manufacture essentially assembly lines and equipment sets which will ensure a substantial labor productivity increase in the industrial food sectors, the extensive processing of agricultural commodities and a lowering of processing losses, and the improved quality and increased variety of food products. The production of technological equipment on a cooperated basis with the enterprises of other machine-building ministries will be increased.

In the period through 1990 the production of comprehensive technological equipment with a productivity such as to process 6,000 tons of sugar beets per day and highly productive systems for the continuing refining of vegetal oil will be mastered.

Mechanized assembly lines will be developed for the breadbaking industry, for the production of mass bread varieties and bakery goods in small packages as well as sets of other equipment which will make labor automation and mechanization possible. The production of modern equipment for the pasta industry enterprises will be expanded.

Equipment sets for the production of canned children's food and the primary processing of tomatoes, mechanized assembly lines for the production of canned vegetables, potato products and fast frozen fruits and vegetables, and highly productive lines for the production of sausages, semi-finished meat products, cottage cheese and other products will be mastered.

The series manufacturing of highly productive modern comprehensive equipment for elevators, mills and mixed feed enterprises and for the equipment of potato, vegetable and fruit storage areas will be organized.

The shipbuilding industry will develop fishing vessels which can engage in the effective fishing, processing and production of fish foods, canned fish and semi-finished goods directly in the fishing areas. Refrigerated fishing and transportation vessels will be added to the fishing industry fleet.

Development of Agricultural Chemization. The amount of chemical fertilizers to be supplied to agriculture will total 26.5 million tons in 1985 and 30-32 million tons in 1990 (in terms of 100% content of nutritive substances); chemical feed supplements will total, respectively, 950,000 tons and 1.2 million tons.

Measures have been formulated to improve the quality of chemical fertilizers. The production of highly concentrated and mixed fertilizers will account for no less than 90 percent of the overall volume of fertilizer output by 1990. Starting with 1988, fertilizer for agriculture will be produced in granulated or large-crystal shape (with the exception of phosphorite meal). The production of complex liquid fertilizers based on superphosphoric acid will be increased.

Deliveries of plant protection chemicals to agriculture will reach 680,000 tons in 1985 and 750,000-790,000 tons in 1990. The production of highly effective plant protection means will be increased. The needs of agriculture for herbicides, which are required in the use of industrial farming technologies, will be met.

The production of feed conservation agents will be increased. No less than 110,000 tons will be supplied to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes by 1985 and 380,000-400,000 tons will be supplied in 1990.

Measures are planned to ensure agriculture with materials based on lime and to improve their quality.

The full and efficient utilization of all available resources of organic and other local fertilizers must be organized in each farm; the efforts to manufacture compost with beet, lime phosphorite meal and other fertilizers must be increased. We must increase the use of organic fertilizer in kolkhozes and sovkhozes to 1.2 billion tons in 1985 and no less than 1.5 billion tons in 1990. In the 12th Five-Year Plan beet production for compost and bedding must reach a minimum of 170 million tons per year.

Measures have been stipulated to provide the necessary material and technical facilities for chemization in kolkhozes and sovkhozes and sel'khozkhimya organizations. Warehouses, technical centers for machine servicing, landing and takeoff runways, manure storage areas and other projects will be built in order to reduce to a minimum losses of chemical fertilizers and plant protection and other chemicals in the course of their transportation, storage and application.

The responsibility of the agrochemical service for the effective utilization of chemical fertilizers and other chemization facilities and for the practical utilization of the achievements of science, technology and progressive experience must be enhanced.

Development of Land Reclamation. The program calls for further enhancing the role of reclamation in increasing agricultural output. The size of the irrigated land will reach 20.8 million hectares by 1985 and 23-25 million hectares

by 1990; respectively, the size of the drained land will reach 15.5 million and 18-19 million hectares.

The USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, USSR Ministry of Agriculture, USSR Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry and the councils of ministers of union republics must focus their main attention on ensuring the comprehensive reclamation of the land and its agricultural development and reaching plant crop yields on irrigated and drained lands. Priority must be given to the reconstruction of existing irrigation and draining systems with a view to upgrading the productivity of the reclaimed land. Areas of guaranteed grain production, corn in particular, must be developed in areas with irrigated farming. Irrigated land must yield a gross grain crop of no less than 15 million tons in 1985 and 20-22 million tons in 1990; the rice crop must reach respectively 3 million and 3.3-3.5 million tons.

Feed production on reclaimed land must reach 63 million tons by 1985 and 80-82 million tons of feed units by 1990. Irrigated feed crop land must be developed at the livestock breeding complexes. The production of perennial grasses, root crops and silage and other feed crops must be increased on such lands.

The work on creating areas of guaranteed production of vegetables and early potatoes on irrigated land near big cities and industrial centers must be completed. The construction of large rice-growing irrigated systems must be completed.

The full needs of kolkhozes and sovkhozes for equipment, chemical fertilizers and plant protection chemicals for production on the reclaimed land must be met.

New organizational methods for the utilization of reclaimed systems and their technical servicing must be applied. The use of highly efficient irrigations methods must be expanded with the help of automated and telemetric equipment. Polymers must be applied more extensively in reclamation work.

The machine-building industries must ensure the development and organization of the series production of new highly productive irrigation equipment, machines and mechanisms for reclamation operations.

Between 1982 and 1990 the Ministry of Shipbuilding Industry must manufacture and supply agriculture with 32,000 spraying machines of the Fregat and Kuban' models.

The construction of projects of the first stage in transferring some of the stock of the northern rivers to the Volga River Basin and the Volga-Don, Rostov-Krasnodar and Danube-Dnepr Canals must be completed by 1990.

Development of Production Capacities in the Agroindustrial Complex Sectors. The course of further strengthening the material and technical base of the country's agroindustrial complex must be pursued further. During the 11th

Five-Year Plan capital investments totalling 233 billion rubles, including 189.6 billion rubles in agriculture, must be used in the development of these sectors.

During the 12th Five-Year Plan capital investments amounting to 33-35 percent and, directly in agriculture, 27-28 percent of the overall volume of capital investments in the national economy must be allocated for use in agriculture, fishing, the food, meat and dairy, microbiological, oatmeal and mixed feed industries, tractor and agricultural machine building, machine building for animal husbandry and feed production, machine building for the food industry sectors, the production of chemical fertilizers and plant protection chemicals and enterprises and organizations in the areas of trade and the consumer cooperative.

The responsibility of party, soviet and agricultural organs and heads of construction organizations and enterprises and farms for the effective utilization of capital investments, the timely completion and mastering the capacities of agricultural projects, the food industry and other sectors within the agroindustrial complex must be enhanced.

The program calls for channeling capital investments mainly in the development of capacities which will make it possible to increase within the shortest possible time the production of food, the technical retooling, expansion and reconstruction of operating enterprises and production facilities, and the completion of projects under construction. Construction projects within the agroindustrial complex must be considered the most important shock projects in the country.

In agriculture capital investments must be focused on upgrading land fertility, developing a stable feed base for animal husbandry and capacities for primary produce processing, the construction of warehouses and storage areas, the reconstruction and expansion of animal husbandry premises and the social development of the countryside. Measures have been formulated to improve the organization of agriculture. The share of the contracting construction method in kolkhozes and sovkhozes will be increased. Production facilities in rural construction based on capacities for the production of preassembled sets of lightweight structures will be developed further and the production of local construction materials will be increased.

In the food industry sectors capital investments will be used mainly in developing the production of the meat, milk, fruit-vegetable and fish production, vegetal oils, margarine, sugar, confectionery and pasta goods, flour and groats and the construction of elevators, food storage bins and refrigerated areas. Specific assignments have been set on commissioning of respective capacities.

Along with the construction of big enterprises for the processing and storage of agricultural commodities, small enterprises must be built wherever it is economically expedient in the vicinity of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and directly in the farms, making extensive use of preassembled buildings (modules) made of lightweight metal structures. The construction of small grain

reception enterprises and mixed feed shops must be organized in the remote areas of Siberia, along the Volga, Kazakhstan and other parts of the country.

TV.

Supplying the Agroindustrial Complex Sectors with Transportation, Containers and Packaging Materials

The transportation support of the agroindustrial complex is one of the important tasks of the Food Program. The following measures have been planned to resolve it.

During the next decade 3 million to 3,060,000 trucks and 3.2-3.3 million tractor trailers will be allocated for agriculture. Kolkhozes, sovkhozes and food industry enterprises will be supplied with 110,000-116,000 milk trucks and 50,000-53,000 semi-trailers for cattle hauling. The food industry and fishing sectors will be supplied with a larger number of specialized automotive transportation facilities for the transportation of sugar in crystal and liquid form, live fish, other food products, beer, and mineral waters.

During the decade all sectors within the agroindustrial complex and the public use transportation system will be supplied with 76,000-78,000 refrigerated trucks. The Ministry of Railways will be supplied with 29,000-30,000 refrigerated and heat-proof railroad cars.

Measures will be implemented in railroad transportation to improve services to agroindustrial sectors and the structure of the railroad car fleet used in hauling agricultural commodities and food.

In the area of air transport an increased volume of fresh vegetables and fruits will be hauled mainly to the distant areas of Siberia and the Extreme North.

In maritime transportation, specialized complexes for transshipment of freight will be developed in the ports of the Baltic, Black Sea and Far Eastern basins to provide food facilities for hauling of food products.

In the area of river transportation, the time for the delivery of vegetables and melon crops from the areas of the lower Volga reaches to the industrial centers of the country will be reduced. The further development of moorings and river fruit and vegetable bases will be ensured.

During the 11th Five-Year Plan the Ministry of Automotive Industry will create capacities for the annual production of 20,000 automotive trains for agricultural purposes at the Kutaisi Automotive Manufacturing Plant and 10,000 all-terrain 7-8-ton-capacity trucks at the Urals Automotive Vehicles Plant.

During the 11th Five-Year Plan the series production of specialized transportation facilities for bulk and liquid mixed fertilizer will be mastered.

The design of automotive vehicles for agricultural purposes will be improved further. The development and creation of replaceable specialized bodies will be accelerated.

In the area of heavy and transportation machine building, capacities will be created for increasing the production of dump freight cars and specialized tankers for the transportation of chemical fertilizers and lime, totaling 6,000-7,000 freight cars (tankers) per year, and heat-proof refrigerated freight cars totaling 2,000 units per year.

Between 1983 and 1990 the Ministry of Shipbuilding Industry and the RSFSR Ministry of River Fleet will ensure the construction of 90 river produce carriers and will accelerate the development and construction of specialized transport facilities for small rivers.

The USSR Gosplan and Gossnab will implement the necessary measures to meet the needs of the sectors in the food industry, trade and agriculture for containers and packaging materials. The production of new types of containers made of aluminum, laminated cardboard, foil, polymers and other progressive materials will be developed on a priority basis.

By 1990 a collection of packaged basic foodstuffs must reach 60--70 percent of the total volume of sales.

The installation of mechanized assembly lines for commodity packaging must be accelerated in the food industry sectors.

During the 11th Five-Year Plan the light and food industry machine-building industries must develop and undertake the production of highly productive equipment for the processing of corrugated and flat cardboard. The series production of standardized highly productive automated lines for filling milk, non-alcoholic beverages and beer bottles and for the packaging and containerizing of foodstuffs must be created and mastered.

The machine tool-building industry must ensure the production of equipment for the manufacturing of polyethylene containers and packaging in transportable containers.

٧.

Intensifying the Role of Science in the Implementation of the Food Program

Between 1982 and 1990 the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, USSR Academy of Sciences, USSR Ministry of Agriculture, USSR Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry, the All-Union Agricultural Academy imeni V. I. Lenin and other ministries and departments have been asked to ensure the further development of scientific research and to accelerate the practical utilization of scientific achievements in the agricultural sectors.

The network of scientific-production associations, based on the facilities of sectorial and zonal scientific research and design organizations must be

developed. The production of pure strain and hybrid seeds and high-quality planting materials and the growing of purebred cattle for kolkhoz and sovkhoz use must be concentrated in these associations.

Scientific recommendations aimed at the further improvement of specialization, concentration and interfarm production cooperation, and the application of progressive forms of labor organization and incentive aimed at end results must be elaborated on the basis of the summation of practical accomplishments.

Work on the selection of new strains and hybrids of farm crops consistent with the requirements of industrial technology applicable in crop growing must be intensified. Strains resistant to adverse environmental factors, with high grain qualities, proof to diseases and pests and with potentially high yields must be created and applied, as follows: winter wheat, no less than 80-90 quintals per hectare; spring wheat, 45-60 quintals; short-stemmed winter rye and winter and spring barley, 55-65 quintals; corn hybrids, 120-130 quintals on irrigated land and 80-90 quintals on non-irrigated land; peas, 40-45 quintals; other leguminous crops, 25-30 quintals per hectare.

Particular attention must be paid to the development of early and medium early ripening corn and sunflower hybrids, high quality and highly productive strains and hybrids of rape and seasonal and perennial grasses. The use of high-yielding strains and hybrids of potatoes, vegetables, melon crops, fruits, berries and grapes with high nutritive and technological qualities must be accelerated.

Measures must be implemented to improve the breeding and productive qualities of cattle and poultry and to improve the existing and to develop new highly productive breeds, breed groups, lines, hybrids and crossbreeds adapted to industrial technologies in animal husbandry sectors.

The following must be developed and applied:

Energy-saving soil protection and industrial technologies for the cultivation of farm crops consistent with the different soil weather conditions;

Technologies for the production of high-quality feeds on natural pastures and cultivated land, ensuring an average of 10,000-15,000 fodder units per hectare on irrigated land and 5,000-6,000 fodder units on non-irrigated land, as well as technological processes for the preservation of fresh feeds such as to retain no less than 90 percent of their nutritive substances;

More advanced means and methods for the prevention and treatment of diseases in animals, efficient biological and chemotherapeutic veterinary preparations and technologies for their production, and tools and instruments for mass examinations and treatment of livestock;

New technologies for storing agricultural commodities with the help of active ventilation, artificial refrigeration and controlled gas environment.

Research must be intensified on the rational utilization of water resources and their protection from pollution and exhaustion, and the creation of economical and operationally reliable irrigation systems with mechanized and automated water distribution facilities.

The USSR Academy of Sciences, the academies of sciences of union republics, and the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V. I. Lenin must develop theoretical research on problems of gene engineering in plant selection, microorganisms and livestock, biotechnologies for protein synthesis, and biologically active substances. The creation of new efficient means for the protection of plants from pests, diseases and weeds, growth regulators and other agricultural preparations and the development and application of technologies for the industrial production of such facilities must be secured.

The USSR State Committee for Standards, USSR ministries and departments, and councils of ministers of union republics must ensure the formulation and implementation of programs for comprehensive standardization which call for the interrelated enhancement of requirements concerning the quality of agricultural production and foodstuffs, mineral fertilizers, plant protection means, machines and equipment, containers and packaging materials for agricultural production and the increased use of contemporary methods for assessing the quality of each output.

VI.

Improving Social-Living Conditions in the Countryside

The program emphasizes that the most important task of the party, soviet, economic and trade union organs is the systematic implementation of measures for the social development of the countryside and the further enhancement of the standards of well-being, culture and medical and consumer services to the rural population. The prestige of agricultural labor must be comprehensively enhanced. An efficient regimen of labor and recreation for sovkhoz workers and kolkhoz members must be applied more energetically. The wages of farm workers must become closer to those of industry on the basis of the growth of labor productivity.

The construction of comfortable housing with agricultural facilities, child-ren's preschool institutions, clubs, libraries and other cultural projects, trade, public catering and consumer service enterprises and roads must be carried out at a faster pace in kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises.

A housing area totaling no less than 176 million square meters will be built during the 11th Five-Year Plan and 15-18 percent more will be built in the 12th Five-Year Plan in the kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises. The availability of communal services for the rural population will be improved considerably. Bearing in mind the importance of retaining cadres in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the USSR Gosplan and the councils of ministers of union republics will procure in the elaboration of their annual and

five-year plans additional funds for non-production construction in kolkhozes and sovkhozes through the redistribution of the overall volume of funds in favor of the countryside with a view to increasing the completion of comfortable housing and cultural facilities in rural areas.

The individual construction of housing in kolkhozes and sovkhozes will be expanded. House builders will be given comprehensive aid in terms of financial and material resources. The plans will stipulate the allocation of the necessary construction materials for such purposes.

The production of garden-type housing, of wooden panel housing and parts for rural construction will be increased.

During the next 9 years the volume of consumer services in rural areas will double. The quality of standards of services to the population will be improved; facilities will be organized for increasing the acceptance of orders for all necessary types of consumer services directly in kolkhozes and soykhozes.

The construction of self-service laundries and comprehensive reception centers for minor repairs and services in kolkhozes and sovkhozes will be increased considerably.

Specialized enterprises and organizations will be created to improve the exploitation of housing facilities and communal-consumer projects in the countryside.

The construction of outpatient polyclinical institutions and pharmacies will be increased. Measures will be taken to staff medical facilities in rural areas with specialist cadres. The standard and quality of medical services and sanitorium-resort treatment of sovkhoz workers and kolkhoz members will be improved.

Work will be continued to strengthen training facilities in rural schools. During the 11th Five-Year Plan general educational schools will be built in rural areas for 2.3 million students; approximately 14-17 percent more such facilities will be built during the 12th Five-Year Plan.

Reliable transportation facilities between kolkhozes and sovkhozes and rayon centers will be organized. During the decade approximately 130,000 kilometers of automotive highways for public use and 150,000 kilometers of intrafarm roads will be laid.

The length of rural bus lines will be increased systematically, so that by 1990 basically all central farmsteads of kolkhozes and sovkhozes will have bus services linking them with the rayon centers.

With a view to ensuring the year-round employment of kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers, wherever expedient auxiliary production facilities and

industries will be developed in the farms and industrial cooperation will be organized with industrial enterprises.

## VII.

Upgrading Work Effectiveness of Kolkhozes, Sovkhozes and Other Enterprises and Organizations Within the Agroindustrial Complex

The USSR Food Program includes important measures for the further development of agriculture and related sectors with the allocation of the necessary resources.

During the decade productive capital in agriculture and the food industrial sectors will be increased by one-half. Power facilities in kolkhozes and sovkhozes will be increased by a factor of 1.6 and supplies of chemical fertilizers to the countryside by a factor of 1.7. The most important task is firmly to enhance the efficiency of agricultural production and all sectors in the agroindustrial complex.

As was stipulated at the 26th CPSU Congress, the center of gravity, which will be the distinguishing characteristic of agrarian policy of the 1980s, will be shifted to returns on capital investments, increased agricultural productivity, and intensification and improvement of relations between agricultural and all sectors in the agroindustrial complex. During the decade labor productivity in kolkhozes and sovkhozes must be increased by approximately one-half while the production of agricultural commodities per hectare of farmland must be increased by no less than one-third.

The central committees of communist parties and councils of ministers of union republics, USSR ministries and departments, local party, soviet and economic organs, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, enterprises and organizations must make a sharp turn toward intensive economic management methods and the better utilization of the land, productive capital, labor, material and financial resources and all available reserves and possibilities in order to increase the production of food products. A persistent struggle must be launched for increasing labor productivity, economy and thrift, lowering production costs and eliminating negligence and waste.

The role of cost-effectiveness in upgrading stable farm profitability as a basis for expanded reproduction must be enhanced. More energetic use must be made in the practices of farm planning and accountability of the economic assessment of land, water, material and manpower resources.

Particular attention must be paid to improving the economic activities of lagging kolkhozes and sovkhozes in order to reach stable and high production growth rates within the immediate future. Specific steps must be taken in each losing or underprofitable kolkhoz and sovkhoz to raise the level of farming and animal husbandry and to increase crop yields and cattle and poultry productivity. The material and technical base of farms insufficiently supplied with productive and working capital must be strengthened.

Concern must be shown for kolkhozes and sovkhozes which are understaffed with manpower and the necessary funds must be provided for the construction of housing and other sociocultural projects in them. Such farms must be supplied with highly productive equipment on a priority basis with a view to upgrading the level of mechanization and automation of production processes. The strengthening of the lagging farms and the enhancement of their profitability must be considered the most important link in the entire work on ensuring the increased effectiveness of agricultural production.

Material outlays per unit of agricultural output and losses of all kinds must be reduced considerably. Better balancing of protein consumption and the rational utilization of fodder must lower their outlays per unit of animal husbandry produce by no less than 5-7 percent between 1980 and 1990. Measures must be implemented to apply a rational fertilizer utilization system. During the current five-year plan returns from chemical fertilizer supplies in agriculture and other chemization facilities must average 12-15 percent. Fuels and lubricants must be economized in the course of mechanized and transportation operations by no less than 5 percent. By 1990 the daily productivity of a tractor, harvester or transport equipment must be increased by approximately 20 percent.

In the food industry sectors measures related to the comprehensive reworking of agricultural raw materials and reducing its losses must be implemented with the application of highly productive technological equipment.

All kolkhoz and sovkhoz production sectors must be strengthened with well-trained managers, specialists and cadres in mass skills. The further enhancement of their skills and turnover reduction must be ensured. Particular attention must be paid to improving the structure of the middle-level workers so that within the forthcoming years departments, shops, production sectors, brigades and livestock farms be headed as a rule by people with special training. The cadres must be raised in a spirit of efficiency, principle-mindedness and intolerance of shortcomings. Their labor initiative must be developed comprehensively.

The latest achievements of scientific and technical progress and the scientific organization of labor must be applied more energetically. The system of material and moral incentives of the workers must be made considerably more efficient.

Planning and Management. We must convert to planning the activities of the agroindustrial complex and its management as a single entity on all levels. We must balance the development and close interaction among all its sectors.

The organizational structure of the management of the agroindustrial complexes must be simplified. Unnecessary and duplicating units must be abolished. The size of the administrative apparatus must be reduced substantially and the responsibility of each unit within the agroindustrial complex for increasing the volume of output and improving the quality of

foodstuffs and raw materials for industry and the organization of a reliable and uninterrupted supply of all types of food to the population must be enhanced.

Economic initiative and socialist enterprise must be comprehensively developed in the kolkhozes, sovkhozes and all other enterprises and organizations within the agroindustrial complex. The collectives must be encouraged for increasing the production of commodities and ensuring the economic utilization of material resources. Their work must be concentrated not on intermediary indicators but on high end results. The petty supervision of kolkhozes and sovkhozes should not be allowed.

Measures must be implemented to apply the norming planning method of capital investments and outlays of basic material resources in agriculture.

The kolkhoz and sovkhoz plans must stipulate specific measures to ensure the necessary production profitability of agricultural output, above all by reducing production costs and upgrading labor productivity.

Material Production Incentive. Bonuses for high end work results must become the main form of incentive for enterprises and organizations, managers and specialists on all levels of the agroindustrial complex.

Bonuses for increasing the production of agricultural commodities must be introduced more widely in the organizations and enterprises servicing kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Material incentive funds for kolkhoz, sovkhoz and workers and other agricultural enterprises and organizations for increased volumes of procurements and improved quality must be set up at processing enterprises of agricultural associations.

The amount of payments in kind to kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers, above all in grain, fruits and vegetables and fodders, must be increased.

The councils of ministers of union republics, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, the USSR Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry, the USSR Goskomsel'khoztekhnika, the USSR Ministry of Procurement, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the AUCCTU must formulate and implement in the agroindustrial complex sectors measures for the extensive use of the method of labor organization and incentives ensuring a close connection between the amount of the wage and the end results of the agricultural year. The dissemination of the work experience based on the brigade contracting method and the work of teams on the basis of the piece rate-bonus wage must be disseminated. Measures must be implemented to enhance further the material incentive of workers in mass skills and farm managers and specialists for reaching high agricultural production indicators.

During the 11th Five-Year Plan workers employed in animal husbandry must receive wage supplements for continuous work in a given farm and granted additional paid leave.

## VIII.

Basic Tasks of Union Republics in the Implementation of the USSR Food Program

Each union republic must make its maximal contribution to the implementation of the USSR Food Program. The central committees of communist parties and councils of ministers of union republics must ensure the strict implementation of the plan for the production and purchasing of agricultural commodities and their delivery to the all-union fund.

Comprehensive use must be made of existing possibilities and reserves for upgrading the efficiency of agricultural production, the food industry and other sectors in the agroindustrial complex. The highest possible returns from the production and technical potential should be reached. The party and soviet organs in republics, krays and oblasts are fully responsible for the reliable availability of food for the population, mainly by increasing local production.

The union republics must implement the following basic tasks related to the implementation of the USSR Food Program for the period through 1990.

The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic must ensure an average annual grain production of 134-136 million tons in the 11th and 140-142 million tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan; compared with the average annual production during the 10th Five-Year Plan by 1990 it must ensure the following harvest increases: sugar beets, by approximately a factor of 1.3; sunflower seeds, 1.5; potatoes, 1.2; vegetables and melon crops, 1.4; fruits and soft fruits, 1.4; and grapes, 2.6. By 1990 the production of rapeseeds must reach approximately 1 million tons.

During the decade production of all seed varieties must increase by a factor of 1.3-1.4.

The level of intensification of milk and beef cattle breeding must be enhanced. During the decade the average milk production per cow must increase by 600-700 kg.

The average annual meat production (in slaughtered weight) must reach 8.4-8.7 million tons in the 11th and 9.8-10 million tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan; milk production must reach, respectively, 50-52 million and 53-54 million tons.

Work on land reclamation and the implementation of a set of measures for the accelerated increase in the production of crop and animal husbandry products must be carried out in the Nonchernozem Zone in the RSSR.

The efficiency of all agricultural sectors in Siberia and the Far East must be ensured with a view to reliably supplying the population of these areas with essentially locally grown food.

In the Central-Chernozem area and the Northern Caucasus measures to ensure the further intensification of crop growing, animal husbandry and truck gardening must be carried out.

The production of grain, fodder, vegetables, melon crops and animal husbandry products must be increased considerably in the Povolzh'ye on the basis of the development of land irrigation.

During the decade 3.3 million hectares of irrigated land must be commissioned and 3.7 million hectares of excessively moist land must be drained.

The construction of the following irrigation systems must be completed: Komsomol'skaya and Privolzhskaya in Saratovskaya Oblast, Gorodishchenskaya in Volgogradskaya Oblast, and the Krasnodar system. The construction of the Bol'shoy Stavropol'skiy Canal must be continued; irrigated areas in its zone and the Spasskiy area in Kuybyshevskaya Oblast must be expanded. The following group water mains must be completed: Severnyy in the Kalmytskaya ASSR, Otradnenskiy in Krasnodarskiy Kray, Varfolomeyevskiy in Saratovskaya Oblast and Charyshskiy in Altayskiy Kray. Land reclamation in the Kulundinskaya Steppe and the Barabinskaya lowlands must be accelerated. The water stock of the Karasuk River must be increased by transferring water from the Ob' River.

During the decade the production of crystal sugar will increase by a factor of 1.9-2; canned fruits and vegetables made of state resources will increase by a factor of 1.5-1.6; vegetal oil by no less than 2.5; meat, 1.3; cheeses, 1.5-1.6; and potato production must reach 100,000-110,000 tons.

The Ukrainian SSR must reach an average annual grain production of 51-52 million tons in the 11th and 53-54 million tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan; sugar beets, respectively, 57 million and 60 million tons. During the decade gross harvests of sunflower seeds, fruits and soft fruits must increase by a factor of no less than 1.4; grape production must increase by a factor of 1.8. A further growth in the production of potatoes and vegetables must be achieved. Rapeseed production must reach 210,000-230,000 tons by 1990.

Measures must be implemented to ensure the stable increase in the production and purchasing of cereal crops, hard and strong strain wheats and beans. Areas of guaranteed production of corn grain on land favorable for this crop must be developed.

During the decade feed production must increase by a factor of 1.3-1.4.

By 1990 average milk production per cow in kolkhozes and sovkhozes must be increased by 600--700~kg.

The average annual meat production (in slaughtered weight) must reach 3.9-4.1 million tons in the 11th and 4.6-4.7 million tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan; milk, respectively, 22.5-23 million and 24-24.4 million tons.

During the decade no less than 1 million hectares of irrigated land must be commissioned and 1.3 million hectares of excessively moist land must be drained. The construction of the Danube-Dnestr and Kakhovskaya irrigational systems and the second part of the Dnepr-Donbass Canal must be completed; the construction of the third part of the North Crimean Canal, the first part of the Azov irrigation system and the Serogozskiy main canal must be undertaken. The construction of the Dnepr-Bug hydraulic junction must be developed.

The food industry sectors must be developed at a high pace. During the decade the production of crystal sugar from beets must be increased by a factor of 1.7; the production of vegetal oil from state resources must be increased by a factor of 1.4; of canned fruits and vegetables, 1.5; meat, 1.7; butter, 1.4; and cheeses, 1.8; potato production must be increased by 35,000-38,000 tons.

In the Belorussian SSR average annual grain production must reach 7.8-8.1 million tons in the 11th and 8.2-8.6 million tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan. During the decade gross vegetable output must be increased by a factor of approximately 1.2; fruits and soft fruits, 1.4; and production of all feeds, 1.3-1.4.

The average annual meat production (in slaughtered weight) must reach 1 million tons in the 11th and 1.1-1.2 million tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan; milk, respectively, 6.5-6.7 million and 6.9-7 million tons. During the decade average milk production per cow must be increased by 600-700 kilograms.

During the decade 110,000 hectares of irrigated land must be commissioned; excessively moist and swampy land must be drained over an area of 950,000-970,000 hectares. The construction of priority projects for flood prevention in agricultural farmlands in the Polesskaya lowlands must be completed.

Production capacities in the meat, dairy and other industrial sectors must continue to grow. During the decade meat production from state resources must be increased by a factor of 1.6 and cheeses 1.7; potato production must increase by 35.000-38.000 tons.

The Uzbek SSR must make effective use of the reclaimed land. Along with the development of cotton growing the production of animal husbandry goods, vegetables and melon crops must be increased at a faster rate. The average annual grain production must reach 2.8-3 million tons in the 11th and 3.3-3.5 million tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan. Corn production on irrigated land must be increased. Average annual gross harvests of vegetable and melon crops must reach 3.6 million tons in the 11th and 4.3-4.4 million tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan.

During the decade the production of fruits and soft fruits must increase by a factor of approximately 1.8; grape production must triple. Particular attention must be paid to increasing the production and deliveries of dessert grapes and raisins and lemons.

Feed production must be increased by a factor of 1.8-2. Feed production on irrigated land must be developed more extensively and mountainous, desert and semi-desert pastureland must be used efficiently.

Average meat production (in slaughtered weight) must reach 400,000-410,000 tons in the 11th and 540,000-560,000 tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan; milk, respectively, 2.6 million and 3.5 million tons.

The land of the Karshinskaya and Dzhizakskaya Steppes must be developed on a comprehensive basis. During the decade no less than 900,000 hectares of irrigated land must be put to use and 2.6 million hectares of pastureland must be irrigated.

The food industry sectors, particularly the production of full milk dairy goods, vegetal oils, canned fruits and vegetables, and fruit and grape juices must be developed at a high rate.

During the decade the production of full milk dairy goods from state resources must be increased by a factor of 1.8; vegetal oil, 1.3; and canned fruits and vegetables, 1.7.

In the Kazakh SSR the average annual gross grain harvest must reach 28-29 million tons in the 11th and 30.5-31.5 million tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan. The production of hard and strong strain wheat, corn, cereal and leguminous crops and oleaginous crop seeds must show a stable increase. The gross harvest of vegetable and melon crops must reach 1.7 million tons by 1985 and approximately 2 million tons by 1990; the harvest of rapeseed must reach 210,000-230,000 tons by 1990. The production of fruits and dessert grape strains must be increased.

Feed production must be increased by a factor of 1.5-1.6.

Average annual meat production (in slaughtered weight) must reach 1.2-1.3 million tons in the 11th and no less than 1.4 million tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan; milk, respectively, 4.9-5 million and 5.3-5.4 million tons. Dairy and beef cattle productivity must be increased significantly. Sheep breeding, particularly of fine-fleeced breeds, must be developed.

During the decade 820,000 hectares of irrigated land must be put to use and no less than 22 million hectares of pastureland in desert and semi-desert areas must be irrigated. Land irrigation in the Kyzylkum Steppe and the construction of a network of group water mains for agricultural purposes must be continued. Specialized areas for the cultivation of soybeans on irrigated land must be developed and the comprehensive building of sovkhozes specializing in soybeans must be carried out.

During the decade meat production from state resources must be increased by a factor of no less than 1.5; full milk dairy goods, 1.4 and cheeses, 1.5.

Production of tea, grapes, lemons, tangerines and early potatoes must be continued at a high pace in the Georgian SSR.

Average grain production must reach no less than 740,000 tons in the 11th and 750,000-780,000 tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan; vegetable and melon crops, respectively, 700,000 and 880,000-900,000 tons; grapes, 1.1 million and 1.4 million tons; tea leaves (superior quality), no less than 488,000 and 635,000 tons.

Feed production must be increased by a factor of 1.6-1.7.

Average annual meat production (in slaughtered weight) must reach 160,000 tons in the 11th and 215,000-220,000 tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan; milk, respectively, 710,000 and 830,000-850,000 tons. Cattle and poultry productivity must be increased further.

During the decade the land of the Colchidian lowlands must be drained and developed over an area of 70,000 hectares; 120,000 hectares of land must be irrigated along with 150,000 hectares of pastureland.

During the decade the production of canned fruits and vegetables must be increased by a factor of 2.2. The development of high-grade vintage wines and fruit and grape juices must be developed. Capacities for tea production and for considerably upgrading the quality of the tea must be increased at a high pace.

Along with the further development of cotton growing, the Azerbaijan SSR must make extensive use of opportunities for increasing grape production, including dessert strains, early vegetables and potatoes, grenadines and olives which will be shipped to the country's cities and industrial centers.

The average annual production of grapes must reach 1.4 million tons in the 11th and 2.3-2.5 million tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan; of grain, respectively, 1.1 million and 1.2 million tons; of vegetable and melon crops, 950,000-970,000 tons and 1.2-1.3 million tons.

Feed production must be increased by a factor of 1.9-2. The average annual meat production (in slaughtered weight) must reach 150,000 tons in the 11th and 180,000-185,000 tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan; milk, respectively, 850,000-860,000 tons and 950,000-970,000 tons.

The construction of the Vilyashchayskoye and Vaykhirskoye water reservoirs and the Shamkhorskiy machine canal and the irrigation of land on their bases must be carried out. The construction of the Bazarchayskoye water reservoir must be undertaken. The Sal'yano-Astarinskiy, Mil'skiy, Shervanskiy and other group water mains must be commissioned. During the decade 160,000 hectares of irrigated land must be commissioned and pastureland totaling 285,000 hectares must be irrigated.

During the decade the production of canned fruits and vegetables from state resources must be increased by a factor of 1.7 and of vegetal oil by a factor of 1.5. Capacities for the manufacturing of canned goods, fruit and

grape juices and vegetal oil (including olive oil) and for the processing of cotton, the primary processing of grapes and the production of champagne must be developed at a faster pace.

The production of high-quality dry and vintage wines must be developed.

The Lithuanian SSR must intensify agricultural specialization in the production of dairy and meat goods. The average annual meat production (in slaughtered weight) must reach 500,000-520,000 tons in the 11th and 590,000-600,000 tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan. Milk, respectively, 2.8-2.9 million and 3-3.1 million tons. The production of feeds must be increased by a factor of 1.3. During the decade average milk production per cow must be increased by 600-700 kilograms.

The average annual gross grain harvest must reach 3.2-3.4 million tons in the 11th and 3.6-3.9 million tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan. The production of potatoes, vegetables and fruits must be increased.

During the decade no less than 900,000 hectares of excessively moist and swampy land must be drained.

During the decade meat production from state resources must be increased by a factor of 1.5; of full milk dairy products, by a factor of 1.3; cheeses, by a factor of no less than 1.5.

The Moldavian SSR must intensify the specialization of the various rayons and farms in fruit production, particularly bone-fruit, vegetables and grapes, as well as hybrid corn and sunflowers.

The average annual gross grain harvest must reach 3.6-3.8 million tons in the 11th and 3.9-4 million tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan. Corn production for grain must be increased considerably. The average annual grape production must reach 1.5-1.6 million tons in the 11th and 1.7-1.8 million tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan; fruits and soft fruits, respectively, 1.4-1.6 million tons and 2.2-2.5 million tons. During the decade sugar beet production must be increased by a factor of 1.3 and the production of sunflower and vegetables by a factor of 1.2.

Deliveries of fresh vegetables, fruits and grapes to the country's cities and industrial centers must be increased substantially.

Feed production must be increased by a factor of 1.4-1.5.

The average annual meat production (in slaughtered weight) must reach 300,000-310,000 tons in the 11th and 340,000-350,000 tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan; milk, respectively, 1,250,000-1,350,000 tons and 1,390,000-1,420,000 tons.

During the decade no less than 240,000 hectares of irrigated land must be put to use. Systems using drop irrigation in truck gardens and vineyards must be applied on an area of no less than 35,000-40,000 hectares.

During the decade the production of crystal sugar from beets must be increased by a factor of 1.7; meat production from state resources must be increased by a factor of 1.7-1.8; the production of canned fruits and vegetables must double and that of vegetal oil must increase by a factor of 1.2. The production of high-quality grape wines and champagne must be increased.

The Latvian SSR must increase the production of animal husbandry, fats and animal fat and butter goods. The average annual meat production (in slaughtered weight) must reach 300,000-310,000 tons in the 11th and 340,000-345,000 tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan; of milk, respectively, 1.8-1.9 million and 1.9-2 million tons; grain, 2-2.1 million and 2.1-2.3 million tons. The production of potatoes, vegetables and fruits must be increased and the production of fodder of all kinds must be increased by a factor of 1.3-1.4 during the decade.

Excessively moist land covering an area of 520,000 hectares must be reclaimed.

By 1990 meat production from state raw material resources must be increased by a factor of no less than 1.4 and of cheeses by a factor of 1.6.

The Kirghiz SSR must reach an average annual meat production (in slaughtered weight) of 170,000 tons during the 11th and 200,000-210,000 tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan; of milk, respectively, 700,000 tons and 770,000-800,000 tons; grain, by a factor of 1.4-1.6 million tons and 1.5-1.6 million tons.

The production of fodder must be increased by a factor of 1.5-1.6. By 1990 the production of vegetables and melon crops must be increased by a factor of 1.6; of fruits and soft fruits, by a factor of 1.5, and grapes by a factor of 1.8.

The production of sugar beet seeds not requiring planting and alfalfa seeds for delivery to the all-union fund must be increased.

During the decade no less than 150,000 hectares of irrigated land must be commissioned and 750,000 hectares of pastureland must be flooded. During the llth Five-Year Plan the construction of the Papanskoye water reservoir must be completed. Scientific research and design operations must be carried out related to the comprehensive utilization of the land and water resources in Issyk-Kul'skaya Oblast and in the areas of the Chuyskaya Valley.

During the decade the production of meat from state resources must be increased by 1.5 and of full milk dairy products by a factor of 1.4.

Along with increasing the production of cotton, particularly of the finestaple varieties, the Tajik SSR must implement measures to ensure the further increase in the production of animal husbandry goods.

The average meat production (in slaughtered weight) must reach 110,000 tons during the 11th and 130,000-140,000 tons during the 12th Five-Year Plan; of

milk, respectively, 520,000 tons and 580,000-600,000 tons; grain, 315,000 and 320,000-340,000 tons. During the decade the production of vegetables, melon crops and grapes must at least double; the production of fruits and soft fruits must increase by a factor of 1.4 and of fodder of all kinds by a factor of 1.5-1.6. Production of citrus fruits, lemons in particular, must be increased.

During the decade land covering 100,000-110,000 hectares must be irrigated and the development of the land in the Dangarinskaya Steppe must be continued.

Sectors processing agricultural commodities must be developed at a high pace. During the decade the production of canned fruits and vegetables must be increased by a factor of no less than 1.7.

The Armenian SSR must ensure the average annual production of grapes totaling 240,000-260,000 tons during the 11th and 310,000-330,000 tons during the 12th Five-Year Plan; of grain, respectively, 310,000 and 320,000-340,000 tons.

During the decade the production of vegetables and melon crops must be increased by a factor of 1.2; fruits and soft fruits, 1.7; and fodders, 1.4.

Average annual meat production (in slaughtered weight) must reach 95,000 tons in the 11th and 120,000-122,000 tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan; of milk, respectively, 520,000 and 570,000-590,000 tons. Particular attention must be paid to increasing the productivity of the cattle and poultry.

During the decade no less than 60,000 hectares of land must be irrigated and 120,000 hectares of pastureland must be flooded.

The capacities of the food industry sectors must be increased. During the decade the production of canned fruits and vegetables must be increased by a factor of 1.4.

While systematically increasing cotton production, fine-staple strains in particular, the Turkmen SSR must considerably increase the production and delivery to the industrial centers in the country of melon crops, raisins, table grapes and lemons.

The average annual production of vegetables and melon crops must reach 555,000 tons in the 11th and 790,000-850,000 tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan; of grapes, 100,000-110,000 tons and no less than 270,000 tons; grain, 380,000 tons and 450,000-480,000 tons.

Measures must be implemented to ensure the more efficient utilization of natural feed-producing land and to increase feed crop yields. The production of fodder of all kinds must be increased by a factor of 1.5-1.6 over the decade.

The average annual meat production (in slaughtered weight) must reach 90,000 tons in the 11th and 110,000-111,000 tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan; of milk, respectively, 325,000 tons and 360,000-370,000 tons.

The construction of the Karakum Canal must be completed. During the decade 180,000-190,000 hectares of irrigated land must be commissioned and 8.4 million hectares of pastureland must be flooded.

During the decade the production of canned fruits and vegetables must be increased by a factor of 1.9 and of vegetal oil by a factor of 2.7.

Utilizing the already-developed potential in dairy animal husbandry and the experience in raising hogs for bacon, the Estonian SSR must ensure an average annual meat production (in slaughtered weight) of 210,000-215,000 tons in the 11th and 235,000-240,000 tons in the 12th Five-Year Plan; of milk, respectively, 1.2-1.3 million tons and 1.3-1.4 million tons; grain, 1,400,000-1,450,000 tons and 1.5-1.6 million tons. During the decade the gross potato harvest must be increased by a factor of 1.2 and feed production by a factor of 1.4.

Excessively moist land covering an area of 170,000 hectares must be drained. During the decade the production of meat from state resources must be increased by a factor of 1.3 and of cheese by a factor of 1.9.

IX.

Development of Foreign Economic Relations With the Socialist Countries

Based on long-term target programs, cooperation with CEMA-member countries must be intensified in the field of agricultural production and raw material processing and rational utilization.

Cooperation and specialization in the production of chemical fertilizers, plant protection chemicals, feed additives and machines and equipment, including small tools, for the comprehensive mechanization of agricultural production and particularly for the procurement and processing of feeds, mechanization of truck gardening and viticulture, and vegetable harvesting must be developed systematically.

Scientific and technical cooperation must be developed in the introduction and utilization of new highly productive strains and hybrids of farm crops, seed and planting material production, development of new lines and breeds of cattle and poultry and utilization of the genetic stock of plants and animals.

Cooperation must be expanded in the modernization and reconstruction of food industry enterprises and refrigeration and warehousing facilities. The experience of CEMA-member countries in crop and animal husbandry production based on progressive technology must be utilized more extensively.

While comprehensively intensifying socialist economic integration among CEMAmember countries, additional opportunities must be found for increasing the production of all types of food items in order to continue to improve the well-being of the Soviet people and the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries.

The USSR Food Program is consistent with the basic vital interests of the Soviet people. Its implementation will ensure the further growth of the well-being of the working people and the progress of Soviet society toward communism.

The country has everything necessary for the radical solution of the food problem. To this effect the skillful utilization of the tremendous opportunities of the socialist planned economy, above all the developed production potential in agriculture and the other sectors within the agroindustrial complex, is extremely important.

The most important task of the party, soviet and economic organs, the trade unions and the Komsomol organizations is to mobilize the efforts of all labor collectives for considerably increasing the production of food products.

The central committees of communist parties and councils of ministers of union republics and USSR ministries and departments must formulate specific measures to increase the production of all types of food. They must intensify their organizational work in their direction, promote the extensive socialist competition among the working people for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the assignments of the USSR Food Program and to organize comprehensive and efficient control over its implementation.

The CC CPSU has expressed its confidence that the Soviet people will adopt the Food Program as their own personal project and will do everything possible to increase considerably food production within a short time.

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ACCOUNT OF DECREES OF THE CC CPSU AND USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS APPROVED BY THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 82 pp 44-62

[Text] On Improving the Management of Agriculture and the Other Sectors in the Agroindustrial Complex

The decree notes that following the March 1965 CC CPSU Plenum, which laid the foundations of the contemporary agrarian policy, a tremendous amount of work was done in the country to ensure the further upsurge of agriculture and other sectors within the agroindustrial complex and to increase the production of the foodstuffs.

Within that time the material and technical base of the countryside strengthened considerably and agriculture took firmly the path of industrial development. Measures were implemented to strengthen the kolkhozes and sovkhozes with cadres and to reduce the disparity between housing and cultural and living conditions between the working people of town and country.

A broad network of enterprises and organizations in charge of supplying kolkhozes and sovkhozes with material resources, repairing and servicing the equipment, applying fertilizers, conducting reclamation work and engaging in construction, transportation, storing and processing of produce was developed in the countryside in the course of the industrialization of agricultural production and the development of specialization.

The decree notes shortcomings in agricultural management and in other sectors within the agroindustrial complex. The existing administrative system proved to be excessively cumbersome and uncoordinated and the size of the administrative apparatus increased unjustifiably. The necessary combination between sectorial and territorial planning principles was not ensured everywhere. A considerable share of the farms are under the jurisdiction of oblast, republic and interrayon organizations and numerous trusts and associations; the rayon unit has been weakened.

The enterprises and organizations of the USSR Goskomsel'khoztekhnika, Soyuzsel'khozkhimiya, and the USSR Ministry of Reclamation and Water Resources and the construction, procurement, transportation and other organizations servicing agriculture are poorly related to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes organizationally and economically.

Departmental discoordination in management led to major shortcomings in planning, material and technical procurements and specialization and efficient location of production facilities; it complicated the solution of problems related to the comprehensive development of the countryside and triggered parallelism and duplication. The excessive regulating of kolkhoz and sovkhoz activities intensified bureaucratic administration to the detriment of economic management methods.

With a view to creating conditions for the successful implementation of the Food Program the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers have deemed it expedient to implement centrally and locally a system of measures aimed at ensuring further improvements in agricultural management and in the other sectors of the agroindustrial complex. These measures stipulate the following:

Enhancing the economic autonomy and initiative of kolkhozes and sovkhozes as the main units in socialist agriculture and the creation of favorable economic, social and organizational conditions for their efficient activities;

Developing the creative activeness, efficiency and responsibility of kolkhoz and sovkhoz managers and specialists for increasing output, strengthening the economy of the farms and strictly implementing state plans;

Systematically applying economic management methods in all sectors and areas of the agricultural complex and creating conditions for their profitable work;

Strengthening the rayon management level, efficiently combining territorial with sectorial management principles, eliminating departmental discoordination and reducing the size of the management apparatus.

In order to coordinate the activities of ministries and departments within the agroindustrial complex and their local organs and subordinate enterprises and organizations it was deemed necessary to establish corresponding management organs in order to mobilize the efforts for the fuller utilization of resources, the steady increase in volumes of output and commodity purchases, upgrading the quality of the goods and ensuring the high efficiency of the sectors within the complex.

Rayon agroindustrial associations will be organized. They will include the kolkhozes, sovkhozes, interfarm organizations, other agricultural enterprises, and enterprises and organizations which service them and which are related to agricultural production and produce processing. Enterprises and organizations servicing several rayons may be included within a single agroindustrial association with the agreement of the respective superior organs.

Enterprises and organizations within the association will preserve their economic autonomy, their rights as juridical persons and their departmental affiliation.

The council of associations, set up by the rayon soviet of people's deputies, will be the supreme organ of management of the rayon agroindustrial association. The council will include the head of the rayon agricultural administration as chairman of the council of the association, kolkhoz chairmen and sovkhoz directors and managers of enterprises and organizations in other sectors of the agroindustrial complex by decision of the rayon soviet of people's deputies.

The first deputy chairman of the rayon executive committee will also be the chairman of the association council. The working apparatus of the association council will be that of the rayon agricultural administration, which will consist of the sum total of currently operating rayon agricultural administrations, and enterprises and organizations servicing the kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

Oblasts, krays and autonomous republics will establish oblast (kray) or republic (ASSR) agroindustrial associations. The associations will include the oblast, kray and republic (ASSR) organizations within the agroindustrial complex and their support in those enterprises.

The council consisting of the oblast (kray) soviet of people's deputies, and the supreme soviet of the autonomous republics, will be the supreme administrative organ of the agroindustrial association of the oblast, kray or republic (ASSR). The council will consist of the managers of oblast (kray) or republic (ASSR) organizations within the agroindustrial complex and other officials by decision of the oblast (kray) soviet of people's deputies or the supreme soviet of the autonomous republic.

The first deputy chairman of the oblast (kray) executive committee, or the first deputy chairman of the council of ministers of the autonomous republic will be the chairman of the association council.

The decree stipulates that the head of the oblast or kray agricultural administration or the minister of agriculture of the autonomous republic will be the first deputy chairman of the council of the association of the oblast, kray or autonomous republic. The working apparatus of the association council will be that of the agricultural administration of the oblast or kray executive committee, or the ministry of agriculture of the autonomous republic, which will consist of the administrative apparatus of all organizations and establishments within the agroindustrial association.

The union republic will create a commission under the presidium of the council of ministers of the union republic or, if so decided by the council of ministers of the union republic, an organ in charge of problems of the agroindustrial complex. The commission (organ) will include ministers and heads of departments within the agroindustrial complex and other officials as approved by the republic's council of ministers.

The deputy chairman of the council of ministers of the union republic will be the chairman of the commission (organ) on problems of the agroindustrial complex.

The USSR Council of Ministers will create a Commission of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers on problems of the agroindustrial complex. The commission will consist of the following members: the USSR minister of agriculture, the USSR minister of fruit and vegetable industry, the USSR minister of procurement, the USSR minister of meat and dairy industry, the USSR minister of food industry, the USSR minister of reclamation and water resources, the USSR minister of agriculture, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Forestry, chief of the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration of the Microbiological Industry and other officials as resolved by the USSR Council of Ministers.

The deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers will be the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission on Problems of the Agro-industrial Complex.

The USSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission on Problems of the Agroindustrial Complex will have the following assignments:

To coordinate the activities of ministries and departments within the agroindustrial complex and to supervise their implementation of party and government decisions and assignments included in the state plans for the economic and social development of the USSR, assignments on the procurement of agricultural commodities, delivery of machines, equipment, and chemization facilities, the efficient utilization of material, financial and manpower resources, the output of the food industry sectors and the enhancement of the quality of the products and their delivery to the consumers:

To consider in advance the draft annual and long-term plans for the development of the country's agroindustrial complex and the individual sectors within it, which are drafted by the USSR Gosplan;

To draft proposals on problems related to the further development of the agroindustrial complex as assigned by the USSR Council of Ministers.

The USSR Ministry of Agriculture has been instructed to coordinate with the USSR Gosplan, USSR Ministry of Justice, USSR Ministry of Finance and the councils of ministers of union republics the submission to the USSR Council of Ministers draft standard regulations on agroindustrial associations in rayons, oblasts, krays, and autonomous republics. It was deemed expedient in the formulation of such regulations to proceed from the fact that the activities of said associations must be focused on ensuring the proportional and balanced development of all sectors within the agroindustrial complex with a view to increasing food production, ensuring the fulfillment of state plans by all enterprises within the agroindustrial complex and grading production effectiveness and work quality;

To improve services to kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other production enterprises and to strengthen their material and technical base;

To improve the housing and cultural conditions of the rural population and to develop a modern social infrastructure in the countryside;

Steadily to improve the economic mechanism and intersectorial productioneconomic relations which contribute to ensuring the technological and organizational unity within the agroindustrial complex and the strict orientation of all its sectors and types of activities toward end results;

To create stable economic conditions for cost-effective activities of each labor collective and to upgrade responsibility for profitable production management;

To improve the sectorial and territorial structure of the agroindustrial complex and to develop production specialization and concentration which ensure the efficient utilization of manpower, the land and other production capital;

To make proper use of allocated capital investments and material-technical, manpower, financial and other resources on the basis of the need to concentrate them along the decisive directions and to eliminate bottlenecks and disproportions;

To organize the formulation and practical implementation of comprehensive intersectorial programs for the extensive application of scientific and and technical progress and the development and utilization of essentially new resource-conservation technologies which improve labor productivity and production efficiency;

To stimulate the development of lagging sectors, production facilities and enterprises and to equalize economic management conditions;

To create the necessary reserve stocks;

To implement measures for the further development of the private auxiliary farms of citizens and of industrial enterprises the structural component of the country's food complex;

To create a system for information-computer services to sectors and enterprises within the agroindustrial complex on the basis of a unified network of shared use of computers, and the extensive use of automated control systems and economic-mathematical methods.

The decree stipulates that the management organs of the agroindustrial complex will be granted the following rights:

Councils of Rayon Agroindustrial Associations:

To define on the basis of available control figures plan indicators based on the stipulated nomenclature for kolkhozes and sovkhozes and to submit draft state plans for the purchasing of agricultural commodities for approval by the rayon soviet of people's deputies. To consider draft plans for other enterprises and organizations within the agroindustrial associations and to submit related proposals to the respective superior organs;

To allocate ceiling capital investments allocated to kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises, budget allocations and credits and material and technical resources such as tractors, combines, motor vehicles, agricultural machinery, equipment, chemical fertilizers, and construction and other materials. To reallocate if necessary among enterprises of organizations within the agroindustrial association and with their agreement 10 to 15 percent of the allocated material and technical resources;

To centralize the implementation of individual production-economic functions if requested by kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other enterprises and organizations. To assign the implementation of centralized production-economic functions to individual enterprises (organizations) regardless of departmental affiliation or to create to this effect specialized subunits on the basis of interfarm cooperation;

To set rates on the basis of standard norms for services and work carried out by enterprises and organizations within the associations, regardless of departmental affiliations, and to establish clearing prices for cattle, feeds, materials and other resources interchanged among kolkhozes and sovkhozes;

To develop on the basis of suggestions formulated by kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other enterprises and organizations within the agroindustrial association long-term plans for the specialization and placement of production of agricultural commodities and enterprises for their reception and processing and repair and technical workshops and produce-storing bases;

To redistribute if necessary capital investments left unused by some state enterprises and organizations within the association with the agreement of superior departmental organs;

To create centralized material incentive, sociocultural measures, housing construction and production development funds and, on the basis of the corresponding legal acts, to define the area and procedure for their utilization;

To approve on the basis of standard regulations conditions for awarding bonuses to leading workers and specialists in sovkhozes and other enterprises and organizations within the association regardless of departmental affiliation.

Councils of Agroindustrial Associations of Oblasts, Krays and Autonomous Republics:

To consider the basic indicators of the plan for the development of enterprises and organizations within the agroindustrial complex of the oblast, kray or autonomous republic and the volumes of sales to the state of agricultural commodities by rayon and farm category and to submit suggestions to the executive committee of the oblast or kray soviet of people's deputies or the council of ministers of the autonomous republic. The redistribution of capital investments, material and technical and other resources among the sectors of the agroindustrial complex will be based on the agreement of the corresponding ministries and the departments of the union republics;

To supervise the activities of oblast, kray and republic (ASSR) organizations in the agroindustrial sectors and their subordinate enterprises in the implementation of plans for the production, processing and state purchases of agricultural commodities, their delivery to the all-union and republic funds, ensuring population supplies in the oblast, kray and republic, and other problems related to the activities of the agroindustrial complex;

To formulate and implement comprehensive food and other target programs and to combine in accordance with stipulated procedures material-technical, financial and other resources or to take such resources from corresponding stocks;

To centralize fully or partially individual administrative and productioneconomic functions and to assign their implementation to individual enterprises or oblast organizations within the association, regardless of their departmental affiliation;

To formulate a system for the development and location of agricultural production facilities and other sectors within the agroindustrial complex in accordance with national economic interests and the better utilization of existing resources;

To create on the basis of interfarm cooperation industrial enterprises and shops for the production of mixed feeds, local construction materials, industrial-technical items and consumer goods.

The USSR Gosplan, USSR Ministry of Finance, USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, together with the councils of ministers of union republics and interested USSR ministries and departments have been instructed to formulate and submit to the USSR Council of Ministers proposals on amendments in the management system of the sectors within the agroindustrial complex in accordance with the present decree, with a view to abolishing parallel and duplicating units.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers have made it incumbent upon the central committees of communist parties and councils of ministers of union republics, party kraykoms, obkoms and raykoms, councils of ministers of autonomous republics and kray, oblast and rayon executive committees to take the necessary measures to staff the republic (ASSR), kray, oblast and rayon agroindustrial associations with highly skilled cadres, with practice in economic work, well-familiar with the basic principles of management, economics and production organization and able to ensure substantial improvements in the management of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, enterprises and organizations within the agroindustrial complex.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers expressed their firm belief that on the basis of improvements in the administration of agriculture and other sectors within the agroindustrial complex, the party, soviet and economic organs will ensure further increases in the production of agricultural commodities, which will result in the successful implementation of the USSR Food Program and to ensure the fullest possible satisfaction of the needs of the Soviet people for comestible products.

On Measures to Improve the Economic Mechanism and to Strengthen the Economy of Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers have deemed it necessary to implement a set of measures aimed at strengthening cost-effectiveness in kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises and to increase their material interest in upgrading production and improving production quality.

The purchase prices of cattle, hogs, sheep, milk, grain, sugar beets, potatoes, vegetables and other agricultural products will be increased as of 1 January 1983; markups to the purchase prices of goods sold to the state by underprofitable or losing kolkhozes and sovkhozes, totaling 16 billion rubles per year, will be introduced.

The USSR State Committee for Prices, USSR Gosplan, USSR Ministry of Agriculture, USSR Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry and the USSR Ministry of Finance have been instructed to elaborate together with the councils of ministers of union republics and to submit to the USSR Council of Ministers proposals on the new purchase prices and markups for agricultural commodities.

The current procedure for financing the following planned outlays of sovkhozes out of state budget funds will be extended to kolkhozes insufficiently equipped with productive capital and lacking funds for engaging in expanded reproduction:

Construction of housing, children's preschool institutions, clubs and other cultural-consumer and communal economy enterprises and the construction of intrafarm roads;

The maintenance of children's preschool and cultural-educational institutions and Pioneer camps, including outlays for purchasing inventory and equipment for cultural-consumer purposes and meeting the expenses of mass cultural work within the norms stipulated for state agricultural enterprises;

The payment of insurance premiums (in accordance with the procedure stipulated in Decree No 499 of 1 June 1978 of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers).

Allocations totaling 3.3 billion rubles per year will be included in the draft state budgets for aid to said kolkhozes.

Unused allocations based on the present decree shall not be withdrawn at the end of the year but shall be added to the funds for the subsequent year to finance outlays stipulated in this item.

In order to improve their financial situation, indebtedness of underprofitable or losing kolkhozes and sovkhozes, incurred from previously extended loans issued by the USSR State Bank, repayable between 1982 and 1985 and unsecured loans to the USSR State Bank totaling 9.7 billion rubles will be forgiven; the repayment of unsecured loans issued by the USSR State Bank totaling 11,080,000,000 rubles will be postponed for 10 years, with repayments starting in 1991.

Underprofitable and losing kolkhozes and sovkhozes will be relieved from the payment of interest on USSR State Bank loans, the repayment of which has been postponed in accordance with the present decree.

The size of the indebtedness to be written off or the repayment of which has been postponed in accordance with the present decree will be determined for the individual oblasts, krays, and autonomous republics by the councils of ministers of union republics.

Sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises will set up a farm consolidation and expansion fund from withholdings from farm profits equaling 5 percent, to be used for capital investments and other measures over and above the state plan for economic and social development.

The USSR Gosplan, together with the USSR Ministry of Finance, USSR State Committee for Prices, USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, USSR Ministry of Justice and USSR Ministry of Agriculture have been instructed to draft legal acts on improving economic relations between agriculture and the other economic sectors with a view to ensuring stable economic conditions for expanded reproduction in kolkhozes and sovkhozes and making the necessary changes in the existing procedure for the planning and utilization of the profits of enterprises and organizations servicing agriculture and their relations with the budget. The material responsibility of enterprises and organizations under the USSR Goskomsel'khoztekhnika, USSR Ministry of Reclamation and Water Resources, USSR Ministry of Procurement, Soyuzsel'khozkhimiya and other enterprises and organizations in the service area will be increased regarding the quality and deadlines for providing work and services; the interest of enterprises and organizations servicing kolkhozes and sovkhozes will be increased in reaching high end results in the production of agricultural commodities and their processed products, the prompt shipment of goods to the consumers and the growth of the economic effectiveness of the production process in kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

The decree stipulates that the Sel'khoztekhnika and Sel'khozkhimiya, classified in terms of wages on the level of leading personnel and specialists and rayon agricultural administrations, will be essentially based on the amount of marketing (production) of agricultural commodities in the areas they service.

Changes in the existing procedure for awarding bonuses to leading personnel and specialists in rayon enterprises and organizations of the USSR Goskomsel'khoztekhnika, Soyuzsel'khozkhimiya and water resource and operational organizations of the USSR Ministry of Reclamation and Water Resources and other enterprises and organizations within agroindustrial associations stipulate that bonuses to said workers and specialists will be based on annual results related to the increased output of agricultural commodities and profits in the sovkhozes and kolkhozes they service compared with the levels reached over the previous 5 years and, in the course of the year, on the basis of the implementation of contractual obligations and the efficient utilization of material resources. The amount of bonuses paid on the basis of current results must not exceed a 1.5 monthly salary per year.

In order to upgrade the responsibility of procurement organizations for the fuller utilization of the farm produce and to improve the storing, processing and hauling of the produce to the consumers, the USSR Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry, USSR Ministry of Food Industry, USSR Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry and Tsentrosoyuz must complete the conversion to the acceptance of the produce directly at the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the hauling from the farms by the procurement authorities of cattle, poultry, milk, potatoes, vegetables, soft fruits and grapes during the 12th Five-Year Plan.

Starting with 1983, the indicator of the implementation of the procurement plan will be one of the basics in assessing the activities of procurement enterprises and organizations and the creation of economic incentive and bonus funds for leading workers and specialists in such enterprises and organizations.

The USSR State Committee for Standards and USSR Ministry of Agriculture, together with the other interested ministries and departments, have been instructed to review the norming-technical documentation which controls relations between agriculture and processing, procurement and trade enterprises and organizations and to ensure the necessary conditions for increasing the production of agricultural commodities in kolkhozes and sovkhozes, to upgrade their quality and to ensure their full utilization and delivery to the consumers.

It was deemed expedient to set up intersectorial inspectorates on the quality of agricultural unprocessed and processed commodities and to assign to them the right to control the quality of agricultural produce marketed by kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the observance of standards, the accurate definition of the quality of the produce in purchasing and payments, and the prevention of losses and waste.

In conjunction with interested ministries and departments, the USSR Gosplan, USSR Gossnab and USSR Ministry of Agriculture have been instructed to formulate and submit within 3 months for consideration by the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers suggestions on the procedure for planning and material and technical supplies within the system of the agroindustrial complex on the basis of the following fundamental stipulations:

The activities of the agroindustrial complex will be planned as a single entity, broken down by sectors within the complex;

Planning will affect only indicators stipulated in party and government decrees and, in terms of agriculture, in accordance with Decree No 1,032 of 14 November 1980 of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers;

Planned assignments will be supported with the necessary material and other resources;

The volumes of output of agricultural commodities by rayon, oblast and republic will be based on the plans of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and on the need to ensure the strict implementation of state plans for the purchasing of such commodities;

Plans for material and technical supplies will be based on requests submitted by kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

The decree makes it incumbent upon the USSR Gosbank to increase its supervision over financial-economic activities of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the efficient utilization of loans granted to them for current production outlays and capital investments and the prompt repayment of loans.

The central committees of communist parties and councils of ministers of union republics, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, the party kraykoms, obkoms and raykoms and the councils of ministers of autonomous republics, and kray, oblast and rayon executive committees have been instructed to consider the matter of the economic and financial condition of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and to implement measures aimed at ensuring the increased production of agricultural commodities and higher labor productivity, the reduction of nonproduction outlays and the lowering of production costs, as well as the enhancement of profitability of agricultural production and the more efficient utilization of budget allocations and credits granted by the USSR Gosbank.

On the Further Strengthening of Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes With Leading Cadres and Specialists and Enhancing Their Role and Responsibility in the Development of Agricultural Production

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers have noted that the leading cadres and specialists in kolkhozes and sovkhozes are making a major contribution to the implementation of the current party agrarian policy and the practical solution of the problems related to the reliable supply of the country with comestible and agricultural raw materials. At the present time the kolkhozes and sovkhozes are essentially headed by experienced, competent and professionally trained people, capable production organizers and educators of labor collectives. Many kolkhoz chairmen, sovkhoz directors and farm specialists are making able and efficient use of the land, the increased material and technical potential and the achievements of science and progressive experience. They are actively engaged in the social transformation of the countryside. They are working creatively and, regardless of weather conditions, are ensuring the growing of good crops and high animal husbandry productivity.

The decree emphasizes that the tasks formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and approved at the 26th CPSU Congress on radically resolving the food problem and considerably increasing the production of agricultural commodities require radical improvements in the activities of each kolkhoz and sovkhoz and the increased responsibility of managers and specialists in charge of kolkhoz and sovkhoz production.

However, many managers and specialists remain who are slow in reorganizing their work. They are insufficiently mobilizing internal reserves and opportunities, and managing the farms as in the past, using obsolete methods, satisfied with their achievements.

Some local party, soviet and agricultural organs allow serious shortcomings and omissions in the selection, placement and training of leading cadres and kolkhoz and sovkhoz specialists. Instead of carefully nurturing and training cadres, upgrading their prestige and giving them specific help, they allow petty supervision and impose a variety of unjustified recommendations. The role of specialists as production organizers and technologists is being frequently lowered and their rights to resolve problems directly within the range of competence are being violated.

In many places kolkhoz chairmen, sovkhoz directors and farm specialists are being replaced with unnecessary frequency. Sometimes the basic party requirement related to the education of the people is ignored in favor of bureaucratic administration, imposition of penalties and dismissals from work. In some cases leading positions are given to people without a comprehensive study of their practical and moral qualities and organizational capabilities, and without taking into consideration the opinion of the primary party organizations and labor collectives. A substantial number of specialists are not always usefully transferred from one kolkhoz or sovkhoz to the administrative apparatus. In the final account, all of this adversely affects the results of farming and retaining cadres in kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

The current system for cadre training and retraining for the countryside is still insufficiently consistent with increased production requirements. Few young people are being assigned to agricultural schools on the recommendation of kolkhozes and soykhozes.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers have made it incumbent upon the central committees of communist parties of union republics, party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics, and executive committees of kray, oblast and rayon soviets of people's deputies and agricultural organs:

Decisively to improve their efforts to strengthen kolkhozes and sovkhozes with highly skilled and ideologically mature cadres of managers and specialists who can ensure the strict implementation of the new large assignments set by the 26th CPSU Congress on the all-round intensification and enhancement of agricultural efficiency and the practical implementation of the country's Food Program;

To focus the efforts of kolkhoz and sovkhoz managers and specialists and all farm workers on improving the utilization of the land, productive capital, chemical fertilizers, fodder and other resources, to improve the organization and production and enhance labor productivity as decisive prerequisites for achieving the high rates of increased agricultural output in the llth Five-Year Plan and subsequently;

To pay particular attention to enhancing the prestige of kolkhoz and sovkhoz managers and their role in production management; to put an end to the practice of groundless personnel transfers. To ensure the proper combination of trust in and respect for cadres with high exigency for assignments and centralized management with the development of economic autonomy;

Significantly to improve the training and proper utilization of a reserve of leading cadres for kolkhoz and sovkhoz production and to carry out this project purposefully and systematically, without formalism. To select as promotion reserve truly promising and positively recommended personnel, steadily to develop their capabilities, and attentively to follow the growth of their ideological-political standards and practical skills. To promote to important production positions skillful organizers with experience, knowledge and efficiency. To ensure the continuity of management, properly combining experienced with young cadres and to do everything possible to ensure the promotion of women to leading positions.

They must comprehensively encourage the transfer of managers and specialists of leading kolkhozes and sovkhozes to economically weak farms.

They must help managers and specialists to improve their work style and methods and to master the art of economic management and upbringing of labor collectives.

It is the duty of party, soviet and agricultural organs persistently to develop and to encourage initiative and creativity in the work of managers and specialists, to develop in them honesty, modesty, principle-mindedness and intolerance of shortcomings, and to upgrade thir individual responsibility for the implementation of party and government decisions and for the observance of planning, financial and technological discipline. They must firmly put an end to negligence and waste, to attempt to conceal behind a variety of reasons the nonfulfillment of state assignments and omissions in the organization of the production process and the education of the people.

They must enhance the significance and strictly to observe the stipulated procedure for the certification of leading personnel and specialists as a means for the all-round assessment of their professional training and ability to organize the labor of the collective, and to find the most efficient ways for reaching high end results.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers have approved the initiative of specialists who have expressed the wish to be transferred from administrative organs and organizations servicing agriculture to direct practical work in kolkhozes and sovkhozes, hoping that this initiative will be supported by

agricultural specialists employed in the administrative apparatus and in organizations servicing agriculture and in other economic sectors. The local party, soviet, agricultural, trade union and Komsomol organs have been instructed extensively to explain in collectives of enterprises, establishments and organizations the entire importance of this matter. A number of benefits have been planned for individuals who have converted to work in kolkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises as farm managers and specialists and heads of subunits on the middle production level. The average monthly salaries they earned in the previous place of work will be retained for 3 years or, should they go to work in underprofitable and losing farms, for 5 years, providing that their average earnings in the farms prove to be lesser. They will also receive a one-time aid ranging from three to five monthly salaries over and above regulation benefits.

In order to retain cadres of leading workers and specialists in kolkhozes and sovkhozes and to increase their material incentive, it has been deemed necessary:

To raise the wage level of leading workers, specialists and employees in sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises;

To extend to the young agricultural specialists who are assigned to permanent work in kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises after their graduation from higher and secondary specialized schools the provisions of Item 11 of the 22 May 1979 CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers Decree No 466 on supplying them with residential premises, including heating and lighting free of charge for the first 3 years of work;

To extend to graduates of higher and secondary specialized agricultural schools assigned to work in sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises the stipulations and conditions for obtaining one-time aid for getting settled (up to 6 months' worth of salaries), as per Item 32 of the 1 September 1977 CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers Decree No 820.

It is recommended to the kolkhozes to apply the procedure governing wages and benefits to leading workers and specialists as stipulated in the present decree.

The councils of ministers of union republics and Tsentrosoyuz have been instructed to sell on a priority basis to managing workers and farm specialists and heads of departments, brigades and other production subunits preassembled housing structures, construction materials and equipment for private housing construction.

The local party, soviet and agricultural organs, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and the other ministries and departments managing agricultural enterprises must take additional steps to improve the retraining and to upgrade the skills of leading cadres and specialists. Stricter requirements must be applied in the selection of candidate students for department training management cadres and agricultural management courses. Truly promising

workers who have proven themselves in practical work and who may be able in the future to head larger kolkhoz and sovkhoz production sectors must be directed into training.

It has been deemed expedient for suggestions submitted by agricultural organs regarding students in departments for training management cadres and their placement to be approved by the central committees of communist parties of union republics, and party kraykoms and obkoms; the approval of party gorkoms and raykoms should be secured in assigning students to agricultural management courses.

The Higher Agricultural Management School has been entrusted with methodical guidance of the work of faculties and departments for upgrading the skills of agricultural management cadres and specialists and agricultural management courses, and the coordination of scientific research in matters of upgrading the skills of agricultural cadres.

With a view to ensuring the better staffing of kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises with engineers in various fields, veterinarians and bookkeepers, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education have been instructed to expand their training, above all in schools located in the Nomchernozem Zone and the Tsentral'no-Chernozemnyy Rayon in the RSSR, Siberia, Northern Kazakhstan and the Far East, within the limits of the 1982-1985 plans for enrollment in higher and secondary specialized schools.

The preparatory departments of agricultural VUZs are allowed to accept members of student production brigades without 1-year practical experience by recommendation of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. It is also recommended to broaden the practice of directing rural youth to training in higher and secondary specialized schools with farm scholarships.

The USSR Ministry of Agriculture and the councils of ministers of union republics have been asked to take the necessary steps to ensure the further strengthening of agricultural schools with highly skilled teaching cadres and to improve the housing conditions and the medical and cultural services to university and secondary school students, auditing students and teachers.

The councils of ministers of union republics have been instructed to plan on a priority basis the sale of passenger cars and motorcycles to agricultural specialists and managers of kolkhoz and sovkhoz production subunits; to this effect up to 50 percent of the available stock of motorcycles with sidecars and 30 percent of passenger cars will be allocated for such purposes. The USSR Goskomsel'khoztekhnika and the councils of ministers of union republics must ensure improved servicing of passenger cars in kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises and of passenger cars owned by farm specialists and managers and used by them for official purposes.

It has been deemed expedient to institute the honorific title of "Deserving Worker in USSR Agriculture," which will be awarded to agricultural production workers for long-term fruitful activities and substantial contributions to the development of this sector.

The editors of central and local newspapers and journals, the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the USSR State Committee for Cinematography must provide comprehensive in-depth coverage of the means and methods of work of best managers and specialists in kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and the experience of party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and agricultural organs in the area of cadre selection, upbringing and placement. The USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade must ensure the production of series of books, pamphlets and posters on the subject of leading agricultural managers and specialists.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers have expressed their firm belief that the party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic organs will take all the necessary measures to ensure the further strengthening of kolkhozes and sovkhozes with highly skilled management cadres and specialists and will channel their energy, knowledge and experience into the implementation of the assignments set by the 26th CPSU Congress to agriculture and the other sectors in the agroindustrial complex and the reliable supplying of the country with foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials.

On Measures to Strengthen the Material Incentive of Agricultural Workers in Increasing Output and Improving Quality

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers have deemed it necessary to take steps aimed at increasing the material incentives of agricultural workers in upgrading output and improving its quality. The decree calls for the comprehensive application of the collective contracting method in agriculture, which ensures higher labor indicators, conservation of resources, the expansion of the practice of payment in kind and bonuses for higher production profitability.

Directors of sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises have been given the right to establish firm rates and wage supplements for output for worker brigades and teams working on the basis of collective contracts, for a period not to exceed 5 years, based on the planned wage rate which can be increased by as much as one-half, depending on the level of yields reached in the cultivation of farm crops and in cattle and poultry productivity.

The personnel of brigades and teams working on the basis of the piece ratebonus system are entitled to stable wage rates for crop output in accordance with the procedure stipulated in Letter "c," Point 1 of the 2 April 1970 CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU Decree No 227 for personnel employed in animal husbandry.

Managers of sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises are also allowed to combine funds stipulated in the current wage regulations,

including additional payments for output and high work quality and bonuses based on progressive-graduated output rates.

Managerial personnel and specialists in sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises may be awarded bonuses for reaching better economic indicators. Bonuses will be paid in the following cases:

For ensuring the profitability and the conversion of farms listed as underprofitable or losing sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises, enjoying better financing facilities;

For every percentage of increased general profitability of the farm compared with the level reached over the previous 5 years.

Directors of sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises may, with the agreement of the trade union committees, pay out of savings obtained as compared with norms or planned wage funds, supplements to the wage rates and salaries, as follows:

To workers, for the combination of skills and meeting the stipulated volume of work with a lesser number of workers--no more than 70 percent of the wage (salary);

To engineering and technical workers and employees, for high skills, combination of duties and meeting the stipulated volume of work with a lesser number of personnel--not to exceed 50 percent of the salary. Wage supplements to engineering and technical personnel and employees for high skills may not exceed 1 percent of the farm's wage fund.

Additionally, directors of sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises have been allowed:

To issue free of charge grain to workers in brigades and teams engaged in the cultivation of grain crops, not to exceed 15 percent of the above plan gross brigade (team) harvest;

To issue against wages earned by farm workers and citizens recruited to participate in the harvest and who have actively participated in agricultural operations grain not to exceed 1.5 kilograms per norm/shift;

To issue against the salaries earned by farm workers and citizens who actively participate in the growing and harvesting of potatoes, vegetables, fruits, soft fruits, grapes, and melon and fodder crops, produce not to exceed 15 percent of the planned amount and, in the judgment of the farm manager, not to exceed 30 percent of the above plan gross harvest of the specific produce.

The USSR Ministry of Agriculture and the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems have been instructed to establish, on a differentiated basis, by union republics, and the councils of ministers of union republics—for autonomous republics, krays, oblasts and rayons—the amounts of produce in

kind to be paid to all workers actively participating in growing and harvesting farm crops.

It is recommended to the kolkhozes to extend to kolkhoz members the material incentive measures stipulated in the present decree.

On Measures Related to Further Improving Housing, Communal and Sociocultural Living Conditions of the Rural Population

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers have noted that following the March 1965 CC CPSU Plenum major steps were taken in the country to resolve social problems in the countryside and problems related to the reorganization of rural settlements. During the last two five-year plans alone housing totaling 294 million square meters has been completed. The appearance of many villages has radically changed. They have acquired the features of major settlements with all kinds of cultural and consumer population services.

However, the steps already taken in this area remain insufficient. Assignments on the completion of housing and communal economy and cultural projects are not being fulfilled in their entirety. Shortcomings exist in the cultural, consumer, medical and trade services to the rural population. The network of intrafarm roads must be developed further.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers are considering measures related to the social reorganization of the countryside as being a structural component of the Food Program. The implementation of such measures will require considerable improvements in the organization and increase in the volume of housing, communal, cultural-consumer and road construction in the country-side.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers have instructed the central committees of communist parties of union republics, the party kraykoms and obkoms, the councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics, the kray and oblast executive committees, the USSR Gosplan, the USSR Gosstroy, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, the USSR Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry, the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the USSR Ministry of Education, the USSR Ministry of Health, the USSR Ministry of Food Industry, the USSR Ministry of Procurement, the USSR Ministry of Culture, the USSR Ministry of Rural Construction, the USSR Ministry of Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises, the USSR Ministry of Industrial Construction, the USSR Ministry of Construction, Tsentrosoyuz, USSR Goskomsel'khoztekhnika and other interested ministries and departments to implement comprehensive measures related to the socioeconomic development of the countryside between 1982 and 1990, aimed at:

The further reorganization of rural settlements into urbanized settlements, with a considerable increase in the volume of housing, communal and cultural construction, and the development of cooperative and individual housing construction;

The creation of necessary conditions for retaining cadres in the countryside, considerably improving cultural, medical and trade services to the rural population, and accelerating the construction of roads in kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises.

The decree stipulates respective assignments on the construction and commissioning in kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises and organizations during the 11th Five-Year Plan of housing totaling 176 million square meters, 51 million square meters of which is paid out of population and housing construction cooperative funds. During the 12th Five-Year Plan the volume of housing construction in the countryside must be increased by 15-18 percent. Construction during the current five-year plan will include general education schools for 2,315,000 students, preschool institutions for 1,182,000 children, and clubs and houses of culture with a capacity for 1,365,000 people. During the 12th Five-Year Plan construction will increase by 14-17 percent for schools, by a factor of 1.5 for preschool institutions and by a factor of 1.7 for clubs and houses of culture.

Road construction in rural areas will be developed faster. During the 11th Five-Year Plan public use automotive highways linking the central farmsteads with the rayon centers will be built totaling 54,000 kilometers; intrafarm paved roads totaling 57,000 kilometers will be laid. The amount of construction of such roads during the 12th Five-Year Plan will be increased, respectively, by a factor of 1.4 and 1.6.

The network of rural vocational-technical schools and medical-prophylactic institutions will be developed further.

Assignments have been set on the construction and completion of heat and natural gas mains, water mains and other projects.

The USSR Gosplan has been instructed in formulating the draft plan for 1986-1990 to ensure the allocation of assignments as stipulated in the decree on the construction and commissioning of housing, communal economy and cultural projects and roads by union republics and USSR ministries and departments, and to contemplate the allocation of the necessary capital investments and material and technical resources needed for the implementation of such assignments. The control figures must be submitted to the councils of ministers of union republics and to USSR ministries and departments within a 3-month period.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers make it incumbent upon:

The USSR Gosplan, jointly with councils of ministers of union republics, to stipulate the amount of work to be done on the construction of projects in the countryside between 1983 and 1990 by construction and other ministries and departments, so that by 1990 75-80 percent of allocated capital investments will be made available to kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises and organizations for construction and installation projects carried out through contracting (excluding reclamation).

It has been stipulated that starting with 1983 the annual plans for the completion of housing and communal economy and cultural and educational projects in sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises built under contract with construction-installation organizations must be approved jointly by the customer and the contracting ministry of department with no changes in the respective assignments as stipulated by the customer in the plan for economic and social development, both in its entirety as well as broken down by quarters. The USSR Central Statistical Administration will keep the records on the implementation of the plans for the commissioning of such projects by the contracting construction and installation organizations;

The USSR Ministry of Agriculture will implement measures to develop the material and technical facilities of subordinate construction and installation organizations in order to ensure by the end of 1990 the completion of construction projects in the countryside totaling no more than 7 billion rubles;

In the formulation of their five-year and annual capital construction plans, the councils of ministers of union republics and USSR ministries and departments will consider the use of an average of 15 percent of the capacities of urban house-building combines for the construction of housing, schools and preschool institutions in kolkhozes and sovkhozes;

Between 1982 and 1985 the USSR Gosstroy and the councils of ministers of union republics will develop further or if necessary amend existing draft plans for administrative rayons and drafts for the planning and construction of sovkhoz and kolkhoz settlements and, in 1983, the formulation of new and the necessary correction of existing construction norms and available standardized plans for public buildings and housing for state, cooperative and individual construction in the countryside and for farm buildings attached to housing premises of different types, and the formulation of norms for specific capital investments for the construction of housing and communal economy projects in kolkhozes and sovkhozes, taking into consideration the need to expand the development of settlements with garden-type housing, to improve the layout of premises and to upgrade the level of their engineering facilities;

The USSR Ministry of Agriculture, USSR Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry, USSR Ministry of Food Industry and the councils of ministers of union republics shall provide between 1982 and 1984 general plans for the development of intrafarm roads in kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises with construction priorities, based on the deadlines for the construction of public use roads, and measures to streamline the organization of the repair and maintenance of intrafarm roads.

The USSR Gosstroy and the USSR Ministry of Agriculture have been instructed to elaborate and to approve by 1983 norms and regulations governing the planning and construction of the intrafarm automotive roads in kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises;

By 1985 the USSR Ministry of Health and the councils of ministers of union republics must complete the organization of a service of emergency medical aid in rural areas. The quality and standards of medical aid to the population must be upgraded by improving the work of the primary health care units, the intensive development of mobile types of medical aid in the countryside, including dental treatment facilities, and the increased servicing of the rural population by specialized (subunit) urban health care institutions. It is stipulated that the construction of outpatient facilities in sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises and organizations will be paid out of state capital investments allocated for the development of agriculture. It is recommended to the kolkhozes to finance the construction of outpatient clinics with their own funds;

During the 12th Five-Year Plan the councils of ministers of union republics and the USSR Ministry of Communications will supply with telephone facilities all medical-prophylactic institutions and equip stations (departments) of urgent and emergency medical aid in rural rayons with radio communication facilities;

Between 1983 and 1990 the councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics and the kray and oblast executive committees shall formulate and implement measures related to the further expansion and improvements in consumer services to the rural population; within that time the volume of construction in rayon centers of factories for services to the rural population related to laundry and dry cleaning, and comprehensive enterprises for repairs of radio and television equipment, refrigerators, washing machines and other household equipment will be increased; in kolkhoz and sovkhoz settlements self-service laundromats will be installed. By 1985 all kolkhozes and sovkhozes must have public baths and comprehensive reception centers for minor repairs and services. The councils of ministers of union republics have been instructed to consider and resolve problems related to the organization of communal services in the countryside;

The councils of ministers of union republics will allocate for interkolkhoz sanitoria, rest homes, boarding houses and Pioneer camps technological, refrigeration, medical and other equipment, furniture, utensils, furnishings and specialized automotive transportation facilities based on the norms applicable to trade union sanitorium-resort institutions. Kolkhoz members and workers and employees in sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises and organizations will be sold fuel by fuel procurement organizations under the jurisdiction of the executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies;

Between 1983 and 1990 the USSR Ministry of Communications, USSR Ministry of Agriculture, and USSR Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry and the councils of ministers of union republics will ensure the construction in rural areas of public use telephone networks as well as networks of intraproduction and dispatcher telephone communications in kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises and organizations with a capacity for 3.3 million sets, including 1.8 million between 1986 and 1990. The councils of ministers of union republics will allocate out of their own funds for the

construction of networks of intraindustrial and dispatcher telephone communications in kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises and organizations the necessary wiring and timber and other materials.

It has been deemed expedient to amend the current procedure for ensuring the construction of communal economy projects in kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises and organizations. It has been stipulated that the construction of said projects carried out on the basis of general and annual contracts will be supplied with pipes, structures, bolts and other items and equipment by the ministries, departments and other general contracting organizations.

The councils of ministers of union republics have been given the right to assign for the construction of housing and cultural projects in economically weak kolkhozes and sovkhozes up to 10 percent of the capital investments allocated by the council of ministers of any union republic for the construction of projects for nonindustrial purposes in cities and industrial centers.

The decree stipulates that as of 1983 the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and ministries of reclamation and water resources of union republics (within the area of their activities) shall perform the functions of customer and general contractor in the area of designing and construction of group water mains for agricultural purposes combined with intrasettlement pipelines in kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises and organizations. The construction of said projects must be based on a general plan and a single list. The councils of ministers of union republics have been asked to include in their draft plans the submission between 1983 and 1985 to the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources capital investments for the building of pipelines within the area of group water mains, the construction of which will be carried out by the contracting organizations of said ministry.

Starting with 1983 the councils of ministers of union republics have been allowed to finance outlays for the construction of pipelines in the group water main areas in economically weak kolkhozes financed out of state capital investments for the agricultural sector.

With the participation of the councils of ministers of union republics and the USSR Ministry of Geology, the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources has been instructed to elaborate and, with the agreement of the USSR Gosplan, to approve in 1984 a general plan for the development of agricultural water supplies and to set up priorities in the construction of water mains, pipeline networks and wells.

The USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, USSR Goskomsel'khoztekhnika and the councils of ministers of union republics have been asked to draft and implement the necessary organizational and technical measures for the development of production facilities for specialized organizations in charge of repairing and providing technical

services related to agricultural water supplies so that by 1985 these organizations may complete and deliver all projects related to agricultural water supplies.

The councils of ministers of union republics and Tsentrosoyuz have been instructed to include in their draft plans for 1983-1990 measures for the further development of retail trade in the countryside and the expansion in rural areas of the network of modern stores, commercial centers, public catering enterprises and bakeries. The USSR Ministry of Trade has been asked to allocate for sale to the rural population commodities the amount and variety of which will ensure better satisfaction of demand.

The suggestion submitted by Tsentrosoyuz on the construction and completion of commercial stores by the consumer cooperative organizations, totaling an area of 4.9 million square meters, bakeries for 17,000 tons of baked goods per day, public catering enterprises for 417,000 people, refrigerated capacities for 196,000 tons of produce, vegetable, potato and fruit storage areas for 650,000 tons and other projects between 1982 and 1990 has been accepted.

The USSR Ministry of Culture, USSR State Committee for Cinematography, USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade, and the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics and kray and oblast executive committees have been instructed:

To ensure further improvements in cultural services to the rural population, the development of a network of rural clubs, libraries and sports facilities, to strengthen them with skilled cadres and to allocate the necessary material and technical resources for this purpose;

To energize the production of new films and shows, concerts, television and radio broadcasts and the publication of books and the creation of works of art covering important problems of the contemporary countryside and promoting love for the native areas and respect for agricultural work.

The councils of ministers of union republics have been granted the right to use the automotive vehicle chassis allocated for agriculture in the development of automotive clubs, mobile libraries and motion picture facilities for the benefit of the population of small villages and hamlets and workers employed in pasturegrounds and to allow the construction of sports halls and equipment in kolkhozes, sovkhozes, rural schools and vocational-technical schools.

With a view to retaining medical, educational and club workers and specialists in physical culture and sports in the countryside, the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers have deemed it necessary to extend:

To the children of kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers enrolled in higher and secondary specialized schools in charge of training medical, education and

club workers and specialists in physical culture and sports, the benefits stipulated in Decree No 848 of the USSR Council of Ministers, dated 9 October 1970;

To specialists in physical culture and sports who take a permanent position in their field in kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises and organizations, after their graduation from higher and secondary specialized schools, the benefits of Decree No 466 of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers, dated 22 May 1979, concerning the stipulations of providing them with free premises with heating and light for the first 3 years of work;

To teachers in children's music and art and painting schools in rural areas, the benefits and facilities stipulated in Point 13 of Decree No 981 of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers, dated 10 November 1977, and specialists in physical culture and sports working in rural areas, the benefits and advantages stipulated in Letters "a," "c" and "d;"

To educational and managing workers in preschool institutions in rural areas, the benefits stipulated in Decree No 246 of the USSR Council of Ministers, dated 10 February 1948, and Letter "b" of Point 6 of Decree No 255 of USSR Council of Ministers decree dated 4 May 1971.

The decree stipulates that housing premises in sovkhoz-owned houses will be assigned to sovkhoz personnel and other individuals who, in accordance with existing stipulations are entitled to housing in homes owned by the farm and will become part of the official housing premises; this will also apply to houses which have been occupied before the adoption of the present decree.

The initiative of the Komsomol Central Committee of assigning every year for work in rural and reclamation construction 30,000-35,000 young men and women volunteers and 250,000 members of student construction detachments, including those working in the farms of the Nonchernozem Zone in the RSSR, totaling, respectively, 25,000 and 120,000 people, has been approved.

The local party and soviet organs, the trade unions and the Komsomol organizations have been instructed to take additional steps to involve young people in active participation in the implementation of plans for the socioeconomic reorganization of the countryside. They must develop in the young people love for their native areas and the desire to make a career in agricultural production. They must energize the work of the urban Komsomol organizations in sponsoring the construction of rural housing and communal and cultural-consumer projects in the countryside.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers emphasize that the social reorganization of the countryside is a most important governmental and nationwide task. They have expressed their confidence that the party, soviet and agricultural organs, the trade unions and the Komsomol organizations and the personnel in agriculture, construction organizations and industrial enterprises will do everything possible to implement this task.

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CC CPSU, USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND AUCCTU DECREE APPROVED BY CC CPSU  $PLENUM^{\mathbf{l}}$ 

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 82 p 63

[On additional steps to retain personnel engaged in animal husbandry in kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises]

[Text] The CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU have deemed it necessary to extend to workers in sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises engaged in animal husbandry:

The procedure and conditions governing the payment of wage supplements for continuous work in a given farm as stipulated in Decree No 311 of the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU dated 22 April 1966 (with subsequent amendments and supplements) in the case of tractor-machine operators in the respective areas;

Additional leave stipulated in Decree No 96 of the USSR Council of Ministers, dated 19 February 1965 and Decree No 222 of the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU, dated 14 April 1971, in the case of tractor drivers—machine operators in the corresponding zones.

Work seniority, which will entitle the personnel to additional leave for continuous work will count as of 1 January 1981.

Said wage supplements for continuous work and additional leave shall apply:

In the areas of Siberia, the Far East, the Urals, the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSSR and the Tsentral'no-Chernozemnyy Rayon, as of 1 January 1983;

In the other areas of the RSSR, the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Kazakh, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Latvian and Estonian SSRs, as of 1 January 1984;

In the other parts of the country, as of 1 January 1985.

It is recommended to the kolkhozes to apply the measures stipulated in the present decree in order to retain cadres in animal husbandry.

## IPresentation

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L. I. BREZHNEV'S SPEECHES AT THE 31 MAY 1982 USSR SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDIUM SESSION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 82 pp 64-66

[Text] On the Tasks of the Soviets of People's Deputies on the Implementation of the Resolutions of the May 1982 CC CPSU Plenum

The Food Program adopted by the plenum combines within a single entity agriculture and all sectors which service it. Their task is to ensure the uninterrupted and stable supply of the Soviet people with high-quality food products. Substantial funds and the efforts of thousands of labor collectives, economic managers, scientists and other specialists are being mobilized to achieve this aim.

Naturally, the tasks of the party members and party organizations were particularly emphasized at the party's Central Committee plenum. Understandably, however, the implementation of the economic strategy for the development of society presumes the participation of all levels of the Soviet political system. First among them are the state and its organs and, above all, naturally, the soviets. It would be no exaggeration to say that they have been assigned a very big share of the work on the implementation of the party program.

This is natural, for it is precisely the soviet, in accordance with the constitution, which embodies the unity of territorial and sectorial management. On the other hand, the soviets are responsible both for the development of production and upgrading the quality of human services. The more mature our socialist society becomes, the better and more comprehensively all of these problems must be resolved.

As was noted at the plenum, the councils of the agroindustrial associations must become the main link in the management of agriculture and the other sectors within the agroindustrial complex. They will be created at sessions of rayon, oblast and kray soviets and supreme soviets of autonomous republics. The soviets of people's deputies must comprehensively direct and control the work of these organs. This means that the responsibility of soviets of all levels is increased greatly and that the range of problems they face is broadened. In this connection some changes must be made in the legislation on the range of competence of the soviet organs and their rights and make this legislation consistent with present-day requirements.

The main feature on which the efforts of the soviets must be focused today is to ensure the increased production of agricultural commodities and to raise the level of work of each kolkhoz and sovkhoz in the implementation of planned assignments. Close attention must be paid to supervising the construction and timely completion of enterprises within the agroindustrial complex. Assistance in the development of the private auxiliary farms, truck gardening collectives and auxiliary farms of plants and factories is an important and very promising matter.

The soviets must firmly prevent unproductive losses—the waste of agricultural commodities, fertilizers and herbicides and produce losses. Scientists have estimated that the proper protection of the grain and vegetables in harvesting, transportation and processing is the equivalent to an almost 20 percent addition to the crop. Here again a great deal can be accomplished by the soviets, their standing commissions, deputy posts and people's controllers and our public.

More inadmissible than ever before today is a gap between the growth of output and social development. We have earmarked a tremendous program for the reorganization of the countryside and the construction here of housing, roads, schools, hospitals, kindergartens and stores. It is self-evident that the local soviets must play the role of first violins in its implementation. I believe that increased agricultural labor productivity must be the chief indicator in their work effectiveness.

Concern for agricultural cadres, for retaining them in the countryside and for upgrading the role and responsibility of specialists is an inseparable part of the implementation of the food program. The resolutions passed by the party's Central Committee plenum enhanced the significance of material incentives for conscientious work in the agrarian sector of our economy. At the same time, we do not forget the growing significance of providing moral encouragement to good workers. To this effect it is proposed to approve a ukase on establishing the honor title of "Deserving Worker in USSR Agriculture." It will be awarded to personnel of kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural organizations who have worked in agriculture no less than 20 years for great contributions to the development of production.

The experience of frontrankers in the competition, the initiative displayed by the Soviet people and their sharpened feeling of concern for the interests of society and public property are our tremendous gain. Observing the principles of kolkhoz democracy and bylaws, and upgrading the activeness of labor collectives in sovkhozes and other enterprises and developing in the working people truly socialist production and consumption standards are major prerequisites for their development. The role of the soviets and their contribution to the common cause of the building of communism must be increasingly felt at each one of these sectors.

On the Work of the Soviets of People's Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR and Tajik SSR in Connection With Preparations for the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Comrades, I believe that we are acting properly by trying to welcome the anniversary of the founding of our multinational state with practical successes in economic construction and in upgrading the well-being and culture of the Soviet people. This is the way Lenin taught us. In socialist internationalism he saw the source of strength of the new society, and a means for uniting millions of working people in the struggle for socialism and communism.

The Declaration on the Founding of the USSR, which was adopted 60 years ago, particularly emphasized that "the very structure of the Soviet system, international in terms of its class nature, leads the toiling masses of the Soviet republics toward unification within a single socialist family." The reports we heard today indicate yet once again the tremendous opportunities contained in the Soviet system in terms of uniting and bringing together the socialist nations. The constitution of mature socialism provides even greater scope for such work by the soviets.

It is for this reason that the experience of the Lithuanian and Tajik soviets which, welcoming the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR and preparing for the forthcoming elections, are implementing a system of measures for the patriotic upbringing of the working people and implementing the principles of internationalism within each collective and in the daily work and life of the people, is worthy of approval. Naturally, in this area as well there are phenomena against which we must persistently struggle while defending the Leninist party positions and asserting our socialist way of life.

The fraternal unity among working people of all nationalities is not achieved by itself. Its consolidation and development require extensive and painstaking work. Figuratively speaking, the vivifying warmth of the hearth of the friendship of our peoples must be maintained constantly and carefully. This friendship is manifested and must be manifested above all in specific accomplishments, in the concern shown by each nation for the national interest and the concern of the entire nation for the all-round blossoming of each nation. This is the essence of the national policy of our party and of the Soviet system at the present stage.

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## SECOND SPECIAL UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY SESSION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 82 pp 67-69

[Address by L. I. Brezhnev]

[Text] On behalf of the Soviet Union, on behalf of the 269 million strong Soviet people, I address myself to the UN General Assembly which is meeting for its second special disarmament session.

The session faces major and responsible tasks. Its agenda includes a number of problems of prime significance.

However, if we were to single out the most important, the most sensitive problem which affects the people today in all parts of our planet and which occupies the thoughts of state and public leaders in many countries, it is concern for putting an end to the endless growth of increasingly destructive types of weapons and making a turn toward improving international relations and preventing a nuclear catastrophe.

Concern for peace is primary in the policy of the Soviet Union. We are convinced that no conflicts between countries or groups of countries and no differences in social systems, ways of life or ideologies and no circumstantial interests can conceal a fundamental need shared by all nations—the preservation of peace and the prevention of nuclear war.

More than ever before today all countries must engage in purposeful and properly weighed actions for the sake of this lofty objective.

Guided by the aspiration to do everything which depends on it and to remove from the people the threat of nuclear devastation and, in the final account, eliminate its very possibility from the life of mankind, the Soviet state solemnly proclaims the following:

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics assumes the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

This obligation becomes effective immediately, as of the moment of its announcement from the rostrum of the United Nations General Assembly.

Why is it that the Soviet Union is taking this step under circumstances in which the nuclear powers within the NATO group, including the United States,

make no secret of the fact that their military doctrine not only does not exclude the possibility of a nuclear first strike but is actually based on this dangerous postulate?

In making this decision, the Soviet Union proceeds from the unalterable and determining fact in the present international situation that if started, a nuclear war may mean the destruction of human civilization and perhaps even the destruction of life on earth.

Therefore, the supreme duty of the heads of states who are aware of their responsibility for the fate of the world is to dedicate all their efforts so that nuclear weapons may never be used.

The peoples of the world have the right to expect that the decision of the Soviet Union will be followed by countersteps on the part of the other nuclear powers. Were the other nuclear powers to assume an equally clear and precise obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, in practice this would be the equivalent of a general ban on the use of nuclear weapons, something favored by the overwhelming majority of countries throughout the world.

Naturally, the Soviet Union will continue to structure its policy in accordance with the behavior of the other nuclear powers, heeding the voice of reason and following our good example or pushing the world downhill.

The initiative of the Soviet Union is also aimed at raising the level of trust in relations among countries. This is particularly important in today's international circumstances, when trust has been greatly undermined by the actions of those who are trying to disturb the existing balance of power, to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union and its allies, and to derail the positive features contributed by the policy of detente.

The military-political stereotypes inherited from the period of the former monopoly on the atom bomb have outlived their age. The realities of the present demand an essentially different approach to the problems of war and peace. The step which the Soviet Union takes today makes it easier to take a different look at the entire set of problems related to limiting and restricting armaments, nuclear in particular, and facilitates disarmament as a whole.

The tremendous achievements gained through the creative and technical genius of mankind allow the peoples to inaugurate a new chapter in their history. Already today truly endless opportunities exist to undertake the solution of such universal problems as the struggle against hunger, disease and poverty and many others. However, this calls for scientific and technical progress to be put exclusively on the service of the peaceful aspirations of the people.

The Soviet Union assumes the obligation not to be the first to use a nuclear weapon, believing in the power of common sense and trusting the possibility of mankind to avoid self-destruction and to ensure peace and progress for the present and future generations.

Let us also draw the attention of the representatives of the countries who have gathered for the special UN General Assembly session to the following matter.

In the search of measures which would really put an end to the arms race, many political and social leaders from different countries have turned of late to the idea of a freeze or, in other words, of stopping any further growth of nuclear potentials. The considerations expressed on this account are not all unanimous. As a whole, however, it seems to us that they are in the right direction. We see in them a reflection of the profound concern shown by the people for their fate. Figuratively speaking, the people are voting in favor of preserving the greatest value on earth—human life.

The idea of a reciprocal freezing of nuclear arsenals as a first step on the way to their reduction and, in the final account, their total elimination, is close to the Soviet viewpoint. Furthermore, we have also formulated specific suggestions aimed at terminating the nuclear arms race both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Finally, there is yet another problem which, in our view, should not be ignored by the UN General Assembly.

With all the danger of nuclear weapons, we must not forget that the arsenals of various countries have other means of mass destruction, including chemical weapons. Terrible though it might be to consider it, it is a fact that no more than a few kilograms of a toxic substance out of the tens of thousands of tons which are part of the armaments of some countries would suffice to kill several million people. Added to them, new programs are being developed for the production of even more refined lethal types of chemical weapons.

Everything possible must be done to prevent the existence of chemical weapons on earth. The Soviet Union is a firm supporter of this. We are ready to reach an agreement without delay on the total ban of chemical weapons and the destruction of its stocks.

As a whole, the Soviet Union is in favor of progress in all directions in which possibilities exist of limiting and radically reducing armaments, whether nuclear weapons, other types of mass destruction weapons or conventional armaments. There is no type of armament which the Soviet Union is not ready to limit or ban on a reciprocal basis.

Allow me to express my confidence that the special UN General Assembly disarmament session will give an efficient impetus to a termination of the arms race and to a conversion to practical real disarmament measures. It would thus justify the hopes which the peoples entrust to such a representative forum.

I wish the participants in the session fruitful work for the good of the peoples and universal peace.

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FOR UNITY AMONG ALL DEMOCRATIC FORCES AND FOR A MILITANT MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST POLICY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Jun 82 pp 70-82

[Documents by G. Dimitrov]

[Text] The centennial of the birth of G. Dimitrov, the outstanding leader of the Bulgarian and international communist and workers movements, is celebrated on 18 June 1982. His entire life was an example of dedicated struggle for the cause of the working class and the ideals of Marxism-Leninism and against capitalist oppression, fascism and war. His activities were related to a daring turn in the political orientation of the Comintern in the mid-1930's, and the elaboration of a strategy aimed at the unification of all revolutionary and democratic forces against fascism and war, the creation of antifascist-democratic regimes, which ensure a transition to the stage of the struggle for socialism. As a noted theoretician and revolutionary, G. Dimitrov made a major contribution to the further development of the Leninist theory of the revolution, the strategy and tactics and political practice of the communist movement; he also headed the building of new socialist Bulgaria.

As G. Dimitrov emphasized, loyalty to the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist doctrine is a prerequisite in the successful struggle for the liberation of mankind from all kinds of oppression. In the article "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin," which G. Dimitrov wrote immediately after the death of the leader of the world proletariat (article published in the Russian language for the first time--Document No 1), he stated that "Leninism is the guiding star, a manual in the cause of the liberation of all toiling mankind...."

One of the most important tasks of the communists in the 1930's was to unite all antifascist and democratic forces against the warmongers. This item was discussed at the 23 March-1 April 1936 session of the Comintern Executive Committee Presidium. The IKKI [Comintern Executive Committee] Presidium passed a decree which developed the antiwar policy proclaimed at the Seventh Comintern Congress (July-August 1935). G. Dimitrov addressed the IKKI Presidium and subsequently the session of the commission which drafted a decree for the IKKI Presidium (Document No 2). He particularly emphasized that the international policy of the struggle for peace is possible only with the support of the USSR and that one must see the profound essential difference between the foreign policy of the USSR and that of the capitalist countries in this and other matters.

- G. Dimitrov discussed the tasks of the ideological front in the struggle against fascism and the forces of war at the 5 June 1936 meeting of the IKKI Secretariat on 5 June 1936 (Document No 3).
- G. Dimitrov's speech at the 17 December 1936 IKKI Secretariat meeting (Document No 4) is an exposure of the international maneuverings of fascism and, particularly, the objectives of the so-called "anti-Comintern pact."
- G. Dimitrov's speech at the 29 March 1941 IKKI Secretariat session on the report submitted by Andres Escobar, member of the Chilean Communist Party Central Committee (Document No 5) was of great interest. Important here are not only the warnings against the danger of a fascist coup d'etat in Chile but statements on internationalism, the tasks of the work of the communist parliamentary factions and the upbringing of cadres in the communist parties.

On the day Hitlerite Germany attacked the USSR, on the basis of a resolution of the IKKI Secretariat, G. Dimitrov addressed to a number of communist parties a telegram (Document No 6) in which he called for mobilizing the people for the liberation struggle against fascist enslavement.

All documents by G. Dimitrov published subsequently clearly indicate his comprehensive activities, broadest possible range of interests, profound Marxist-Leninist penetration into the essence of problems and great political talent.

Documents 2 through 6 are published for the first time.

Statements by the compilers have been put in parentheses.

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CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

1

Article by G. Dimitrov: "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin"\*

The brilliant theoretician, tactician and leader of the Russian proletariat and the world proletarian revolution is no longer with us. Millions of proletarians and peasants are bemoaning the heavy and irreplaceable loss which the death of the beloved and unforgettable Vladimir Il'ich inflicted on the cause of their liberation. Thanks to his powerful genius, perspicacity and inexhaustible energy, this great man, who has left us, laid the inviolable foundations of the great Russian Bolshevik Party, led the first worker-peasant revolution to final victory, founded the leading headquarters of the international proletarian revolution—the Communist International—and like a bright firework, illuminated the path to the liberation of the exploited worker and peasant masses and the oppressed and rightless peoples.

<sup>\*</sup>G. Dimitrov's authorship was determined on the basis of archive data. It was published in BULLETIN DER BALKAN FODERATION, No 2-3, 1924. Translated from the German.

The workers, peasants and oppressed peoples of the Balkans will forever remain most profoundly grateful to Lenin's genius, to whom they also owe the fact that they saw the path to the most accurate, the most reliable solution of the two most difficult Balkan problems—the national and the agrarian—which are the foundations of all Balkan policy.

Lenin's great ideas of the alliance between workers and peasants in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and the creation of worker-peasant governments, as well as the idea of the right of the peoples to self-determination, which includes separating from existing countries, ideas which were so brilliantly implemented in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics thanks to the Russian Revolution, are those which provide today the key to the solution of the two basic problems we mentioned and to the liberation of the worker-peasant masses and the peoples of the Balkans who were suffering from national oppression.

The Balkan communist federation, 1 which lost its first leader and great teacher with Lenin's death, can find the only consolation over his grave in the fact that Lenin left a tremendous legacy which will serve the toiling masses of the Balkan countries with an inexhaustible source of energy, resolve and knowledge in their difficult struggle against bourgeois and imperialist domination and the winning of the final victory. The best way with which the communist parties in the Balkan countries can honor the memory of our great leader is the broadest possible utilization of the Leninist legacy: the profound study of Leninism and its practical application in the field of the organization of the masses and the leadership of the liberation struggle.

Lenin died but Leninism lives—the guiding spark, the manual for the liberation of all toiling mankind, including the workers and peasants in the Balkan countries, who are languishing under the oppression of a regime of social and political reaction and the yoke of national oppression.

Lenin died, but his great cause lives: the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the great Russian Bolshevik Party and the Communist International.

Lenin died and will no longer head the struggling international proletariat. However, his great spirit will always lead the workers and peasants the world over toward final victory over capitalism and imperialism!

2

From G. Dimitrov's Address at the Session of the Commission of the Comintern Executive Committee Presidium on 26 March 1936 on the Creation of a United Peace Front Against the Fascist Warmongers

...At every stage there are countries and states which are directly engaged in preparations for and planning of wars. Putting all these countries on an equal footing (with other countries) would prevent us from implementing the line of the international policy of the Seventh Comintern Congress. We cannot conduct a single international proletarian policy if the Soviet state is considered just one more state, and if the essential and profoundly basic difference separating the Soviet Union, as a state of the proletariat, a state in which socialism is being built, and the capitalist states, is ignored.

We cannot establish a single international proletarian policy if the leaders of the Second and the Amsterdam International consider the Soviet Union a state which also has imperialist intentions. We cannot pursue an international proletarian policy without noting the difference between the Red Army, as the army of the proletarian state, which is not an instrument of imperialist aggressive policy but...essentially a bulwark of peace among nations, and the armies of the capitalist countries. This would mean making the pursuit of such an international proletarian policy impossible.

We can say approximately on what basis one can and must formulate and pursue a single policy toward and for the preservation of the peace among the English, French, American, Japanese, German and Chinese peoples. This is the basis for the creation of a global front against war and against its promoters, against those who promote war against the Soviet Union, the creation of a worldwide front of the international proletariat, the colonial peoples and the peoples of the other countries whose independence and freedom are directly threatened by the warmongers....We must see to it that the fascist warmongers in Europe and the fascist-myth military in Japan as well as Mussolini find themselves besieged (as a result of) measures of an economic and political nature. They must be surrounded in such a way as to make it impossible for them to raise their armed forces and lead their nations to war against the Soviet Union and the other countries. We must cover the globe with a network of links and organizations and international solidarity, and with the type of measures of unified international proletarian policy which would actually restrain the aggressive actions of the warmongers. Since such a war would break out and, in all likelihood, would be initiated against the Soviet Union, against the state of the proletariat, we must mobilize everyone to put an end to it, to defeat the aggressor, and to help our own people to overthrow the power of those who promote and start wars....

The international policy of the proletariat against the warmongers must, in my view, consist of giving most energetic and comprehensive aid to the peoples of countries whose governments are preparing for and encouraging war. The struggle against Hitlerite aggression must be waged at the same time by all the forces of the international proletariat and world public opinion. It must support the German people against the fascist dictatorship in Germany. The German people must not feel themselves isolated or surrounded by hostile forces....They must feel supported in their struggle against the fascists and against the catastrophe to which Hitlerite policy is leading them.

Here we must plan a number of measures to provide such aid, to give direct moral and political assistance to the German people against Hitler's catastrophic policy and fascist dictatorship. This also applies to Japan. This equally applies, as Comrade  $\operatorname{Ercoli}^2$  said, to Italy.

Our struggle against the fascist warmongers, against the aggressor, would be one-sided and, in my view, doomed to failure unless it enjoys the comprehensive support of the peoples of those countries, unless we find the possibility to involve these peoples in the struggle and in counteracting the aggressive measures of fascist dictatorship. The international policy of the proletariat must consist, in my view, also of the all-round development and strengthening of

the ties among the working class of the different countries, and the all-round strengthening of international solidarity. What Comrade Pollit<sup>3</sup> said yesterday is, in my view, entirely correct....

In this connection, allow me to make the following remark: We are against fascism and war. We want to create the broadest possible front of the working class and the working people of town and country, the petite bourgeoisie, some of the bourgeois intelligentsia and the left elements within the bourgeoisie. We must firmly promote this line. The fact that we are being criticized "from the left" by the greatest possible opportunists and right-wing elements and the social democrats merely proves the fact that we are right. It proves that we have hit the mark....

I am prepared to explain the cause of the delay (in the creation) of a united front, a delay which, naturally, is temporary, by the resistance of some leaders of the social democrats and the trade unions. On the other hand, it is also due to the weakness of our political offensive against the opponents of a united front.

In the implementation of this united front policy we are relying on the support of the workers masses and of entire social democratic parties and trade unions. This support can be efficient if such masses understand our policy. The more clearly we explain our policy, the stronger will this support become and the better it will be, providing that our criticism of the opponents of the united front and their arguments is sufficiently strong and argumented. The ideological struggle against social democracy, against the theory of the so-called cooperation with the bourgeoisie and for an independent class struggle against the bourgeoisie and for the principles of communism are needed by us in applying the tactics of the united front, like air and bread. Another problem is how to criticize, how to substantiate in order not to allow the enemy to use our own criticism and arguments against the policy of the single front. A certain ability is necessary here. However, criticism and ideological struggle are necessary....

It is precisely after the seventh congress, when we are beginning to develop the type of mass bolshevik policy, when we intervene in problems of the domestic and foreign policies of our own countries and as a party establish relations with the broadest possible population strata, when we pursue a practical policy, when as a party we live the life of the working class and our country, it is precisely at that point that propaganda becomes exceptionally necessary. Propaganda is the best weapon in our own struggle. It is a prerequisite for the implementation of a successful policy. Lenin said that we must explain, explain and always explain. This means supplying specific arguments in our propaganda, a propaganda against the arguments of the enemy, against the false arguments brought forth by the "leftists." It is a specific propaganda of our principles, concepts and ideas. This is an absolute vital necessity....

We cannot wage the struggle against war without a perfectly serious systematic and skillful propaganda against war and for peace, a propaganda which will reach millions of people. What we write is not concrete, it provides no answer to questions which are of interest to millions of people in various countries.

Hitler may deliver a speech in favor of occupying the Rhine zone, 4 and we take this as one more blabbering of a fascist leader. However, this speech quite ably substantiates the question so that it can trigger the interest of the average German, the average worker, the average peasant, the average intellectual, and can convince him completely that Hitler is right.

This problem may possibly be discussed in connection with the struggle against war, against the ideology of war, against chauvinism and against preparations for war under the slogans of peace or the preservation of peace. We must pay most serious attention to the organization of our propaganda, press, literature and printed word....

3

From G. Dimitrov's Speech at the IKKI Secretariat Session Held on 5 June 1936 on the Tasks of the IKKI Propaganda Department in the Ideological  $\rm Struggle^5$ 

... The problem of power. How to we formulate this problem in today's international situation? This is not a former formulation of the problem. This is also one of the basic aspects of our new tactical orientation given by the seventh congress and which we have accepted. This is followed by the problem of the struggle for democracy and against fascism and reaction, and so on. The basic line must be hammered out in our reports. This must be developed theoretically. We must answer the arguments of the enemy. We must help our own parties and leading workers in each party to understand the proper positions given by the Seventh Comintern Congress in the area of the struggle against fascism.

Italian, German or Polish fascism is a different matter. Spain is not the Balkans or Bulgaria. We have not developed this problem in detail. We have said that a successful struggle against fascism is possible only if the struggle is specific, if it takes into consideration specific circumstances. Fascism in a given country or area is as yet an undeveloped problem.

Take the German fascists. One cannot say that they are not being successful with their racial theory in Germany or in other countries. We said that this theory is stupid. However, merely to say that it is stupid and foolish and nothing else is insufficient. There are people naive enough to believe it. There are masses who believe in this theory....

Let us take the problem of the struggle for peace, the attitude toward the pacifists and the attitude toward fascist aggression. The Italian fascists are aggressors. The German fascists are also aggressors. In what direction should we concentrate our main strike? Why not against Italian fascism rather than against Hitler? This must be explained and substantiated.

Our attitude toward the League of Nations is no longer what it was in the past. In the past we had a negative attitude toward the League of Nations and at that time we could easily substantiate this. We said that the League of Nations is an instrument of the imperialist system, an instrument of war, and that we are against the League of Nations.<sup>7</sup>

The situation today is different. We must differentiate between the approach to the League of Nations and our requirements concerning the League of Nations in the area of the struggle for the preservation of the peace and our attitude toward the bourgeois governments and the social democratic governments.

Another problem is that of parliament. We already have significant parliamentary factions. What about their method of struggle? What is revolutionary parliamentarianism, about which Lenin spoke and wrote, under present circumstances? The suggestions make no mention of this. What about our policy, the policy of the working class in the municipalities? A tremendous number of municipalities in France, Czechoslovakia and Spain are now in the hands of the communist parties or, together with the socialists, in the hands of the working class. What is being done there? What problems arise, how are they to be resolved, how can we use these municipalities in order to strengthen the positions of the proletariat without taking the positions of opportunism?...

Comrades, we know that bearing in mind the successes which we have achieved in the socialist countries and the successes achieved by the proletariat and the communist movement in countries such as France and Spain and, on the other hand, bearing in mind the obvious bankruptcy of the ideology of the bourgeoisie and the ruling classes, we know that among the intelligentsia, and the petite bourgeoisie and even the bourgeoisie we come across a tremendous number of people who sympathize with us, who are coming closer to the proletariat, who are seeking ways to join in the struggle waged by the proletariat against reaction, counterrevolution and fascism. The information we have received from England, America and France proves that this intelligentsia is eagerly absorbing the published works of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The tremendous interest shown in the international workers movement offers new opportunities for the dissemination of the principles of communism, and for winning over the honest intelligentsia, converting it from a capital of the bourgeoisie into a capital of the proletariat, a capital of the international revolutionary movement....

We live in an age in which...one must think and think independently. Lenin always said that we need live Marxism rather than a dead formula, and not merely a repetition of something which was mentioned in one speech or another.

4

From G. Dimitrov's Speech at the 17 December 1936 IKKI Secretariat Session on the Editorial for the Journal KOMMUNISTICHESKIY INTERNATSIONAL Regarding the "Anti-Comintern Pact"8

On the subject of the editorial we must present the viewpoint of the Comintern. That which has already been done is good, for it was necessary to prove that this pact is essentially aimed against the Soviet Union and is concealing the policy of aggression pursued by German and Japanese imperialism. Press information shows that the bourgeois press organs are understanding (the matter) in terms of the fact that it is a question directly of the struggle against

the Comintern. They have substantiated an aggressive policy toward the USSR under slogans of the struggle against the Comintern. At the same time, it is clear to us that the pact (is also) aimed against the communist movement as well as the Comintern. This aspect must be illumined. Unless we point this out, it would have a demoralizing effect on our parties and on the parties within which we are sharing a single front. In order to mobilize the masses against the developing bloc of fascist countries, we must make it clear that the agreement between Germany and Japan, the position of Italy on this matter, the joining of Hungary and other countries, the speech by the pope in Rome, and so on, are merely parts of a chain within a single anticommunist front. All of this is a signal for the intensification of the practical struggle against the worker and peasant mass movements in each country and on an international scale. It is aimed at striking at the popular front, i.e., at frightening the leadership of the social democrats and other petit bourgeois parties which could never agree to a united front in domestic policy and in matters of peace. We must link this with the events in Spain and China, 10 the intensified Japanese aggression, etc. We must prove that this is not only an intensification of aggression but an internal weakness and a fear on the part of the ruling cliques in Germany and Japan. To a certain extent, it is the result of the growth and the movement of the popular front, a result of the internal hesitations and breakdown within the camp of the masses which have been and are under the influence of German fascism.

Generally speaking, such positions must become the main tool in the hands of our parties and supporters of the popular front against the anticommunist campaign of the fascists in Germany and other countries. This is the first time in history in which an official and legal pact of countries is being created against the Comintern in the East and the West. It proves the increased influence, power and dynamics of communism itself. This must be compared with what Marx wrote: "A specter is roaming around Europe." This specter was frightening even then. Today the ruling fascist cliques are frightened, as we can see, by the policy of the popular front, by the development of a popular front between communist parties and the parties and organizations of the working people who have taken the positions of the struggle against fascism.

All the forces of fascist reaction are uniting. We must focus the center of gravity on the essence of the matter—on a pact aimed at concealing the aggressive policy of fascism; you must draw the conclusion of the need to mobilize the attention of the masses. This is of tremendous importance in our propaganda.

What are the German fascists doing? They are spreading sensations and lies in order to confuse the masses. There are French newspapers which are not openly profascist. Such newspapers are found in London and New York as well. They may look democratic and liberal, but it is obvious that they are closely linked with the fascists. When the fascists have to make use of some kind of acute political problems against the Soviet Union to promote their aggressive intentions, they do this through (these) newspapers. This applies to LE MATIN and many English and American newspapers. They publish news which could confuse the masses and hinder the development of the popular front and the strengthened sympathy for the Soviet Union.

Need we point out that this is a fascist system and that we must react to such press actions influenced by the fascists.

...When the anticommunist league, the antibolshevik league, etc, is set up, such actions are closely interrelated. When countries reach agreements among themselves, we must mobilize the masses, particularly when such fascist forces are openly preparing a war on communism and on the Comintern. The popular masses must support communism and defeat the weapons of Hitler and the Japanese fascists....

5

From G. Dimitrov's 29 March 1941 Speech at the IKKI Secretariat Session on the Report Submitted by Andres Escobar, Communist Party of Chile Central Committee Member  $^{11}$ 

Comrade Dimitrov has raised a number of questions on the popular front, the attitude of the reactionary forces toward the popular front, the government and the president, on the foreign policy of the government and the attitude of the United States [in the text--America] and other imperialist forces toward Chile.

Comrade Dimitrov: I have raised these questions because your report, Comrade Escobar, does not show that our party is clearly aware of the danger of the reactionary coup in Chile. However, that which the German and Italian imperialists did in their time in Spain against the popular front helped Franco to instigate a military coup d'etat and triggered the Spanish Civil War. The same could happen under the conditions of the present imperialist war in Chile as well. The danger of such a coup on the part of the Chilean reaction, which is essentially relying on American imperialism, is obvious. This danger is immediate.

This is my view (supported by Comrade Escobar).

However, if such is the case, the Chilean working class, headed by the communist party, must give the signal, must warn of this danger and must prevent a military coup.

Chilean history is familiar with military coups d'etat on the part of the imperialist forces relying on reactionary bourgeois forces. If this danger exists, the party must point out and explain this to the working class and the popular masses in Chile and mobilize their forces above all against this threat. The party must benefit from the lessons of the Communist Party of Spain, the Spanish people and the Spanish working class.

What should we learn from the Spanish experience?

First, that the reactionary element in Spain made very good use of the Moroccans in the struggle against the working class.... $^{12}$ 

Second, the alienation of the working class from the peasant masses, the absence of a strong alliance between the working class and the peasantry were the tremendous weakness of our struggle in Spain.

You too have a large peasantry which plays a (major) role and most of which is under the influence of the reactionary bourgeoisie and the church. This is a force which could be used against the working class and in favor of the reactionary forces. You too have not taken this sufficiently into consideration.

"Work among the peasantry," you say. We have been repeating this for the past 20 years within the ranks of the communist parties of all countries. However, this alone is insufficient.

Look at the way the bolsheviks behaved toward the peasantry. They always considered the peasantry as the ally of the working class.

But let us go on. Who was directly in charge of the coup d'etat in Spain? It was Franco's army, the reactionary officer corps.

Had such a coup taken place in Chile, it would be carried out by the army, the Chilean reactionary officer corps. Unquestionably, there is a sympathy for the communist party and the popular front in the army. However, the reactionary forces have strong positions in the army and navy, particularly among their senior cadres.

What is the party doing to block the predominant influence of the reactionaries in the army and navy? Virtually nothing....

As to the youth: In its coups d'etat fascism extensively uses its feelings, youth romanticism, as was the case in Italy, as we saw in Germany and as took place in Spain as well.

I am saying all of this in order to make it clear to you and to the party so that you will not allow a military coup d'etat and the establishment of a reactionary military dictatorship in Chile. This is the basic, the primary problem facing the party and the existence of the Chilean people and its future. So far, however, the party has no such concept....

The question of the national existence and development of the Chilean people is related to this. The party fails to ascribe the necessary importance to this problem as well. At a time when the reactionary forces of the bourgeoisie and the landowners are betraying the national interests of the Chilean people, the country's independence, the protection of Chilean independence and the interests of the Chilean people, this should become the cause of the working class, of the toiling masses headed by the communist party. A true popular front must be created, 13 which would rally around itself all patriotic elements in the country against the reactionary bourgeoisie and the landowners who are betraying the interests of the nation.

Proletarian internationalism must be understood correctly. Relations must be established with Mexico, Argentina and other Latin American countries. Joint and international actions must be developed with the European and American proletariat. One-hundred-percent solidarity with the great Soviet people is necessary. In all of this one must always proceed from the interests of the Chilean people, the Chilean working class and international proletarian solidarity. One must not only properly combine it with the national interests of the people but also rely on the healthy national-cultural base of the country. You have been repeating in your country that which we have been tirelessly trying to correct since the seventh congress. International proletarian solidarity must be based on the vital interests of the specific nation—against the bourgeoisie, the reactionaries and the imperialists.

Finally, the fact that the party does not have the necessary concepts to prepare itself and the masses to prevent a military coup and the establishment of a reactionary military dictatorship is also manifested in its attitude toward the selection of leading cadres and the composition of the leading party organs.

Clearly, you have retained the parliamentary principle of structuring the party's central committee—the principle of drafting lists of deputy party candidates....

You must chart a course toward the specific and daily management of the party being provided by people ready to fight and even to die but to die with a clear, sober Marxist-Leninist thinking....We do not need any superficial effects or good speeches. We need mainly something else--a bolshevik education of the leadership and cadres, always ready, under all circumstances and without hesitation to subordinate their personal interests to the cause of the working class and communism.

This is an exceptionally important problem not only for you in Chile but for all our communist parties in the capitalist countries....

In 1937-1938 you had 14,000-15,000 party members; today you have 51,000. The party has expanded greatly. However, one must also consider what it represents not merely quantitatively but qualitatively. Are there both in the center and in the provinces at least 5,000 militant true revolutionaries? Are these 5,000 activists related to the working class and the peasantry and within one another inside the party so that, as the bolshevik backbone of the party, no social and political tempests and elements would make them hesitate?...

This will determine the life and future of the party and the Chilean working class....

G. Dimitrov's 22 June 1941 Telegram to the Bulgarian Workers Party Central Committee in Connection with the Attack Launched by Fascist Germany on the USSR

The treacherous German attack on the USSR is a strike not only against the socialist country but against the freedom and independence of all nations. The defense of the USSR is also the defense of the peoples of the countries occupied by Germany, the defense of the Bulgarian people whose ruling class is trying to enmesh it in the anti-Soviet adventure and deliver it over to the German fascists to be plundered. All the necessary measures must be taken to facilitate the struggle waged by the Soviet people, to counter the anti-Soviet plans of the Bulgarian reaction, to strengthen the united popular front of the struggle against German fascism and to develop a movement for the creation of a single international front of struggle waged by the peoples against the German and Italian fascist gangsters who are trying to enslave the Balkan peoples, whose independence and future are related to the victory of the USSR. Bear in mind that at this stage it is a question of the liberation of the peoples from fascist slavery and not of a socialist revolution. Confirm receipt.

## **FOOTNOTES**

1. The Balkan Communist Federation (BCF) existed from January 1910 to the beginning of the 1930's. Until 15 January 1920 it was known as the Balkan Social Democratic Federation.

The BCF coordinated the activities of the Balkan communist parties in the struggle against reaction, capitalism and white terror.

- 2. Ercoli was the party's pseudonym for P. Togliatti (1893-1964), the noted leader of the Italian international communist movement.
- 3. Harry Pollit (1890-1960) was a noted leader of the English and international communist movements.
- 4. The Rhine demilitarized zone covered German territory on the left and right banks of the Rhine. According to the Versailles peace treaty Germany had no right to deploy its forces in this zone. In March 1936 the Hitlerite government introduced troops into the Rhine demilitarized zone, thus carrying out a most hostile act against the signatories of the Versailles treaty (1919). The British and French governments took no effective sanctions against the entry of the Hitlerite forces into the Rhineland. This action on the part of the Hitlerite government was one of the initial stages in its preparations for World War II.
- 5. At its 5 June 1936 session the IKKI Secretariat discussed the tasks of the IKKI propaganda department, including the detailed draft resolution on this problem prepared by the IKKI apparatus. In his speech G. Dimitrov emphasized the significance of the essential problems of Comintern ideological and theoretical activities and expressed a number of specific remarks on the draft resolution.

- 6. It was a question of the stipulation of the Seventh Comintern Congress on the struggle for the creation of popular front systems which, by implementing profound antifascist and revolutionary-democratic changes, would represent a transitional form to the assumption of power by the working class.
- 7. The League of Nations was an international organization created at the 1919-1920 Paris Peace Conference. It operated between 1919 and 1939. In the initial years of its existence, despite its proclaimed objective of promoting cooperation among countries in the interests of peace and security, the League of Nations pursued an anti-Soviet policy, and helped the imperialists in their plans and colonial policies. The communists exposed this role played by the League of Nations. However, in connection with the growing threat of fascist aggression against many countries and the fact that the USSR joined the League of Nations (September 1934), the possibility arose of fighting for turning the League of Nations to a certain extent into an obstacle on the path of the warmongers.
- 8. The "Anti-Comintern Pact" was a treaty concluded between Germany and Japan on 25 November 1936. Italy joined the pact in November 1937. The treaty was aimed not only against the international communist movement and the USSR but also used as a cover for aggressive predatory German, Italian and Japanese plans against other countries and nations. A secret appendix to the pact stipulated the adoption of joint measures in the struggle against the USSR.
- 9. It was a question of the national revolutionary war waged by the Spanish people (1936-1939).
- 10. At the end of 1931 the Japanese forces occupied northeast China (Manchuria). In 1935 Japanese imperialism took new aggressive steps with a view to tearing off northern China. The threat of total colonial enslavement hung over China.
- 11. Andres Escobar, born 1903, was a railroad worker and member of the Chilean Communist Party since 1921. On several occasions he was a member of the Community Party of Chile Central Committee.
- 12. The fascist rebels made extensive use in Spain in the armed struggle against the republic in 1936-1939 of the least conscious part of the army--the specially raised Moroccan units who yielded more easily to reactionary propaganda.
- 13. G. Dimitrov spoke of the struggle for a true popular front in Chile due to the fact that in that country a government ruled between 1938 and 1941 which relied on a power coalition which described itself as a popular front. However, the leading role in this front was in the hands of the parties of the national and petite bourgeoisie while the government actually operated as a bourgeois democratic government. By that time it had begun increasingly to abandon its proclaimed reform program.

In the Struggle for a United Anti-Imperialist Front and Loyalty to Proletarian Internationalism

The materials which follow reflect one of the aspects of G. Dimitrov's comprehensive activities—his attention to problems of the national liberation and communist movements in the Eastern countries, including the problem of the Communist Party of China with which, as instructed by the IKKI, he dealt especially starting in the autumn of 1935 through May 1943, when the Comintern was disbanded.

Along with other Comintern leaders, working in close contact with the CC VKP(b), in the mid-1930's G. Dimitrov made a major contribution to the creative elaboration of the course of communist parties in colonial and dependent countries in the struggle for the creation of a single national anti-imperialist front. Relying on Lenin's theory of the content, tasks and ways for the implementation of national-liberation revolutions, G. Dimitrov substantiated in the report to the Seventh Comintern Congress (Document No 1) the task of a frontal turn of the communist parties in Oriental countries toward a policy of a united national anti-imperialist front.

The other sections of G. Dimitrov's report on the Comintern's conclusions regarding the possible structure and nature of the organs of the united front, the new forms of unity among the trade union and youth movements, the inadmissibility of "national nihilism"—the underestimating of the national feelings of the individual nations—the need to "link one's present struggle with revolutionary traditions," and the need to defend the class and international interests of the proletariat in accordance with the specific historical and national characteristics of each country were of major importance to the communist parties in the Orient.

Document No 2 reflects the position taken by the IKKI leadership at the initial period of the anti-Japanese war. Extended resolutions were adopted at the 10 August 1937 session of the IKKI Secretariat, convened 1 month following the beginning of the open aggression mounted by Japanese imperialism in China, based on the report of Wang Ming, head of the Chinese delegation, on the basic directions to be followed by CPC policy under the new circumstances, which became the basis of the CPC Central Committee document: "A Program for the Struggle Against Japanese Aggression and the Salvation of the Homeland," known in China as the "10-Point Program."

All of G. Dimitrov's speeches on CPC policy problems are imbued with concern for combining principle-mindedness in the party's political line with the necessary flexibility in tactics, and the consideration that in the course of the war priority must be given to the task of the struggle for national independence. In his speeches and articles of that period, G. Dimitrov emphasized Lenin's demand of preserving the independence and autonomy of the party from the political, organizational and ideological viewpoints within the framework of the necessary political blocs and agreements. In terms of the CPC, which had its own armed forces, these requirements supplemented a stipulation regarding the maintenance by the party of political control over its armed forces.

G. Dimitrov paid particular attention to the inadmissibility of concessions to nationalism and to the tasks of strengthening international relations and the international upbringing of the Chinese communists. The recommendations adopted by the IKKI Secretariat on 10 August 1937 emphasized that the CPC, which favored the systematic implementation of the basic revolutionary slogans proclaimed by Sun Yat Sen, which resembled its minimal program, remained a party of revolutionaries—internationalists.

The complex ideological-political processes within the CPC remained within G. Dimitrov's field of vision even after the self-disbanding of the Comintern. This is clearly confirmed by the published letter which G. Dimitrov sent to Mao Zedong (Document No 3). It reflects the serious concern for the fate of cadres and the ideological and political aspects of the CPC as a result of the "style streamlining campaign" in party work, which Mao Zedong and his supporters had launched at that time.

As we know, Mao Zedong initiated this campaign in 1941, using the fact that the attention of the communists the world over and the Comintern was focused on the struggle against fascism. Initiated under the slogans of fighting "dogmatism" and "empiricism," its purpose was to develop within the CPC a "sinified Marxism" in the guise of the "ideas of Mao Zedong," to develop within the party a cult of Mao's personality and to discredit and eliminate the influence of internationalist communists within the party. The campaign took place through the methods of "indoctrination," terror and psychological pressure. Starting in the summer of 1943, following the self-disbanding of the Comintern, it assumed the nature of mass repressions mounted against party cadres in an atmosphere of spy hunting under the slogan of "urgent salvation of the stumblers," promoted under circumstances artifically stressed by Mao Zedong and Kang Sheng, Mao's assistant.

Starting in 1944, the "salvation" campaign began to break down. A "revision of the matter" was proclaimed, which made it clear that 90 percent of the "cases" had been fabricated. The letter which G. Dimitrov published played an important role in the defeat of this campaign.

Chinese descriptions and names are presented in their current spelling.

The publication was prepared by G. M. Adibekov, CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism senior scientific associate, V. N. Shchechilina and Yu. T. Tutochkin, CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism Central Party Archives scientific associates, and A. M. Grigor'yev, USSR Academy of Sciences INION head of sector.

CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism

From G. Dimitrov's Report to the Seventh Comintern Congress "The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle for the Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism"

## A United Anti-Imperialist Front

In connection with the changed international and internal circumstances in all colonial and semicolonial countries, the problem of the united anti-imperialist front assumes exceptional importance.

In the creation of a united anti-imperialist front of struggle in the colonies and semicolonies we must above all take into consideration the variety of conditions under which the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses is taking place, the various levels of maturity reached by the national liberation movement, the role which the proletariat plays in it and the influence of the communist party on the broad masses.

The problem which faces Brazil is different from the ones facing India, China and other countries.

In Brazil the communist party, which laid a proper beginning for the development of a united anti-imperialist front in the creation of a national liberation alliance, must dedicate all efforts to ensure the further expansion of this front through the involvement above all of the multimillion-strong masses of the peasantry and develop units of a national-liberation army, entirely loyal to the revolution and to the seizure of power by the national-liberation alliance.

In India the communists must support, broaden and participate in all antiimperialist mass actions, not excluding those headed by national reformists. While retaining their political and organizational autonomy, they must actively struggle within the organizations participating in the Indian National Congress, and help to crystallize within them the national-revolutionary wing with a view to the further development of the national liberation movement of the Indian peoples against British imperialism.

In China, where the popular movement has already led to the creation of soviet areas covering a significant part of the country and the organization of a powerful red army, the predatory offensive mounted by Japanese imperialism and the betrayal by the Nanking government have threatened the national existence of the great Chinese people. The Chinese soviet areas are the unifying center in the struggle against the enslavement and division of China by the imperialists, a unifying center which will rally all anti-imperialist forces in the national struggle waged by the Chinese people.

We therefore approve the initiative of our courageous fraternal Chinese Communist Party in developing the broadest possible united anti-imperialist front against Japanese imperialism and its Chinese agents with all organized forces on Chinese territory which are ready to wage a real struggle for the salvation of their country and their people.1

I am confident that I am expressing the feelings and thoughts of our entire congress by addressing warm fraternal greetings on behalf of the revolutionary proletariat the world over to all Chinese soviets and the Chinese revolutionary people. We send warm fraternal greetings to the heroic Chinese red army tried in thousands of battles. We assure the Chinese people of our firm resolve to support them in the struggle for full liberation from all imperialist predators and their Chinese agents.

Based on the text "The Seventh Congress of the Communist International and the Struggle Against Fascism and War" ("Sbornki Dokumentov" [A Collection of Documents]). Politizdat, Moscow, 1975, pp 170-171.

2

From G. Dimitrov's Speech at the 10 August 1937 IKKI Secretariat Session on the Chinese  $Problem^2$ 

Dimitrov: Comrade Wang Ming's report was somewhat of an agitational and optimistic nature. He is well aware, as we have frequently discussed..., of the fact that the problems which face the Chinese people are exceptionally complex and that the party's situation is exceptional.

Imagine what has taken place during the last 2 years. The Chinese Communist Party, which was the leader of the red army in China, made a radical turn. You will not find a single Comintern section facing this situation or making such a radical turn in its policy and tactics in the course of a few years as was the case with the Communist Party of China. It fought for soviets in China and for soviet areas. It created a soviet government. It created an army, sovietized part of Chiang Kai-shek's army, etc.

Party cadres, funds and forces--90 percent if not 100 percent of all this--were concentrated within these soviet areas. The upbringing of cadres, the training of good cadres and of political leaders took place in the armed struggle against Nanking.

Now, however, as a result of this orientation the party's policy and tactics had to make a 180-degree turn. These same cadres and no other party, no new people but those same party members, those same masses were asked to pursue a different policy.

Is this policy correct? It is consistent with the general line of the Seventh Comintern Congress and with the development of the Chinese revolution. The problem in China is no longer one of sovietizing but of protecting the Chinese people from being absorbed by Japanese imperialism. It was necessary to unite the tremendous forces of the Chinese people in the struggle against Japanese aggression in order to ensure the independence, freedom and integrity of the Chinese people. Here again the party had to, as it essentially did, convert to the positions of a struggle not for the sovietization of China but for its democratization, for the unification of the main forces of the Chinese people against Japanese imperialism and Japanese aggression on a democratic basis.

And so now talks are being held with the Kuomintang, with Chiang Kai-shek.<sup>3</sup> The communist party is ready for this and has already undertaken it in order to reorganize and restructure the soviet rayons from soviet into democratic areas into which the soviet government has been reorganized as the government of the special area, and where the red army is becoming not the soviet red army but part of the general all-China anti-imperialist army, etc.

This is the reason for the major difficulties and dangers facing our Chinese comrades and the Chinese party, bearing in mind the maneuverings and games played by Chiang Kai-shek and his retinue. One can easily imagine the danger facing the party in this case. It needs help, human help, the strengthening of the Chinese cadres from within. The Chinese Communist Party must be helped to be able to organize its forces within Kuomintang China and to strengthen its influence among the working class of Kuomintang China.

However, the Chinese red army is a peasant army. The percentage of workers in it is quite insignificant. In the party as well this percentage is insignificant. The most essential task now is to let the Chinese toiling masses and working class be influenced not by the Kuomintang or other political groups but by the communist party, so that the party can rely not only on the armed forces which it has but, in one way or another, also on the working class of Kuomintang China, in Shanghai, Canton and other most important Chinese centers.

Such cadres exist abroad. They could help the party. It is particularly important to supply cadres to Northern China. This is the first problem which must be raised.

Had we had the opportunity to consider the documents of the Chinese party in somewhat greater detail, we might have been able to indicate some other factors which contain the threat of the sliding, of the ideological disarming of the party and party cadres and result in a certain disorientation. A few things must be corrected in this area. Our possibilities of correcting them from here are quite limited. This requires new people, properly oriented in the international situation in order to help the CPC Central Committee. The Central Committee itself needs help, particularly as the war progresses and will progress. This will not be merely an incident which will end up with the seizure of Northern China and no more. Not at all.

Comrade Wang Ming expressed here his considerations.<sup>4</sup> He said that even in the case of a certain breathing spell, the seizure would mean a strengthening of positions for the further offensive mounted by the Japanese military in China, not to mention the encirclement of the Soviet Union.

The question is, will the party's Central Committee, its personnel, its apparatus and its supporters be able to carry out their work. This is a very serious problem. Here again (the Chinese comrades) must work very quickly and do everything possible to strengthen the party's leadership, to support the Central Committee aktiv and to establish better relations between the party's Central Committee and the party masses and the working class. My view is that this problem must be discussed separately together with the Chinese comrades meeting

as a small commission. Specific suggestions must be developed without great optimism. The situation is not bad but the difficulties must be borne in mind. We must take everything into consideration instead of building our hopes on sand, which would benefit neither the Chinese comrades nor ourselves....

I believe that all of these specific problems should be raised in a commission and that Wang Ming's good report should be rewritten in an article, adding to it what we mentioned here. His report must be rewritten as an article for the international press, so that it may mobilize the masses in defense of the Chinese people without presenting the matter as though everything is 100 percent successful in the establishment of an anti-Japanese popular front in China. Daily efforts must be made to achieve this.

Published on the basis of shorthand records.

3

G. Dimitrov's 22 December 1943 Letter to Mao Zedong on the Situation in the Communist Party of China

To Mao Zedong (strictly personal!)

- 1. As to your son....He is a capable youngster and I have no doubt that he will be your reliable and good assistant. He sends you warm greetings.
- 2. On political matters. It is self-evident that after disbanding the Comintern no one of its former leaders can interfere in the internal affairs of the communist parties. On a private basis, however, as a friend, I must express to you my concern regarding the situation in the Chinese Communist party. You know that, since 1935, I have had the occasion to deal with Chinese affairs on an intimate and frequent basis. Based on everything I know, I consider that stopping the struggle against the foreign occupation forces in China and the noted deviation from the policy of the united national front constitute a politically erroneous course. In a period of national war such a course threatens the Chinese people with the danger of isolating the party from the popular masses, which could bring about a dangerous aggravation of the internecine war which could benefit only the occupation forces and their Kuomintang agents. I consider politically erroneous the campaign against Chou En-lai and Wang Ming, who are being accused...of pursuing a national front policy, as a result of which they have allegedly promoted a division within the party. People such as Chou En-lai and Wang Ming should not be separated from the party but retained and comprehensively used in promoting party affairs. I am also concerned by the fact that some party cadres are displaying unhealthy feelings toward the Soviet Union. I also consider doubtful the role played by Kang Sheng.<sup>5</sup> The implementation of an accurate party measure such as purging the party of hostile elements and its unification is being implemented by Kang Sheng and his apparatus in the type of distorted manner which can only promote reciprocal suspicion and trigger the profound indignation of the rank and file party membership and help the enemy in its efforts to break down the party. As early as last August we received absolutely accurate information from Chunking to the effect that the Kuomintang has

decided to send its provocateurs to Hunan, with a view to promoting a quarrel between you and Wang Ming and the other party leaders and to create a hostile feeling against anyone who has lived and studied in Moscow. I warned you at the proper time of this treacherous Kuomintang intention. The most profound desire of the Kuomintang is to break down the communist party from within in order to defeat it more easily. I firmly believe that through his activities Kang Sheng is pouring grist in the mill of these provocateurs. Forgive me for this comradely bluntness....However, the fact that you are interested in seeing things as they are allows me to be so frank. Please answer me through the same way I have used to send you this letter.

I shake your hand firmly!--D.

## FOOTNOTES

- 1. This applies to the "Appeal to the Entire People of China on Resisting Japan and Saving the Homeland," dated 1 August 1935, drafted by the IKKI and the CPC delegation to the Comintern and published on behalf of the CPC Central Committee.
- 2. The question of the situation in China and the policy of the CPC under the circumstances of naked Japanese imperialist aggression was discussed at the 10 August 1937 session of the Comintern Executive Committee Secretariat.
- 3. This resulted in the 22 September 1937 Kuomintang publication of the Communist Party of China Central Committee 15 July declaration on the establishment of cooperation between the two parties; on 23 September the central Kuomintang press agency published Chiang Kai-shek's statement on cooperation between the Kuomintang and the CPC.
- 4. The main content of Wang Ming's report and the recommendations of the IKKI Secretariat were presented in Wang Ming's work "A New Stage of Aggression by Japanese Imperialism and a New Period of StruggleWaged by the Chinese People," Moscow, 1937.
- 5. Starting with the end of the 1930's, Kang Sheng (1899-1975) was one of Mao Zedong's closest assistants in the leadership of the CPC. During the "style streamlining campaign" he was head of the social department of the CPC Central Committee, in charge of intelligence and counterintelligence; he engaged in repressive measures against party cadres with Mao Zedong's knowledge.

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## GEORGI DIMITROV AND OUR TIME

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 82 pp 83-100

[Article by B. Ponomarev, CC CPSU Politburo candidate member and CC CPSU secretary; article based on the report submitted at the international theoretical conference "Georgi Dimitrov's Cause and Our Time," which was held in Sofia]

[Text] The purpose of this representative forum is to celebrate the centennial of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov, the great son of the Bulgarian people, the heroic fighter against fascism and war and one of the outstanding leaders of the communist movement.

Our present meeting is taking place during an important historical moment, under circumstances which are perhaps the most difficult for the entire period following World War II. The growth of the forces of social progress is continuing and acquiring new features; the powerful current of the revolutionary renovation of the world is flowing like a flood. At the same time, however, the threat of a global nuclear conflict has increased and tension in the various parts of the globe has reached a dangerous level. We, communists, and all progressive fighters must significantly increase our activeness in resolving the basic problems which affect the minds and hearts of the people and above all ensure a lasting peace for all nations.

In defining the guidelines of the struggle, the Marxist-Leninists have always relied on the richest possible experience of the communist movement. New and frequently unprecedented problems requiring creative interpretation and new conclusions and solutions have appeared and are appearing at each one of its stages. We believe that the best way to honor the memory of Georgi Dimitrov, the great communist, is to focus the attention on the most topical problems of the movement to which he dedicated his entire mind, talent, and energy, his entire life.

From the experience of class battles and the entire history of the struggle for the bright future of mankind, Dimitrov developed the conviction that the communist leaders must be above all fighters and revolutionaries, always ready to subordinate their individual interests to the cause of the working class and communism under all circumstances. He was such a person himself. His heroic duel with fascism at the Leipzig trial entered history as a most outstanding

example of behavior by a communist leader under most difficult circumstances. He turned the bench of the accused into a revolutionary rostrum. From being accused he became the accuser and he nailed the Nazis—the organizers of the burning of the Reichstag—to the pillar. G. Dimitrov became a model of fearlessness and firmness of spirit, multiplied by political skill and by the power of communist truth.

I had the opportunity to work with G. M. Dimitrov for a period of 10 years and to be closely familiar with his thoughts and actions. He was both a fearless revolutionary and a great humanist. A feeling of protest against any type of oppression and injustice was inherent in him. Concern for the interests of the toiling people, the working class, and attention toward his fellow workers in the party were inseparable features of his activities. He was a charming person—a model of the true communist.

Georgi Dimitrov made a tremendous contribution to the development and strengthening of the international communist movement. His name is inseparably linked with the enrichment of the political line and organizational forms of the movement and the Seventh Comintern Congress. It is inseparable from the resistance movement and the heroic exploits of the communists for the sake of the defeat of fascism.

In continuing and developing the revolutionary traditions of the Bulgarian people—the traditions of V. Levski, Kh. Botev and D. Blagoev—Georgi Dimitrov assumed the leadership of the heroic struggle waged by the Bulgarian working class. He was the Leninist—wise leader of its vanguard—the communist party—and the founder of the Bulgarian socialist state. Under his leadership Bulgaria became a fully sovereign state which plays a prestigeous role in international affairs.

G. Dimitrov's entire life and activities are an outstanding example of service to the working class and the cause of socialism. He is a model of political and state leader to whom patriotism and proletarian internationalism were one. He was a model of communist idea—mindedness, deep penetration into the essence of Leninism and mastery of Marxist dialectics.

What is the nature of the viability of Dimitrov's ideological legacy in terms of our time?

First. Dimitrov was one of the first to sound the alarm, to warn of the threat of another world war. He was among the first to indicate the increased possibility of the peaceloving forces, providing that they would understand the need to join their efforts with the efforts of the Soviet socialist state, which was a new powerful factor for peace.

Today this experience is particularly relevant, under circumstances in which the joint activities of the socialist states and all other peaceloving forces have become one of the most important prerequisites for the prevention of a nuclear catastrophy. It is to this great cause that, together with the party members of other countries, the CPSU and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, our party's Central Committee general secretary and outstanding political leader of our time, are dedicating their forces.

Second. Dimitrov—this too is quite topical—substantiated and developed the idea of an extensive antifascist coalition. Under the conditions of the 1930's he thus concretized Lenin's idea of uniting the workers movement with the general democratic movements. He formulated the concept of the state of "true people's democracy" and the antifascist democratic government. The viability of these ideas is confirmed in the way the communist parties are formulating the question of the transitional forms of statehood in the struggle for true democracy and socialism.

Daringly rejecting obsolete systems and formulas, and formulating new concepts and slogans, G. Dimitrov made an invaluable contribution to the development of the policy of broad popular alliances. There is something to be learned from this in this respect today as well, when the communist movement is comprehensively promoting reciprocal understanding and interaction with a variety of sociopolitical forces even broader than during his time.

Third. Dimitrov paid tremendous attention to combining national, specific features with a consistently internationalist approach. Emphasizing the duty of all communist parties to raise the workers and all working people in the spirit of internationalism, Dimitrov indicated the need to "acclimate" proletarian internationalism in each individual country and see to it that it sink deep roots precisely into the national soil. "Proletarian internationalism must be understood properly," G. Dimitrov said at the 29 March 1941 session of the IKKI [Executive Committee of the Communist International] secretariat. "...International proletarian solidarity must be based on the vital interests of the specific nation—against the bourgeoisie, the reactionaries and the imperialists."

Fourth. As a participant in building socialism in the USSR during what was probably the most difficult period in the establishment of the new system, Dimitrov had unshakable faith in the great power of this system and in its tremendous constructive possibilities. He considered the defense and support of all socialist gains the most profound international duty of every party member and every participant in the liberation movement. In this matter he proceeded from the general prospects of global developments and the struggle of the working people of all countries for peace, democracy and socialism.

When Bulgaria entered the path of socialism, Dimitrov formulated a type of program of social change which, taking into consideration the basic laws which were initially tried through the Soviet experience, called for building socialism in Bulgaria in ways based on its national features and the new global situation.

All of G. Dimitrov's activities and his very personality reflected the rich experience of true innovation which became a structural component of the great tradition of the communist movement, inseparable from his revolutionary-transforming mission.

Ι

Georgi Dimitrov joined the Comintern leadership during a period when the unparalleled global economic crisis of 1929-1933 had increased the reactionary

and aggressive nature of imperialism, which had brought about the establishment of fascist regimes in several countries. Naturally, today's circumstances are different from those of prewar times, although they are no less difficult. This makes it even more important for the party members to assess it accurately and to draw practical conclusions. To this effect they can use a reliable method which was used by Dimitrov himself, namely that in the study of new problems one must rely on the tried principles and theoretical foundations of Marxism-Leninism which specifically call for a consideration of international policy through the lens of the struggle between the two social systems in the world arena and formulate all problems in accordance with the real possibilities and the prospects of the struggle for the end objectives of the labor movement.

Let us begin with the main problem--the problem of war and peace.

As in the 1930's, today the increased threat of war and imperialist aggression are related to the development of objective class processes and the efforts of the forces of imperialist reaction and social regress to stop the course of history. However, an essential difference exists as well. Under circumstances in which imperialism has nuclear missiles, such attempts could lead all mankind to the brink of doom.

The following remarks are now appearing in the Western press and in the statements of some political leaders: the postwar period has long come to an end, replaced by a "prewar period." It is the "hawks" who speculate on such pessimistic attitudes, by proclaiming that since a nuclear war is inevitable, one should proceed from the fact that it could be "limited" and "won." The CPSU rejects in principle such a viewpoint. To this day it considers accurate the conclusion which was made a quarter of a century ago by the communist movement: real possibilities exist for the prevention of a world war. The main substantiation of this idea has been preserved and has become even stronger: the deployment of sociopolitical forces in the world is radically different from what it was on the eve of World War II.

The tremendous efforts as a result of which the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries are able to put an end to imperialist military superiority and achieve a military parity with the United States and NATO are well known. This is an outstanding, a historic contribution of real socialism to the struggle for peace and social progress. As a result, the realistically thinking circles in the ruling class of capitalist society have realized that there is no sensible alternative to detente and to peaceful coexistence.

The question of preserving the military balance achieved by socialism is an essentially new feature in the strategy of the struggle for the prevention of a world war. Today it has become the center of extensive political and ideological struggle.

Neither the Soviet Union nor its allies are striving for military superiority. Socialism does not need it in order to implement its natural objectives. The CPSU considers as its historical task not to allow imperialism to disturb the existing armament balance. The level of military confrontation must be reduced steadily. This concept of essential importance must be thoroughly considered in the struggle for real disarmament.

In our days the forces which have developed from the national-liberation movement and which now have at their disposal the levers and possibilities of state power are also making a substantial contribution to the struggle against war. Despite the heterogeneity and differences among the members of the so-called "Third World," united in the nonaligned movement, they can act in an organized and purposeful fashion. This is an entirely new antiwar factor which did not exist in G. Dimitrov's time.

A characteristic feature of today's deployment of forces is that the antiimperialist zone in the international arena is considerably broader than the
socialist system and that the realm of action of the peaceloving forces is
even broader. "...The view that the people's masses are puppets in the hands
of the governments is radically faulty," G. Dimitrov said. "If these masses,
without which no war can be waged, would oppose firmly and promptly the military
plans of the governments, they could force them to give up the idea of war and
the pandering to the war conspirators." These words are even more relevant
today.

Changes, which are essential from the viewpoint of the possibility of preserving peace, are taking place in the very citadels of imperialism. The antiwar movement which has developed in them today is radically different from the one in the 1930's and even of 10 years ago in terms of the scope of its sociopolitical structure, mass nature and intensity and efficiency of actions. The wave of mass demonstrations which spread over many countries recently, including those triggered by Reagan's tour of Europe, merely proved once again that the people's masses see with increasing clarity the origins of the danger and are exposing with increasing precision the adventuristic plans of the ruling U.S. circles behind the mask of peace and are demanding with increasing firmness the pursuit of a truly peaceful policy.

Today the "watershed" between war and peace follows the political line—the type of attitude toward the policy of the segment of the ruling class which is intensifying the arms race and promoting a nuclear war. Unlike the past, today even specific circles within this class are worried by the possible consequences of such a policy. Essentially an informal but rather impressive antiwar coalition is developing.

Those who oppose endless rearming and the threat of war include many scientists, physicians and politicians who well understand the nature of a nuclear war. They are also perfectly familiar with both technical problems and with the mechanism for political decision making. The antiwar movement includes scientific workers, engineers and technical specialists personally involved with the arms industry. All of this makes the antiwar actions more effective and concrete.

In acting within the framework of the capitalist system, which in itself creates the threat of war, many members of the antiwar movement oppose only the consequences but not the reasons which they either fail to see or to understand. However, the logic of the struggle, displaying the inevitability predicted by Lenin himself, leads this movement to invade the realm of social problems. Life itself raises the questions of the interaction between the

struggle against the threat of war and the struggle against militarism in general, and against the domination of society by the military-industrial mafia. We see that even truly pacifistic organizations are linking their activities with such problems to an increasing extent.

All of this gives priority to a problem which was a major problem for G. Dimitrov as well—the principles governing relations between communists and organizations and currents following different ideological orientations. We can say that in their time Dimitrov and the Comintern resolved this problem optimally. Today, under the new circumstances, the party members are trying to master the art of interacting with various antiwar forces by surmounting mistrust and rivalry. It is a question of supporting antiwar cooperation without converting to the positions of class conciliation. Furthermore, the communists must be profoundly and professionally familiar with complex military and technical problems and with the specific features of the various international problems. This is a necessary prerequisite for actually helping the masses consciously to participate in the antiwar movement.

The communists do not have to "conceal" their support of the Marxist-Leninist outlook and class viewpoint on the nature and course of world events. For example, they must not fail to expose the imperialist attempts to eliminate the political features of the antiwar movement, not to mention its use for antisocialist and anti-Soviet purposes.

The historical mission of the communists is not simply to call for an end to the arms race but to prove who and what prevents the ending of this race. Therefore, discussions on the need to eliminate the division of the world into confronting military blocs and to reject the "bloc approach" to politics is insufficient. One must also realize the decisive, the basic difference between the bloc policies of the United States and NATO, on the one hand, and of peace and peaceful coexistence pursued by the socialist states within the Warsaw Pact, on the other. We cannot tolerate the fact that sometimes responsibility for the increased threat of war is laid both on the imperialist and on the socialist countries, for this means to mislead the nations and to encourage the arms race and those who speak of the "Soviet military threat."

The Soviet public and the working people in our country are a structural indivisible component of the entire antiwar movement. The particular nature of our contribution to the struggle against the threat of war is determined by the nature of our social system and the possibilities which the Soviet Union has at its disposal. The CPSU and the Soviet leadership proceed from the fact that, as L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "to hope for victory in a nuclear war is dangerous madness." The congress defined as the main task of our entire international activity doing everything possible to eliminate the threat of nuclear war from the life of the peoples. This is the focal point of the peace program for the 1980's, which was formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress, and of the entire tremendous and tireless work of our party's Central Committee and mainly of L. I. Brezhnev for the implementation of this program. Yes, the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev are engaged in a dedicated and tireless battle for preserving peace on earth. This is a great exploit for the sake of mankind, an exploit of universal-historical importance which deserves comprehensive support.

These days the attention of the world public is drawn to L. I. Brezhnev's message to the second special UN General Assembly session on disarmament and his statements to the effect that the Soviet Union is unilaterally assuming the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. This is a new, tremendously powerful proof of our country's good will and peaceful intentions as well as a clear challenge to the other nuclear powers to follow this example.

The new step of exceptional importance taken by the Soviet Union should be considered within the context of the sum total of peaceful initiatives formulated by L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress and, subsequently, the 17th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions and the 19th Komsomol Congress and in his Tashkent speech.

A concise and brief description of the content would distinctly reveal the clear, honest, principle-minded and steadfastly peaceful line followed by the Soviet Union in a matter of decisive importance to the fate of mankind. All of these actions are focused on putting an end to the growth of the danger of war and to endless rearmament.

To this effect, the CPSU suggests that all channels for the nuclear arms race be reliably blocked through honest and equal efficient talks, i.e., by freezing the nuclear arsenals, including Soviet and U.S. strategic weapons and mediumrange nuclear weapons in Europe, followed by the radical reduction in the number of such weapons until all of them have been removed. The Soviet Union has already begun to do this unilaterally: it has put an end to the deployment and to preparations for the deployment of medium-range missiles and has already reduced their number considerably. The USSR is in favor of the elaboration and gradual implementation of a nuclear disarmament program. It was precisely on its initiative that talks were initiated on reducing nuclear weapons in Europe. From our viewpoint, they should result in the total elimination of medium-range nuclear missiles and tactical forces from Europe or, at least, a reduction in the number of medium-range weapons by more than one-third or by even more than that. The Soviet Union is also ready to resolve the problem of missiles in the Eastern part of the USSR through talks with those who hold nuclear weapons against which such missiles are aimed. It is on our initiative and insistence that talks will soon begin or actually resume on limiting and curtailing strategic armaments. The USSR believes that a Soviet-American summit meeting must be held to provide an impetus to the process of practical disarmament.

As to Sino-Soviet relations, the principled and clear position of the USSR was voiced at the 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses and recently in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's Tashkent speech. The Soviet Union is against China's hegemonistic policy. However, our country is ready to reach an agreement on measures acceptable to both countries to improve relations without any preliminary conditions and on the basis of a reciprocal respect for mutual interests, nonintervention in reciprocal affairs and reciprocal advantages not at the expense of third countries. Possibilities to achieve this exist. Their utilization would benefit the peoples of our country and the consolidation of general peace and security.

What is characteristic of all Soviet peace initiatives? What are their main objectives? They aim at the elimination of the threat of war on the global, regional and bilateral levels. They are based on narrowing the areas of possible confrontations and therefore on broadening the areas of cooperation as a basis for the preservation and consolidation of the peace. They call for increasing measures of trust in Europe and in the Orient, the creation of nuclear-free areas and zones of peace and restricting military activities in the world's oceans.

Furthermore, the Soviet initiatives include the readiness of our country to discuss any other proposal based on the principle of equality and identical security. They are consistent with the interests of all peoples and related to the daily needs of the working people. Their implementation would not only secure peace but release resources which could be used to lower the burden of unemployment and inflation in the capitalist world, to increase the aid given to the developing countries and to enhance the living standard of all peoples.

Such are the positions on the basis of which the Soviet Union is approaching the second special UN General Assembly disarmament session. In our view, the main feature here is to convert from words to actions. Dozens of splendid resolutions and appeals were adopted at the previous special session and during the regular General Assembly meetings. Alas, many of them have remained on paper only. Now, the UN General Assembly special session is receiving appeals from literally all parts of the world. They have been signed by hundreds of millions of people. The voice of the nations must be heard! The demand of the nations—putting an end to the arms race and taking practical measures to ensure a durable peace—must be implemented!

Let us compare the soviet peace program with the American foreign policy program. Looking beyond the words, the United States has no program for limiting or terminating the arms race. Its only program for the next decade is to increase its military arsenals.

True, under the influence of the peace policy of the socialist countries and the pressure of the antiwar movement, the American president was finally forced to agree to talks on limiting and curtailing strategic armaments. This is a positive fact.

However, we must see the overall U.S. strategy, which was entirely disclosed in Reagan's latest speeches and their "clarification," provided just about every day by Weinberger, Haig and Clark. In his time, former British Prime Minister Churchill delivered in Fulton, in the United States, a speech which marked the declaration of the first "cold war" to the socialist world. Thirty-six years later, a speech in which a "crusade" against communism and forces of social progress was delivered in the British parliament.

This anticommunist, antisocialist and anti-Soviet strategy is being developed in all directions. It includes the following: "psychological warfare," including political and material support of counterrevolutionary and diversionary activities against the socialist countries;

Economic warfare, breaking down of trade and credit relations, and the "economic exhaustion" of socialism by accelerating the race for the latest types of armaments;

The main and most dangerous component of this strategy is the course of achieving military-strategic superiority of the United States over the USSR and NATO over the Warsaw Pact. This course, as is now becoming clear from the publicized directives of the U.S. Department of Defense, is one of preparations for war against the USSR and the other socialist countries. Its purpose, as was pointed out in the document, is "the destruction of socialism as a sociopolitical system." It calls for a "protracted" nuclear war which the United States hopes to win. A war with conventional weapons is planned as well—with dealing "flanking strikes" on the Soviet Union, conducting "special operations" in the rear of the Warsaw Pact forces, etc.

All of this is backed by the military budget in the billions, which has been approved and is being implemented in actual military construction programs. It is backed by the military doctrine and operative developments on the basis of which exercises are being held and which guide the armed forces of the United States and NATO. Finally, this is backed by the familiar plans for deploying American missiles close to the borders of the Soviet Union, where launching pads are already being built here and there.

These are plans of war rather than peace, plans of aggression rather than talks on the reduction of armaments! The United States tried to impose this course on its allies at the Versailles and Bonn meetings.

Imperialism is also guilty of being the origin of the threat of a thermonuclear war and the fact that through its policy of confrontation, intervention in foreign affairs, arms race and neocolonialism it creates an atmosphere of permanent international tension which favors the outbreak of so-called conventional wars which have cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of people and have brought immeasurable hardships and suffering to hundreds of thousands of people during the past 30 years.

It is precisely in this atmosphere and in front of the entire world that the large-scale Israeli military intervention in Lebanon and the destructive war waged against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples was prepared and unleashed. A considerable share of the territory of a sovereign state has been occupied. The blood of the civilian population is being shed and thousands of innocent people are dying. The fate of Lebanon as an independent and united state is under question. It is no secret to anyone that the inhuman aggression mounted by Tel Aviv, which has been impudently challenging the entire global community on several occasions, is backed by American imperialism. This also involves the Camp David line which is aimed at converting the Middle East into the military-political bridgehead of the United States.

It was precisely in an atmosphere of tension that the British government dared wage a colonial struggle against Argentina and that the Iraq-Iran conflict has become a protracted war with dozens of thousands of totally injustified casualties.

The following question arises: Could the militaristic man-hating imperialist strategy be defeated? It can and it must be. The ruling forces in the imperialist countries must remember the lessons of World War II. The communists, including G. Dimitrov, loudly warned of its consequences to the warmongers. What are these lessons? Revolutions broke out in many of the countries within the world capitalist system, as a result of the war, putting an end to capitalism and setting up the world socialist system. Meanwhile, the sinister instigators of the war—the leaders of German and Italian fascism and Japanese militarism—received a justifiable retribution and earned the eternal curse of mankind.

The contemporary antiwar movement could do a great deal on the basis of this lesson of World War II. It must and is able to expose to the entire world the face of those who are promoting a military psychosis, who are involving countries and peoples in the arms race and are promoting a new world war. These people and groups must be reminded that they are taking the most dangerous path of those who, also relying on force and aggression, found themselves on the bench of the accused as war criminals in Dimitrov's time.

This time the very crime against mankind—the unleashing of a world war—can and must be prevented. The steady development of the mass antiwar movement, which finds in real socialism and in its consistent and honest policy, which takes into consideration the interests of all nations pursuing a peaceful policy, as a reliable support and a loyal ally, is a guarantee of success for the preservation of the peace.

We, communists, face the major responsibility for bringing into action all the factors of peace. This depends mainly on the ability, to use Lenin's words, properly to express that which the people realize (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 45, p 112). The CPSU deems it its international duty comprehensively to contribute to the reaching of this objective. In our view, in this case priority should be given to the following directions:

Making one and all aware of the catastrophic consequences of a nuclear war;

Explaining the reasons for the increased international tension and exposing the aggressive course of imperialism;

Indicating the specific ways leading to restraining the arms race and weakening the threat of war and explaining the position of the communists on the problems of war and peace, the foreign policy course of the socialist countries and the Leninist idea of peaceful coexistence;

Actively countering the efforts of the militaristic circles to lower the intensity of the antiwar and antimissile movement with the help of antisocialist propaganda and fabrications of the "Soviet military threat;"

Explaining that the preservation of the peace requires joint and united efforts and that this task presumes a dialogue among different currents and movements and their joint or parallel actions.

Almost half a century ago, in shackles, Dimitrov delivered his famous speech filled with passionate conviction on the insurmountable nature of social progress. "We, communists," he said, "can say today as firmly as Galileo: 'nevertheless, it turns!' The wheel of history is turning and advancing....It is turning and will turn until the final victory of communism!"

This was said when the sinister shadow of Hitlerite fascism was hanging over Europe, and when there was only one country in the world—the Soviet Union—in which the sun of socialism shone. After the defeat of fascism dozens of countries which built or are building socialism appeared. Hundreds of millions of people joined the movement. Their powerful pressure is breaking the foundations of imperialist oppression and advancing the cause of freedom, independence and socialism. One must be unfamiliar with the elementary laws of social development to see in this course of events "the intrigues of Moscow" and the "machinations of the communists."

On the one hand, "world communism" is ascribed an almost magic power and blamed for all revolutionary processes and changes in the world. On the other, assertions are made of the "decline" of the international communist movement. One variation or another is now supported by the bourgeois press and the various political experts in the West and, unfortunately, by some social democrats and individual leaders of communist parties.

Statements of a similar nature have been repeatedly voiced in the past as well. At each sharp historical turn or aggravation of international circumstances, when the communist movement faced particularly complex problems or encountered one difficulty or another, we have invariably witnessed an explosion of false prophecies concerning the "end of communism." On every single occasion it is precisely such predictions that failed while the communist movement continued its progress.

Today a new, globally coordinated and exceptionally fierce anticommunist campaign has been mounted. Once again we can clearly see the dialectics of the class struggle: the more the positions of the exploiting class are curtailed and weakened, the more intensively it mobilizes its reserves and develops new means for the preservation of its rule. Again and again priority is given to the political-ideological front of the class struggle.

Noteworthy in this respect are a number of problems directly related to the situation within the communist movement, for it is a question not of abstract formulas but of the very viability of our movement. That precisely is what is being questioned.

The essence of the matter is that the communist movement is not the "stepson" but the natural offspring of history. it was born through the inner course of development of the capitalist society. It is flesh of the flesh of the ascending social force—the working class, to the cause of which and to whose universal ideals the future belongs. It was and remains the legitimate heir of the entire revolutionary—liberation struggle of previous centuries and of everything best which was created in the course of the development of social thinking and the moral searches of mankind.

Unquestionably, the path covered by the communists was not nor could it ever be straight and smooth. However, the communist movement emerged from each new trial stronger, reaching new heights.

The communists engaged in exploits and self-sacrifice even when the only thing that motivated them was their faith in the justice of their great idea. Today their historical optimism is based on the tremendous sociopolitical gains and practically proven accuracy of the conclusions of scientific communism. Yes, revolutionary work is always fraught with risk and demands sacrifice. Yes, difficulties and errors and temporary defeats may exist. However, is it worthy of the communists, faced with the gigantic revolutionary accomplishments of our time, not to rise in their assessment of the world around them and the contribution of their comrades in such accomplishments above the petty, the philistine concepts of a "consumerist society," to look only for the spots on the sun and thus to belittle its life-creating role?

Real socialism is the outstanding gain of the entire international worker and liberation movements. Whatever those who have yielded to the pressure of imperialist propaganda or have hesitated in the face of the greatness of the new tasks or who are hoping to avoid the difficulties by finding easy solutions to the problems of our time and trick history may say, the fact remains that it is precisely real socialism which is today the main positive factor in the development of the entire human society.

The vital interests of the working class and of all working people in the nonsocialist part of the world are most closely tied to the existence of real socialism. How is this manifested?

In the fact that real socialism is the main counterbalance to the aggressive militaristic policy and power of imperialism and the main factor of peace and the salvation of human civilization;

In the fact that real socialism is the carrier and harbinger of the true rights and freedoms of the toiling people, offering the working people of other countries guidelines for their requirements in their daily struggle against monopoly capital and for social progress;

In the fact that real socialism is making a decisive contribution to changes in the ratio of forces in the international arena in favor of social progress and national liberation, is a source of moral, material and political support of the liberation movement, restricts the opportunities of imperialism to resort to the open export of counterrevolution and instills in the fighters for freedom confidence in victory;

Finally, in the fact that the strengthening of the positions of real socialism strengthens the irreversible nature of human progress, bringing closer the time when, in the words of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "in one of its specific and historically determined form or another, socialism will become the predominant social system on earth, bringing to all toiling mankind peace, freedom, equality and well-being."

This means that the working people in the nonsocialist part of the world are profoundly interested in the growth and the strengthening of real socialism. This also means that real socialism must be really defended and that imperialist intrigues mounted against the socialist countries must be firmly rebuffed. All historical experience proves that the interaction between the revolutionary forces in the nonsocialist part of the world and the socialist countries is equally needed by both.

At the present stage in their development and under very difficult international conditions the members of the socialist comity are resolving incredibly broad and difficult problems. It is a question mainly of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and of organically combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism. It is a question of making fuller use of the opportunities of the socialist society in enhancing production efficiency, radically improving the entire economic mechanism and fully converting the economy to the track of intensive development and, on this basis, improving the living standard of the people. In the Soviet Union these tasks were specifically and powerfully manifested in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the May 1982 Central Committee Plenum and L. I. Brezhnev's report "On the Food Program of the USSR for the Period Through 1990 and the Measures for Its Implementation."

The more extensive and difficult the problems become, the more important the role and responsibility of the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties become. They become responsible not only for the successful development of their countries but for the maximal utilization of the tremendous advantage of the fact that most socialist countries are united within a fraternal comity. This is their base and support whatever trials they may experience and this enables them to organize the most advanced and flexible international cooperation and division of labor among the individual countries and offers objective opportunities for surmounting difficulties.

Socialist internationalism is achieved through reciprocal aid and support, utilization of reciprocal experience and proper and efficient utilization of all other advantages offered by the socialist comity and not in the least in borrowing from any imaginary Soviet "model." Our party has never believed its own experience to be some kind of "model" mandatory for others. The live and many-faceted process of building a new society cannot follow a single system or pattern. Lenin spoke of the inevitable variety of forms of transition to socialism. However, he also cautioned against turning it "into an act" (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 152). Scientifically substantiated innovation in theory and social practice is an essential feature of socialist society and a mandatory requirement facing a truly Marxist-Leninist party.

The increased complexity and scale of problems facing the socialist countries demand an increasingly higher scientific level of social management. No progress from socialism to communism is possible without constant reliance on the Marxist-Leninist science of society or the steady improvement and renovation of this science on the basis of the new phenomena and trends which arise in the course of practical work. Neither arbitrary utopian plans nor pragmatic down-to-earth computations can take the place of such theory.

Today the CPSU is implementing a comprehensive program for economic, social, political and spiritual development of Soviet society on its own socialist base. The elaboration and implementation of this program would have been impossible without the steady development of theory. Let me mention the main directions followed in the party's theoretical and political work of late:

Taking into consideration the historical experience in the formation and development of the socialist society, the party refined the Marxist-Leninist thesis of the two phases of the communist system; it formulated and substantiated the concept of developed socialism as a natural and relatively long stage on the way to communism;

The party drew an essentially new conclusion to the effect that the elimination of class disparities in society, in their main and essential aspects, will take place within the historical framework of developed socialism;

The party substantiated the conclusion that the interconnection among the economic, social, political and spiritual aspects of social development and the need for a comprehensive and systematic approach to their planned improvement have considerably increased at the present stage. This provides a methodological foundation for raising the standard of the entire system of planning and managing the country's development;

Having focused on enhancing the well-being of the people as the center of its economic policy, the party put greater emphasis on closely linking the entire economic mechanism and all production areas to the specific requirements of the consumers concerning the quality and variety of goods and services. This increases the reverse positive impact of social and political factors on the production process;

The party indicated the way to improve the directing and controlling functions of the central management organs, combined with the steady development of new and more efficient forms of local autonomy and initiative, ranging from republics, krays, oblasts, rayons, economic associations, state enterprises and kolkhozes to brigades, teams and individual workers. This provided a key to the further development of socialist initiative and enterprise on the part of the leading cadres and all working people;

The party profoundly substantiated the course of organically linking ideological work with all organizational-party and economic activities. This led to the adoption of an approach consistent with contemporary conditions to resolving the most difficult and most important problem of molding the new man with an integral scientific outlook and a lofty labor morality, inconceivable in an exploiting society;

The party formulated and comprehensively substantiated the concept of the new social and international community—the Soviet people. The CPSU thus combined the Leninist theory of the national problem with the theory of developed socialism and enriched the practical content of internationalism under the conditions of the multinational socialist state.

The road to socialism, Lenin emphasized, "will never be straight. It will be incredibly complex..." (Op cit., Vol 36, p 47). This is also related to external circumstances, to the fact that socialism is confronted by global imperialism. It is also related to the natural, including climatic, conditions of economic activities. Naturally, it is also related to contradictions within social developments on the way to socialism and communism. Caused by objective and subjective circumstances, they are of an essentially different nature than under capitalism. They are not antagonistic. However, this is not to say that they are resolved by themselves.

The search for the necessary solutions and their practical implementation is a comprehensive and intensive creative process which combines the political and scientific activities of our party headquarters, its Central Committee, Politburo, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the party's directing, organizing and educating role, the daily efforts of soviet and economic organs and the labor of tens of millions of Soviet people.

We also see a great many new features in the activities of the fraternal parties in the nonsocialist part of the world. Compared with the prewar period and the first postwar decades their operational conditions have changed substantially.

The imperialism of the beginning of the 1980's is capitalism which has entered a lengthy period of drastic intensification of its general crisis. All of us recall the way the supporters of capitalism promoted its "charms" in the 1950's-1960's. At that time a great deal was being said about the famous "economic miracle" thanks to which capitalism had allegedly gained a "second breath." Reality quickly dispersed this fabrication and related illusions.

It was claimed that capitalism had discovered the secret of a crisis-free growth and full employment. But what is actually happening? There have been three cyclical crises within a single decade and a new wave of mass unemployment. Today, with 28 to 30 million unemployed, it has reached the level of the 1930's. In the United States alone, even according to official data, there are today 10.5 million unemployed—nearly 10 percent of the active population—including about 50 percent black youth. This is a record level for the past 40 years. These figures conceal the tragedy of millions of men and women doomed to the pain of unemployment. Statistics prove that the number of suicides rises during periods of crises, particularly among the unemployed. This is a severe condemnation of capitalism!

During the period of the notorious "economic miracle," the defenders of capitalism gave generous pledges that they would block inflation and ensure a stable growth of the living standard and "general prosperity." This myth as well was shattered into smithereens. The cost of living is growing and prices are rising steadily. The living standard of the masses is being eroded from all sides.

The defenders of imperialism prophesied an era of liberalization of world trade and of harmonious international economic relations. What we see is an even fiercer trade and currency war among the main capitalist centers—the United States, Western Europe and Japan—and within economic blocs such as the Common Market.

The economic crisis is affecting particularly sharply countries which recently gained their freedom from colonial oppression. Their indebtedness to the imperialist countries is rising sharply and the already severe problems of surmounting their economic backwardness are worsening even further.

Such is the contemporary situation in the capitalist world. No solution is visible. Most forecasts are pessimistic. All of this is the inevitable result, long predicted by the Marxists, of the capitalist use of technical progess, the further tremendous growth of monopoly concentration, the domination of a small group of financial magnates and the result of militarization and an unrestrained arms race.

The accuracy of the Marxist conclusion to the effect that capitalism is a society which is unable to place the achievements of contemporary civilization at the service of the interests of the masses and society, is alien to the toiling people and has no future is becoming increasingly apparent against the background of the steady economic upsurge in the countries of developed socialism and the successful progress made by the socialist countries in ensuring the real prosperity of the working people.

The capitalist countries have not only reached a very high level of material and social maturity, i.e., a maturity of objective prerequisites for a transition to socialism. Gradually, major subjective possibilities are developing as well. The overwhelming mass of the population in those countries is engaged in hired labor. The working class is expanding with the development of new skills created by the contemporary production process. Production-technical maturity is reaching a new level and acquiring new facilities for increasing its effectiveness. The feelings of discontent and protest are penetrating more and more deeply into a great variety of social strata. The trade unions and the organizations of young people, women, intellectuals, religious believers and so on are becoming increasingly more active. New sociopolitical movements, developing on a parallel basis with existing ones, are appearing.

It is easy to see that the fact that the worker and democratic movements are operating today on higher levels and enjoy considerably greater opportunities is the result of the tremendous gains made by the revolutionary forces and by all forces of progress during the almost 65 years following the Great October Revolution.

However, this matter has another feature as well. The new processes in the capitalist world face the communists with new problems. Monopoly capital and the bourgeois leadership in the state apparatus are intensifying their pressure on the labor movement and the communist parties. We must acknowledge that the bourgeoisie has drawn lessons from its defeats and has learned a great deal. It is handling more flexibly the various means for preserving and strengthening its rule. G. Dimitrov frequently said that "what the bourgeoisie is unable to achieve through frontal confrontation with the communist movement it will try to accomplish by corrupting it from within." Today this tactic is used by the class enemy particularly extensively and in a far more refined manner. This calls for the greatest possible vigilance and the ability promptly to detect the treacherous anticommunist steps and plans and to defeat them.

The communist and other vanguard parties in the three huge continents—Asia, Africa and Latin America—are faced with the solution of complex and varied problems. This includes the struggle for strengthening national independence and against imperialist and neocolonial encroachments, and the struggle against hunger, poverty and backwardness and for civil rights and freedoms.

The conversion of a large group of liberated countries to the path leading to socialist change is of tremendous historical significance. This is a new, powerful factor of human progress. The gravitation of the vanguard parties of the young countries toward the rational utilization of the experience of established socialism and their desire to master the science of Marxism-Leninism and to develop active relations with the communist parties are proof of the dynamism and the vitality of the international communist movement toward which the best elements which are appearing in the course of the global revolutionary process are leaning!

It is quite proper, as we assess G. Dimitrov's ideological legacy, also to consider the topic of relations between communists and social democrats—a subject to which he paid great attention.

Despite fundamental ideological-political differences which, as in the past, divide these two currents of the international workers movement, the CPSU deems cooperation with the social democrats important and necessary, above all in matters related to the struggle against the threat of war. Nor do we try to belittle the importance of the participation of socialists, social democrats and laborists in the struggle against modern reaction, racism and apartheid and for the democratic and social rights of the working people. In many industrially developed capitalist countries no major advance on the path to social progress can be achieved without socialists, social democrats and laborists. However, neither is it possible to reach basic or simply major social changes without the communists. Let us recall in this connection that the documents of the international communist movement stipulate that the communists are ready to develop cooperation with socialists, social democrats and laborists both in the struggle for peace and democracy and the struggle for socialism.

Today the communist movement is faced again with crossing a difficult pass. The social and political conditions under which it is operating are changing substantially. However, they are also offering new opportunities for progress. Lenin spoke of the need "to take into consideration these new changes, to 'use' them and to encompass them, if one may say so, without, however, surrendering helplessly to the current, rejecting the old baggage and retaining the main features and forms of activity not only theoretically and programmatically, but in political principles" (Op cit., Vol 20, p 188).

In this light as well, the proper, the serious attitude toward theory and toward Marxism-Leninism is of essential importance, which is vital to the communist movement. This question arises for the reason that in some fraternal parties not simply individual views but official stipulations have appeared in which, although giving Lenin his due as theoretician, revolutionary and state leader, Leninism is rejected as an international doctrine. The organic integrity of Marxism and Leninism is being questioned.

It would be unnecessary here to prove the relevance and viability of Leninism item by item. Suffice it to mention the following:

Lenin not only applied Marxism under the conditions of his own country but developed theoretically and provided a practical solution to the major problems of universal development in the contemporary epoch. Under his guidance, for the first time in history a socialist revolution won in such a big and multinational country as Russia. This alone is an accomplishment of universal-historical and international scale. Lenin developed the science of building socialism and for a period of 6 years guided the Soviet republic, practically implementing this science. Thus, along with Lenin's direct international theoretical and political activities, Marxism obtained a powerful impetus in its development and practical influence on the course of global events during the age of universal conversion from capitalism to socialism. We are still part of this continuing transitional and revolutionary age.

Marxism-Leninism arms the revolutionary movement with the science of revolution and socialism. No other similar science exists. As a science, as F. Engels said, socialism "demands that it be treated as such" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 18, p 499). Scientific socialism is international in nature. There can be no "national" Marxism the way there are no "national" laws of physics or biology. As a science socialism is not an abstract "model" for the renovation of the world but reflects the real progress of a real society. It seeks and substantiates ways leading to building a new society on the basis of principles stemming from objective laws.

One cannot conceive of a person who calls himself a Marxist but rejects the objective laws governing the development of society such as, for example, the laws of development of capitalism. However, on what basis are the laws governing the transition to socialism, the development of the socialist society itself, being questioned? Naturally, nothing understandable can be said on this account. Such laws are modified depending on the specific circumstances. However, to deny them means to reject theory and abandon the guidelines in the comprehensive social process.

The entire experience of our movement and the experience gained in the revolutionary reorganization of the world today lead to an important lesson. The victories of the communists are inseparably linked with the principled and creative practical application of Marxism-Leninism. Conversely, defeats, errors, blunders, failures, lagging and hindrances in development and even the crises breaking out in one communist party or another or in a socialist country, naturally, to the extent to which they depend on subjective factors, are all the result either of the poor knowledge of Leninism or a deviation from Leninism under the pressure of opportunistic temptations or nationalistic fads, or else the result of lagging in the development of theory, replacing it with a dogmatic interpretation of Lenin's concepts; finally, they may be the result of the inept or indecisive application of the fundamental ideas and principles of Leninism.

The science of Marxism-Leninism alone enables us to see beyond the daily events and temporary political circumstances and tactical considerations to an overall

vision of the world and to preserve our perspective. Marxism-Leninism alone enables us to see in the seeming chaos of events and the infinite variety of reality what is general, what is internationally significant and what is pivotal, for Marxist-Leninist theory itself is the summation of international experience. Therefore, the task of combining the efforts of the fraternal parties in summing up revolutionary experience and in developing the theory of scientific communism will always be relevant.

Marxism-Leninism has neither become nor could become obsolete. As G. Dimitrov said, the communists need it "like bread, air and water."

In precisely the same way the idea of proletarian internationalism has not become obsolete, nor will it ever be. "Today there cannot even be a question of guiding the communist movement from a single center," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said as early as the end of the 1960's. "Each party determines its political course autonomously and entirely independently. However, this not only does not exclude but precisely makes particularly necessary the most active voluntary coordination of their actions in the struggle against the common enemy." To formulate as a criterion of independence a separation from the communist movement and to pit one's course against the positions of the other fraternal parties means, particularly in the present situation, either to doom oneself to international isolation or willy-nilly to join another international force which opposes or is even hostile to socialism.

Naturally, the "mechanism" of relations and of coordination of the actions of the fraternal parties must be improved steadily. The forms of international cooperation among the various forces opposing imperialism and favoring peace and social progress are developing and becoming richer. However, this does not require in the least for proletarian internationalism to change its name or for the communist parties to be diluted within blocs with other parties.

The internationalism of the communists organically includes solidarity with all revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces, with all fighters against imperialism and for national independence and social progress. For example, like the other fraternal parties, the CPSU is developing the broadest possible ties with other political forces. This includes friendly allied relations with dozens of revolutionary-democratic and national democratic parties, contacts with socialist and social democratic parties and relations with representatives of various social organizations and movements of a general democratic nature. Personal experience proves that such interaction and solidarity do not necessitate any abandonment of principles.

One can and must promote joint actions with the other leftist, democratic, revolutionary and peaceloving forces but not through the self-liquidation of the international communist movement or the false restriction of its rights by developed capitalist countries or even by Western Europe alone (with a "favorable" addition of Japan). The liquidationist efforts regarding the communist movement, naturally, are firmly rebuffed, for they conflict with the interests of the working class and all working people and the tasks of the struggle against imperialist oppression and the preparations for a new war.

Our party considers the decisive prerequisites for increasing the great and irreplaceable role of the communist movement to be the following:

To do everything possible under the specific circumstances of a given country to restrain the aggressiveness of imperialism and to prevent a nuclear war;

Skillfully to build and improve the socialist society, to defend it firmly and to support it on an internationalist basis;

To resolve current problems while fighting for the vital requirements of the working people and never to lose sight of the end objective of the communists-revolutionaries:

To earmark new heights to be reached, to promote the broadening of its influence among the masses, and to defend and protect everything already gained by socialism, the working class and the working people;

To strengthen the solidarity and interaction with all peaceloving, progressive and revolutionary forces of our time and to preserve, develop and enrich with a new meaning fraternal ties among communist parties;

Under no circumstances to lose the principled class approach in the political and ideological struggles;

Creatively to develop revolutionary theory, and carefully to protect and take into consideration the proven concepts and conclusions of the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin; to make a serious study and objectively to assess the experience of the fraternal parties and the other revolutionary forces.

The party members, their friends and allies face complex and difficult problems. A persistent and intensive struggle must be waged for peace, for putting an end to the arms race, for eliminating the threat of nuclear war, for the sake of the independence and freedom of the peoples, and for democracy and socialism. This struggle demands of all of us total dedication, all our efforts, reciprocal understanding and mutual support.

The Soviet party members, closely rallied around the Leninist Central Committee and its Politburo, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, will continue to dedicate all efforts to reach these lofty objectives in the ranks of the communist movement, closely united with the fraternal parties.

The Bulgarian Communist Party and Bulgarian people, led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary, following G. Dimitrov's behest, are confidently strengthening and developing socialism and friendship with the Soviet Union, and making a great contribution to the cause of peace.

The cause and thoughts of Georgi Dimitrov live in the hearts of the new generations of party members and inspire them to selfless struggle. Under Lenin's banner, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, unquestionably, this struggle will be crowned with new victories.

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CARDIOLOGY: ACHIEVEMENTS AND PROSPECTS

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[Articles by Ye. Chazov, G. Sidorenko, V. Smirnov, V. Burakovskiy and M. Akhmeteli]

[Text] The CPSU considers concern for the health of the Soviet people one of the most important social tasks. This was emphasized at its 25th and 26th congresses. It was also eloquently described in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree of 22 September 1977 "On Measures for Further Improving the People's Health Care." A comprehensive program for the protection of the health of the people is being systematically implemented in the country in accordance with the resolutions of the party and the government. The general line of Soviet health care--preventive medicine--is being developed further. The training of skilled medical cadres is expanding. The network of medical and research institutions is growing and treatment-prophylactic and medical aid to women, children, workers and the rural population--the entire population of the country--is advancing.

The front of theoretical and clinical development of topical medical problems is widening. The country has more than 300 medical scientific research institutes, some of which are powerful all-union centers. Many medical VUZs are major training-scientific complexes. Research results are being extensively applied. New and more efficient ways and means of prophylaxis, diagnosis and treatment of cardiovascular diseases and malignant tumors suggested by the scientists are being rapidly applied in practical health care. Good results have been achieved in the areas of reconstructive and restorative surgery, ophthalmology, microsurgery, pediatrics, obstetrics and gynecology; in recent years a large number of new and more effective medical preparations and medical instruments have been developed.

The successes of Soviet cardiology have been particularly significant. Its merits in the struggle for the health of the people have been acknowledged with one Lenin and three state USSR prizes. Substantial achievements were displayed at the Ninth World Congress of Cardiologists, which is taking place in Moscow this month.

A meeting with leading cardiologists in the country was held on the premises of KOMMUNIST. Also participating was the press center of the USSR Ministry of Health. The talk follows.

Basic Research and Cardiological Practice, by Academician Ye. Chazov, general director of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences All-Union Cardiological Scientific Center

It would be no exaggeration to say that cardiology—the science of the heart—which resolves theoretical—biological and medical problems—unwit—tingly penetrates the areas of interest of politicians, economists, socio—logists and philosophers. Indeed, if we look at it from the viewpoint of its role in the implementation of the programmatic health care tasks, it would be impossible to overestimate its social significance.

The attack mounted on cardiovascular diseases plays a major role in the general front of the struggle for the happiness and well-being of millions of Soviet people. Today, when the question of manpower resources urgently faces the country, lowering the rate of disability and temporary incapacity exceeds the framework of strictly medical problems and assumes the importance of a major state task. We believe that the time has come radically to change our views on health care. Unquestionably, health care performs mainly a major social function. Under contemporary conditions, however, it is also a most important sector of the national economy, a production force, if you wish, which, unfortunately, is not always understood not only by economists and social scientists but by economic managers as well. Reducing temporary disability related to cardiovascular diseases by 10 percent only is the equivalent of the work of tens of thousands of workers and employees. We remember that some economists and even physicians have opposed the further treatment of patients who have recovered from infarct of the myocardium free of charge. Yet the development, substantiation and application of restorative therapy have made it possible for 80 percent of those who have suffered a severe illness to go back to their previous jobs. This is of tremendous importance to the national economy from all viewpoints, including the purely economic one. The state's returns are in excess of 700 rubles for every 100 rubles invested in restorative therapy.

We recall the skepticism displayed by the directors of some enterprises concerning the system of preventive treatment developed by the scientists in the case of, let us say, hypertonia. In some cases it had to be applied only after serious pressure was applied. However, several years later the active measures brought about a decline in temporary disability caused by hypertonia. This was a substantial contribution to meeting plan indicators.

Today cardiovascular diseases are the main reason for mortality, disability and temporary disability in the country at large and in the individual union republics. The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures Further to Improve Public Health Care" defined a program for action aimed at stabilizing and subsequently reducing the incidence of such diseases. Briefly stated, it includes four basic scientific and organizational concepts. First, the creation of a state program for scientific research, giving priority to the development of the basic sciences as a foundation for the creation of the most efficient treatment and prevention methods. Second, the establishment within the Soviet health care system of a specialized cardiological service to ensure the practical utilization of the latest methods

for prevention, diagnosis and treatment. Third, the creation and application of new diagnostical equipment and drugs. This faced a number of industrial ministries with extensive work. Finally, the elaboration and extensive application of methods for the prevention of cardiovascular diseases.

The active implementation of this program is currently under way.

The extensive work which the health care organs and scientific collectives have done over the past 5 years made it possible to stabilize mortality caused by cardiovascular diseases. For the first time a certain decline was noted in 1981.

We are sometimes asked what is fundamental in resolving the problem of the struggle against cardiovascular diseases. This can be achieved only through a set of all the planned measures and the active participation of all interested ministries and departments, trade union, Komsomol and social organizations, the USSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences. The main feature of this complex is the development of a cardiological service throughout the country.

What is the current status of the service? Its primary unit is the cardiological office at the polyclinic. Its task is to identify people with cardiovascular diseases and to organize their treatment and the entire work in the struggle against heart and vascular diseases in its area and to help to increase the skill of sectorial and other physicians in the area of cardiology, to improve the quality of specialized treatment and preventive aid and to enhance the level of specialization. The next step is the cardiological hospital ward which operates in close contact with the cardiological offices of the polyclinics and the specialized first aid cardiological service. It ensures the urgent and planned hospitalization and specialized inpatient aid. The oblast outpatient clinics are the next higher element in the service. Along with polyclinical, diagnostic and treatment work they undertake the organizational-methodological management of all cardiological aid on the oblast or kray scale. Currently standardized plans for such outpatient clinics for 120-240 beds have been drafted and approved. Their construction has already been initiated. The country has currently 16 cardiological outpatient clinics, more than 600 wards in hospitals, totaling 52,000 beds, and more than 2,700 polyclinic offices. This has largely become possible thanks to the fact that during the past 5 years cardiology developed as a medical specialty for the first time.

Sanitorium recovery treatment and rehabilitation in specialized hospital wards in cardiological sanitoria are important elements in the cardiological struggle and intrinsic stages in the treatment. In accordance with the party and government decision, the further treatment of patients who have suffered from infarct of the myocardium now takes place in specialized wards of the cardiological sanitoria of the trade unions paid out of social insurance, for the entire 24-day treatment period. Every year 50,000 people undergo such recovery treatment.

The accelerated development of the cardiological service is continuing in the llth Five-Year Plan, including all its basic units and elements. They will be properly staffed with physicians and secondary medical personnel and equipped with modern facilities and medicines. The specialized aid service of medical-sanitary units of big enterprises and prevention sanitoria will be strengthened. This will make it possible to increase the amount of measures related to the prevention and treatment of cardiovascular diseases directly within the production collectives. Particular attention will be paid to primary prevention and the struggle with harmful habits such as smoking and alcohol abuse.

Speaking of the influence of the scientific and technical revolution in our area, let us point out a number of discoveries in the field of molecular biology, biochemistry and biophysics and on technological achievements which have radically changed our opportunities both in terms of the study of cardiovascular diseases and their diagnosis, treatment and prevention. Only 30 years ago about one-half of the people suffering from infarct of the myocardium died in the first 2 months from the beginning of the disease. Today 8 out of 10 such patients not only regain their health but go back to their normal occupation. At the beginning of the 1960s we were totally helpless in treating patients with malignant forms of arterial hypertonia. Today we have virtually no lethal outcome caused by malignant hypertonia, for we have learned how clearly to differentiate among its different forms and, with the help of modern medicines, to achieve a stable lowering of arterial pressure. The program in the struggle against arterial hypertonia, developed by the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences VKNTs has been taken over by the USSR Ministry of Health for practical implementation.

Positive results have been achieved in restoring the activities of the heart after sudden heartbeat stops. Although the time during which we can restart our "flaming motor" is still counted in terms of minutes, modern equipment and pharmacology enable us to increase the number of rescued cases with every passing year.

Today with the help of most precise measuring instruments and computers we are able to determine the size of necrosis (deadening) of heart muscles and determine precisely even the slightest damage of the myocardium. We can judge the condition of the capillary circulation in it, provide ultrasound diagnosis in the centers of the disease and make electrocardiograms and decode them through usual means.

The achievements of Soviet heart surgeons have been acknowledged the world over. For example, their contribution to the treatment of heart diseases and aneurysms and nephritic hypertonias has largely determined the progress achieved in the struggle against cardiovascular diseases. The healing scalpel has already penetrated all parts of the cardiovascular system without exception. Surgeons introduce artificial valves, daringly interfere in treating congenital heart diseases, make bypasses of the aorta and operate on coronary vessels, thus preserving the life and professional and social activeness of many patients.

Domestic cardiology has achieved great successes. Soviet specialists have developed a number of firsts in theoretical works and in the treatment and prevention of cardiovascular diseases. A number of original scientific schools and trends have developed, which have highly raised the level of cardiological research. In recent years cooperation among specialists in various fields such as biologists, biochemists, physicists, chemists and mathematicians and scientists in the fields of theoretical and clinical cardiology has been developing and becoming increasingly close in recent years. New chapters were written in the science of the heart and blood circulation, such as molecular and cellular cardiology. Thanks to them it has become possible to identify the mechanism of transmission of energy within the heart, which determines the contractibility of the myocardium and to single out a purified ferment which regulates the exchange of calcium which controls the work of the heart itself.

Today two essentially new ways have become clearly identifiable in the areas of prevention and treatment of cardiovascular diseases. The first is related to the creation of special ferments which make it possible to develop over a long period of time a high concentration of substances in specific areas of the cardiovascular system. The second involves the synthesis of a number of physiologically active substances which are needed in restorative and other processes without side effects.

The progress made by cardiology and the striking changes in its opportunities may be seen in the study of atherosclerosis. In the past the scientists related its appearance to a simple increase in the amount of cholesterol in the blood. According to this concept, people who avoided fats were safe from atherosclerosis. However, as clinical workers we frequently noted the opposite: atherosclerotic damages were found among people who had scrupulously avoided fats. Naturally, one cannot deny the influence of nutritional features. Nevertheless, this should be recognized as merely one of the factors (and not even the most important one) in the development of this infirmity. For example, studies indicated that in Siberia both native residents and new arrivals used approximately identical amounts of fats but atherosclerosis appeared in the latter more frequently. Therefore, it was necessary to take into consideration the genetic influence of the metabolic features of each specific organism. Today our attitude toward the very violation of the regimen of fat exchange has changed. It does not lead to the development of atherosclerosis in all cases or circumstances.

Today we are confident that atherosclerosis is not merely the result of a disturbance in the exchange of fat. It has become known that a number of systems within the organism are responsible for its appearance and development. We now know that cholesterol deposits on the vascular walls are preceded by complex exchanges in the condition of the wall itself. Intensive studies are under way in the field of atherosclerotic immunology and the role of the nerve and hormonal factors is being studied.

The cardiologists have achieved a great deal in the struggle against cardio-vascular diseases. However, a great deal remains to be done. We can not be satisfied with the existing pace of research, not to mention the results. We

must intensify our offensive against this disease. Here again theoretical cardiology must have the initial say: no further progress in practical cardiology would be conceivable without its developments.

Here are merely a few of the problems we face: the direct mechanism for the appearance and development of atherosclerosis is not entirely clear. More intensified studies of the metabolic processes in the heart muscle are necessary. The question of the compensation and adaptation of the cardiovascular system remains topical. The way the heart and the vessels adapt to changing external conditions and the compensatory mechanisms which begin to operate with the development of the disease remain unclear. To learn this means to find a way to the purposeful energizing of vitally important processes and thus to engage in efficient prevention and treatment of cardiovascular diseases.

Today considerable attention is being paid to the elaboration of methods for the treatment of coronary insufficiency and hypertonia. We already have a rather extensive choice of medicines. However, whereas in the case of hypertonia this choice of medicines can be largely explained in terms of the existence of a number of reasons for higher arterial pressure and, therefore, the means by which they can influence the pressure, in cases of coronary insufficiency the number of preparations is determined rather by the fact that the scientists have no clear idea of the mechanisms governing its development and the shortage of highly efficient medicines.

As to infarct of the myocardium, two major problems must be resolved: first, the treatment of cardial shock and, secondly, the prevention of disturbances in the heart rhythm.

Cardiovascular diseases are a combination of "fortresses" which can not be seized without the help of the entire existing potential of contemporary science and technology. That is why the material base of cardiology is expanding steadily. However, it is still not able fully to meet existing requirements. We are short of highly sensitive equipment for radiological research and electronic-optical transformers without which we cannot engage in comprehensive X-ray studies of the heart and the vessels. Our industry is producing an insufficient number of catheters for the heart and the vessels. We are short of some radioactive marked isotopes and vascular prostheses made of materials with thromboresistant properties. We must increase the availability of microcomputers and software.

Today we cannot conceive of a cardiological ward without the latest electronic and other equipment any more than a modern production process without automation. However, we are unsatisfied with the state of its availability in hospitals and polyclinics. For example, we have faced for some time the problem of developing a broad network of telemetric diagnostic centers with transmission and centralized decoding of electrocardiograms (EKG) within the areas of a rayon, city or oblast, and of experienced organizations which, incidentally, should enjoy priority in domestic health care. Equipment prototypes exist. Nevertheless, the development of such centers is taking place extremely slowly. We could substantially improve and raise on a

qualitatively new level the organization of cardiological and medical work in functional-diagnostic offices should such centers set up the automatic processing of EKG with the help of computers.

Let us note in this connection that active efforts are being made in the country to develop a variety of automated systems related to the tasks and requirements of clinical cardiology. They are being successfully implemented in cooperation with the various ministries and departments of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences VKNTs, the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Institute of Cardiovascular Surgery imeni A. N. Bakulev, and the Kaunas, Saratov and other medical and cardiological institutes.

We deem it proper at this point to express a wish addressed to the chemical and medical industries. They are showing a great deal of inertia in the area of new developments. Frequently, in order to organize the production of a new type of instrument, drug or chemical agent with the necessary medical properties years and years go by. Yet it is a question of a most important feature—the health of the Soviet people.

Speaking of the development of the cardiological service and assessing the results of scientific research in cardiology from the social viewpoint let us emphasize that essentially it is precisely scientific developments which were the basis for the organization of the country's cardiological service.

During the past 5 years cardiological scientists have submitted to the practical health care system more than 800 suggestions and about 200 method recommendations.

Let us briefly mention work in the field of primary and secondary prevention of cardiovascular diseases. Their main result is that by now a scientific-method base has been essentially developed and a scientific methodology for the prevention of other diseases has been formulated. This experience was instructive in the prevention of other noncontaminable diseases.

Observations have indicated that cardiovascular diseases originate in childhood. Therefore, development of mass preventive measures should begin on the level of the pediatricians and physicians dealing with adolescent health services and their assistance. This should also take place in schools, technical schools and VUZs with the direct involvement of educators and students.

Primary prevention is an extremely complex matter. It requires the development of new forms of mass examination and treatment. The prophylactic wards which must combine preventive measures of basic chronic diseases must become their organizational foundation. Therefore, the prime task today is the creation of centers on the basis of such wards which would make it possible after a 2-3-hour examination to acquire a complete idea of the state of health of the patient. The development of proper equipment for such centers must be accelerated.

The system of medical-sanitary units and prevention sanitoria could be of tremendous help in the struggle against cardiovascular diseases.

Finally, we must emphasize the fact that primary prevention presumes the extensive propaganda of a healthy way of life. Improving this propaganda is one of the important tasks of the health care service.

Thanks to the steady and progressive development of the country's economy, the people's culture and the growth of their material well-being, and the improved working, living and recreation conditions of the Soviet people, radical positive changes in the area of public health have taken place in the USSR within a short period of time. Therefore, the further comprehensive elaboration and implementation of the scientific concept of the socialist way of life must take the Soviet health care system to a higher level. New successes will be achieved on the basis of a comprehensive governmental approach to the solution of problems related to the struggle against cardiovascular diseases and their prevention. This is helped by directives passed by the party and the government in recent years on further improvements in the people's health care and, particularly, the faster development of basic medical directions and steady development of physical culture and sports, improvements in sanitorium-resort treatment and recreation of the working people and the development of a network of trade union health recovery institutions.

Purposeful Science and Therapy Research, by G. Sidorenko, Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member

The republic cardiological scientific research institutes play an important role. Each one of them is structuring its work on the basis of union-wide programs and its own historically developed topics.

The collective of the Belorussian Scientific Research Institute of Cardiology is working in three separate directions.

The first is basic research and development. Its quality determines the level of all other work and, as a rule, is interdisciplinary. Thus, our scientific research institute is particularly interested in energy exchange in pathological cardiovascular cases. The assessment of the energy impulses may be used as an integral, a summed-up indicator of the condition of the body. It is on this basis that we are studying the activities of the cardiovascular system under extreme circumstances and critical situations such as cardial shock. Another example is the use in cardiology of the theory of information which enables us to penetrate more profoundly into the secrets of arterial hypertonia.

The second direction is that of applied research. This is closely related to work in the area of medical technology. It has already become a tradition while demonstrating the achievements of contemporary cardiology, to display electrocardiographs, monitors, defibrillators and other complex instruments surrounding the hospital bed. Most of this equipment is used in the study of the immobilized patient. The main emphasis in our work is on the study of

the heart and its possibilities under the conditions of work and normal living activities, which is a period when it is easier to detect even the earliest symptoms of an approaching disease and to study the reserve possibilities of the organism. This requires miniaturized instruments for various purposes which control the condition of the heart and other organs, and motor activities without hindering man. To this effect our institute has developed microergometers, microcardiomonitors and other instruments which have already been submitted to industry for manufacturing. Unfortunately, the pace at which technical innovations are being developed in industry is extremely slow.

Let us assume that a physician tells a person that his way of life includes a number of risk factors leading to the appearance of cardiovascular diseases without indicating the means to avoid them. What would the result of this be? Nothing good. The psychological condition of the patient would worsen. Let us take the example of hypodynamia (a reduction of motor activity). Today everyone is familiar with it as an adverse factor and it can not be said that no efforts are being made in the struggle against it. A great deal is being done in our country to develop physical culture and sports. Morning calisthenics are being regularly broadcast on the radio and television. At the same time, we have a large number of people over 40, who include people who are showing the initial symptoms of cardiovascular diseases, who have been out of training for a while and who are unable to master the pace and range of the recommended exercises. Jogging and other types of physical culture, which have become quite popular, are not always favorable. That is why our institute decided to develop home exercise facilities which will enable every person to determine the size of his physical effort and the maximum norms which, in turn, must be defined by a physician. A number of such training facilities have already been produced by industry such as, for example, a bicycle ergometer. It is true that they are hard to find, as they are produced in miserable quantities.

The third direction followed in our research deals with the social aspect of the problem of the appearance of cardiovascular diseases.

In studying the parameters of the sick heart or fluctuations in arterial pressure, we must take into consideration that we are engaged not in an abstract study but in the study of the heart of a specific working person. The cardiologist faces not an anonymous sick body but an individual whose ability to work has been disturbed at that point. Therefore, while developing methods for treatment with drugs or other means, it is insufficient merely to try to reach predetermined physiological standards. We must also stipulate conditions under which the maximal labor capacity will be reached, for labor activeness is a natural condition of human life. Therefore, the cardiologists must take into consideration the emotional and moral factors related to the level of human activeness. Losses caused by cardiovascular diseases are significant. A lowering of the temporary disability of the population, caused by hypertonia alone for a single day would save millions of rubles in state funds. Therefore, those who consider medicine merely as

just one, although necessary, expenditure item are wrong. Ensuring a high health potential of the main productive force in society—the working man-yields tremendous economic benefits.

Today in Theory and Tomorrow in Practice, by V. Smirnov, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member and USSR Academy of Medical Sciences corresponding member

One of the most topical tasks in modern cardiology is a struggle against thrombosis, i.e., the coagulation of the blood in the circulatory system, accompanied by the formation of a blood clot. The clot, which appears in the area of the damaged vascular wall blocks the vessel and becomes a hindrance to the flow of the blood toward the organs which need oxygen and nutritive substances for their functioning, which leads to the development of irreversible changes.

Thrombosis is one of the most frequent reasons for such frequent and lethally dangerous diseases as infarct of the myocardium, embolism of the pulmonary artery, and necrosis of the pancreas.

In our view, the treatment of thrombosis with specialized ferments which can dissolve the fibrin-protein which is the basis of the clot is very promising. However, the existence of fibrinolytic ferments rapidly break down when introduced into the bloodstream before they have been able to dissolve the clot fully. A thrombolytic preparation had to be developed resistant to destruction. The scientific personnel at the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences VKNTs suggested a method of immobilization which consists of keeping the ferment within an organic carrier. Experiments proved that once the preparation has been inserted, its lengthy and stable concentration is ensured either within the bloodstream or in a specific area of the vascular system. The overall dose of the ferment can be reduced, its activeness can be increased and many undesirable side effects can be lowered.

Currently the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences VKNTs Institute of Experimental Cardiology has developed a number of water-soluble immobilized ferments such as streptokinase, fibrinolysin, trypsin, and urokinase. A number of ferments which possess not only the ability to destroy the clot but to maintain a high-level anticoagulation activeness in the blood have been obtained as well.

On the basis of experimental research we developed a preparation with the highest fibrinolytic activeness today--immobilized streptokinase-strepto-dekase. This preparation successfully passed clinical tests and proved its advantages compared with other drugs used by cardiologists. The industrial production of the drug has been organized and it is now being applied in specialized medical institutions.

Since the formation of a clot is largely related to injuries to individual areas of the walls of the vessel, the proper medication must be introduced into that area and a surplus of substances which can break down the undesirable clot ensured. However, how is this to be accomplished? How to identify

the injured area and how to deliver the medicine directly to that area? As you may see, these problems were quite complex. However, today they have already been essentially resolved. The place where the clot forms is determined with the help of specific proteins (antibodies) which react to the damaged areas of the vascular wall. So-called liposomes--artificially developed bodies surrounded by a membrane within which the medicine is contained, are used as "containers" to deliver the medicine to the necessary area. The question of linking the liposome with the proteins which can find the injured sectors in the vascular wall has been resolved as well.

So far, all of this is being done experimentally, with models. However, the promising nature of this method has already become apparent. Many problems related to the use of this method under the conditions of the organism remain to be resolved before it can be practically applied. It is important to note that this method could be applied in the treatment of other diseases as well.

The main function of the cardial muscle is the constant alternation of systolic and diastolic cycles. In cardial insufficiency the rhythm is disturbed, which leads to insufficient blood supplies to the organs such as the brain, the lungs, the kidneys and the liver. Clinical observations and experimental data confirm that one of the most common reasons for the appearance of cardial insufficiency is the disturbance of the generation and transmission of energy within the heart itself. Whereas the chemical foundations of the process of energy formation in the cardial muscle have been studied quite well, until recently we were quite unfamiliar with the process of energy transportation, as a result of which many of the therapeutic methods aimed at correcting the energy supply of the myocardium were ineffective.

Complex studies enabled us to determine the way energy was being transmitted and the mechanism of its utilization within the cells of the cardial muscle.

In our view, the new concepts on the chemical foundations of the transmission of energy in the cardial cells could become the starting point for the development of more reliable methods for the treatment of myocardial diseases.

In order to perform its pumping function, the cardial muscle must both contract and decontract. The decontraction is also an active process which is made possible by special structural muscular tissue which represents a system of bubbles separated by membranes. These structures can actively accumulate calcium ions and thus take part in controlling the systolic-diastolic cycle of the myofibrils which are filaments consisting of a contracting substance and which run along the entire length of the smooth and cross-muscular heart filaments. Extensive studies of the chemical and physical characteristics of the "calcium pump" which regulates the systolic and diastolic process of the cardial muscle have taught us (so far experimentally) how to influence it. Today, on the basis of such data methods are being developed to eliminate disturbances in the contracting cardial function.

The study of cardial arrhythmias and the development of antiarrhythmia preparations are vital theoretical and applied problems. Disturbances in the

rhythm of cardial activities trigger severe complications which may even lead to an infarct of the myocardium. In studying the effect of medical drugs on the electrophysiological properties of the myocardium we develop therapeutic results and formulate corresponding recommendations for medical practice. As a result of the joint efforts of the electrophysiological laboratory of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences VKNTs Institute of Experimental Cardiology and the laboratory for pharmacology of cardiovascular systems of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Institute of Pharmacology clinical tests are being made of two new antiarrhythmical preparations which are considered highly effective and long-lasting.

Every cardiologist faces the problem of detecting early changes in the cardial muscle. Alas, the common shortcoming in the existing functional tests to this effect is that they allow us to detect the changes in the myocardium only after they have become clearly manifested and can no longer be therapeutically treated. However, it would be important to detect concealed symptoms of the disease while they are still reversible and, therefore, correctable. The data which are being acquired in the course of contemporary research enable us to hope that in the immediate future the physicians will be able to diagnose cardial insufficiency at the earliest possible stage of its outbreak. For example, our institute has established that concentrations of prostaglandins at the point where the blood leaves the heart may be used to this effect. Prostaglandins are a group of short-lived compounds with a broad spectrum of biological action. At very low concentrations they clearly affect a number of tissues and organs. It turns out that by measuring the concentration of prostaglandins in the blood it is possible to predict the ability of the cardial muscle to withstand a physical stress. It was determined that in animals whose hearts were able to cope with overloads the prostaglandin content had increased by a factor of 10 or 20 in the tissues. Meanwhile, in animals with acute cardial insufficiency, which appeared as a result of overstress, the level of prostaglandin content was the same as that of the initial indicators. Therefore, by measuring the level of prostaglandin concentration in patients suspected of having cardial insufficiency, it is possible to obtain prompt information and to undertake treatment on time at early development stages.

The use of the methods of cellular and molecular biology in cardiology yields results which contribute to the increasingly fuller understanding of the nature of cardiovascular diseases and, consequently, to the creation of efficient methods for prevention and treatment.

The Healing Scalpel, by V. Burakovskiy, member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences

It is occasionally said that surgeons are more skillful than other physicians. Naturally, such is not the case. However, it so happens that where the therapeuticians seek the reasons for the disease and methods for its treatment, the surgeons daringly plunge into it, restoring to life previously hopeless cases.

Cardiovascular surgery is a separate discipline in cardiology. There are many diseases the treatment of which is possible only with a scalpel or in combination with it.

The development of cardial and vascular surgery depends above all on the level of knowledge of physiology and pathology of the organism, the latest achievements in anesthesiology and reanimation, ensuring artificial blood circulation, and improving diagnostic methods, particularly cardial sounding and angiography.

Allow me to discuss these matters in greater detail. Sounding represents the introduction of a special instrument (a sound) under X-ray control through one of the peripheral veins or arteries into the area of the heart and the main vessels. This enables us to introduce contrast substances in the corresponding sector and obtain a clear image. Sounding also enables us to determine with greater accuracy all disturbances within the intracardial circulation. Currently, more than three-quarters of the patients subjected to cardiovascular operations are subjected to such studies in order to refine the diagnosis, determine specific anatomical changes and study disturbances in intracardial circulation.

Angiography means the introduction of a special sound in the opening of the coronary arteries. It enables us to determine the injury to the vessel and see the area in which it has narrowed.

Heart surgery has made it possible to treat a number of previously lethal diseases. Thus, quite recently, a new department of cardial surgery—artificial valves—has been developed. The cardial valves are most frequently damaged by rheumatism. They may also be injured as a result of endocarditis (inflammation of the internal lining of the heart and the valvular apparatus), which leads to a cardial malfunction as a whole.

Surgery is the only method in the treatment of valvular diseases. The results of its application are becoming increasingly effective. Thus, whereas patients suffering from a diseased aortal valve are not operated on, only 5 percent of them remain alive 6 years later. Surgery increases the figure to 75 percent.

For many years Soviet specialists have been interested in the surgical treatment of ischemic cardial diseases. In studying the reasons for the development of an infarct of the myocardium it was found out that the coronary arteries of all patients had narrowed and were affected by atherosclerosis. The idea developed of replacing these sections and thus preventing a tragic outcome. This led to the development of the operative preventive intervention in the development of an adverse process. The operation is as follows: The surgeon takes the large vein from the thigh or the shin and sews up one of its ends to the aorta and the other to the coronary artery below the damaged section, thus creating a new coronary artery to replace the one damaged by atherosclerosis. The development of angiography was a prerequisite for the use of this method.

Another very important problem exists. Every year approximately 100,000 children are born with congenital heart diseases which develop in the womb. We must point out that basically cardial surgery performed on babies is little different from that performed on adults. However, it has its characteristics. On the one hand, the heart and the vessels of the infant are very small. On the other, their tissues contain considerably more fluids. Furthermore, the volume of blood which circulates in the organism of the infant, depending on his age, ranges from 300 to 800 milliliters, for which reason even a minor hemorrhage is very dangerous. A special system for anesthesiology, applied not only during the surgery but in the postoperative period, has been developed in operating on the heart of an infant. A correction of the heat control and permanent internal environment, which is still quite imperfect in the newly born, has been suggested. In order to study the clinical and diagnostic picture of heart diseases in small children new surgical methods have been developed for their treatment and application, for which the scientists from our institute were awarded the USSR State Prize.

Successes in cardiovascular surgery have considerably influenced the progress of general theoretical disciplines of major practical importance, for no pathophysiologist or clinical specialist not engaged in surgery can have the type of model for study unwittingly performed by a heart patient who has been subjected to reconstructive surgery. For example, one cannot reproduce experimentally a condition of acute cardial insufficiency in a changed myo-cardium and develop the necessary treatment methods or study the pharmacodynamics of medicinal substances. One cannot determine the influence of controlled hypoxia (insufficient oxygen in the blood) on the myocardium. This becomes possible and accessible only in cardiosurgical centers.

Experience acquired in heart surgery has made it possible to grade acute cardial insufficiency and to detect many reasons for its appearance and to develop means for its differentiated diagnosis. It is precisely in heart surgery that lengthy pulmonary ventilation was applied for the first time and its positive role in the treatment of cardial insufficiencies was confirmed.

Cardiovascular surgery deserves credit also for the application of the counterpulse method. This is a very effective means for the treatment of cardial shock. Essentially, it means the creation of an auxiliary artificial blood circulation through the introduction of a special balloon in the aorta. Today this method is being used also in the treatment of acute cardial insufficiency.

New ways and means of treatment have been developed in the study of cardial insufficiency during the postoperative period, in which mathematical modeling with the use of third-generation computers plays an important role. This allows us to obtain constant information on most complex pathophysiological processes in the body.

We are currently making an active study of the influence of higher barometric pressure on the human body. Substantial experience has been acquired in the area of heart surgery involving the use of hyperbaric oxygenation.

Heart surgery is paying great attention to the study of the diagnosis of cardiovascular diseases, the pathophysiology of the preoperational, operational and postoperational periods, and the development of efficient measures for the prevention and treatment of complications.

Prevention--General Line in Soviet Health Care, by M. Akhmeteli, doctor of medical sciences

The implementation of a broad set of socioeconomic measures aimed at improving the working and living conditions of the population, the protection and improvement of the environment and hygiene education are the main basis for the prevention of illness in the USSR. That is why, under such essentially optimal conditions of human existence, it is extremely important to determine the reasons and mechanisms affecting all types of "epidemics" of cardiovascular diseases which have afflicted all continents on earth. The solution of this problem, along with other most important scientific directions, is one of the main lines of work of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences VKNTs. Epidemiological research of cardiovascular pathology is based on cooperative efforts in our country, involving the participation of many scientific and practical medical institutions located in different territorial areas but using identical standard methods, approaches and evaluation criteria.

The most important result of these efforts is to determine the factors which lead to the development of cardiovascular diseases. The number of such factors turned out to be several dozen.

The results of specific epidemiological studies carried out in several territories and covering groups of people particularly exposed to such diseases have been quite important in terms of practical actions and results.

For example, we are currently completing a long-term epidemiological program for the study of disturbances of lipoid exchanges and the incidence of ischemic heart diseases. It has been established that physical work or increased motor activity perform a protective function which equalizes the influence of many risk factors.

Research proved that mortality caused by ischemic heart diseases with the existence of a single risk factor such as smoking is higher by a factor of 3.5 compared with a group of nonsmokers, and practically the same in comparison with groups of people suffering from disturbances in the lipoid exchange or arterial hypertonia. As to population groups in which disturbances in the lipoid exchange is combined with arterial hypertonia, their mortality rate caused by ischemic heart disease turned out to be higher by a factor of 8 compared with groups in which such factors were absent.

The link between risk factors and ischemic heart disease is quite complex and requires comprehensive studies. This precisely is the work of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences VKNTs Institute of Preventive Cardiology, which is the first of its kind in the world. The epidemiological studies conducted here provide a base for the development of a scientific methodology for primary and secondary prevention of main cardiovascular diseases.

Currently a program, one of whose main purposes is to reduce the frequency of infarct of the myocardium and disturbances in the blood circulation in the brain through the active detection of arterial hypertonia and its systematic intensive treatment with the use of all available medical facilities of the industrial enterprises and territorial polyclinics, is being successfully implemented in 22 different centers in the Soviet Union.

The complexity of the implementation of this program is confirmed by the fact that in primary observations more than one-third of the people were unaware of the fact that they had a higher arterial pressure, while few of those who were aware of the fact were being systematically treated, for they were not particularly worried by their higher arterial pressure. Hence neglect for their health and a tendency to terminate the treatment the moment the symptoms disappeared.

The difficulty of the implementation of such programs is due also to the fact that "it is precisely in the course of human activities and way of life, living conditions, the ecology and human physiology lie the foundations directly related to atherosclerosis, hypertonia, cancer, etc." This statement by the outstanding Soviet medical scientist I. V. Davydovskiy is the concentrated concept of preventive medicine: the study of the sum total of conditions and factors which contribute to the development of one pathological change or another and to study it not in hospitals and clinics, where the person who comes for an examination is already ill, but in the course of normal life, and at work. Therefore, we must not only single out each of the adverse factors but assess its quantitative contribution to the complex process of the formation and development of the disease and the definition of the role of the various combinations of factors.

No less important is the identification of disease-preventing factors.

Twenty-nine percent of men aged between 40 and 59, who suffered from arterial hypertonia, were unaware of the fact. The systematic treatment which was initiated led to a stable lowering of arterial pressure in approximately 60 percent of the patients.

Physicians in Gor'kiy gained interesting experience. Here, at the automobile manufacturing plant, as a result of the use of new forms of observation and preventive treatment of individuals with higher arterial pressure, illness involving temporary disability declined over a 5-year period from 61.5 to 30.9 days per 100 workers. Similar measures carried out in a number of rayons in Moscow, Alma-Ata, Donetsk, Cheboksary and Sverdlovsk, which included a set of active preventive actions, made it possible to increase the number of efficiently treated people suffering from arterial hypertonia by a factor of 8-10.

A distinguishing feature of the program of multiple-factor prevention of ischemic heart disease is the active and differentiated effect on the entire examined group of the population, taking social factors into consideration, using essentially nonmedical means but features aimed at upgrading individual

hygiene standards and eliminating the harmful habits of the patients. In a number of cases psychologists participated in these efforts.

The preventive measures against risk factors of ischemic heart disease in the primary and secondary prevention groups, which were carried out over a 2-year period, indicated the real possibility of the efficient elimination of factors such as arterial hypertonia, smoking, and hypercholesterinemia. The studies also proved the possibility of successful treatment of arterial hypertonia among the unorganized population serviced by the city polyclinic. Prophylactic measures presume systematic educational work among the population, which must involve not only medical personnel but public organizations and mass information organs.

The prevention of cardiovascular diseases is an important and difficult task. It must be comprehensive and such as to eliminate not only the adverse environmental agents but to develop new and useful factors and to organize a healthy way of life for all members of society.

## Ye. Chazov:

The positive changes in the development of health care in our country were noted at the 26th party congress. However, it was also pointed out that the quality of medical services must be improved substantially. "Everything possible must be done," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "for the Soviet person to obtain prompt, skilled and responsive medical aid always and everywhere."

We, the cardiologists, accept this as being personally addressed to us. We are fully aware of our responsible contribution to the implementation of the socioeconomic program adopted at the congress.

By developing a specialized service for the struggle against heart diseases, we try to make it part of the already existing and successfully proven health care system in the USSR. Its main link is the institution of sectorial therapeuticians who maintain the closest and most constant contacts with the population, and who are aware of the characteristics of the way of life, family traditions and type of work of their patients. The alliance between sectorial physicians and cardiologists will make it possible to establish more rapidly a more efficient approach to every patient and to identify more efficiently diseases at their early stages and ensure the dynamic observation of anyone requiring it. The polyclinical level bears the main responsibility for the prevention of diseases. The creation of a cardiological service will make it possible to approach the solution of the problem of fighting cardiovascular diseases on a purposeful and comprehensive basis.

The most important social task facing our country is concern with the health of the people. Soviet practical health care, allied with the science of medicine, has all the necessary opportunities for its implementation.

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## FUTURE BELONGS TO SOCIALISM

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[Article by William Kashtan, Communist Party of Canada secretary general]

[Text] The year 1982 is doubly meaningful to the Communist Party of Canada---it is the year of its 25th congress and the 60th anniversary of its founding.

The Constituent Congress, which proclaimed the creation of the Canadian Labor Party, which laid the solid foundations for a party of the working class, a socialist party in our country, took place in Toronto 60 years ago.

The founding of the party was a historical event in Canadian political and social life. It gave a new dimension, a new quality to the actions of the working class. During the past 6 decades our party has systematically reflected and defended the interests of the working class and all working people in the country in the course of its activities. The communist party remained loyal to its class, to the true national interests of the country and to internationalism. It always tried properly to combine patriotism with internationalism and to defend the principles of worker solidarity.

We are proud of the fact that during the past 60 years the communist party carried high the banner of scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism and tried to combine Marxism-Leninism with the broad labor movement.

Our party has always firmly called for recognizing the historical role of real socialism in the Soviet Union and its significance in the cause of social progress, socialism and peace the world over. The very existence of the Soviet Union strengthens the communist movement. It is the main bulwark of universal peace and creates the necessary conditions which favorably influence the struggle in the interests of the working people in the capitalist world and for the cause of socialism.

During those 60 years our party covered a long and difficult path. Born under clandestine conditions, it was to experience two more periods of clandestine activities. It constantly faced the barrier of anticommunism. However, this has never held us back.

Our party was born as a party of action, a party of struggle, a party of the working class and of socialism. From its very appearance it has participated in all of the most important mass movements of the working people, frequently initiating them.

It was precisely our party which organized and headed the struggle of the working class and the working people against the catastrophic consequences of the 1929 depression. It was precisely our party which played a most important role in involving the unorganized workers in the trade unions through the Worker Unity League, in the creation of industrial trade unions, in strengthening and uniting the trade union movement and in converting it into the powerful force which it is today.

Our party is justifiably proud of its internationalism. It made a tremendous contribution to the struggle against fascism and for democracy. It was precisely our party which rallied the Canadians in defense of democracy in Spain, in the battles for which more than 600 of our compatriots lost their lives. In Canada itself it was precisely our party which warned against the danger of fascism and played a role in its defeat. In the post-war period, when American imperialism was threatening the world with nuclear catastrophe in its aspiration to establish global domination, our party mounted a broad struggle in Canada for peaceful coexistence and the prevention of a global nuclear war, linking it with the struggle for the country's independence and the elimination of United States domination over the Canadian economy.

Once again, it was precisely our party which pioneered the formulation of democratic demands regarding the right of French Canada to self-determination and equality, combining this demand with systematic efforts aimed at unifying the working class of English- and French-speaking Canada against their common enemy--monopoly capital.

It was precisely our party, for defending the vital interests of the working people, which headed in the post-war period the struggle against the omnipotence of the monopolies and the multinational corporations, thus creating conditions for the organization of a powerful democratic, antimonopoly and anti-imperialist coalition as a means to building socialism in our country, as earmarked in the party program, "The Way to Socialism in Canada."

Thanks to all of these efforts, the party helped to strengthen the worker, trade union and farmer movements and the movement of all working people aimed against the monopolies. It persistently worked to strengthen the unity of the working class and all democratic forces. In all of its work the party saw to it that the workers become aware of themselves as a class and as a motive force for radical change in Canada.

The past 60 years proved that the Canadian labor movement, which is aspiring toward a socialist reorganization of society, absolutely needs a Marxist-Leninist party. The Communist Party of Canada supports the struggle for the basic principle of Marxism-Leninism--the seizure of political power by the

working class and its allies and the replacement of the capitalist state with a new state which will represent the rule of the working class and its democratic allies.

We are proud of our past and are confident of the future. However, we cannot live in the past only. The communists must seek daily recognition by defending the vital interests of the working class and the working people, independence and peace.

Such is the task which faces us in the 1980s.

Tremendous changes have taken place in the world over the past 60 years.

We draw inspiration from the fact that socialism is today a world system which, thanks to its growing force and active role, is influencing the course of events on a global scale. Despite temporary difficulties, it is continuing to advance whereas capitalism is sinking into an increasingly deeper crisis.

In less than 60 years real socialism gave the people a guarantee of work and confidence in the future. It put an end to poverty and achieved the true equality among nations. These are not paper guarantees but living realities. What has capitalism achieved within that time? The right to work? To education? To housing? To equality among nations?

We are also inspired by the growing movements for national and social liberation which are extending to all continents, and the steadily growing force of the working class in the citadels of imperialism and the tireless broadening struggle against monopolies and multinational corporations.

We are inspired by the increased activities of the people for peace and their struggle for democracy on all continents.

Put together, these processes reflect changes in the ratio of forces in the world in favor of peace, democracy, independence and socialism.

The main problem today is that of the growing threat of war.

War or peace is the way the problem is formulated today. The very existence of civilization depends on its solution.

A drastic hardening in U.S. policy has taken place under Reagan. The reactionary circles of American imperialism are ready to bring the world to the brink of the precipice and to push it into it for the sake of their hegenomic class objectives. The new military strategy which they have adopted is essentially a program for material preparations for an aggressive war. Unable to stop the process of changes occurring throughout the world, these circles intend to use the armed forces and the threat of nuclear war to hinder this process. This is the reason for the decision to produce the neutron bomb and to place Pershing-2 medium-range missiles and cruise missiles in Western Europe.

The primary objective of American imperialism is to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries on the basis of a strategy of confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union on a global and regional scale. The policy of conspiracy and cooperation between the United States and the Chinese hegemonists aims at creating an additional military threat to the Soviet Union and all socialist forces. It complicates the international situation and increases the danger facing the world today.

In its global strategy American imperialism calls for the use of military power against other countries. It is threatening Nicaragua, Cuba and Granada with the use of such force and economic blockade. It is engaged in an armed intervention in El Salvador for the sake of helping the fascist military junta to remain in power. It is supporting the racist South African regime, the annexation of the Golan Heights by Israel and fascist regimes such as that of Chile. Now, by encouraging British imperialism and giving it military aid in its armed conflict with Argentina, it is contributing to the creation of a new dangerous hotbed of tension in the South Atlantic.

U.S. imperialism is hoping to change the course of history and achieve global domination through military superiority. Since 1917 imperialism has been unsuccessfully trying to stop the global revolutionary process. Its efforts, however, have remained futile.

Under the pretext of fighting international terrorism, the reactionary forces of American imperialism are trying to suppress the national liberation movement.

At the same time, the dangerous turn which the Reagan administration has taken through its policy of aggravating the confrontation and increasing the arms race has intensified interimperialist contradictions and alarmed the allies of U.S. imperialism in Europe, who are questioning and rejecting American leadership with increasing frequency.

The adventuristic course charted by the Reagan administration has led to an unprecedented upsurge in the struggle for peace in Western Europe and in the United States itself. This movement has become so powerful that it is already frightening the governments of the Western world and, in many cases, forcing them to separate themselves from the dangerous foreign policy line followed by the Reagan administration.

It has also stimulated feelings and actions in favor of the defense of peace in Canada.

The peoples of Europe realize that American imperialism, which acts as their "protector," is prepared to wage a "limited" nuclear war which it hopes to win and deflect the strike against it at the cost of their own lives. Like the Europeans, the Canadians are also beginning to fear that the new military strategy of the United States, based on achieving superiority over the Soviet Union and dealing a first nuclear strike, would be catastrophic to themselves as well.

This danger is entirely realistic. A nuclear war would bring about the destruction of Canada and its population. The preservation of Canada and the Canadian people depends on the prevention of a nuclear war and on defeating the reactionary imperialist circles which refuse to accept the reality that there is no acceptable alternative to peace and peaceful coexistence and that the nuclear war could turn the earth into a lifeless planet. The preservation of Canada depends on American-Soviet cooperation based on peaceful coexistence, equality and equal security, rather than on a conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The admission of the danger of a nuclear war has given impetus to the demand that the voice of Canada be added to the voices of the peace-loving forces on the planet who are saying "no" to nuclear weapons, calling for Canada to become a nuclear-free zone and for the Canadian government to pressure the U.S. administration on reaching an agreement on limiting and restricting strategic armaments on the basis of universal equality and security.

This acknowledgement has also broadened the foundation for an antiwar coalition in Canada. This was expressed in the more active participation of trade unions, churches, scientists and intellectuals in the struggle for peace and the increased youth movement, as exemplified by the creation of "Youth for Peace" committees. It is also expressed in the growing support of the petition under the slogan "Peace Is Everyone's Concern," which was initiated by the Canadian Congress for the Defense of Peace, and a similar petition raised by the Quebec Peace Council, actively supported by left-wing forces in the Quebec Party and Quebec Trade Union Movement.

The growing concern caused by the real threat of nuclear war has triggered the appearance of a great variety of peace movements in various parts of the country.

All of this confirms the existence of conditions for broadening the peace movement and for enfolding the majority of the Canadian people in it. As has been repeatedly emphasized, today popular actions are having an increasingly decisive importance in the struggle against the threat of nuclear war.

To an increasing extent the struggle for peace is being focused on the requirement of Canadizing the country's foreign policy, i.e., for an independent Canadian foreign policy free from U.S. intervention. This has been reflected in some of the actions of the Trudeau government. However, at the same time, the government is hesitating and yielding to the pressure of American imperialism and its supporters in Canada, which inevitably weakens Canada's voice in the defense of peace.

U.S. imperialism is doing everything possible to restrain and divide the forces of peace. Its suggestion concerning the "zero solution" is aimed not at peace but at the unilateral disarmament of the Soviet Union and its allies. It calls for leaving intact the entire nuclear arsenal of the United States and the other NATO members in Europe. At the same time, the United

States is looking for ways to break down the talks in Geneva and to create a pretext for the deployment of strategic medium-range missiles in western Europe.

Had the U.S. government been truly concerned with securing the peace, it would have deleted the decision to produce the neutron bomb. However, it failed to do so. Had the U.S. government favored peace, it would have ratified the SALT II treaty. However, it failed to do so. Had the U.S. government been truly concerned with the threat to peace, it would have rejected its statement on the admissibility of a "limited" nuclear war. However, it failed to do so. Had the U.S. government been truly concerned with problems of the preservation of the peace, it would have made a solemn promise, as the Soviet Union did, not to be the first to apply nuclear weapons. However, it failed to do so.

All of this indicates that the U.S. administration is not in favor of peace. It is trying to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union, which is part of its strategy for achieving world domination.

Considering the present difficult international situation, there is no problem more important or vital than that of preventing a nuclear war, terminating the arms race and asserting the principles of peaceful coexistence. Here again the communist movement is called upon to play a particularly important mobilizing and organizing role. The communists are not only defending the vital interests of the working people in the struggle against monopolies and multinational corporations. They must be in the front ranks of the movement for the salvation of mankind from the threat of nuclear catastrophe. The communists bear particular responsibility in broadening the movement for peace and finding proper answers to the questions which arise in the course of the struggle for peace.

The effort to broaden the movement for peace does not mean any forgiveness of the sins of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism or to ignore them. The scope of the peace movement is determined by a program for which it struggles and the core of this program is the prevention of nuclear war. Within this framework the communists have the task of exposing U.S. imperialism as the main source of the threat of war, unlike the policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Union. That is why the struggle against anti-Sovietism and anticommunism is an important structural component of the struggle for peace.

The communists bear the responsibility for pressuring the government to pursue an independent foreign policy, a policy of detente and disarmament on the basis of equality and equal security. At the same time, the communists are particularly responsible for proving that it is precisely the Soviet Union and its increasing power and the growing power of the members of the socialist comity, and their consistent peace-loving policy that are the main bulwark of universal peace. The positions of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity are today of decisive importance in the struggle for peace. Peace and socialism are indivisible.

In our view, the need for united action and coordination of the efforts of communist and workers parties at this critical moment in history is particularly vital. Bearing precisely this in mind, our party's Central Committee has appealed to the communist and workers parties the world over to convene an international conference. The Central Committee stated in its appeal that, in its opinion, "differences on one problem or another should not stand in the way of such coordination of action at the present time, when it is a question of the very existence of civilization and the preservation of life on earth. We believe that such a conference could be focused on the following demand: 'Save peace, save detente and prevent nuclear catastrophe'."

The counterrevolution in Poland failed despite the efforts of the reactionary forces of American imperialism, which is trying now to seek revenge for its defeat by resorting to economic "sanctions." Furthermore, these "sanctions" are part of its efforts to destabilize the situation in Poland, to introduce stress in the economy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and to create conditions for civil war within Poland itself. The Reagan administration is making use of the so-called Polish problem for yet another purpose--to promote the cold war and to break the talks with the Soviet Union and subsequently to accuse it of the failure of the efforts to achieve agreements in the field of disarmament. Such is the purpose of the endless talk about "linkage" between the so-called Polish problem and disarmament.

U.S. imperialism has become a center of reaction, militarism and aggression and the main destabilizing force in the world, which it pushes toward global nuclear catastrophe. There is no single part on earth not threatened by American imperialism. Under such circumstances it is becoming urgently necessary to unite all anti-imperialist forces in the world within a powerful anti-imperialist front against war and in the defense of peace, progress and democracy. At the 25th congress we expressed our full support for such a front of the nations, for a global antiwar coalition directed against the reactionary forces of U.S. imperialism and the Reagan administration, and solemnly pledged to work for its organization. The year 1982 must become noted as a new stage in the creation of such a universal front.

To an increasing extent the struggle for peace, detente and independent Canadian foreign policy is being linked with the struggle for Canadian independence and for the well-being of the Canadian people. We are witnessing not only a new level in the struggle against U.S. domination but an even greater pressure applied by American imperialism which is trying to restrain, stop and turn back the process of economic Canadization.

This is confirmed by the fact that the increased aggressiveness of American imperialism in foreign affairs is also manifested in a more open intervention in Canadian domestic affairs. It has energized this intervention in order to prevent the implementation of the Canadization program drawn up by the Trudeau government in the field of the power industry and foreign investments. The Reagan administration makes no secret of its fear that the government may not stop at Canadizing the power industry but go further.

It also fears the effect which the program of Canadizing may have on other countries, for which reason it is applying all possible pressure on the Trudeau government to force it to abandon this policy.

U.S. imperialism is doing everything possible to prevent the Canadian people from becoming the master of its own home.

The attacks mounted by the Reagan administration on Canadian sovereignty and independence go hand in hand with threats of applying "sanctions" against it, should the Canadian government reject the diktat of American imperialism. As we may see, Poland and the Soviet Union are not the only countries threatened by American "sanctions."

The use of the big stick against Canada goes beyond the framework of power industry, resources and investment policy.

The Reagan administration rejected the fishing treaty. It is ignoring the harm which the "acid rain" made in the United States and falling on Canada is causing to the environment. It is pressuring the central government and the provincial authorities in British Columbia to achieve their agreement for transferring from their areas fresh water to the United States. The Reagan administration is refusing to amend the automobile industry treaty and to give Canada a "more equitable" share. Instead, it is trying to conclude new similar contracts in other sectors in order to integrate even further the Canadian economy with that of the United States and to create a so-called North American common market. It is thus that U.S. imperialism is aiming at utilizing the tremendous natural resources of Canada and Mexico in its own "national interests" and its aspiration to global domination.

This offensive on Canadian sovereignty and independence is meeting with extensive opposition in Canada. The majority of our population favors a Canadization policy. However, pressured by the U.S. government, the conservatives and some pro-American liberals in the Trudeau government are violating their election promises. This is confirmed, among others, by the decision to refuse to make any changes in the law on control over foreign investments, and others.

As we pointed out, some Canadian monopoly circles are using the slogan of Canadizing only in order to weaken the positions of American multinational corporations in Canada, particularly in the area of the development of natural resources and energy and to strengthen their own positions. They are even ready to accept governmental ownership (such as the creation of the Petrocan Petroleum Company) if necessary for the sake of the "common good" of the monopolies, as has already been the case in a number of sectors such as the power industry, communications, and railroad transportation—including the establishment of governmental corporations.

Bearing in mind this phenomenon, to which it is not indifferent, our party is trying not to strengthen control over the economy on the part of Canadian monopolies. Our purpose is to achieve popular control through nationalization.

The struggle for Canadizing and for Canadian control based on nationalization can not be separated from the struggle for the defense of the Canadian people from the consequences of the deepening crisis or the struggle for a Canadian culture. Without control over the key economic sectors, which must be removed from the hands of the multinational corporations and the Canadian monopolies, economic planning or development or the creation of conditions leading to full employment are impossible.

Canada's economic situation has greatly worsened, as has that of many if not all capitalist countries.

Everyone knows that Canada is facing a profound and developing crisis. The latest data indicate that currently there are almost 1.5 million unemployed Canadians, under circumstances marked by growing inflation, high interest rates, closing down of plants, particularly in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec--the main Canadian industrial centers--and under circumstances of a growing number of bankruptcies.

There are indications that the current decline will be considerably deeper and longer than any one after the crisis of the 1930s. Some economists note the fact that it began even before the preceding one had ended and that the country may find itself in a new decline before coming out of the current one. In our view, these are clear proofs of the increasing instability of state-monopoly capitalism and its inability to come out of the crisis.

Today capitalism is in a state of chronic crisis accompanied by chronic unemployment and inflation. Such is the nature of today's capitalism. Such is the market system in action. Such is the nature of so-called free enterprise. The illusion of crisis-free capitalism has been thrown overboard along with the illusions regarding a society of abundance and a state of prosperity.

A new policy of radical reform, restraining the power of the monopolies and the multinational corporations, and changes which will lead Canada on the path to socialism are needed if the country is to come out of the crisis. No other solution exists.

The crisis is manifested most vividly in the policy of high interest rates pursued by the Reagan administration and in U.S. control over key sectors of the Canadian economy. Therefore, in many respects this is a crisis exported by the United States. Canada is paying for "Reaganomics" as a consequence of its one-sided relations with the United States. Meanwhile, the governmental policy of restraint, a policy of gradualness, which is the financial line followed by the Bank of Canada, a policy which is embodied in the budget, is worsening the crisis. It is based on the premise that in order to fight inflation Canada must have mass unemployment and wage control.

The policy of gradualness and restraint has opened the way to the mounting of concentrated attacks on the living standards of the working people. The living standard has been declining for more than 4 years while profits have continued to increase. The farmers as well have faced a decline in the

living standard. The high interest rates, which have raised sky-high the price of power equipment, the fluctuating prices of farm goods and inflation have lowered their living standard by 15 percent.

The decline in the purchasing power of the workers and the working people was intensified by the crisis. However, the banks have had windfalls of nearly \$1.5 billion of late. The high interest rates have enriched the banks the way the high prices of energy resources have enriched the multinational corporations.

The drop in real wages caused by inflation is added to the reduced allocations for social needs, education and health care. However, what we need is a reduction in the cost not of education and health care but of armaments.

Poverty remains in the country, covering increasing numbers of Canadians. The latest report of the federal advisory group indicates that almost 3 million Canadians live in poverty, i.e., an increase of 200,000 people since 1979.

We see the development of a process of simultaneous absolute and relative worsening of the situation of the working class. This is taking place along with the increased exploitation of the workers. In turn, this will continue to promote an aggravation of class contradictions and of the class struggle.

This is confirmed by the increased number of protracted militant strikes. Obviously, this movement will increase considerably this year, for nearly two million workers are about to enter into talks on signing new collective contracts.

The monopolies and their mass information media are preparing for such possible conflicts. Their objective is to divide the worker and trade union movements and force them to agree to make sacrifices for the sake of the "common good," which, in fact, means monopoly profit. This is presented in statements such as "We are all in the same boat," or "Do not allow Canada to be pushed out of the world markets because of high prices." We also hear statements such as "The class struggle has become obsolete." All of this is being said while the monopolies and their governments are intensifying the class struggle in order to shift the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the working people. This has already brought about a drop in the living standard and mass unemployment.

The only purpose here is for the workers to grant concessions in the interest of monopoly profits and give up the gains they have worked hard to achieve in the past.

The Canadian monopolies intended to pursue a policy of lowering wages and amending collective contracts in order to operate like the monopolies in the United States, sacrificing the workers to the economic crisis and the arms race. The Canadian Labor Congress justifiably rejected this policy. "No sale bargains, no concessions" is the slogan of the Canadian trade union movement.

The acquired experience, particularly that dating back from the 1930s, clearly proves that the efforts of the monopolies to shift the growing crisis to the shoulders of the working people not only undermine the purchasing power of the population but such a policy also leads to the dismembering of the trade union movement. Job competition should be based not on salary reductions and concessions in collective contracts but on government measures for the development of the economy.

The representatives of the monopolies and the provincial prime ministers are trying to establish wage controls, above all in the case of government servants. The government is hanging the threat of using it over the trade union movement in order to force it to accept "cheap" collective agreements and allow wages to fall behind the rate of inflation. The threat of introducing wage control is paralleled by a well-orchestrated campaign through the mass information media on denying state employees the right to strike.

Wage control and the restriction of the right to strike are part of the monopoly campaign aimed at extracting concessions from the workers in the forthcoming talks.

Our party fully supports the policy of "No concessions and no amendments to the contracts."

The communist party opposes any policy which sacrifices the working class to the interests of monopoly capital. Our party says, "No wage control. Let there be control wherever it is necessary, over the monopolies and the multinational corporations!"

The solution to the crisis as suggested by the monopolies calls for the trade union leadership to pursue a policy of class cooperation, i.e., to follow the policy of crisis of the monopolies with a view to ensuring the uninterrupted functioning of capitalism as a system with some possible insignificant modifications. Conversely, the class form means the militant defense of the vital interests of the working class, restraining the power of monopolies and multinational corporations, and opening a path of progress toward socialism. Such is the solution suggested by the communist party.

The key problem now is the mass struggle against the consequences of the crisis and attempts to shift its burden to the working people. The working class can defend its gains and create conditions for progress only by participating in the mass struggle. Its actions must be focused on demands for the implementation of a new socioeconomic policy and a program of collective discussions which will unite all blue- and white-collar workers. A healthy economic policy should be combined with joint political actions aimed at making a left turn in politics and strengthening the positions of the working class and the democratic forces in municipalities, provincial legislations and the federal parliament. This requires a systematic class approach in all areas.

Our party faces serious and difficult problems in its struggle for achieving unity within the trade union movement on the basis of a policy of class

struggle. This requires above all strengthening of ties between the party and the working class by firmly increasing our efforts in industrial enterprises and uniting leftist and progressive forces.

The deepening crisis calls not only for trade union unity but for cooperation between the New Democratic Party (NDP) and the communist party based on a program for taking Canada out of the crisis and defending democratic rights and peace. Our party has repeatedly called upon the NDP to cooperate, something which we are continuing to do at present. We are calling for unity in defending the interests of the working class and all working people. At the same time, we must bear in mind that the stronger our party becomes the more likely such cooperation will become despite the opposition of the right wing within the NDP.

We shall continue to work for strengthening left-wing unity.

An accurate assessment of the existing situation is insufficient. The second part of the task is to draw proper conclusions and collectively head the intensifying struggle on all fronts. Such is the task we have set ourselves.

Our main tasks are the struggle for peace, the struggle on the economic front, the struggle for Canadization, the struggle for a democratic solution of the constitutional crisis, for equality of women, for defending the rights of the youth and the rights of the native population. We must always pay attention to the creation of coalitions or other types of associations and the involvement of the broadest possible population strata in such movements.

While underscoring the scope of such movements and "avoiding sectarian alienation" toward them, we emphasize the need to fight "against any trend of self-alienation." In this case we need a proper combination of efforts to set up a united front with strengthening the party's independent activities. A mass movement can not be developed and the consciousness of the working people can not be enhanced without an independent broad social activity conducted by the party in the areas of political and economic problems.

For this reason we deem it necessary for our party to pay close attention to the mass political campaigns aimed against the neutron bomb, for making Canada a nuclear-free zone and for the formulation of a democratic alternative to the policy of crisis of the monopolies.

Our positions and actions related to the constitutional crisis experienced by the country, representing yet another manifestation of the general crisis of the capitalist system in Canada, are a structural component of the struggle for unity among the working people and all progressive and democratic forces. That is why the struggle for the democratic solution of the crisis can be successful only through the joint struggle against monopoly domination.

The national problem which faces the country is a historical problem which is being ignored. The constitution does not acknowledge the fact that the French Canadians in Quebec are a nation. It refuses French Canada the right

to self-determination and equality. That is why according to some circles the new constitution will be a constitution of British Canada rather than all Canada, including Quebec.

In order to elect a constitutional assembly, as the communist party suggested, with a mandate to draft a new constitution in Canada, stipulating the voluntary and equal partnership between the two nations in a binational, sovereign and democratic state, the British North America Act is being retailored for Canadian purposes.

This is a result of the compromise among the various monopoly circles and multinational corporations and their political representatives on the federal and provincial levels. It is a compromise achieved at the expense of the national interests of Quebec, the interests of the native ethnic groups, rights which are denied in the constitution, and at the expense of the democratic rights of all Canadians and the long-needed structural reform. All of this once again indicates the inability of capitalism to resolve the national problem and to guarantee true democratic rights to the Canadian people.

The compromise agreement which was drafted behind the back of the Canadian people by the monopolies, the multinational corporations and their political representatives on the federal and provincial levels, will not resolve the federation crisis but will intensify the division between English and French Canada. The monopoly solution of the federation crisis weakens the political unity of the two nations.

All of this should make clear that the struggle for a fundamental constitutional reform is far from ended. Our party must gain the support of progressive and democratic forces in English-speaking Canada with a view to opposing the current draft constitution. We must consider this task a part of the development of a new union aimed at drafting a true 'made in Canada' constitution, an alliance which would unite the national and the democratic forces of Quebec with the trade unions and the progressive and democratic forces in English-speaking Canada in order to have a democratic and truly Canadian, an all-Canadian constitution.

We must engage in a more energetic ideological struggle in order to resolve all of these problems. Today the ideological struggle has become one of the most important directions of the class struggle and the struggle for the strengthening of democracy. The main wedge of the imperialist ideological offensive is aimed at the Soviet Union and the other socialist states and against the communist and workers parties.

The hysterical campaign mounted by American imperialism against people's Poland reminds us of the fact that imperialism never abandons its efforts to undermine and destroy socialism.

The members of some parties seem to have decided to copy the line followed by Reagan and company in the present difficult situation, when the need for international solidarity is so great.

The so-called "third way" to socialism in Western Europe they suggest is expressed, in particular, in attempts to equate the foreign policy of the Soviet Union with U.S. imperialism and the Warsaw Pact with NATO.

President Reagan speaks of a "crisis of communism," while some leaders of the Italian Communist Party are speaking of a "crisis in the Soviet system." These leaders state that Marxism-Leninism has become bankrupt, although as we know, the difficulties in Poland were caused by nothing but a deviation from the laws of the building of socialism and not in the least as a result of the bankruptcy of Marxism-Leninism.

As one can see, they use the Polish events merely as a pretext for deviating from Marxism-Leninism and the difficult and complex struggle for peace and socialism and the acknowledgment of the global socialist system as the highest accomplishment of social progress in our century. "Eurocommunism" has actually allied itself with the Maoism of the Beijing leadership. Like Maoism, which proved its bankruptcy by leading the Chinese people into an impasse, "Eurocommunism" will have the same outcome. The basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, while retaining their full validity, are always developing and becoming richer as a result of new events, new experiences and new stages in the struggle.

Our party must wage a tireless ideological struggle against such false positions as it discusses our party program "The Way to Socialism in Canada." The purpose of the ideological struggle is to introduce clarity in the party's ranks and in the broad worker and democratic movements.

The Canadian communists have achieved certain successes. However, they are also aware of the major tasks which must be carried out. Despite the difficulties, our party has made a considerable contribution to the progress achieved by the working class. Despite the efforts of the cold war supporters to isolate us, our party has strengthened its ties with organized labor. Despite the aspiration of the monopolies to shift the burden of the crisis to the working people, our party is playing an important although modest role in the intensifying struggle waged by the workers and the other social strata.

I am confident that new successes await our party in the future. This feeling of confidence will run throughout our party in the forthcoming period of aggravated struggle, the objective of which is to lead Canada along a new progressive path and help to strengthen the forces of peace the world over.

The new period we are entering gives us grounds for such confidence. Capitalism was still growing when the communist party appeared. Imperialism dominated the world arena, although the appearance of the Soviet Union challenged it. It seemed as though the "American dream" and the "Canadian dream" were on firm grounds. Where are these dreams today? The characteristic features of our time are the increased influence of real socialism and the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism.

The U.S. dream of "Pan-Americanism" has evaporated. From the position of history, U.S. imperialism appears like a sinking ship. It has no more of a future than imperialism or capitalism. Capitalism is a dying system without a future and without historical prospects.

The "Canadian dream" was largely based on the fact that the capitalist class had tied itself to the American ship. Today, however, the prospects of U.S. imperialism are becoming increasingly weaker. Should Canada remain tied to a sinking ship or should it take the path of true independence? Canada has no real future other than that of true independence and socialism.

We are optimists and we see today the speed with which changes are taking place regardless of the efforts of U.S. imperialism to stop the revolutionary process. It is capitalism rather than socialism which is retreating.

The task which faces us demands a political struggle, a clear head, firm hands, creative thinking and efficient leadership based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

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## IN THE CENTER OF ATTENTION OF SOCIAL SCIENTISTS

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[Review by Prof P. Rogachev, doctor of philosophical sciences, and Prof M. Sverdlin, doctor of philosophical sciences, Volgograd, of the books "Razvitiye Sovetskogo Naroda--Novoy Istoricheskoy Obshchnosti" [The Development of the Soviet People--A New Historical Community]. CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism. M. I. Kulichenko, responsible editor. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 431 pp; "Sovetskiy Narod--Stroitel' Kommunizma" [The Soviet People--Builder of Communism]. USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy. Ts. A. Stepanyan, general editor. Nauka, Moscow, 1981, 533 pp]

[Text] The 24th, 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses gave the Soviet social scientists a powerful impetus for engaging in the intensified study of the laws governing the development of socioclass and national relations in the mature socialist society. The truth became apparent that the study of the problems can be fruitful if the scientists always focus on the previously unknown historical phenomenon which the new social and international community of people—the Soviet people—represents. The concept of this community, systematically developed by the communist party and all Soviet social sciences, is an essential contribution to the theory and practice of scientific communism.

A number of collective works, separate monographs, pamphlets and articles on the Soviet people were published in our country, particularly in the 1970s. Written primarily from the historical point of view, such publications developed important theoretical and political problems and some interesting ideas and views. Of late our social scientists have taken a step forward in the comprehensive study of the nature of the new historical human community and its place and role in the forward movement of the Soviet society toward communism and in terms of its international significance. We feel here the influence of the basic conclusions drawn by our party to the effect that the Soviet people are not an ethnic community. They are not a "single Soviet nation," for which reason it is not a question of any belittling of the role of nations and nationalities existing in the USSR; equally inadmissible is the artificial elimination of national differences or their artificial inflation and the fact that whereas national characteristics and traditions have been preserved in our country today, a way of life common to the entire Soviet people has been established, which strengthens its unity.

Our task will be no more than a consideration of two basic works which were published at the beginning of the 1980s and which reflect the results of studies of large groups of scientists. They are "Razvitiye Sovetskogo Naroda--Novoy Istoricheskoy Obshchnosti," and "Sovetskiy Narod--Stroitel' Kommunizma," to which we shall subsequently refer for the sake of convenience as the book of the IML and the book of the Institute of Philosophy (IF).

These collective monographs deserve a high rating above all because of their display of the unity of economic life of the Soviet people and the organic links between the socioclass and the national aspects in their characterization. The authors address themselves to virtually all realms of life of the developed socialist society and extensively use statistical and specific sociological data (particularly in the case of Central Asia in the Institute of Philosophy book).

The authors of some earlier works, among whom are the authors of this article, while essentially studying the national aspects of the establishment and development of the Soviet people, paid insufficient attention to their socioclass aspect. The books under review paid great attention to the surmounting of the socioclass disparities as a prerequisite for reaching the full unity of the nation. They properly describe the conditions and mechanisms of rapprochement among classes, social groups and nations of which the Soviet people is composed, their evolution in the direction of total unity and future merger in the process of building full communism (see, for example, Chapter IV of the IML book on the social foundations of the development of the Soviet people, and Chapter I in the fourth section of the IF on the Soviet people as the social and international unification of people). In considering the problem of the development of the social homogeneity of nations in the USSR and the Soviet people as a whole, the authors of both works describe the decisive role played by the working class in the establishment and development of the new historical community and the rapprochement among all classes and social groups constituting the Soviet people which, as is noted in the CC CPSU decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," leads to the establishment of a mainly and essentially classless structure within Soviet society within the historical framework of mature socialism.

The books under review (see Chapter II of the IML book and the introduction and Chapter I, Section 1 of the IF book) extensively cover the significance of CPSU leadership and the activeness of the toiling masses in the development of the Soviet people as a new historical community. They prove in this respect that the establishment and development of this community was based, along with objective factors (the nature of socialism, the trends of development of the multinational socialist society), on subjective factors as well—the leading role of the working class and the leadership of the communist party. Thus, while emphasizing that it was the Leninist party which was the first to develop as an international community, the IML book authors note that it was precisely the CPSU which, while directing the activities of the working class, provided theoretical and political support for each new step

toward the unification of classes and social groups, nations and nationalities, in building socialism and defending its gains, and in enabling society to reach a new level of maturity and to grow into a communist society (see pp 49-50).

The dialectics of the international and the national in social development is one of the most topical of theoretical and practical problems. In considering this matter in the example of the new historical community, the authors prove the leading, the determining significance of the international factor (see p 307 of the IF book). Against the background of the discussions which took place, a number of participants in which supported the idea of a simple interaction between the two trends, this viewpoint represents a definite step forward in the clarification of this essential problem. The IML book considers the dialectics of the international and the national in the development of the Soviet people by taking culture as an example.

Both books thoroughly discuss the profound objective material changes on which the new community is based. Let us note in this connection that the CC CPSU decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the USSR" draws the attention once again on the need for the further and more extensive study of the process of internationalization of all social life, economic life above all. The description of the impact of the scientific and technical revolution on the development and strengthening of the unity of the Soviet people is assuming increasing importance in explaining the nature of the single national economic complex as the economic foundation for the international community of people. In our view, an important circumstance is that under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution the tremendous growth of capital investments persistently requires the intensified division of labor, specialization and cooperation among republics and regions. The problem of the efficient utilization of manpower on the scale of the entire country rises in its entire magnitude.

In describing the stages of social development of Soviet society, the authors use categories such as "social homogeneity" and "total social homogeneity." Nevertheless, in our view, a more profound differentiation in the levels of development of the new community under the conditions of mature socialism and its growth into communism is necessary -- from the social unity of society through the elimination of class differences to the achievement of total social homogeneity. It is only by taking into consideration the specific stages of this process that a proper understanding can be achieved of the dialectics of the interconnection and the development of the national and international communities, the prospects for the further development of nations and the historical position of the international community itself, which could fill the role of a transitional stage from multinational mankind to a single non-national human community. Let us note that the study of transitional, rather than only "final" stages, is an important requirement in the methodology of knowledge. Without it end results appear abstract, as though having suddenly appeared, without thorough preparations.

The study of the Soviet people as an ideological community also becomes particularly topical. We know that Marxist-Leninist ideology, which

ideologically brings together the social and the international communities, is a spiritual factor which unites all nations and nationalities within our country. However, the role of Marxist-Leninist ideology is usually discussed in literature only in connection with the problems of the development of Soviet culture and the shaping of the new man. The ideological community of the Soviet people and its place and significance in their further development unquestionably deserve special studies. The authors of the IF book have acted properly by dedicating one of the chapters in the first section to the Soviet people as the bearer of Marxist-Leninist socialist ideology (see pp 93-110). The further study of this aspect of the community is of tremendous importance both in terms of raising the working people, the young in particular, and in the struggle against bourgeois ideology.

The monographs try to combine the theoretical concepts of internationalist-patriotic upbringing with its summed-up practical manifestations. One section in the IF book is especially dedicated to this problem (see pp 509-522). It raises questions related to the elaboration of the system of education itself, the role of mass information and propaganda media in this important matter, the specifics of educational work with the youth, etc. In this connection, let us point out that the study of the correlation between patriotism and the national pride of the Soviet person, patriotism and national self-awareness and patriotism and nationalism remains both theoretically and practically-politically relevant. We know that our ideological opponents, who identified patriotism with nationalism, are persistently continuing to counter it with internationalism in order to depict the internationalists as antipatriots.

The fraternal friendship among the peoples of the USSR, the internation-alization of social life in our country and the appearance and consolidation of a new historical community--the Soviet people--have been profoundly and comprehensively described in the party's documents and the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman.

The 26th CPSU Congress called upon the scientists to study unresolved problems in the area of national relations. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the congress: "The unity of Soviet nations is stronger than ever before today. Naturally, this is not to say that all problems in the area of national relations have been resolved. The dynamics of the development of a major multinational country such as ours creates many problems which demand the party's close attention."

This, in light of the congress's documents, a deeper study is required of the interconnection between the demographic and the national aspects of social relations. It is a question of equalizing social disparities on the territorial (and, therefore, the national) level; manpower migration (we note manpower surpluses in some areas and acute shortages in others); the growth of the population (varying from region to region and republic to republic). In connection with the growth of the multinational structure of the population in the various republics, problems of representation of the "non-native" population in party and state organs and consideration and satisfaction of

their specific requirements in terms of language, culture, and way of life, become relevant. These problems are covered in the books under review. However, their further development will require greater depth and certain corrections in accordance with the documents of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The IF book suffers not only from numerous repetitions which are clearly explained by the large number of authors, but also by some far-fetched views. For example, we read on p 326 that rapprochement dominated the Soviet peoples which had reached a stage of capitalist development before the revolution, whereas in the previously backward nations "until the final victory of socialism" (!), allegedly the leading trend was blossoming, although it is well known that these are interrelated rather than separate processes. Naturally, the development of socialist nations wherever the peoples had bypassed the capitalist stage had its own specifics. However, this triggered to an even greater extent the need for intensive international relations and the all-around aid of the more developed Soviet nations. The main feature was that such relations and aid were provided.

The USSR is the socialist fatherland of all of our peoples, rallied under the guidance of the Leninist communist party. Its course, as was noted at the 26th congress, calls for increasing the material and spiritual potential of each republic and its maximum utilization in promoting the harmonious development of the entire country.

As a whole, both books offer a substantive and highly scientific study of topical problems of socioclass and national relations in the USSR. These collective works have already triggered a great deal of interest among the scientific public. They will be of unquestionable use in the implementation of the party's policy, which is aimed at further strengthening the unity of the Soviet people.

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