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# USSR Report

KOMMUNIST

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## INTERIMPERIALIST CONTRADICTIONS IN A CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT

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[Article by A. Yakovlev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee]

[Text] It is as though the second half of this century had surreptitiously prepared the advent of a new period in global developments, characterized by unparalleled historical speed, dynamism and power of social processes, and a tremendously increased intellectual and material potential of mankind and, consequently, the need for all people on the planet to feel particularly responsible for their common future.

The world is becoming multidimensional, interrelated and interdependent and acquiring features of integrality.

World socialism is reaching essentially new levels in its development. Dozens of liberated countries are becoming an increasingly substantive political and economic reality. A new military and strategic situation of the nuclear age is taking shape. The successes of science and technology, the development of production forces and the scale of the global problems which objectively face mankind force us to reinterpret many concepts of the past and phenomena of the present. In other words, a new way of thinking, realistic in content and revolutionary in spirit, is making its way through the mound of concepts, views, doctrines and prejudices of the prenuclear age and the pre-NTR situation.

Substantial changes are taking place in the economy and policies of capitalism. Traditional aggravations are worsening and accumulating; new groups of such contradictions are appearing. The mechanisms of their actions and conflict resolution methods are being modified. New interwoven economic and sociopolitical relations with global, regional and interregional features have appeared in the global capitalist system. Particularly relevant today are V.I. Lenin's words to the effect that "not even 70 people like Marx could have encompassed the totality of such broad changes in their entire ramification. What is most important is that the laws governing such changes were discovered and that the objective logic governing them and their historical development was manifested in its essential and basic features..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 18, p 345). These words

best illustrate the combative antidogmatism of the very nature of Marxist-Leninist theory and its permanent ability to analyze and develop.

It is a well-known truth that new social trends are not manifested in a direct and simple manner. They operate on different levels and with variations. They become interwoven with countertrends. They are rich in ramifications and twists and shifts in the pace of their development. The CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress and the CPSU program which was adopted at the congress provide a profound interpretation of our time and a comprehensive study of the internal contradictions within the capitalist world and the dialectics of contemporary interimperialist relations. "The final decades of this century," M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, said at the congress, "are noted with new outbreaks of interimperialist contradictions and the appearance of their new forms and trends. Neither class-oriented closeness nor interest in joining forces, nor military, economic or political integration of the scientific and technical revolution have been able to eliminate this group of capitalist contradictions."

Inherent in the very nature of imperialism are discord and inevitable conflicts among economic, social and political interests. Its antagonisms are insurmountable. Under capitalism, any progress is accompanied "also with a 'progress' of contradictions, i.e., their aggravation and expansion" (V.I. Lenin, op cit., vol 2, p 180).

Through a variety of examples life confirms the theoretical and methodological depth and perspicacity of Lenin's concept of the "progress of contradictions" within capitalism. Their dynamics is quantitatively and qualitatively simultaneous and is invariably of a dialectical nature. Capitalism has been unable to eliminate a single one of these contradictions--let us call them traditional--which were analyzed by the classics of Marxism-Leninism themselves. Despite all changes in the level of development of production forces, the broad scope of the scientific and technical revolution and all tricks and even successful advances in a number of directions in state-monopoly control, capitalism has been unable to accomplish this.

Naturally, this is not to say that the forms of manifestation of such contradictions also remain unchanged. It is precisely the forms that change, quite substantially sometimes. The class strategy of capitalism is precisely aimed at an effort to present changes in form as changes in substance, thus weakening the antimonopoly and anti-imperialist struggle waged by the working people. However, whereas today contradictions between labor and capital and between the public nature of production and the private-ownership appropriation of its results are manifested quite differently from several decades ago on the surface, this does not essentially change matters, although it influences the specific social, political and sociopsychological processes within the capitalist system.

In addition to changes which are taking place in some traditional capitalist contradictions, new ones are appearing. Let us merely note that the appearance of new centers and groups of contradictions is related to processes of a double nature. On the one hand, as it develops and becomes more complex,

and as it moves along the new stages of its development toward global oligarchy, capitalism is also generating new more complex contradictions which reflect the socioeconomic quality it has reached. This includes, for example, contemporary contradictions between the centers of imperialism and the developing countries, which are the targets of neocolonial exploitation.

On the other hand, similar yet distinct contradictions are being generated by the policy of state-monopoly capitalism and the efforts of the ruling class somehow to reduce their gravity and to surmount contradictions of a traditional type. To a certain extent these attempts are successful. Contemporary capitalism, for example, has learned to avoid excessively catastrophic crises of overproduction and the related sharp and deep declines which accompany them, which so greatly disturbed "classical" capitalism. The range of the average fluctuations in the crisis is today substantially lower than that which characterized capitalism in the first third of this century, capitalism on the eve of the global 1929-1932 economic crisis.

However, such objectively limited, albeit important, results for capitalism do not come by themselves. They do not come "free." Aspects which are positive in terms of capitalism in some areas are inevitably compensated by difficulties elsewhere. In particular, in order to limit the range of cyclical fluctuations, it has been necessary to reach, as is entirely obvious today, a tremendous increase in the overall indebtedness and aggravation of contradictions in the monetary area. In precisely the same way contradictions on the "higher" level of capitalism, which is difficult to control, are paid for in social policy and many other areas. Although stronger than ever before, capitalism has become entangled in internal and intergovernmental antagonisms, upheavals and cataclysms.

All of this confirms the dialectical nature of social development in all of its directions, which applies, above all, to the motive forces of development--social contradictions. Nothing could be farther from the truth than the concept of contradictions as something given once and for all, something frozen and permanent. Here we come across dialectics in the extremely complex interrelationships between the nature of phenomena and their external appearances, in the fact that historically neither stand still and, finally, that in the manifestation of its contradictions, in both areas, capitalism cannot avoid the impact of the contemporary world which has changed deeply.

The establishment of socialism and the struggle for the practical implementation of its doctrine of peace and peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and for the creation of a comprehensive system of international security and the enhancement of the activities of the worker and communist, national liberation and general democratic movements are all tying the hands of imperialism, hindering or paralyzing the possibility of solving its interimperialist contradictions in the "classical" manner, i.e., militarily, through the force of arms.

However, these historical changes intensify the cosmopolitan nature of the bourgeoisie, encouraging its aspiration toward class consolidation and unification of forces in the struggle against world socialism and

anticapitalist and other liberation movements, inspiring the imperialist countries to seek more flexible and adaptable forms of settling their differences and conflicts. The unifying trend which, as Lenin wrote, "is entirely applicable and, in practical terms, is frequently applied in the guise of an imperialist alliance among politically autonomous and independent countries" (op cit., vol 30, pp 101-102) is becoming more apparent. This centripetal trend, which is strongly manifested at the present round in capitalist development, is dialectically combined with the centrifugal forces which oppose it.

The 1970s and start of the 1980s were marked by a qualitative shift in the course of the overall crisis of the capitalist system. The relatively "favorable" situation of the 1960s was replaced by a significant worsening of reproduction conditions and with processes marking a serious economic and political destabilization of capitalism. All of this could not fail to trigger a fierce competitive struggle and rivalry between independent imperialist countries and their alliances; it proved to be an additional fuse leading to the explosion of economic, social and political contradictions within global capitalism.

## I

The law of uneven economic and political development of capitalism, which determines its rhythm, velocity, uneven development and contradictoriness, is at the base of the processes which pit some imperialists against others. The background and the base for such an uneven development is the equalization of the economic and scientific and technical potentials of the leading capitalist countries, caused by economic internationalization and production socialization. In turn, this equalization opens an opportunity for a headlong thrust on the part of a single capitalist country or a group of capitalist countries which, in the course of the accelerated race, outstrip their competitors. A new deployment of forces develops, the inevitable consequence of which is the redrafting of spheres of economic domination and political influence. The use of force was and remains the means for such redrafting: in the recent past, it was primarily military; typical in the confrontation among contemporary imperialist states and their groups is the use of primarily economic and political power.

Without losing its significance, military pressure has assumed new features, as part of the overall political strategy of imperialism, U.S. imperialism above all, which is organizing outbreaks of militaristic activeness and international tension not only for the sake of the struggle against socialism but also of undermining the economic power of its partners and their political significance, and for tightening up discipline among the allies in U.S. interests. "...In order to understand events," Lenin wrote, "one must know the problems which are being solved by changes in forces; should this be the case, whether such changes are 'purely' economic or noneconomic (military, for example) the problem becomes secondary, changing nothing in the basic views on the latest age of capitalism" (op cit., vol 27, p 373).

As result of the establishment and strengthening of the world socialist system and the political and initiated economic decolonization of the former colonial

and dependent capitalist periphery, the sphere of imperialist domination has become drastically reduced and narrowed. The law of uneven economic and political development of capitalism is particularly active, contradictory and convulsive on the basis of such a reduced foundation and under the circumstances of the scientific and technical revolution, creating a nutritive soil for constant shifts in the balance of power among individual financial groups, bourgeois countries and their various combinations. Furthermore, such a narrowness is not simple or one-dimensional. Under contemporary conditions, it is relatively compensated with the development of the multinational corporations, which triggers clusters of new acute contradictions.

New phenomena began to invade the realm of interimperialist relations in the 1960s. More frequently than in other countries, the alternating of crises of overproduction, contrasting shifts in the pace of economic growth and a sharp slowdown in the dynamics of labor productivity caused tangible damage to the U.S. economy, introducing noticeable changes in the deployment of capitalist forces. The characteristic nature of the contemporary situation is that along with the traditional rivalry among imperialist countries and their coalitions, a rivalry among the three basic centers of contemporary imperialism has appeared and assumed priority. The scale and relative power of these centers (the United States, Western Europe and Japan) have no historical analogue. It is precisely they that have become today essential factors in the interplay among political and other forces within the imperialist system and, as a consequence, in international relations as a whole.

The U.S. share in the overall GNP of the developed capitalist countries dropped from 48.7 percent in 1951-1955 to 37.4 percent in 1981-1985 (in terms of the parity of the purchasing power of the currencies, in 1982 prices); its share in the overall volume of industrial output declined, for the same period of time, from 50.6 to 38.1 percent. Whereas 30 years ago the GNP of the 12 countries which are today members of the Common Market and Japan accounted for 81.7 percent of the American gross output, today it has reached 136.1 percent. Western Europe has outstripped the United States in the volume of industrial output, becoming the main center of international capitalist trade. In the past 5 years, it has produced goods and services higher by a factor of 3.7 compared to the United States (in terms of value). In turn, Japan, which has taken second place among the capitalist countries in terms of general economic and, particularly industrial power, is continuing to narrow the distance separating it from the United States.

Today the economic confrontation among the three imperialist centers has entered a new age. In its advance, the scientific and technical revolution has reached a level beyond which a new thrust forward is becoming apparent. It essentially consists of the breakdown of the old production base, the objective need to abandon a number of production facilities which have exhausted their possibilities, and the accelerated development of new sectors and technologies. This break, known in the West as reindustrialization, is inevitably manifested in structural production crises, a drastic worsening in capital reproduction conditions, painful breakdowns and stoppages of the economic mechanism, mass unemployment, frequent and stressed economic jolts, multi-levelled battles for the competitiveness of exported goods and services, and clashes for primacy in promising science-intensive industrial sectors.

The countries which have gained priority in producing and marketing one type of "high technology" or another, acquire not only respective economic but also political and military-strategic advantages. A special report issued by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which rallies the developed capitalist countries, entitled "Vulnerability of Computerized Society," emphasized the growing dependence of countries which import microelectronic equipment compared to those which export it. The simple refusal to supply technological processes makes it necessary to grant increasingly greater military-strategic concessions by countries which lack such technology themselves.

One could say that the law of uneven economic and political development is manifested quite clearly today precisely in the spasmodic nature of the scientific and technical revolution, its fitfulness, intermittent nature and ever-accelerating pace. The progress of science and technology and the internationalization of scientific and technical and economic life have created an essentially new opportunity for the accelerated development of some imperialist countries at the expense of others. They have intensified the mobility of interimperialist contradictions and the range of their fluctuations. A real undeclared war is being waged in the capitalist world for scientific and technical and, consequently, economic dominance.

The rivalry among the three imperialist giant centers also appears under a new light. In the recent past the main Japanese weapon in the competition was the purchasing of foreign patents and licenses and the fast industrial mastery and modification of foreign scientific and technical inventions and technological processes. This enabled that country which had lost the overwhelming share of its traditional industrial base in the war to bypass its less mobile competitors, to gather a high pace of economic growth and, as a result, to come close in terms of many indicators to a most powerful capitalist country such as the United States.

Today the monopoly capital of this Far Eastern "power center" has drastically changed its economic strategy, concentrating its efforts on the most promising main lines of the "microelectronic revolution." In these directions Japanese competitiveness has already achieved impressive results. Japan has become a net exporter of progressive technology, ensuring for itself a certain superiority in microelectronics, far outstripping the United States in the production of robots and, in some areas, leading in sectors which determine the aspect of future economic developments, such as the latest computers and integrated circuits. The Japanese ruling circles are clearly nurturing ambitious hopes of turning their country into the leader of the scientific and technical revolution, and not without a reason.

The changed ratio of forces in the U.S.-Western Europe-Japan triangle is clearly manifested also in an important area of their economic rivalry, such as international migrations of capital. The first two centers have become already actually equal in terms of the absolute and relative scale of foreign direct investments. Japan, which outstripped Switzerland and has caught up with the FRG, is continuing to advance, although it is still substantially behind the United States (by a factor of 3-4). The area of foreign investments has become a "two-way street" in the full meaning of the term:

today it not only emanates from the United States but has entered into its own territory, where foreign capital is competing against domestic capital ever more actively.

At the beginning the 1980s, for the first time in the history of the 20th century, the United States became the largest importer of productive and loan capital. The penetration of foreign investors in the American market did not, naturally, start yesterday. However, it has now turned into a real invasion, in the course of which, in order to struggle against inflation and the enhanced rate of exchange of the dollar, the U.S. Federal Reserve Bank decided on an unprecedented increase in the interest rate of loan capital. The leading British, French and Dutch chemical concerns, West German and Japanese automobile and electrical engineering companies and Swiss firms blanketed the United States with a network of their production branches. A double process occurred: a bleeding of the economies of the other capitalist countries as a result of the flight of investments and an oversaturation of American production facilities with foreign capital.

As a whole, the long-term balance of economic forces is not developing in favor of the United States. This is confirmed by forecasts of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Hudson Institute and a number of other forecasting institutions. In their assumption, at the start of the next century as well the United States will remain the main capitalist power on the military-political level. However, it will no longer be the undisputed leader of the global capitalist economy. It is considered quite likely that the growth rates of the U.S. economy will remain below world standards and that its global positions will gradually decline.

All of this undermines the existing hierarchy in the system of international relations in the capitalist world. The leading Western European countries and Japan are striving to make their substantially increased economic power and the establishment of a new structure of state-monopoly control of international economic relations more consistent with their international-political positions. They are considering the rigid American leadership increasingly burdensome and their aspiration for an autonomous economic and foreign policy is growing.

Unquestionably, the economic and political hegemony of the United States, which developed during the first postwar decades, has now weakened. As was emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress, the economic, financial and technological superiority over its closest competitors, which the United States had through the end of the 1960s, has been severely tried. Polycentrism is replacing monocentrism in the capitalist economy and politics, while American imperialism, with its global system of nuclear bases and occupation forces is retaining its military hegemony in the capitalist world. This can only aggravate interimperialist contradictions, which become particularly tense and occasionally assume entirely new and unparalleled aspects.

The specific nature of the situation is that the further economic strengthening of the Japanese and Western European centers is being hindered by the unabated permanent pressure exerted by the United States on the

countries within these centers, a pressure based on the military presence of the United States and the direct and indirect military dependency of these countries on Washington. This forces Western Europe and Japan to compromise, frequently to the detriment of their own interests and, at the same time, to seek means of more efficiently countering American economic aggression. Washington is intensifying its frontal economic and military-political pressure on the other two imperialist centers, pursuing not only and exclusively the protection of the interests of American state-monopoly capitalism. The imperial ambitions and self-seeking policy of U.S. monopolies and their scorn for the interest and security of others, even of their allies, are causing growing indignation and concern throughout the world. The Reykjavik experience made this U.S. position particularly clear.

All of this proves that, sooner or later, other forces as well will join the struggle among imperialist countries. New economic and political rivalry centers will be formed, particularly in the Pacific basin and in Latin America, the CPSU program emphasizes. In the next decade a different configuration of interimperialist contradictions may develop and new capitalist "power centers" may appear, such as Canada, which has a tremendous economic potential and is already one of the seven strongest capitalist states. Its ruling elite is persistently seeking ways of strengthening contacts with the EEC and the countries in the Pacific basin and trying to increase the variety of its economic and political ties, frequently giving preference to investments made by other countries compared to the United States. Nor can we deny the possibility that in the future other areas and countries may join efficiently the global economic and political rivalry, such as Australia which, at the turn of the new century, could become yet another pole of capitalist economic power.

One of the consequences of the effect of the law of uneven development in our age is the appearance of quite strong young national capitalist states--the "new industrializing countries"--which are both objects and subjects of economic expansion. Some, such as Brazil, Argentina and Mexico, with their own monopoly groups, could, in some cases, join the struggle against the "old" industrial empires. These countries are burdened by their economic dependency and are trying to eliminate it and gain a more equal and independent status in the global economy. In turn, the main imperialist "power centers," are seeking the support of some developing countries, with which they promote "rapprochement" and cooperation in an effort to involve them in their own economic area of influence. We can reasonably mention in this connection the establishment of new vast regional economic zones. Everything seems to indicate that Japan will increase its pressure on countries in Oceania and Southeast Asia; the Western European subcontinent will enhance its economic activities in Africa and the United States will do everything possible to strengthen its neocolonial zone in Latin America.

We could assume that within the historically foreseeable future the centrifugal trend--toward a growth of interimperialist contradictions and further splintering of the monocentrist capitalist world of the postwar decades--will be actively countered by centripetal forces. This contradiction will be based on the aspiration for a new redivision of spheres of economic and political influence and the efforts to organize everything, as Lenin said,

"according to capital," and "power," or, in this case, on the basis of the new developing correlation of forces.

This is one of the reasons for the nervousness displayed by the U.S. leadership, which is now concentrating on the idea of a military consolidation of the imperialist system, the concealed objective of which is the preservation of its military-economic leadership. Under these circumstances, while serving the interests of preserving peace and the defense of the socialist community, the military strategic parity between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, is objectively also a protection of global security, which is restraining the most militant circles of the U.S. monopoly oligarchy from violent attempts at reorganizing the world in accordance with its interests.

## II

Therefore, the aggravation of interimperialist contradictions is greatly assisted by the overall strategy of the present American administration, aimed at preserving its postwar positions in the world, which are being lost by the United States step-by-step. Having sharply turned the nuclear wedge of confrontation against the socialist system in recent years, the American ruling elite is trying to crush its "class brothers" as well, and to keep them within the bed of its economic, military and political course. Naturally, this is not merely a matter of Washington's messianic claims, which are obvious. Such plans, however, also have a certain material base.

Despite a decline in its share in the world capitalist economy, the United States remains its greatest economic power. In per capita terms, its GNP, until quite recently was double that of Western Europe and Japan. In converting capitalist production and management and marketing systems to a new technical base, it is retaining its leading position in the development and production of a number of the latest types of equipment and technologies, including some models of computers, personal computers, and a bioindustry with its most important trends related to the use of gene engineering, which is helping the United States to maintain its domination on the global markets for science-intensive and most complex items and in terms of scientific and technical knowledge. The United States remains the largest exporter of capital and food and is maintaining its actual military and industrial hegemony within the imperialist system.

The relative weakening of the global positions of the American economic center is taking place quite slowly and indirectly. It is accompanied by turns, twists and reverses. Thus, subsequent to the global economic crisis of 1974-1975, the U.S. share in the gross output and industrial production of the capitalist world increased somewhat; at the beginning of the 1980s it had reached the level of the previous decade. Similar trends may be noted today as well, after the 1980-1982 crisis.

Such fluctuations and turns were the result of a number of factors. Above all, the growth of output in Japan and Western Europe declined. The intensifying cataclysms in the Western European center which, unlike the other two, is internally split into competing groups and states, hindered the

process of its consolidation and caused a slowdown in the pace of integration efforts. Finding itself in recent years in the epicenter of cyclical and structural upheavals of the capitalist world, the United States has done everything possible to involve its own partners in economic difficulties. The United States significantly benefited also from the fact that the members of the EEC were slower in emerging out of the crisis.

It is entirely natural that under the circumstances of the greater frequency of global economic crises, the struggle among the main imperialist centers and countries has assumed a new stubbornness and fierceness. Under conditions of commodity overproduction, each one of the competitors tries, as Marx said, to come out with the fewer possible losses which, precisely, determines the current strengthening of economic nationalism in the imperialist countries.

The nationalistic egotism of American imperialism became stronger than others, mounting an offensive against the positions of even its closest allies in the monetary area. Monetary policy became the most important component of the global strategy of American imperialism, aimed at strengthening its positions within the system of the three centers of state-monopoly capitalism and in the developing world. The United States manipulates interest and exchange rates as the most impressive means of "flexing its muscles" in the international arena.

In recent years, and until recently, the United States had kept an interest rate higher than that of other countries. As a result, in the past 4 years foreign investments in American banks doubled, exceeding \$354 billion by the end of 1985.

Actually, by artificially raising interest rates and making the dollar "superpowerful," the United States forced its capitalist partners, the Western European countries above all, to finance the structural reorganization of the American economy and to pay for a substantial share of the Pentagon's military expenditures, filling gaps in the federal budget and in the balance of trade and payments of the United States. At the beginning of 1985, when interest rates were lowered and the value of the dollar dropped compared with the other currencies by nearly one-third, the United States benefited greatly thanks to the possibility of increasing exports, making its output more competitive in the world markets and engaging in a concentrated currency dumping.

In their effort to protect themselves from financial difficulties and losses caused by the changing rate of the dollar, in the spring of 1979 the eight members of the Common Market founded their European monetary system. This was an effort, by creating a "currency stability zone," to inaugurate a new phase in the undeclared currency war on the United States and Japan. However, this effort did not bring about expected results. This currency group is being corroded by contradictions among its charter members. No stability resulted. In its 7 years of life the system has had 14 devaluations of its "weak" and 20 revaluations of its "strong" currencies. The European currency did not become an efficient counterweight to the dollar, which retained its status as the main currency in the capitalist world. In fact, more than one half of accounts in global capitalist trade are settled in American currency; the price of petroleum, including that which Western Europe and Japan purchase, is

set in dollars; the share of the dollar in the overall amount of international bank credits has reached the 80 percent level; dollar holdings account for approximately three-quarters of all currency reserves of central banks of capitalist countries.

The offensive mounted by the American dollar and the policy of raising interest rates had had a most fatal impact on the economic situation of the liberated countries, which are the largest international borrowers. Their foreign indebtedness has exceeded the \$1 trillion mark. Manipulations with interest rates lead to the fact that every year the United States extracts from other countries tens of billions of dollars. Nearly one half of this amount is interest.

The conflicting nature of the development of the global capitalist economy is intensified by outbreaks not only of currency wars and wars of interest rates and loans, but also trade and customs wars and even wars over licenses and standards. The extensively publicized principle of "liberalization" of foreign economic policy means nothing other than a concealed mechanism of state-monopoly protectionism in old and, particularly, new aspects. In recent years a protectionist epidemic has spread to commodities worth hundreds of billions of dollars. A broad range of non-tariff barriers has been put on the service of protectionism. The importance of so-called "voluntary" but, in reality, forced export limitations, has increased particularly greatly.

In the past, behind the protectionist barrier which had been erected by the EEC, Western Europe had attained self-sufficiency in grain and animal husbandry products, which was hindering the U.S. agrarian expansion. Today such contradictions have obtained a new development. The EEC is becoming a net exporter of some farm products, competing with the United States on the world market. The Common Market countries and the European Free Trade Association have completed the process of establishing a vast zone of free trade in industrial commodities. Today American imperialism is trying to open new breaches in fortifications such as the high customs rates which have protected the Western European market from the rest of the world.

As a whole, in assessing the processes occurring in the foreign trade area of interimperialist contradictions, we could say with full justification that today as well the struggle within it is not between free trade and protectionism but "between one imperialism against another, one monopoly against another, one financial capital against another" (V.I. Lenin, op cit., vol 27, p 412). The commercial-economic struggle on the world market is taking place with increased reliance on the power of "domestic" state-monopoly capital, with the increasingly aggressive and self-seeking role of the bourgeois state on the service of capitalism.

American imperialism is resorting increasingly and ever more persistently to efforts to hinder and slow down the development of the economies of its rivals with the help of noneconomic methods, using pretexts of a political and military-strategic nature. It makes use of the increased burden of military expenditures and direct manipulation of foreign economic relations with partners, allegedly in the "interest of security" of the West and its "political cohesion" in the face of the "Soviet military threat" and the

"onslaught of global communism." New huge programs for the production of nuclear weapons and delivery means are being implemented in the course of Washington's efforts to retain and, if possible, to increase the distance in the military and technical area which separates the United States from its closest allies-competitors and guarantees the preservation of American hegemony.

Washington's "Strategic Defense Initiative" serves these purposes most openly. Time is exposing an increasing number of its facets and plans and assessments in the link between the United States and this far-reaching concept. Unquestionably, the wedge of the military and economic doctrine of a space-originated first strike is directed against the USSR and the entire socialist community. Here its objectives are most obvious and sinister: to restore the former military superiority of the United States, regain, on a new qualitative level, the lost opportunity of dealing a first strike with impunity and restore the previous status of territorial invulnerability of the United States, and thus to free the hands of American militarism. Along the way, its purpose is also to hinder, to slow down the economic development of our country and world socialism as a whole by imposing upon it the excessive burden of expenditures in the space arms race.

Incidentally, this is by no means a new idea. As early as 1947, the developers of the "restraining" doctrine thought of "increasing to a gigantic extent the burden under which the Soviet system would operate," investing practical directives in this approach. The results are familiar: they were unable to undermine the development of the Soviet economy, although forced defense expenditures could not fail to slow down the growth rates in improving the living standard of the people, or affect the solution of social problems. However, this strategic line struck the United States as well, causing great harm to the national security of the country, which had lost its invulnerability. Actually, this fact did not make U.S. policy any more far-sighted. The only new feature here is that, without any particular considerations, efforts are being made to apply the old approaches and views to the new area--space--assuming that here they will succeed in what they failed to achieve at different times in other matters and in other directions. As the current U.S. "1984-1988 Defense Manual" emphasizes, "Military rivalry with the USSR must be channeled into new areas, thus making all previous Soviet defense expenditure meaningless...." This is the familiar--and repeatedly "tried" reliance on exhausting our country in the course of the arms race, this time, however, through the most expensive and most deadly means in terms of possible consequences. The groundlessness of such considerations and the impossibility of implementing the hopes linked to them do not make such plans any less dangerous.

The time which has passed since the officially proclaimed SDI by the Reagan administration has revealed other aspects of the space armament program, such as technological imperialism, aggressively directed against the entire world, in all of its manifestations and trends, in the most direct meaning of the term. This also applies to U.S. allies in military-political blocs. The American views are simple: to attain the type of scientific and technical development and technology which would leave behind its closest imperialist allies-competitors, thus rushing ahead economically as well, and exercising

increasingly rigid control and radically blocking the very possibility than any "power center" in the capitalist world would dare even to acquire the possibility of really challenging the United States.

The United States, which makes virtually no effort to conceal this, yearns and dreams of restoring the situation which prevailed during the first postwar years, when Western Europe and Japan, ruined by the war, obediently waited for American economic charity and political orders. It cannot be denied that Washington has some reasons for such feelings, for the U.S. share in these areas in the capitalist economy and politics is incomparably greater. Something else as well is unquestionable: if the United States is successful to restore, albeit partially, the situation which existed within the imperialist elite on the eve of the adoption of the Marshall Plan, the American economic and military-political diktat, taking into consideration the class experience acquired since then, would become much more demanding and stricter.

Are the capitalist states aware of this? Naturally, to a certain extent they are, for otherwise Western reaction to the American SDI would not have been so disparate. On the one hand, the military-industrial corporations are hoping to gain economic and technological benefits and even the ability to outstrip the Americans in the military-technological race, even if only in some areas. Such ideas are particularly obvious in the FRG and Japan. The future, and the future alone, will indicate the extent to which such hopes are substantiated. At the same time, however, the ruling circles of Western Europe and Japan cannot fail to see and sense the numerous dangers and traps concealed in SDI plans; furthermore, they know quite well from personal experience the nature of their elder partner. For the time being, however, such fears are not being voiced very loudly. There still is no full understanding of the depth and treachery of the American strategic concept and the extent to which it clashes with the interest of other countries and entire areas in the West.

Correspondingly, nor can there be any certainty that the United States would not succeed in deceiving and outstripping its SDI partners, both technologically and politically. Today we can only speculate on such a turn of affairs, although it has already become unquestionable that SDI was conceived as a means of military-technical support for U.S. imperial policy in the next round of global developments and the scientific and technical revolution. The doctrine of a threat from space and first strike has already shown quite clearly its aggressive and militaristic nature, politically, militarily and technologically. Therefore, it will substantially influence interimperialist contradictions in terms of the degree of their gravity and forms of manifestation. Furthermore, Washington is ceaselessly trying to involve some NATO countries in a variety of regional conflicts, for which it is using the entire system of imperialist military-political alliances as well as a variety of differentiated forms of pressure on individual countries. Having charted a course of increased military-political confrontation with the USSR and the other socialist states, the American administration is trying to force its political satellites and assistants in military blocs to break vitally important commercial and economic relations with the socialist countries and cause major economic harm to the EEC and Japan.

The purpose of this multiple strategy is to involve the American allies in the implementation of Washington's hegemonistic plans, weaken their competitive positions in the world markets and, at the same time, alleviate its own military burden, which is becoming unbearable even to the United States. Heterogeneous processes are developing in this area of interimperialist contradictions. On the one hand, the Reagan administration has been able to make the Western European countries and Japan apply restrictions in their exports of advanced technology to the USSR and in importing a number of commodities, as well as in the area of foreign trade credits. On the other hand, however, the ever more tangible unwillingness of EEC countries and Japan to join in the large-scale actions aimed at freezing and lowering economic cooperation with the socialist countries is a new trend in interimperialist relations in the 1980s. Difficulties in this area are forcing the United States to moderate somewhat its policy of economic blackmail aimed at the USSR and the other socialist countries.

Many countries in the capitalist world, including members of NATO, are becoming wary of the behavior of the present American administration. Naturally, it is not a question of substantially weakening the numerous ties, of a class nature above all, which link these countries and their ruling circles to the U.S. monopoly oligarchy. Nevertheless, here as well an understanding is growing to the effect that Washington's policy is not only extremely selfish. It is threatening the entire contemporary capitalist global economy in terms of economics and finance, and the life, the very existence of mankind, in the military-political area. Naturally, under these circumstances, the course charted by the United States and some of its actions are increasingly triggering irritation, disagreement and opposition and search for alternatives in the other capitalist countries, including those in which conservative parties and governments are in power.

Therefore, the dialectics of the economic and political development of contemporary capitalism proves to be much more complex and contradictory than one could assume merely on the basis of the fact that the United States has retained its leadership. Furthermore, the strategic course and practical behavior of the United States, in the totality of its military, economic, political and socioideological factors, are conflicting ever more clearly with the interests of all mankind. This contradiction cannot be resolved simply. It will continue to develop under the conditions of struggle and interaction among different forces. The consequences are hard to predict. In any case, however, they will depend on the real correlation of forces and strength of the influence of the common sense and reason of the people and the extent to which the population within the "American empire" will be able to gain truthful information on the true policy pursued by the United States and become aware of its selfish motivations and destructive consequences.

### III

Reality indicates that the centrifugal forces are weakening but by no means eliminating the desire to establish a general, essentially economic, capitalist alliance, an alliance among imperialists of all countries, an alliance which is natural and inevitable in terms of defending capital, which

knows no fatherland, a process which V.I. Lenin described as the "basic economic trend of the capitalist system" (see op cit., vol 36, pp 328-329).

The peculiarity of the contemporary forms of the centripetal trends is manifested in the fact that they are developing primarily on the basis of integration, within the framework of economic and military-political alliances which today, for the first time in history, are encompassing the overwhelming majority of imperialist countries. Military coalitions of "global empires" which fought each other in the past have now essentially been pushed aside by the global trend of multinational monopoly capital to join forces on an antisocialist, antiprogress and antidemocratic basis. Sensing its historical doom, it is trying to adapt to contemporary conditions the objective confrontation between the forces of peace and progress and those of war and reaction. It is trying to act together, and to smoothen or conceal the contradictions and conflicts which divide it.

The growth and strengthening of the international positions of socialism and the national liberation movement, the anti-imperialist and antimonopoly activities in the capitalist centers and the periphery of capitalism are turning class cohesion and the unity of strategic objectives and joint actions literally into a question of life or death for a regime on its way out. As Marx noted in his time, "Detecting so few fraternal feelings in their reciprocal rivalry, nevertheless the capitalist act like a truly Masonic fraternity in the struggle against the working class as a whole" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 25, part I, p 217).

Essentially, the world is facing a painful historical reaction on the part of the most militant segment of the monopoly bourgeoisie to the most serious difficulties and contradictions which arise in the course of the deepening of the overall crisis of capitalism, with its nostalgia for the times when it was able to decide the destinies of nations with virtual impunity. It is under such circumstances that illusory hopes are triggered of a possible "correction" of history and the fact that the restoration of the positions lost by imperialism is allegedly within the range of the possible and the attainable: suffice it to act more decisively, energetically and firmly, not stopping at the threat of the use of nuclear power and, above all, jointly.

The fanning of a militaristic zeal and the efforts, following the United States, to spread it among other NATO countries and some American allies who are not members of North Atlantic bloc, Japan above all, which the American leadership would like to involve more profoundly in its military plans in the Asian-Pacific area, are a dangerous component of social revenge. Other manifestations of the desire for unification among imperialists from different countries are the plans to expand the geographic area under NATO's official influence and to take a global approach to security problems.

Nevertheless, despite the class commonality of political-strategic concepts, substantial differences on a number of points may be noted in the specific views held by the United States and its allies. The international adventurism of the American military is by no means consistent with the approach of the Western European NATO countries and Japan which, for a variety of reasons (insufficient domestic natural resources, great dependence on foreign economic

relations, etc.) prefer to limit their functions in the military area essentially on the regional level. Furthermore, they fear that their global economic relations could be disturbed or weakened as a result of the further aggravation of regional conflicts, such as those in the Near and Middle East, or under conditions of an overall worsening of the international political situation.

A qualitatively new situation has now developed in the political and strategic relations among these countries and in the deployment of their forces. Two broad and, in all likelihood, quite durable trends are becoming apparent in the approach taken by monopoly capital to its problems under contemporary conditions. The promoters of the first are the most reactionary and militant groups of the American bourgeoisie, the military-industrial complex of the United States and the related similar socioeconomic formations and reactionary forces in other capitalist and some developing countries. The essence of this trend is reliance on a forced change in the course of history, through military or other ways. Although certain to fail, this reliance is extremely dangerous.

In the economic area, this trend has been manifested in the development of a powerful multinational industrial and financial capitalism in the last 20 or 30 years. As the 27th CPSU Congress emphasized, the American monopolies are its nucleus. The complex of overseas enterprises they have developed are twice or three times superior to the economy of any individual leading Western European country. But there is more to it. The multinational corporations, whose sales exceed the GNP of dozens of individual capitalist countries, have become an active instrument in the destruction of the state sovereignty of such countries and for a most shameless interference in their domestic affairs.

Meanwhile, in the military area this power trend has been reflected and manifested in the global development of a material potential and an infrastructure of something which could be conventionally described as the "combined military power" of imperialism, based on the military-economic power of its mother country--the United States--and the ever more active role in military preparations by the Western European NATO countries, Japan, Canada, Australia and some other developed and developing countries and territories with pro-American governments, (Israel, Pakistan, South Africa, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, Taiwan), whose military possibilities have substantially increased with the Pentagon's active assistance. Finally, in the political area, the power trend is being reflected in the aspiration of some Western forces, in the United States above all, to abandon the policy and achievements of detente, to dismantle them and to instill chauvinism and militarism as an inseparable component of political thinking and political practices "at home" and abroad.

Whereas until the mid 1970s the role of countries allied with the United States was reduced essentially to providing the most favorable conditions for the use of the military power of American imperialism and for attaining their own political objectives, today the political-strategic picture is being changed. The growth of the economic and political possibilities of the American allies and, on this basis, the gradual strengthening of their

political influence are leading to the appearance of a sort of military-strategic imperialist subcenters, which are trying to play an increasingly noticeable role in securing regional imperialist interests. Hence the efforts of the reactionary forces to create a comprehensive global system of military-political "division of labor," supported by a corresponding material potential and practical coordination of military policy and aggressive actions on the part of its participants, and standardization of armaments, strategic and tactical concepts and even combat regulations of armed forces.

It is needless to emphasize that the U.S. militaristic circles look upon the development of such a structure in the future as the practically exclusive, they believe, and impeccable means of preserving American "leadership" in the capitalist world. In this case, U.S. hegemony has in mind to combine American military-technical superiority over the other capitalist countries with political "leadership" and diktat exerted by Washington and the by the neocolonial plundering of the peoples of the developing countries through the system developed by the American banks. Brought to its logical conclusion, this power line in interimperialist relations would mean nothing other than the military and political enslavement of the entire capitalist world by the United States and an unparalleled increase in the threat of war throughout the world.

Another trend exists as well. In our time, in the capitalist part of the planet as well, an understanding is growing to the effect that a military solution to the most difficult socioeconomic problems of our time may be fictitious. Actually, it is not only fictitious but can worsen, irreversibly in a number of cases, the contradictions and difficulties of capitalism. Naturally, domestic capital would not be unwilling to deprive the United States of one position or another in the course of interimperialist rivalry, including the strengthening of its own military-political role, although at the start within the framework defined by Washington. However, there are no sufficient grounds to claim that such a development would continue exclusively under American control and with American scenarios. History proves differently: sooner or later, any change in the correlation among material forces and possibilities leads to changes in the roles played by the individual imperialist countries in the international arena.

Another essential factor is becoming increasingly noticeable. Not only progressive forces but also many bourgeois leaders, groups and movements are realizing that the military-industrial complex of the imperialist countries has long become one of the most powerful boosters of aggravation and worsening of virtually all contradictions inherent in capitalism, both domestic and international. The point is not only that the arms race is exhausting resources which could be used to lower and abate socioeconomic contradictions. Militarism itself, as a political and spiritual phenomenon, has as its inevitable consequence the aggravation of existing conflicts of interest, reducing political thinking to power methods and forms of their resolution. Demanding constant and ever increasing boosting, promoting diktat and piracy, imposing on others an alien policy conflicting with their will and interests, in the long range militarism can only destroy--both directly and metaphorically--without creating anything. Quite indicative in this respect is the fact that no single fascist regime has been able to withstand the test

of time, even if the darkness of despotism lasted a long time in one country or another. Under the burden of the problems they created and greatly intensified, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek, Argentine, Brazilian, Philippino and other fascist regimes collapsed. Today even in the West few people doubt that the same fate expects the antipeople's regimes in Chile, South Africa, South Korea and Pakistan. Those who are opening the doors to militarism in their own countries should consider this phenomenon and its inner meaning and significance.

Reality itself proves that no steps taken to stimulate centripetal trends can eliminate the traditional and new forms of interimperialist contradictions. The imperialist countries are trying to coordinate their economic, political and ideological strategy, and to set up a common front of struggle against socialism and all revolutionary liberation movements. However, the efforts to create a guiding center and coordination mechanism for a harmonious imperialist strategy in all areas are proving to be inefficient. The contradictions which divide and destabilize capitalism increase their centrifugal effect.

"Unquestionably, the confrontation between centrifugal and centripetal trends, as a result of changes in the correlation of forces, will continue within the imperialist system," the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress notes. "It would be difficult to expect that the existing complex of economic, military-political and other common interests of the three 'power centers' may be broken within the actual circumstances of the present world. However, within this complex, Washington should not expect the submissive opinions to American diktat by its allies-competitors, the more so to the detriment of their interests."

The flexibility and dynamism of Soviet foreign policy, after the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and its aspiration toward achieving the objective considered most important to all nations--rescuing mankind from the threat of nuclear catastrophe and the burden of a senseless, dangerous and expensive arms race--have highlighted, among others, the depth and gravity of contemporary interimperialist contradictions. They lifted their propaganda cover and proved that not everything is as smooth in relations in the Western world as presented at summit meetings of leaders of capitalist countries.

The problem of interimperialist contradictions has never been "a thing within itself," and it is even less so today. The gravity of these contradictions, the forms of their manifestation and the possibility of their limited elimination are most directly related to the answers which capitalism provides to the key problems of our time: the prevention of nuclear war and the solution of the global problems of mankind.

Whereas in the past wars, including world wars, were the highest point of interimperialist contradictions and the principal way of solving them, today the situation has changed radically as a result of the significant narrowing of the area where the law of uneven economic and political development of capitalism can operate. History has frequently advanced through paradoxes. One of them is that the founding of world socialism, its steadily growing power and the processes of the liberation struggle of the peoples of the

developing countries have long placed imperialism in a situation in which it no longer can, as in the past, engage above all and exclusively through military means, in the division of the spoils among imperialist predators. The successes achieved by the forces of progress have drastically reduced the likelihood of interimperialist military conflicts and possibilities of large internecine wars within the imperialist camp. The achievements and benefits of socialism and its historical gains are exerting today their positive influence on the life of the peoples of the capitalist countries as well. The forced conversion of imperialism to peaceful forms of easing and temporary elimination of its own contradictions is one of the numerous consequences of the social changes of the age which began in October 1917.

The next problem to be solved is immeasurably more complex: to save the world from the threat of nuclear catastrophe and force imperialism to abandon the use of military means in solving international disputes and conflicts and, above all, efforts to apply such means in solving the main contradiction of our age: the historical confrontation between socialism and capitalism. There is no fatal inevitability of a new world war. Such is the conclusion which the communists reached long ago. However, nor is peace guaranteed: one must struggle for peace, for the forces of war have at their disposal tremendous means of destruction, the threat of which becomes greatly enhanced in the case of a society suffering from a complex of doom.

As was emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress, the communists have always represented the path of social progress with its entire internal complexity and contradictoriness. Imperialism and its contradictions triggered two world and numerous colonial wars and brought the nations incalculable catastrophes and suffering. In our time imperialism is opposed by the powerful forces of the world of socialism and social progress. An aggressive foreign policy, the militarization of thinking and acting and of the entire way of life, and scorn for the interests and rights of others will inevitably isolate morally and politically those who are pursuing a militaristic and antidemocratic course, an isolation which will entail tangible consequences on different levels. The ways leading to nuclear catastrophe are, unquestionably, numerous. The way to the survival of mankind is only one. It is only those bent on suicide who can ignore this.

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## PRODUCTION INTENSIFICATION AND RATIONAL USE OF NATURE

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[Article by M. Lemeshev, head of laboratory at USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium Commission for the Study of Production Forces and Natural Resources, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] The problems of converting to intensification and all-round enhancement of economic and social efficiency urgently face all areas of public reproduction in connection with the overall strategy of accelerating the country's development. They are becoming increasingly topical in the utilization of nature, the planned management of which becomes a major trend in perfecting the socialist economy. The new edition of the CPSU program emphasizes that "scientific and technical progress must be aimed at radically improving the utilization of natural resources, raw materials, materials, fuel and energy at all stages, from the extraction and comprehensive processing of raw materials to the production and utilization of finished products."

### I

The viewpoint according to which any anthropogenic activity inevitably leads to the worsening of the environment, its pollution and degradation and the exhaustion of natural resources has become widespread in publications on problems of the interaction between nature and society. In our view, this evaluation is, to say the least, one-sided. The comprehensive activities of society can have not only a negative influence on the natural environment but also contribute to its development and ennoblement. It is precisely thus that the effect of scientific and technical progress can be not only one which exhausts and destroys natural resources but which also multiplies them through the more efficient utilization of traditional types of natural resources and the involvement in public production of new and practically inexhaustible types of natural resources and forces of nature. Such an opportunity is found in the objective law of the growing production power of labor. The results and consequences of anthropogenic activities essentially depend on social factors. The nature of influence of society on nature is determined by the precise nature of the society and its attitude toward the natural environment.

Thus, for example, the aggravation of the energy problem in the most developed capitalist countries in the 1970s and 1980s clearly revealed, on the one hand,

the limited nature of traditional sources of energy--petroleum above all--and, on the other, the wasteful nature of consumption of the most scarce power carriers, created by the capitalist production and distribution system. The planned nature of development of the socialist economy made it possible to avoid crisis situations in the power sector not only in the USSR--a country rich in energy resources--but also in all the members of the socialist community.

Fuel extraction in the USSR increased from 1,221,800,000 tons (in standard units) in 1970 to 2,137,300,000 tons in 1985, i.e., by 75 percent. Although this is an impressive growth, nevertheless it is quite difficult to achieve a balanced satisfaction of the needs of the rapidly expanding need of the national economy and the population for power resources. In particular, this is explained by the increased cost of fuel extraction due to the exploitation of poorer deposits or else deposits located in geographically and geologically less accessible locations. That is why the party is directing all economic sectors and enterprises toward comprehensive conservation of power resources. Some results in this respect are already clear. For example, use of conventional fuel per kilowatt-hour of electric power was reduced from 367 grams in 1970 to 326 grams in 1985. For comparison's sake let us point out that in the United States the figure was 360 grams in 1983. Let us note that reducing the specific fuel outlays for electric power by a single gram means, on the scale of the USSR, the conservation of more than 1 million tons of standard fuel.

The positive trend which was noted in the more efficient utilization of power resources should be considered the beginning of the implementation of the system of steps taken to conserve energy. The 27th CPSU Congress called for reducing power intensiveness in the national income by no less than a factor of 1.4 by the year 2000. Our country has tremendous possibilities for such conservation. In the past 15 to 20 years primarily high-energy consumption technologies and production facilities have been created, which led not only to the inefficient utilization of fuel and electric power but also to increasing the amount of effluents polluting the environment. This trend was characteristic of the USSR and the other members of the socialist community. In the 1970s the energy-intensiveness of the national income in the European members of CEMA declined less rapidly than in the EEC countries, which increased the gap in this indicator between said groups of countries. In 1980 the power-intensiveness per unit of national income in the European CEMA members was approximately 30-40 percent higher than the average for the FRG, France, England and Italy. In terms of specific power-intensiveness of the national income, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria and the GDR exceeded the average indicator of said Common Market members by a factor of almost 1.5.

The increased level of energy availability of the national economy depends on the efficiency with which available power resources are used and the intensiveness of their extraction. For the time being, reserves of energy bearers are being extracted and exploited by no means completely. Under developing conditions expanding the scale of extraction of the most valuable and, essentially exhaustible source of energy--petroleum--must be achieved not only and even less through surveys and development of new deposits than by increasing the yields of oil-bearing seams at already surveyed and exploited

locations. At the present time, on an average for the USSR, about two-thirds of the surveyed and potentially accessible petroleum reserves at exploited deposits remain in the ground. Yet, with the help of the use of so-called secondary extraction methods (flooding, fracturing, acidification) seam yields could be raised to the 60-65 percent level and, with the use tertiary methods (such as flooding with the use of chemicals, and application of magnetic and electric fields on productive seams), to the 91-93 percent level. Clearly, the increased extent of extraction of potential petroleum reserves to the level of such parameters would be the equivalent of increasing resources by a factor of 1.5-2 without undertaking extraction at new and, as a rule, more expensive deposits.

Let us add to this the efficient utilization of petroleum gas, which accompanies petroleum extraction, and which is being uselessly burned in torches at present. In the main petroleum-bearing part of the country--the middle reaches of the Ob River--the number of such torches has been estimated in the hundreds. High-calorie fuel, needed for the generation of electric power at thermoelectric power plants and as a most valuable raw material for many chemicals, is being burned needlessly. Our country has already acquired experience in the efficient utilization of this natural resource. The first gas treatment plant was built in the Tyumen Priobye in the mid 1970s. Today capacities have been created here which can process about 20 billion cubic meters of gas annually. In 1985 the Tyumen petroleum workers put to use about 70 percent of petroleum gas. However, even this indicator is not the limit. In the United States and Canada it accounts for 95 to 98 percent of available petroleum gas resources. Attaining such a level of utilization of petroleum gas, considering our own petroleum extraction volume, would be a huge reserve for increasing the amount of inexpensive power carriers, assessed in the hundreds of millions of tons of standard fuel. Considerable possibilities exist in the other fuel industry sectors as well--gas, coal and shale.

## II

However substantial conservation possibilities may be, the traditional energy resources are not unlimited. They are exhaustible. Contemporary global consumption of fuel and energy resources in terms of standard fuel per capita is about 2 tons per year. Forecasts of population increases and of higher specific consumption of power per person in the world (particularly taking into consideration increased energy availability in the developing countries) indicate that the exhaustion of traditional power resources may take place in the first decades of the 21st century. Therefore, it is necessary as of now to undertake the scientific and technical development of efficient means of the application of new, practically inexhaustible and recoverable sources of energy. Leading among them at the present level of development of science and technology is nuclear power. Its utilization was undertaken relatively recently. The first nuclear electric power plant (AES) was built in Obninsk, near Moscow. Today the Leningrad, Zaporozhye, South Ukrainian and other AES are operating nuclear power reactors with a capacity of 1 million kilowatts each. The first power unit of the Ingalin AES, which has the most powerful reactor in the world, generating 1.5 million kilowatts, was commissioned in 1983. In accordance with the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the production of electric power at all AES in the country will reach 390 billion

kilowatt/hours by 1990 and its share in the overall output will exceed 20 percent. Such a solution of the problem will enable us to save approximately 1 million tons of organic fuel.

The advantage of the AES compared to thermoelectric power plants is not only that they help us to conserve traditional energy resources, such as petroleum, coal and natural gas, but also the fact that they do not require oxygen for uranium combustion. Furthermore, they do not pollute the atmosphere and the adjacent territory with ash, sulfurous compounds and other harmful combustion products. Nevertheless, the experience in their operation proves that contemporary AES are still by no means perfect. To begin with, reserves of the main source of fuel for them--uranium ore--are also limited. Second, modern reactors use no more than 1-2 percent of the potential energy of this type of fuel. Third, they are a source of heat pollution of surrounding water reservoirs, for the temperature of the water needed to cool the reactors necessarily rises. Finally, as the number and capacity of such stations increase, objectively the problem of their safe operation and the safe storage of radioactive waste becomes more difficult.

According to the scientists, the creation of breeder reactors using fast neutrons, which solve the problem of the self-generation of nuclear fuel for nuclear electric power plants, is the answer to surmounting the negative aspect to the development of the nuclear power industry. Reactors using fast neutrons, coupled with reactors using heat neutrons, can increase the generating of energy per unit of natural uranium by a factor of 20-30.

The development and mastery of the production of power units generating 800,000 kilowatts with fast neutron reactors is planned for the 12th 5-year period. In the future, it will be economically more advantageous to use uranium resources which are presently of no industrial significance, such as the uranium contained in the oceans. This represents a virtually unlimited source of energy. Even more efficient is the development of means of utilization of unlimited thermonuclear resources, i.e., the energy obtained as a result of the nuclear synthesis of light atomic nuclei. According to the specialists, the creation of the initial projects for the practical generating of thermonuclear energy will be possible by the end of our century.

The event at the Chernobyl AES raised new complex problems for all countries and the science and practice of power-plant construction. The future of the global economy can be difficult to imagine without the development of a nuclear power industry. Currently, there are about 370 nuclear power reactors, including 40 the total capacity of which exceeds 28 million kilowatts, in our country. It is believed that by the year 2000 nuclear power plants will account for more than 20 percent of the overall electric power production in the world.

Ensuring maximal safety in the course of the peaceful development of the tremendous power contained within the atomic nucleus has become today a truly global, a universal problem. The "Program for the Creation of an International System for the Safe Development of a Nuclear Power Industry,"

which was submitted by the Soviet Union at the special session of the MAGATE General Conference in Vienna (1986) is a major contribution to its solution.

The initial steps in its implementation were taken at the meeting of the Convention on the Fast Notification of a Nuclear Accident and the Convention on Aid in the Case of Nuclear Accident or Radiation Breakdown Situation. These agreements were initialed by 55 countries. Last November they were ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The conclusion of the two conventions was essential in developing confidence. It clearly proves the real possibility of reaching agreements relative to safety problems as well. Finally, they are a convincing example of the fact that countries can jointly seek and find solutions to difficult problems in which politics and economics and scientific and technical and humanitarian aspects frequently become interwoven. The activities of MAGATE in this respect were approved by the 41st UN General Assembly.

The Soviet Union will continue to do everything possible to implement its program for the full and comprehensive elimination of nuclear weapons. In this connection, the safe development of a nuclear power industry as well can and must become a major contribution to ensuring universal security.

As to specific steps aimed at increasing the safety of AES operating or under construction on Soviet territory, above all their technological reliability during the period of their operation, will continue to be enhanced; currently the basic equipment is being dismantled or stored after its resources have been exhausted (the average active life of an AES is approximately 30 years); more advanced means are being sought for burying, storing and utilizing radioactive waste. As M.S. Gorbachev pointed out, "To us the indisputable lesson of Chernobyl is the fact that under the conditions of the further development of the scientific and technical revolution problems of the reliability of equipment and its safe operation, and problems of discipline, order and organization are assuming prime significance. The strictest possible requirements must be introduced everywhere and in everything."

In noting the extensive possibilities of increasing the power potential of the country through the use of progressive methods for obtaining and utilizing power resources, we should also point out some restricting circumstances. The first is the essential exhaustion of traditional energy resources. The second is the continuing increase in the cost of raw material production. Thus, estimates of some authors indicate that in 1960 it took 2 rubles' worth of capital investments per ruble of additional increase in raw materials; the figure rose to 3 rubles in the 1970s and 4 rubles in the 1980s. The third is the growing chemical, mechanical, thermal and radiation pollution, the destruction and degradation of the natural environment and the threat to human health. The elimination and prevention of such negative consequences, require major material and labor outlays.

The consideration of all of these circumstances objectively formulates the strategic task of developing and mastering essentially new means of obtaining energy from inexhaustible sources. The achievements of Soviet science and technology have created the necessary prerequisites for involving in the fuel and energy balance nontraditional energy sources, such as that of the sun,

wind and tides and the heat contained deep within the earth. A characteristic feature of these sources of energy is their steady renewability. Furthermore, their use has no harmful influence on the environment, something which today is of tremendous socioeconomic and ecological significance.

The use of wind power plays a particular role in the renewable sources of energy. As early as the end of the 1940s, in his works Academician A.V. Vinter substantiated the expediency of the production and use in our country of several tens of thousands of wind-driven motors generating an overall power of 20 million kilowatts. Some successes have been achieved in this area. In the 1960s, for example, an experimental 12-unit wind-driven electric power station (VES) generating 400 kilowatts, was built and is being successfully used in Kazakhstan. Plans for VES generating 1,000, 5,000 and 40,000 kilowatts have been drawn up.

The natural and climatic features of many of our areas favor the extensive use of solar and wind energy, which are essentially eternal, inexhaustible energy sources. These areas include the Central Asia, Kazakhstan, the Crimea, the Northern Caucasus, the area along the Volga, the Altay and others.

Soviet scientists and designers have developed a number of economical devices for various purposes, which allow us to use solar and wind energy in agriculture. They include water fresheners, water heaters and cooking utensils, dryers, greenhouses, and solar air conditioners. Unfortunately, such progressive equipment is being developed extremely slowly and unwillingly. The insignificant scale of utilization of nontraditional sources of energy is explained essentially with the weak development of scientific and design work in this area, insufficient financing and absence of specialized plants for the production of wind and solar energy systems and organizations responsible for their application.

Nevertheless, promising technology for the generation of energy is persistently making its way. Thus, the champion of Soviet solar energy--an electric power plant generating 5,000 kilowatts--is under construction in Leninskiy Rayon, in the Crimea. In terms of today's scale of development of the power energy, this capacity is quite modest: thermoelectric power plants generating 5-6 billion kilowatts each are under construction in the Ekibastuz and Kansk-Achinsk Basins. However, let us not forget that the power of the first AES was 4,000 kilowatts only.

According to N.N. Semenov and USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member K.I. Zamarayev, the sun rays reaching a territory of approximately 70 square kilometers in Central Asia contain energy equivalent to 600 million tons of petroleum. About 60 such areas may be placed in the Karakum desert alone. Naturally, it will not be possible to make use of the entire energy of the sun rays. Nevertheless, even with 80 percent losses in potential solar energy, the amount of electric power currently produced in the USSR by all other electric power plants could be generated in this region from a 65-square kilometer area. Let us particularly note that, although difficult, this problem is entirely possible to resolve.

The fact that intensive solar radiation is localized in relatively few southern parts of the country is no reason to abandon the large-scale development of solar energy. We have already technically solved the problems of the highly efficient transportation of electric power along high-voltage DC currents over distances of thousands of kilometers with insignificant losses in electric power. This would make it possible to combine within a single power grid solar-power generating stations greatly distant from each other and from power consumption areas.

It is true that the extensive use of semiconductor solar energy converters for electric power is, for the time being, hindered by their relatively high cost. Consequently, the question arises of finding more economical means of converting solar energy. The importance and promising nature of this objective are unquestionable. The problem must be solved over the next decade. One of the major reasons in favor of this is the fact that this source is ecologically clean, i.e., there are no harmful effluents polluting the environment or any additional increase in the temperature of the earth's surface.

The search for efficient means of utilizing solar energy is actively being pursued in many parts of the world. In Japan, for example, a national "Solar Light" program has been in operation since the end of the last decade. Its purpose is to reduce to a minimum the dependence of the country's power industry on imported petroleum, coal and natural gas, resources which are virtually absent in Japan. The program has combined the efforts of scientists and specialists in the study of the sun, the earth and the ocean, and designers of systems for coal gasification, chemists and physicists, who have dedicated themselves to the study of the energy-generating potential of hydrogen, etc. When the program is completed, by the year 2000, Japan hopes that more than 70 percent of its needs for energy will be met out of such sources.

The use of geothermal energy is a promising trend in the development of the power industry. Reserves of this type of energy are essentially inexhaustible and could be generated continuously. Anywhere on earth the temperature at a depth of 10-15 kilometers reaches several hundred degrees, which makes it possible to obtain quite efficient amounts of steam and power. The difficulties in this area are caused by the complexity of the recovery of the heat. Nevertheless, according to the specialists this problem as well can be solved. Thus, in California, one of the largest and economically most developed states in the United States, as early as 1979 the share of geothermal power in the overall energy balance had reached 1.1 percent; according to forecasts, it will reach 10.2 percent by the year 2000.

Of late increasing attention has been paid to the use of the energy of sea tides. In terms of a potential of tide energy, our country is among the leading in the world. Such potential is particularly high along the shores of the White, Barents and Okhotsk Seas. Thus, in Murmansk the tide wave is 4 meters high; it is 7 meters high in Lumbovskiy Bay, 9 meters in Mezenskiy Bay and 11 meters in the Penzhinskiy Gulf, in the Sea of Okhotsk. According to some estimates, their energy is assessed at 200-300 billion kilowatt hours per

year, which is several hundred percent higher than the annual production of energy by all electric power plants within the Volga Power System.

The first experimental tide power-generating station in the USSR was built at Kislaya Bay, not far from Murmansk. Its first turbine, with a generating capacity of 400 kilowatts, began to produce electricity in 1968. The experience in building the Kislogubskaya PS and the comprehensive studies made in the course of its building and operation, have led to the solution of a number of engineering-technical and economic problems which are of practical interest in terms of power construction in the future.

Also noteworthy is foreign experience acquired in developing tide energy. Thus, in France this concept has existed for quite some time. As early as the 12th century the Bretons had built mills the wheels of which were driven by the tide waves. The same principle is used today in the construction of contemporary power plants. One of them has been in operation of nearly 20 years in Brittany, at the estuary of the Rance River. The operating wheels of the station are activated in the course of the ebbs and flows. However, special pumps are also being used which pump additional water, to ensure the uninterrupted work of the turbines for 18 hours daily.

The power plant is a dam 500 meters long, separating the estuary of the river from the sea. All power units are located in it; every year its 24 turbines produce 500 million kilowatt/hours of electric power.

This power plant is not only a unique impeccably working power project but also a major research center. Its scientists have designed a new electric power plant with a productivity of 35 billion kilowatt/hours per year, which will be constructed 60 kilometers east of the estuary of the Rance River.

The use of animal husbandry waste is a promising area in the development of the power industry. With the creation of animal husbandry complexes, tremendous concentrations of cattle, ranging into the tens of thousands of animals, develop. The premises are cleaned with water flushing, which drastically reduces manual labor. However, to begin with, this means a loss of manure, which is a most valuable organic fertilizer and, secondly, leads to a dangerous pollution of the environment with sewer water. The old method may be replaced by an essentially different cleaning technology, based not on the dilution but the concentration of the waste generated in animal husbandry complexes. The comprehensive processing of such waste has several purposes, one of which is the production of biogas as a source of electric power. Another equally important objective is obtaining high-grade fertilizers. The new technology eliminates the pollution of water sources with effluents from livestock breeding complexes.

Experience in the use of such technology is available both abroad and at home. In particular, an experimental system for the treatment of farm waste is in operation in Pyarnuskiy Rayon, Estonian SSR, using the facilities of an interkolkhoz complex. It not only reliably eliminates the pollution of the environment but also increases production profitability. This technology was developed by scientists from Estonia and the Russian Federation, together with their Czechoslovak colleagues. The system processes waste into dry

fertilizers, water and methane fuel gas. The use of methane in boiler enterprises saves more than 500 tons of other types of fuel per year.

### III

The essence of the processes of public production intensification is comprehensive resource conservation. Significant opportunities for this may be found in all areas. Let us consider ferrous metallurgy and irrigated agriculture, for metal and water are considered today among the scarcest in these areas.

We know that our country produces nearly twice the amount of steel produced in the United States. Nevertheless, our economy is short of metal. One of the main reasons for this abnormal situation is the technological imperfection of metallurgical production. More than 20 years ago, the Soviet Union was the first to develop a progressive method for continuous steel casting, which was adopted and became widespread in many countries in the world. Thus, in 1985 the share of continuous steel smelting in overall steel output was 42 percent in the United States, 81 percent in France, 80 percent in the FRG and 91 percent in Japan. In 1985 steel produced with this method in Soviet metallurgy accounted for no more than 14 percent of the total. Yet its extensive use is a major opportunity for resource conservation and for increasing the economic efficiency in the production of metal from the basic raw material--iron ore. The conservation of 150 kilograms of metal per ton of steel, achieved through this production method, is the equivalent of saving 250 to 350 kilograms of iron ore, the extraction of which, as we know, is highly capital-intensive and, furthermore, involves the spoiling of significant land areas, including some valuable farmland. Considering the present volumes of metallurgical production, this is the equivalent of saving 23 million tons of steel and 37 to 45 million tons of iron ore annually in the country. The use of progressive methods for steel smelting and casting also ensures substantial power savings. Thus, the use of oxygen converters instead of Martin smelting furnaces lowers material outlays by 27 percent. The use of recycled materials here is particularly effective. For example, the production of aluminum from secondary raw materials requires less heat and energy by a factor of 33 compared with natural bauxites. The production of metal from scrap is cheaper compared to cast iron by a factor of 25. Replacing 1 ton of pig iron with 1 ton of scrap saves 210 rubles in capital investments. The transportation of scrap requires fewer hauling facilities by a factor of 5-6 compared to what is needed to haul the raw material for the production of cast iron. For the country at large, this could save billions of rubles annually.

The use of recycled resources drastically lowers the amount of waste which pollutes the environment and, consequently, reduces the economic, social and ecological harm caused to society and nature. Thus, steel smelting from scrap reduces air pollution by a factor of 6 and water pollution by a factor of 5 and virtually excludes solid waste. Yet the country has truly huge unused scrap resources. They are particularly substantial in agriculture. Every year industry delivers to the countryside hundreds of thousands of powerful tractors, combines and trucks. Thus, between 1970 and 1985 the country's agriculture received 5,634,000 tractors. Within that time the tractor fleet

increased from 1,977,000 in 1970 to 2,798,000 in 1985, i.e., by 821,000 units. This means that within that same period 4,813,000 tractors were written off because of physical and moral obsolescence or for other reasons. This means dozens of millions of tons of most valuable metal scrap. In addition to tractors, millions of worn-out trucks and grain, fodder, sugar beet and potato harvesting combines and a number of other large agricultural implements have accumulated in the countryside. All of them must be resmelted and become a most valuable semi-finished product for the steel smelting industry. This should have happened but did not. Instead, "huge cemeteries" have developed in some areas, which pollute farmland and rural settlements.

It is quite indicative that the leadership of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy remains essentially uninterested in this "gold stock." The leadership of the former USSR Goskonselkhoztekhnika justified until recently this extreme negligence with the lack of gas-powered cutting equipment, which would break down such worn-out equipment, and the lack of special transport facilities to delivery areas. This explanation is, to say the least, amazing. Alas, it is a fact. It is a fact of wasteful attitude toward most valuable resources for the development of public production and an indicator of indifference toward possibilities of upgrading its economic efficiency.

The scarcity of water resources is worsening with every passing year. Many cities and rayons and industrial and, particularly, agricultural enterprises are already now occasionally experiencing acute shortages of water for industrial and consumer use. This situation is frequently the result of the fast increase of production facilities and population, urban in particular, and the tempestuous development of irrigated farming. Unquestionably, these factors are directly influencing increased use of water. However, this is a superficial interpretation of the growing scarcity of water resources. A deeper study of the problem indicates, however, that in fact it is sometimes the result of the extensive nature of water utilization, the preservation of water-intensive production technologies and an irresponsible attitude toward this most valuable natural resource. Let us prove this conclusion.

The conversion of industry to recirculated and closed water supply systems is the greatest possibility for fresh water conservation. It helps us to increase output without increasing the volume of water supplies. This is confirmed by both foreign and domestic experience. Thus, between 1971 and 1985 the petrochemical industry increased its output by a factor of 2.4 without increasing the use of fresh water as a result of the fact that in recent years water recirculation in this sector rose to 91 percent. Naturally, this is not the limit. The Kirishi, Kremenchug and Achinsk plants in this sector are operating with virtually no use of fresh water for industrial requirements. The Novolipets Metallurgical Combine of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy has reached a 92 percent water recirculation; the shop for the cold-rolling of steel at the Verkh-Issetskiy Plant has reached the 97 percent level. Meanwhile, the share of recirculated water used at enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry does not exceed 66 percent; that of enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Food Industry is even lower--63 percent. Frequently the explanation for the tremendous range of this indicator among individual enterprises within the same sector is the absence of strict technological and

economic control over water utilization. For example, the Rustavi Metallurgical Plant spends dozens of times of more fresh water per ton of smelted steel than the Yenakiyevo Metallurgical Plant.

Water is being used particularly wastefully in agriculture which accounts for 48 percent of the overall use of fresh water in the country; water transportation losses here account for 25 percent of the total; they are substantial in the farms themselves. This very fact, it would seem, should have made it incumbent upon the personnel of the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources to formulate and use water-conserving technologies in irrigated farming. In reality, it is precisely the opposite that is happening. Currently there are 19.9 million hectares of irrigated land in the country. More than 5,000 large pumping stations have been built and about 1.5 million various hydroengineering systems are in operation. The overall length of irrigation systems has exceeded 700,000 kilometers. Let us point out for the sake of comparison that this is approximately the length of paved automotive roads in the country. These figures, which are extensively publicized by the leading personnel of the USSR Ministry of Land Conservation and Water Resources, are unquestionably impressive. No less impressive, however, are other figures which, for some reason, are ignored.

Between 1966 and 1985 state capital investments and kolkhoz funds used in the development of land reclamation totaled 129.7 billion rubles. Most of this amount went directly into the construction of industrial water facilities. The planned harvests were not attained on two-thirds of the irrigated land. Filtration in main and distribution canals accounts for up to 40 percent of the losses of water coming from water reservoirs. Most irrigation systems use a backward water-wasting technology of surface irrigation or heavy spraying systems which destroy the structure of the soil and its fertility. Obsolete higher irrigation standards operate everywhere and even they, as a rule, are violated by a factor of 2 or 3. Thus, the farms in Yanykurganskiy, Chiiliyskiy and other rayons in Kzyl-Orda Oblast use between 38,000 and 40,000 cubic meters of water per irrigated hectare instead of 24,000 as required. This practice is harmful not only because of the wasteful use of water but also because of the salinization, flooding and swamping of irrigated soils and the development of water erosion, which leads to a drastic decline in or total loss of fertility.

Meanwhile, science has developed and practically tested essentially new water conservation technologies for irrigated farming. For example, scientists at the Kuban Agricultural Institute have developed a herbicide-free technology for rice cultivation as part of the clover seed rotation and proved, under industrial conditions, its high efficiency. Such technology makes it possible to reduce water consumption in rice growing by two-thirds and to eliminate the danger of pollution of the environment with herbicides, nitrites, nitrates and phosphates. Other progressive irrigation methods exist, such as drip irrigation, subsoil irrigation, low-intensity spraying and others.

A great deal could be accomplished in ensuring the economical use of water even before water-conserving technologies have been applied, by perfecting cost accounting relations in irrigated farming. Such experience is available as well. Experimentally, payment for irrigation water was introduced in

Tajikistan and Kirghizia. It immediately became apparent that many farms needed half the water they had been using previously. In all cases, water conservation has been paralleled by increased yields.

We believe that the situation which has developed over the years calls for the immediate elaboration of a comprehensive system of steps to intensify irrigated agriculture on the basis of scientific and technical progress, bearing in mind above all the reaching of the planned productivity of already developed reclamation systems and the elimination of water losses through the reconstruction of obsolete irrigation systems, revising the excessively high prewar irrigation norms, mastering progressive water conservation and ecologically harmless irrigation methods and perfecting the economic farming mechanism of the APK.

In his March 1984 speech at the All-Union Economic Conference on Problems of the Agroindustrial Complex, M.S. Gorbachev said: "In recent years funds have been channeled primarily into the building of new reclamation facilities. Meanwhile, insufficient resources were allocated for the reconstruction and proper maintenance of existing systems. This is clearly the result of the departmental-oriented views held by the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources of the USSR. Its organizations willingly undertake the construction of extensive projects and frequently avoid the implementation of crop technology projects and the reconstruction of systems."

Nevertheless, that same ministry is still pursuing a line of further expansion of new hydraulic construction. The number of hectares under irrigation will be increased by 3.3 million and of drained land by 3.6 million hectares during the 12th 5-Year Plan. More than 50 billion rubles will be invested in these projects. Particular attention should be paid to the inadmissible situation according to which archaic water-wasting technologies and irrigation methods are applied in the new projects. It is precisely this ministry that asked for more water in substantiating the need for its territorial redistribution and the formulation of gigantic projects of transferring the stock of northern rivers to the southern slope of the European territory of the USSR, of Siberian waters to Central Asia and Kazakhstan and the waters of the Danube to the Dnepr River Basin.

In our view, the difficult ecological situation in many parts of the country leads to the conclusion that the existing organization of nature-conserving activities is still inconsistent with the requirements of existing major protecting legislation. One of the main reasons for this situation is the lack of a comprehensive and systematically organized preplanning and preplan evaluation of possible changes in the natural environment.

As a result, frequently individual economic sectors formulate and carry out projects and make planning and economic decisions which occasionally cause society irreparable economic, social and ecological losses. One of the reasons is the fact that, as a rule, already completed projects or technical economic substantiations for such projects, on the development of which dozens and even hundreds of millions of rubles have already been spent, are submitted to state ecological expert evaluation. Such projects frequently contain no alternate solutions (as was the case with the changing of river flows), for

which reason the need for the implementation of the project subject to expert evaluation appears predetermined in advance. At the present time the construction of the Cheboksary GES on the Volga and the Katun on the Altay is continuing. The building of the "Volga-Don Transfer" and the "Volga Chogray" canals has been undertaken. The economic and ecological consequences of these projects have been studied extremely insufficiently.

A situation in which territorially comprehensive environmental protection systems are being developed by the USSR Gosstroy and its planning institutions, while the project is already in the construction or development stage or has even been completed, is abnormal. Such a situation presently exists in the development of said systems for the BAM zone, for the areas where the northern main gas pipelines will be laid and for other major construction projects.

In order to eliminate such inadmissible blunders, we must develop and economic, social and ecological expert evaluation not only of existing or already developed projects but, which is equally important, of hypotheses and concepts relative to the scientific and technical sectorial and regional development, in accordance with environmental protection and the efficient utilization of natural resources. Such projects are beyond the scope of sectorial and departmental scientific research and design institutions alone. The management of such expert evaluations and implementation of the projects (involving all the necessary organizations) should be assigned to the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Increasing the scale of output is not the self-seeking aim of our development and increased output, however important it may be, cannot be justified if it is accompanied by the inefficient use of natural resources and a fatal effect on the environment.

In order to observe this most important requirement, scientific maximal limits for specific consumption of natural resources for all basic types of industrial and agricultural commodities must be drafted and approved. Such standards must become the most important indicators in assessing the economic activities of enterprises, associations, ministries and departments. This means that the new and more advanced economic mechanism directed at accelerating the development of the Soviet economy must be given a corresponding ecological and economic dimension. This is a prerequisite for the further advancement of the socialist use of nature.

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## FOSTERING CONFIDENCE AND RESPONSIBILITY

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[Article by I. Polozkov, first secretary of the Krasnodar CPSU Kraykom]

[Text] A restructuring, revolutionary in terms of scale and depth, has been initiated in the country. It covers all aspects of social life, levels of our political system and realms of activity of the party in the spirit and rhythm of the concept of accelerating socioeconomic development, formulated at the April 1985 Central Committee Plenum and ratified at the 27th CPSU Congress. Plans are being and will continue to be implemented by people, by the cadres-- this most important party instrument in the implementation of its policies.

Understandably, under the conditions of universal and profound changes the restructuring must apply above all to cadre work itself. In his meeting with the party aktiv of Krasnodar Kray, M.S. Gorbachev recalled the most profound Leninist thought that "do not undertake to solve new problems on the basis of old approaches, for nothing would come out of this." Yet in cadre matters a great deal of routine, formalism and stagnation have developed. Here a great deal must be viewed through the eyes of the April 1985 Central Committee Plenum and the practical experience of the changes which have been made since then. We believe that the most important thing is for the practical feelings of all leading cadres and their pulse-beat, and the entire system of working with them must be strictly consistent with the dynamic and constructive nature of our time.

Today priority is given to enhancing the activity of the human factor. The corps of leading cadres is the first echelon of this most important reserve for acceleration. They have been entrusted with the right to head labor collectives and develop practical work in the implementation of the party's policy; it is precisely they who, as models of the honest and pure features of the party member, have been called upon to educate the masses. The overwhelming majority of our cadres meet these requirements, but not all! This has given urgency to the need for major changes in cadre work itself.

Under the Soviet system our people have shown immeasurable spiritual growth. The intellectual potential of society today is truly tremendous. In our kray, for example, there are more than 200,000 highly skilled specialists among its 5 million inhabitants. About 100,000 of the 325,000 party members have higher

training. Bearing in mind that today the nomenclature of the party committees includes 40,000 names, 3,600 of whom are in the kraykom nomenclature, there is a great deal of choice in selecting capable workers for one leading position or another. Nevertheless, in practice, many nomenclature people are passive, using their position to promote their own well-being. Some of them are simply incapable of dealing with the work. A paradoxical situation is developing: people who can do the work and who meet the Leninist principles of cadre selection are in large supply while we keep in leading positions those who fail in their work and do not care for the honor of the Soviet manager-party member. That is why we are persistently seeking methods of cadre work which would enable us to adopt more objective criteria in assessing the personnel for promotion and activities and thus abandoning the existing trial and error method. It is important to find for every person the type of work he likes and which is consistent with his capabilities. This in itself is a guarantee of success. However, it is also a great art in the work of the party committee. We are tirelessly teaching the party gorkoms and raykoms how to master this difficult matter and are mastering it ourselves.

The nature of our truly democratic society is based on total trust in the people as a necessary condition for the functioning of the entire political system. This trust, being a social category, is essentially based on moral principles and is in a state of dialectical unity with responsibility, which is its foundation. To a certain extent, responsibility is a form of materialized trust. We must assume that this is precisely the reason for which the majority of our cadres, knowing that in their new position they must expect difficulties, will have no rest and, frequently, will sacrifice part of their wages and other benefits, and accept the suggestion of transferring to another job. We believe that it is above all the trust given to hundreds of thousands of activists that motivates them to undertake with dedication, taking time away from their families, to engage in work of major social importance, in addition to their main jobs.

The party kraykom tries to use this great motivating and educating force of trust in order to enhance the activeness of cadres and direct their efforts to the radical restructuring of our entire work, as required by the 27th Congress, and to a responsible attitude toward assignments. Today time tolerates no irresponsible initiative-lacking managers. Such managers must be punished and relieved from their positions. We try to relocate those who find their assignments beyond their forces to positions in which they can still be useful. We do this openly, honestly. This too means having confidence in the people and this too is a prerequisite for strengthening their faith in us.

Who do we promote today to managerial positions? Those, as Lenin taught, who know how to act under contemporary conditions using their authority, energy, greater experience, broader way of thinking and greater talent. Those who have accomplished more in terms of real projects and practical results, who are distinguished by a feeling of responsibility and principle-mindedness and the ability to organize the work and pay attention to the people and display personal modesty. Ignoring any one of these fundamental requirements which must be observed by a manager entails severe consequences. Our kray party organization realized this recently, through personal bitter experience.

As we know, violations of the Leninist principles governing the selection, placement and upbringing of cadres and the norms of party life were allowed to occur in the kray. Occasionally, politically immature people, lacking class responsiveness, inclined toward tawdriness and whitewashing, had been promoted to leading positions. Demands concerning work with cadres by rayon and city party committees had weakened and the role of the primary party organizations had been diminished. Under circumstances of tolerance and suppression of criticism, many party members had lost their fighting qualities. All of this harmed the education of the people and had a detrimental affect on the prestige of the party organizations, undermining trust in them and leading cadres and resulting in economic losses.

The Central Committee helped the kray party organization. The kraykom, obkom and many gorkoms and raykoms were strengthened.

We got rid of personnel who, one way or another, had become compromised. We also replaced many managers who, although managing adequately, had created an abnormal moral-psychological atmosphere around them. All in all, in the past 3 years more than 80 percent of secretaries of raykoms and gorkoms and chairmen of city and rayon executive committees have been replaced and the personnel of party and soviet authorities have been substantially renovated. This has rejuvenated the leading cadres and the number of women managers increased. The percentage of highly skilled specialists and workers with party-political training increased within the party aktiv. The corps of economic managers was strengthened significantly and the cadre reserve was reviewed. Work with young secretaries was intensified. We are teaching, controlling and criticizing them, and holding them accountable for omissions. We try to nip in the bud and extensively publicize even the slightest violations of the standards of party ethics and socialist morality. Thus, R.G. Khellat, second secretary of the Primorsko-Akhtarskiy Party Raykom, who was co-owner of a house, obtained for his family, in violation of housing legislation, a comfortable two-room apartment. The party raykom plenum immediately relieved him from his position. This is not an isolated case.

Speaking of some results of our work over the past few years, we can say that today each party committee can provide a principle-minded evaluation of any violation by any party member of the stipulations of the CPSU statutes, moral standards and Soviet laws. The people know, approve and trust this.

However, the kray party organization must do much more so that all party committees and primary party organizations without exception are not only able to provide but always efficiently and publicly to formulate a principle-minded assessment of each omission in the work of any manager. For the time being, not everyone or everywhere is acting the way we would like him to in solving this most important problem.

While upgrading the responsibility of leading cadres, at the same time we are trying to create all the necessary conditions for the development of their independence. The question is not to replace or supervise an initiative-minded worker but to help to create around him a creative atmosphere, and to eliminate hindrances and obstructions on his way. One must judge of a person not by words and paper reports but by practical accomplishments and real

results. It is important to learn not to restrain any step that a person may take and not to obstruct him through excessive organization or prevent him from realizing his full capabilities. Only thus will the objective evaluation of a worker become possible.

Today frequently unusual situations arise, which may puzzle some people: "What is happening? There have been no faults in the activities of a certain worker who has not compromised himself in any way, yet he was suddenly dismissed. There was no reason for this!" Many such cases have taken place.

Let me cite one example. Last April, the Belorechensk CPSU Gorkom Buro relieved from his position V.T. Boychenko, director of the Chernigovskiy Sovkhoz, naturally with the agreement of the party kraykom. This puzzled the leading personnel of the city. Why was the director dismissed, we were asked by kraykom secretaries and managers of kray and superior departments?

V.T. Boychenko was relieved because of his lack of initiative. It is true that our cadre accountability does not include this stipulation. However, lack of initiative has always been paralleled by lack of responsibility, conservatism, nonself-criticism, bureaucratism, etc. Until recently, such features in a manager were being easily tolerated. The struggle against this kind of inertness was mentioned on all levels. However, we tolerated some managers who were satisfied by the fact that their enterprises were not among the worst. V.T. Boychenko's justification was that he worked like everyone else, and that his indicators were no worse than those of others....

There is no restructuring without acceleration. If there are no end results there is no trust in the worker and, therefore, he has no right to manage others! Such is today the view held by the party kraykom, obkom, gorkoms and raykoms, such is the will of the people.

Under the conditions of acceleration, every party worker must simply be able to look ahead, daringly to solve problems which only yesterday seemed insoluble. A person who stands firmly on party positions, who is truly concerned with the success of his assignment, must act with initiative, without cowardly referring to objective difficulties and formal obstacles, but persistently surmount them. Understandably, this can be done only by those who are free from the burden of encrustations from the past and do their present work impeccably, who enjoy the trust of those around him and value it, those who will never compromise with their conscience whatever the circumstances. This equally applies to the lowest-ranking worker and the top manager. If a person acts according to the principle of "leave me alone and I will leave you alone," or "whatever else you do, do not bother the boss," hurts the restructuring.

The practice of transferring compromised workers from one leading position to another greatly hinders the proper upbringing of cadres and our entire project. This is nothing other than deceiving the people. It frequently takes place for the sake of friendship and as a manifestation of a kind of cast-affiliation and returning a favor. We strictly oppose favoritism or any effort to help a culprit escape responsibility. In order to exclude recurrences of such practices, the party committees report to each other cases

of relieving a given person, mandatorily indicating the reasons for such dismissals. The objectivity of entries in labor records is supervised. We see to it that a person who has failed does not find himself in a better position. It is in a lower ranking job that he must prove his right to regain his leading position.

Naturally, in all cases it is the party authorities who are responsible for the failure of a worker. They are responsible to the superior party committees and the public. That is because such a person was not given a suitable job and, for some reason, people waited until he failed. Since such errors do exist, someone has to be answerable. Therefore, on the one hand, the party committee must display greater responsibility in cadre affairs and, on the other, greater independence. Unnecessary supervision and protracted and frequently formal procedures of coordinating and going through channels hinder the efficient solution of cadre problems and, particularly, the correcting of errors. You must agree that it takes courage to say honestly and openly: Comrades, I was mistaken in appointing this person. That is why many people prefer to remain silent until a convenient occasion appears or to find a way of subsequently quietly transferring the person (currently this can be done in a variety of ways). What suffers most from this is the work.

Here is another problem. The existing structural subdivisions of party committees, tables of organization and positions of some categories of personnel within the apparatus and the procedure for separating and even closing down unnecessary jobs is currently overcentralized. They do not take into consideration the nature of the area, the size of the organizations and the amounts of work done. Furthermore, they can be changed quite freely. Some may call for additional departments; others may demand an additional sector or one or two more "units." Stricter procedures must be established in this matter, based on objective criteria and firm standards. The local party authorities must have greater autonomy in defining, within the range of their allocated wage fund, the number of positions in a given rayon or department. Salaries and, particularly, bonuses, must become more differentiated within the party apparatus. Clearly, not everyone in all departments of the kraykom, obkom, gorkom or raykom has the same amount of work.

Understandably, neither appointments nor dismissals should be hasty. We must take a long look at the person, study him, examine the matter, and weigh all positive and negative aspects. Experience irrefutably proves that it is only extensive openness in the selection and promotion of people that lays the foundations for trust in such a person on the part of those around him and helps us to avoid subjectivism, clannishness and other unsuitable habits in cadre work. Of late the kray has been extensively applying the method of open discussion of cadre selection. This was initiated by the Krasnodar CPSU Gorkom. All in all, since 1983, taking into consideration the views of labor collectives and primary party organizations, a total of 8,662 officials have been promoted, 428 of them to elective party positions, 279 to the party committee apparatus, 231 to soviet positions, 327 in the trade unions, 353 in the Komsomol and 7,044 in economic work; of the latter 1,018 have been appointed managers of enterprises and organizations. A negative view was expressed about 224 candidates and, naturally, we took this into

consideration. We are practicing the same method in promoting personnel to management positions in kray organizations.

Thus, recently, the Krasnodar city and rayon aktivs discussed at their meetings the candidacies of Comrades I.N. Dyakov, V.A. Voronko and N.P. Gritsenko, respectively nominated for the positions of second secretary and head of party kraykom department. Participating in such nominations were heads of large enterprises, VUZs and party personnel, workers and party veterans. We must point out that although the character and work style of the secretaries (all of them had been previously first secretaries, one of them of a gorkom and the two others of party raykoms). The participants in the discussion made remarks which led the candidates for promotion to blush, break out into a sweat or feel uncomfortable.

For example, it was pointed out that I.N. Dyakov was sometimes unnecessarily brusque and that his attitude toward the views of specialists was insufficiently attentive, which led him sometimes to issuing not entirely considered assignments and the aspiration occasionally to present wishes as realities. The remarks addressed to V.A. Voronko were reduced to a single thing: excessive softness and insufficient exigency wherever power had to be exercised. N.P. Gritsenko was quite affected by the remark expressed by worker V.S. Ionov, who said: "You are too stern. The workers would like to see the warmth of a person, a live face, someone who communicates, someone who would occasionally smile." Other comrades also addressed the candidates in unfavorable terms: he was too hasty, took too much upon himself, and blocked initiative. Nevertheless, the view of the participants in the discussion was unanimous: the comrades were worthy of promotion to high party positions. It was pleasing to note that these were precisely the qualities which were stipulated by the buro members in the preliminary discussions of the candidates. This meant that the people can see our officials objectively, that their evaluations were not strained.

After the discussion, I asked Gritsenko: "Well, what about this open choice?"

He laughed: "It was good and useful. I was sweating. It is a good lesson to be remembered long and gives me something to think about...."

The open selection method allows us to involve an increasingly broader range of people in discussions on candidates for promotion, thus allowing more people to apply.

For example, if a comrade from another collective is being recommended for a managerial position, his candidacy is discussed both at his previous place of work and by the new labor collective. If the promotion is within the same collective, the discussion begins at the shop. At the Machine-Tool Building Plant imeni Sedin and at the Radio Measuring Equipment Plant, the practice of a competitive system for cadre promotion is applied. The collective discusses not one but two or three candidacies, and one of the candidates is promoted by majority vote.

The people see everything and judge of everything openly and directly. All they need is the opportunity to do so on an organized basis. If a person is

unsuitable as a manager, the collective will not approve his promotion. At that same radio measuring instruments plant, the party buro and the administration suggested a worker as a candidate for shop chief. The workers convinced the administration to appoint someone else. As it became apparent subsequently, this decision was correct and the new shop chief justified the trust of the others. Many such examples can already be cited.

Today the working people in the residential areas and even the families of those recommended for promotion become involved in such discussions, which significantly reduces the likelihood of errors.

The official certification, which is already being used in many kray cities and rayons, is a very efficient form of work with cadres. In Sochi's Khostinskiy Rayon, in the past 2 years, 650 managers of various subdivisions have been subjected to certification. Some 227 people among the leading personnel in trade and public catering proved unprepared for certification and were granted a recertification date; 37 were considered unsuitable for their positions and were dismissed.

In connection with the preparations for the elections for soviets of people's deputies, as stipulated by the 27th CPSU Congress, we are preparing for the certification of the personnel within the soviet apparatus. To this effect, certification commissions will be set up in the kray, the oblast and all cities and rayons, headed by the first secretaries of party committees. They will include authoritative party and soviet personnel, party and labor veterans and members of the public. We are organizing this project in such a way that no bureaucrats and dishonest and callous people remain in these self-governing agencies and so that initiative, creativity and a responsive attitude of the people become the work style practiced in the various establishments.

The kray makes wide use of the system of comprehensive reports submitted by party members and reviews of their character references. In 1985 and 1986 the party organizations heard more than 35,000 such reports, including more than 4,000 submitted by leading officials; negative references were issued in the case of 458 party members. This does not mean in the least that such a person should be immediately dismissed from his position. Such references point out directly and specifically the person's shortcomings and set a deadline for their elimination. If the party member has been unable to straighten out within that time the question of his party punishment or dismissal from his job is raised.

We know that no one is immune to errors. Managers are no exception. As Lenin said, they are "not angels, not saints, not heroes, but people like anyone else" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 21, p 409). What is important is for all of us to learn not to conceal errors but to subject them to principle-minded criticism and correct them. The report submitted by a party member is a very efficient means of supervising a worker and encouraging him to become more energetic in his work.

Toward the end of last year, after hearing the report submitted by party member T.M. Gritsaienko, shop foreman at the Oktyabr Machine Building Plant,

the raykom buro noted the improper organization of the work and poor educational work in the section. Gritsayenko actively undertook to bring order and soon afterwards achieved tangible results. The section collective initiated a competition for ahead of schedule implementation of assignments, while Gritsayenko herself was named best foreman in the sector.

The report has been very useful in improving the work of P.I. Anpolskiy, deputy director of a fur factory. Literally 4 months after submitting his report, raw materials, materials and funds became available at the factory: more workers were hired and the plan began to be overfulfilled. Therefore, when the deadline came, Anpolskiy had something good to report to the party committee on the results of the critical remarks.

We must admit that we have still not seen to it that the discussion of reports everywhere takes place with the necessary frankness and principle-mindedness. Yet this is the most clear manifestation of trust in our cadres and of the responsibility of every member of the collective for the common cause. Workers who had the courage to report "I cannot cope, give me work I can do," are still few. Yet, there are many such workers. However, should this become clear to those around them, leaving the person in a job for which he is clearly unsuitable must be tolerated no longer. In this case we should not be hindered by clearly unrealistic hopes that this pseudomanager would "suddenly straighten up" or that we can "jointly pulling him out of the hole;" nor should there be any significant theorizing on the importance of cadre stability. Incidentally, this concept, as it had been interpreted in recent years, had caused a great deal of harm to cadre policy. Cadre stability is not a right, earned once and for all, to hold a specific position or, at least, a job of equal importance. Such seeming stability directly leads to ossification, stagnation and moving from one position to another of inept and even incapable people. Life means constant development. Therefore, shifting cadres, promoting workers and new nomenclature reinforcements are a process as natural and necessary as the renovation of cells in a living body. Obviously, that is how we must interpret the concept of cadre stability.

Here is another cadre rule: The increased dynamism of life and, with it, of cadre policy demand taking a different view on co-opting. Practical experience indicates that numerous views on co-opting are lifeless, behind contemporary requirements and working conditions with cadres. Consider the resulting quite extensive vertical shifting of personnel, i.e., moving cadres from the kray center to the city and rayon and vice-versa. Experience has proved the great usefulness of this practice. In 1985-1986 alone 45 people from the kraykom apparatus were promoted to leading party and soviet positions, including nine who were assigned to central agencies. The horizontal transfer of cadres has proved to be exceptionally fruitful. Reliance on local cadres, which had developed for many years, had led to parochialism and, in simpler terms, to collective guarantees, use of friendship ties in cadre placement and irresponsibility, for allegedly "one's own" people could help, and offer guarantees. The present quite restrained, to say the least, attitude toward the co-opting practice conflicts with the requirements of reality. Preserving the existing concepts regarding co-opting and solving all cadre problems only during accountability and election meetings and only with the reserves available to a given party committee,

simply blocks the possibility of strengthening the rayons with initiative-minded cadres, wherever such cadres are available, while systematic work with cadres turns into emergency projects.

As a rule, we apply the system of renovating cadres through horizontal transfers in two cases: first, when steps must be taken to improve the situation in a city or rayon party organization, as was the case in Sochi and Gelendzhik or Pavlovskiy and Kanevskiy Rayons. Second, when stagnation has been noted in the economic and social development of a city or rayon and the old leadership has become burnt out, so to say. We can confidently claim that in all such cases the results have been positive.

Thus, A.D. Shirokopoyas, who had worked as first secretary in Abinsk was recommended for the position of first secretary of the Temryukskiy Party Raykom, which had become weakened. He brought to his new job party maturity, daring and energy in solving the rayon's problems. He put an end to manifestations of parochialism, broke up faulty "connections" in the cadre system, openly lanced the "sores" which were poisoning the atmosphere in the rayon and opened the way to initiative and innovation. As the result, the work in the rayon was accelerated and it firmly took its place among the leaders. Similar changes occurred in the Severskiy and Kanevskiy rural rayons and in Krasnodar's Sovetskiy Rayon.

Horizontal transfers of managers on the rayon level has another positive aspect. They contribute to the growth of other personnel who otherwise become overshadowed by strong first secretaries. Thus, Z.I. Borovikova and F.A. Kiyashko, formerly chairmen of the rayon executive committees, were elected, respectively, to the position of first secretary of the Kurganinskiy and Slavyanskiy Party Committees. They are doing excellent work and this has enabled other capable cadres of doing the same. The party kraykom intends to continue to apply this efficient form of cadre work.

Under the conditions of the ever broadening democratization of society, Lenin's draft "STO (Labor and Defense Council) Instruction to Local Soviet Institutions" sounds particularly relevant: "Today the worker-peasant state is the 'owner.' It must organize on a broad, planned, systematic and open manner the matter of selecting the best possible workers in economic building, administrators and organizers on special or general, local and national scale" (op cit., vol 43, p 280).

The 27th CPSU Congress indicated the real way to the solution of this problem by mandating active participation of primary party organizations in cadre policy. That is why we base our work on developing the initiative of the primary party organizations and try promptly to support their undertakings, teach them principle-mindedness and combativeness and make everyone listen closely to their voice in solving cadre problems.

Admittedly, sometimes we have to teach the primary party organizations how to use their right to control administration activities and to consider the personal case of a party member, whatever his position. We are concerned, for example, by the fact that in 1985 the kray's gorkoms and raykoms had to void, as being too liberal, more than 600 decrees passed by primary party

organizations on the punishment of party members, or else that this year 763 heads of people's control agencies were penalized whereas the primary party organizations failed to apply measures of party influence in each single case. This shows lack of principle-mindedness. The blame falls, above all, on us, kraykom, obkom, gorkom and raykom personnel. This proves that our efforts to shift the center of gravity of ideological education and organizational work to the primary party organizations remain inefficient.

In order to eliminate this shortcoming, we began by reorganizing our own work, that of the primary party organization of the CPSU Kraykom apparatus. Steps were taken to upgrade the role of our primary party organization in making stricter demands on every party member within the apparatus concerning the restructuring of party work. We then took steps to upgrade the activeness of the party organizations of the apparatus of party gorkoms and raykoms. Secretaries, buro members and senior personnel of the CPSU Kraykom helped to prepare for and hold in such organizations meetings at which improving the restructuring of party work was discussed. In the opinion of many participants in such meetings, this was the first time that an open and sharp discussion was held within the party apparatus not only concerning its own errors and omissions but also shortcomings in the work of secretaries and department heads. Constructive suggestions on improving the work were made by apparatus party members concerning the first secretary of the Abinskiy CPSU Raykom, the second secretary of the Tikhoretsk Party Gorkom, the secretaries of the Labinsk and Krymsk Gorkoms and in many other party committees.

We must point out that work in the apparatus of many gorkoms and raykoms became significantly more active. The role which the primary party organizations of kray administrations and departments play in enhancing cadre work is unquestionable. Having studied the situation, we saw how much idle talk and formalism existed in their work. Their role had been extremely belittled. Here as well the reasons lie in the lack of initiative and responsibility and impunity enjoyed by many specialists and economic cadres and apparatus personnel. There was no one to tell such officials that they were not justifying the trust placed in them, and to demand them to correct the situation. We took steps to increase the combativeness of the party organizations within the various establishments. Currently they are being put in order although a great deal remains to be done in this area.

Naturally, however, it is the primary party organizations in labor collectives that play a leading role in the advancement of cadre policy, for it is essentially here that the cadre potential is found. With their help we organize the training of a cadre reserve. Actually, who if not the primary organization knows best the qualities of a given person, the way he behaves in society and in daily life and his real capabilities.

One could say that until recently the attitude in the kray toward the cadre reserve was formal. Year after year the same names were being transferred from one list to another. Meanwhile, frequently entirely different people were being appointed to leading positions. Occasionally, such "improvisations" were successful but more frequently they were not. Once again, appointments to the reserve were made open, in order to reduce the number of errors. Thus, in Krasnodar's Leninskiy Party Raykom, in 2 years,

412 people were made members the reserve, using the open selection method. More than half of these reservists were subsequently promoted to party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic positions. As a whole, for the kray, in 1985 this method allowed us to replace more than two-thirds of the nomenclature personnel by members of the reserve. Virtually all replacements in the Anapa and Yeysk Gorkoms and Kurganinskiy, Timashevskiy and Ust-Labinskiy Raykoms had been members of the reserve.

The kray party committees teach reserve courses which train candidates for promotion to leading positions in the various economic sectors. They are attended above all by members of the elective party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol aktivs. These people are most familiar with the life of the party organizations. Their work is open to public scrutiny. They participate in drafting various documents and measures. Thus they are both trained and tested. Due to the fact that a large number of young specialists have joined of late the apparatus of party committees, each party gorkom and raykom is setting up courses for instructors, which teach not only the technology of party work but also the political interpretation of practical phenomena, means of managing social processes and ability to work with people. The classes are taught by secretaries and party committee department heads, chairmen and deputy chairmen of city and rayon executive committees, managers and head specialists in main economic sectors in the kray and scientists.

At the 22nd Kray Party Conference we set the task of involving in the selection and training of reserves not only party committees but economic managers. They were entrusted with training three to five of the most gifted specialists as their replacement. The kray has acquired practical experience in this respect. In 30 years of work as kolkhoz chairman, Hero of Socialist Labor Ivan Vasilyevich Markovskiy has trained four officials on the rayon level; four others are heads of kolkhozes and sovkhoses, and another five are good chief specialists in his or neighboring farms. In assessing the political qualities of a given manager, we also intend to take into consideration how many managers as good as himself he has trained. We believe that this will be an accurate criterion in rating our major economic managers and an incentive for them. It will also be of great use in training suitable cadre reserves.

Starting with 1985 the kray organized the training of future first secretaries of party committees and chairmen of city and rayon executive committees. Two groups of 15 members each were set up. They consist of secretaries and heads of departments of party committees, chairmen of city and rayon executive committees and their deputies, senior personnel of the CPSU Kraykom apparatus and some economic managers. After completing their studies and practical training, the reservists held talks at the CPSU Kraykom. In the course of the accountability and election campaign, many of them were appointed, as intended, to responsible positions and are successfully coping with their duties.

We also reorganized the training of reserve kolkhoz chairmen and sovkhos directors. In this case we looked outside the rayons and farms which, traditionally, trained cadres at the department of leading economic cadres of the Kuban Agricultural Institute, to meet exclusively their own requirements.

The economically weak rayons, which frequently have no candidates to assign to such training, were thus left without cadre reinforcements. We are now setting up groups of students with the understanding that they will be working not in their own rayons but in the weak and lagging farms. It is on this basis that we are setting the groups, drafting curriculums and selecting the farms where the students undergo their practical training. In recent years 156 people have undergone such training and 80 of them are already working as heads of kray kolkhozes and sovkhoses which, until recently, were economically weak.

The cadre "selection" system provides tremendous opportunities for training an efficient reserve. The qualities of the future, as yet informal, leaders are manifested in childhood. It is while they are still in school that they must be selected, their inclinations must be determined and they must be helped to develop. Subsequently, they must be helped to enroll in the proper school, based on their capabilities, and to become involved in active public work. It is necessary purposefully to help them in their spiritual and ideological growth and professional development, promote them and assist in the ever fuller realization of their organizing potential. Examples of such painstaking work with young people already exist in Novokubanskiy, Kurganskiy and many other rayons in the kray. However, in order to make such work systematic, a great deal must be changed in the social activities of secondary schools and VUZs and more specific work must be done with the young people. Although we have some thoughts and plans in this area, their discussion would be premature.

Time and persistence are needed before a person can be rated objectively and accurately. Sometimes, particularly at first, initiative-minded and active workers are not always successful and their development may be painful. Let me cite an example which, incidentally, is typical of today, when young and capable party members assume leading party positions without adequate practical experience. It is only trust and support that help them to stand up firmly on their own two feet.

Ivan Mikhaylovich Petrenko was not welcomed by everyone in Kushchevskiy Rayon. The people worried that he was too young and that, furthermore, he was not "one of their own." Petrenko himself agreed to assume his position without any particular enthusiasm. He had been chairman of the executive committee of a rayon which was progressive and successful in all respects, a rayon which had a good first party raykom secretary. We, however, who knew this person well, who had worked also as party committee secretary, kolkhoz chairman and chief of the rayon agricultural administration, made him first secretary of a party raykom in a rather disorganized rayon. We believed that he would correct the situation. Initially, frankly speaking, the new secretary was not successful. He mounted an energetic struggle against money grubbing, parasitism, dependency, sluggishness and stagnation and against parochialism, which had developed in the rayon. However, initially he met with no support among the aktiv and tried to do everything himself. Naturally, this neither was nor could be successful. The young secretary found himself alone. He displayed a certain nervousness, confusion and lack of confidence in his own strength. The press began to criticize his work style (before he had even developed it). Kraykom apparatus personnel and kray leaders began to catch

and report some of his failures and those whom he had "pushed around" began to denounce him anonymously. In the final account, I.M. Petrenko came to the kraykom with the urgent request to be reassigned to any kind of farm work.

Naturally, we could have agreed. He was a capable manager. We nevertheless decided to help him in his job. Initially the first and second secretaries and heads of party kraykom departments spent several days in his rayon. Hours on end we held confidential discussions about the situation with the young secretary. We then heard the report of the raykom at a meeting of the CPSU Kraykom Buro. We pointed out shortcomings, gave advice and supported him both in words and actions. We submitted our resolution to a plenary meeting of the rayon party committee. The raykom was criticized suitably, and frank remarks were addressed at specific personnel; a decisive and immediate restructuring was demanded; we also noted the initiative-minded and energetic steps taken by the new first secretary in bringing order and solving major long-term problems.

The rayon management began to trust him more and to accept his instructions and demands more respectfully. Matters improved. Life in the rayon became substantially more active. The secretary himself began to behave differently: more confidently, exigently and with initiative.

However, although trusting a manager, in no case should we leave him without supervision or lower our demands. Otherwise the healthy confidence which a person has in his own strength could grow into boastful arrogance. Criticism and self-criticism is a tried instrument in raising cadres in the spirit of lofty party-mindedness. We well know how harmful is the practice of criticizing only "from above," which has been quite well established in our life, and of various forms of suppression of criticism or ignoring or leaving critical remarks without practical follow-up. Today, under the circumstances of growing exigency, there is no shortage of criticism "from above." Now we must be concerned with comprehensive criticism "from below," coming from rank-and-file party members and members of labor collectives.

Naturally, no one needs "organized" criticism or ostentatious "self-criticism." We are trying to have every party member and honest person realize, above all, his personal responsibility for the state of affairs in his organization and collective and to consider that it is his party, his civic duty to correct noted shortcomings, so that criticism and self-criticism become an efficient means of cadre upbringing and, on the broad political level, a form of manifestation of the will of the people and the exercise of their democratic rights. Today we are assessing the political standards of our leading cadres on the basis of the level of development of criticism, particularly "from below," and the extent to which it influences the course of practical matters. We can confidently say that this is an objective criterion but also that by no means is it being met by everyone.

We are seeing to it that mandatorily a critical word is followed by practical action aimed by eliminating shortcomings. To this effect, the efforts of the party apparatus are concentrated on work with critical remarks and suggestions. The responsibility of workers for results has been increased. On this matter the party aktivs and the economic managers are submitting more

frequent reports to the party members in labor collectives and at party committee meetings which, in turn, regularly inform the party members and the population on the way critical remarks and suggestions are being followed up.

In guiding the work of the party organizations in the solution of cadre problems, we must strictly see to it that they are not distracted by petty regulations which paralyze cadre initiative. This is the most harmful of all, for it prevents the people to develop, teaches narrowness of views and the habit of constantly looking up to the superior bodies and, in the final account, leads to excessive organization. It is entirely clear that the difficult and comprehensive problems of today can be solved successfully only by significantly upgrading the creativity and performing discipline of cadres, and their strict implementation of party and government directives and of their own resolutions.

Control and verification of execution must be a school of developing creativity, discipline, ability to organize matters and honesty. We must teach the people to work daringly and with initiative. For that reason we decided to improve control practices. Was there no control in the past? If a controller would come, give him documents. Had a resolution been passed? Had measures been planned? If yes, it meant that you were a good worker! Yet frequently no time was left to consider the way the actual work was being done, how the people were working and what they wanted. Why conceal it: it was we who had trained such controllers. The result was that a person was rated not according to his actions but his ability to draft papers and submit beautiful reports.

We looked at hundreds of resolutions passed by buros and plenary meetings of the kraykom, obkom, gorkoms and raykoms. All of them proved similar: they described the type of papers which had been drafted on a given problem and the steps which had been implemented. As a rule, this was taken as major proof that the party committee was working actively. You must agree, however, that drafting a paper is not work, is not something factual which could yield real results. At the party kraykom plenum we agreed to change the approach to investigations. To begin with, we resolved to see strictly to it that the investigators themselves were thoroughly familiar with the problems. Secondly, that investigations take place not on the basis of paper or of "what was heard or not heard" or "was there a paper or was there not," but, above all, as a result of studying the situation on the spot and listening to the views of the people. The controller was not only to investigate but also to give practical aid on how better to organize the work. We do this not after one decision or another has been made. In order not to do this hurriedly, we do not assign any member of the kraykom apparatus to a rayon for less than 5 days. We believe that this method can be truly useful.

Thus, after the familiar decree was passed last year on increasing grain production by using intensive growing technology, secretaries, buro members and personnel of the kray CPSU Committee and the kray executive committee actively took part in the discussion of this resolution at expanded buro meetings held by all party gorkoms and raykoms and at meetings in primary party organizations. Cadre training was started in August. For first secretaries, rayon executive committee chairmen and chairmen of RAPO councils

and farm managers and chief specialists such training was organized at agricultural institutes. Middle-level managers and mass-skill cadres were trained on the job. The thus formulated task and the means of implementing it were made known to every performer. We were concerned with upgrading the efficiency of the socialist competition. We assigned to each zone in the kray task forces headed by CPSU kraykom buro members, deputy chairmen of the kray executive committee, leading specialists of the kray APK and scientists. It was they who supervised the project and helped to master and apply the new technology. All of this played an important role in the fact that the current grain harvest, wheat in particular, is the best in the entire history of Kuban agriculture. The socialist pledges of selling grain to the state were overfulfilled significantly and the quality of the grain improved. Substantial increases were achieved in the production of animal husbandry goods. Nevertheless, as M.S. Gorbachev pointed out, a great deal of matters in this area require further thought, which will necessitate a great deal of work on the part of the kray party organization.

Indications of the good changes started with the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum are already visible everywhere. The people have begun to discuss their affairs demandingly, with interest, like proprietors. Answering the party's call, they took up the restructuring and the struggle against drunkenness and unearned income and for order and discipline. This is an accurate indication of the high trust of the people in the party and its policies.

The party workers are being trained in this healthy and inspiring post-April atmosphere, in which they are displaying an innovative approach to the work, energy and initiative, an intolerance of sluggishness, bureaucratism, excessive organization and any violations of the law and CPSU statutes.

By acting purposefully and aggressively, we can successfully implement our task: we can fulfill the plans for the accelerated socioeconomic development of the country as earmarked by the 27th Party Congress and make our common home brighter and cleaner.

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ONLY TOGETHER

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 86 (signed to press 19 Nov 86) p 42

[Letter to the editors by A. Gulyayev, fitter-assemblyman, Shop No 3, Kompressor Plant]

[Text] In my opinion, one of the greatest obstacles on the path of improving the quality of industrial output is the fact that only a limited number of individuals are involved in such work. The broad toiling masses are not participating in it.

Until recently, in virtually all plants problems of ensuring quality were in the hands of a few members of plant administrations and quality control services. Ensuring the proper standard of quality is the purpose of the current standards, which demand of every worker "to pay prime attention to quality," "to prevent the production of faulty goods" in their own work, to "display principle-mindedness and exigency in assessing complementing parts," etc. In fact, however, all such requirements remain no more than pious wishes. Hence the inevitable formalism and the appearance of active efforts which conceal the absence of specific action.

Enterprise standards have been in use for the past several years at the Kompressor Plant in Moscow, where I am employed. A program for upgrading the technical standards and quality of refrigeration machines and units for the period until 1990 has been formulated and approved. Quality days and seminars on quality improvements are being held. An STP for the organization of socialist competition, aimed at upgrading production efficiency and quality, has been in operation since 1985.

In a word, everything is as it should be. Not one of the established quality control methods has been ignored. The results? During the first half of the year specialists from the Moscow Standardization and Metrology Center repeatedly banned the delivery of our products to customers. Impartial nondepartmental control rejected very important machines used in many national economic sectors. Alas, this was entirely justified.

I can make this claim quite confidently, for I personally am employed at the testing section of one of the assembly shops in breaking-in finished items. This has frequently made me think about quality-lowering factors.

Many such factors exist, including unrhythmical work which results in constant rushing and organizational difficulties. The main factor, however, is that the workers have not become truly involved in the struggle for quality.

Even the most perfect OTK service, totally independent of administrative control, can engage in no more than selective control. Only a brigade which assumes full responsibility for quality can both inform the enterprise's management on the condition of technological discipline at any preceding stage in the production process and formulate firm and uncompromising requirements toward its intraplant suppliers. They can do this on the basis not of a random but a 100-percent control of each complementing part and assembly. Furthermore, the brigade must be given the right to reject and return defective goods.

Naturally, the waste-makers must also be penalized with fines. However, exerting moral influence is much more important. General control in all sections will shed light on the work of every individual, at which point everyone will clearly identify those whose work is reducing to naught the efforts of the collective. The waste-makers would find such an atmosphere uncomfortable. I believe that an uncompromising attitude displayed by the entire collective toward careless workers would be understood by even the most indifferent and selfish person.

Unquestionably, the creation of quality groups will entail a number of organizational difficulties and extensive explanatory work. However, this is the only solution. It is we who are carrying out the reconstruction with our own hands, and if these hands are kept idle the acceleration process may turn into a dragged-out project.

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DISCUSSION BY THE ENTIRE COLLECTIVE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 86 (signed to press 20 Nov 86) p 43

[Letter to the editors by A. Zhgun, prosecutor, Kakhovskiy Rayon, Kherson Oblast]

[Text] In my opinion, in addition to reducing the number of all kinds of meetings we should consider the question of organizing more efficiently those deemed truly necessary. It seems to me that many of them are being held today in such a way as to exclude a comprehensive consideration of views and to prevent the full expression of different viewpoints on problems under discussion.

Usually, it is the manager of the enterprise or establishment who speaks first at the meeting, as predetermined, expressing his views on the situation. The floor then goes to his subordinates, who report on an already formulated plan. The concluding words are once again those of the manager. Unquestionably, this form of discussions has its advantages. However, it also has the serious disadvantage of failure to voice different viewpoints.

If ways of solving a problem have been clearly established in advance, any suggestion which may clash with the "general" opinion is perceived as tending to undermine the authority of the management, for which reason the speaker tries to restrain his criticism, for this raises the question of his own competence. Under such circumstances, the subordinates frequently give elusive answers to questions asked by the chief. The manager is thus deprived of the opportunity of finding out about all aspects of activities of the enterprise or establishment.

This kind of procedure does not contribute to the manifestation of the creative potential of the collective. In some cases the participants in such conferences themselves consider them useless. The true opinions are expressed in private conversations.

This is one of the reasons for the exceptionally low efficiency of many conferences and discussions, which simply become talking-shops, a practice condemned by the 27th CPSU Congress.

Today the conventional view is that a proper meeting was held if a unanimous resolution was passed. All that this proves, however, is that no more than a single variant of a resolution was discussed, anticipated by the main speaker and supported by everyone else. Should other opinions be manifested during the voting, they are considered manifestations of an unhealthy trend and the prevalence of an abnormal situation in the collective.

Yet in some cases an unvoiced view could lead to a better solution or a useful addition to an already passed resolution. In frequent cases proper assessments of negative phenomena are provided with great delays, which causes significant harm to economic building.

I believe that when it is a question of a task entirely new to a given collective, the meeting should begin not with a report but with an exchange of views among rank-and-file workers. The participants in a conference should be informed in advance of its agenda. Under such circumstances the people will not be taking the floor for the sake of it or in support of the chief but in order to make a useful suggestion and draw attention to shortcomings. Someone may ask what prevents a collective from conducting a meeting in precisely this manner? What prevents it is the established routine, that old enduring formalism which is so harmful to the work.

The scale and difficulty of current tasks demand of us to perfect the style and methods of work with people, psychologically to reassess old views and find new solutions, which would include the views of all members of the collective concerning arising problems.

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## CHEMIZATION RESERVES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 86 (signed to press 20 Nov 86) pp 43-44

[Letter to the editors by V. Markov, head of sector, Scientific Research Fertilizer and Insect Fungicide Institute imeni Ya.V. Samoylov]

[Text] In my opinion, today the efficiency of the use of chemical fertilizers depends, above all, on the balanced and interrelated development of the production of chemicals and the material and technical base of chemization and the overall enhancement of farming standards.

The USSR holds firmly the leading position in the world in the production of chemical fertilizers. We manufacture virtually all known types of fertilizers made in the world, including complex varieties.

However, the achievements of the chemical fertilizer industry can be fully utilized only if its output is applied in accordance with contemporary standards. Particular attention should be paid to decisive links in the "fertility conveyer," such as the delivery, storage and application of the fertilizers in the soil. The specific nature of the use of chemicals is that they are produced on a year-round basis while the time for their application is quite limited. Hence the need for special warehouses, only 60 percent of the need for which felt by kolkhozes and sovkhazes is being satisfied. There is also a shortage of warehouses at rail spurs. To this day, in many areas most valuable ingredients are being dumped directly on the ground and dispersed by the wind, crushed under the wheels of trucks and tractors and mixed with dirt and snow. Total losses caused by the shortage of warehouses and equipment needed for transporting, processing and applying chemical fertilizers account for about 15 percent of the entire output. This is the equivalent of wasting the production of the output of one out of six or seven chemical combines.

This situation is particularly intolerable if we bear in mind that the production of chemical fertilizers is quite capital-intensive. We must not forget that here people must work under conditions harmful to their health. Furthermore, nature itself suffers great harm despite expensive environmental protection measures.

Nonetheless, the impression is gained that losses are being accepted as an inevitable evil. In any case, the agroindustry is demanding a steady increase in the amount of fertilizer deliveries. The logic is simple: the greater the output, the more will reach the fields despite huge losses. We believe that the idea of compensating for losses with additional output is essentially faulty. A total of 17 billion rubles will be appropriated for the construction and reconstruction of enterprises in this sector during the 12th 5-year period. By 1990 the volume of output of fertilizers will be 8.5 million tons higher than in 1985. Annual losses, however, unless no changes are made, will exceed 6 million tons. Therefore, astronomical funds will be spent merely in order to compensate for losses which are increasing in absolute terms. Computations show that outlays for improving the material and technical base for chemization in agriculture are lower by a factor of 3.2 compared to capital investments needed for the creation of additional facilities for the production of an equivalent amount of chemical fertilizers.

We believe that, in general, the role of chemical fertilizers is being deliberately exaggerated. Currently they account for 50-55 percent of crop increases. In forecasting the need for chemical fertilizers in the year 2000, the USSR Gosagroprom projects that they will account for 65-70 percent. In other developed countries, meanwhile, chemical fertilizers account for 30-40 percent of increases in farm output.

That is why the question of formulating scientific forecasts on the need for chemical fertilizers is so urgent today.

The state spares no funds on the development of the fertilizer industry. It has the right to expect that the huge sums appropriated for chemization would yield substantial additions to crops. During the 11th 5-year period, however, crop increases from chemical fertilizers accounted for no more than 79 percent for grain crops, 74 percent for sugar beets, 53 percent for potatoes and 38 percent for vegetables. A number of reasons explain such low returns. One of them is underestimating the role of organic fertilizers, the application of which averages over four tons per hectare. Yet, in order to stop the loss of humus alone no less than seven tons are needed. As a result, our fields are not improving but are losing their fertility.

Today some 60 million hectares of farmland in the country have a higher acidity content. Such areas are particularly numerous in the Nonchernozem Zone in the RSFSR. Agrochemical studies and the practical experience of frontranking farms indicate that liming acid soils increases the efficiency of chemical fertilizers by 30-40 percent. Today, however, the pace of this efficiency is unsatisfactory. Liming materials are used inefficiently. There are substantial losses in their transportation, storage and application. There are no well-organized warehousing facilities (no more than 17 percent of pulverized liming materials in the Nonchernozem Zone in the RSFSR are stored in warehouses). The available machinery does not allow for the even application of such materials in the soil. Consequently, the areas with acidic soil are diminishing too slowly and in some areas are even increasing.

Let us also say something about the fertilizer-application machinery, which is quite imperfect. Uneven application reaches 70-80 rather than the admissible

15 percent. This alone accounts for no less than a loss of 10 percent of the crops. Furthermore, the existing system of machines is aimed at spreading the fertilizer on the surface of the ground, although data based on numerous studies, progressive experience and foreign practice prove that the most effective way of application of chemical fertilizers is their introduction into the soil. This increases yields by 2-4 quintals per hectare. Briefly, great successes can be achieved in the implementation of the USSR Food Program only with the adoption of a comprehensive approach to the production and application of chemical fertilizers and other chemicals.

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ONCE AGAIN ON PUBLICATIONS. FROM RECIPROCAL CLAIMS TO JOINT WORK

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 86 (signed to press 20 Nov 86) pp 45-51

[Azerbaijan machine builders discuss the letter of Tyumen petroleum worker Yu. Paramonov, published in KOMMUNIST]

[Text] KOMMUNIST No 12 printed a letter by Yu. Paramonov, foreman at the Extraction Shop No 2 of the Nizhnevartovskneftegaz Association, member of the association's party committee and the Nizhnevartovsk CPSU Gorkom, entitled "Technology for the North: Wish and Reality." Both the letter and the comments it provoked expressed great concern about the low standards of equipment and technology supplied to petroleum extraction workers in Western Siberia. The basic conclusion was the following: the pace of industrial progress at the Tyumen oil fields is considerably lower compared to that in other economic sectors and even in the old petroleum extraction areas. Yet, the author emphasizes, the opposite should be the case, for the cost of every additional person in the north, borne by the government, is quite high. However, here progressive equipment and technology are making their way slowly, too slowly.

A significant amount of petroleum extraction equipment is manufactured at Azerbaijan enterprises. The great attention and interest shown in the republic by this publication in the journal are understandable. The suggestion of KOMMUNIST editors to have an extensive discussion of the letter of this the Tyumen oil worker was fully supported by the CP of Azerbaijan Central Committee, the republic's government and the labor collectives of machine builders.

Participating in the discussion chaired by V. Konovalov, second secretary of the CP of Azerbaijan Central Committee, were A. Rasi-Zade, first deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, frontranking workers, brigade leaders, foremen, party and soviet personnel and managers of machine building and instrument-making enterprises, scientists, leading designers in a number of Baku scientific research and design-engineering organizations, a delegation of Tyumen petroleum workers, and senior personnel of the ministries of instrument-making, automation equipment and control systems, chemical and petroleum and machine building, and petroleum industry.

Following are the abridged minutes of the discussions, with brief comments by V. Sukhachevskiy, KOMMUNIST special correspondent.

V. Konovalov:

Let me emphasize that Tyumen petroleum worker Yuriy Ilich Paramonov raised important problems of essential significance in his letter published in KOMMUNIST. They are entirely consistent with the stipulations of the 27th Party Congress and with the course of acceleration of scientific and technical progress in the national economy and solving the crucial problems of upgrading work efficiency and quality. No single party organization or labor collective can remain aside from this important matter. The party members must head the offensive along the entire front of acceleration. This applies to worker collectives and the collectives of scientific and design organizations.

The problem of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in petroleum extraction has become imminent. It requires decisive and closely interrelated actions on the part of machine builders and personnel in many other economic sectors. Here is a very small example. The author of the letter justifiably writes of the scarcity or, to put it bluntly, the actual lack of equipment for special use under northern conditions. However, this blame addressed at the machine builders applies to the metallurgical workers as well. Obviously, steel used at minus 40-50 degrees C should be different from steel ordinarily used in equipment manufacturing.

We must consider here what should be done and how to do it in order drastically to upgrade the quality of oil extraction equipment produced in the republic. Our objective is clear and simple: the equipment produced for the north must be more efficient and more reliable. In the final account, the work in the oil fields must bring to the Soviet people true satisfaction both in terms of results and conditions under which such results are attained.

I. Karayev, deputy director of AzINmash:

Based on designs provided by our institute, more than 400 different models of petroleum equipment are being manufactured in series by nearly 40 plants in the country. Let me immediately acknowledge that the claims of the petroleum workers concerning the quality and reliability of the equipment are just. Let me briefly describe what we are doing to improve the situation. The institute has had long business relations with petroleum workers in Western Siberia. In the 1960s, our specialists regularly visited Tyumen Oblast. They thoroughly studied the conditions under which the equipment was to be used. This type of contacts proved insufficient with the development and expansion of petroleum extraction, and in 1972 the institute set up a coordination and application department, with a branch in Nizhnevartovsk. This helped to strengthen our ties and to react more efficiently to the demands of petroleum extraction workers.

V. Konovalov:

You head a large design subunit, for which reason we would like to hear from you not general considerations but a specific description of specific matters.

I. Karayev:

The letter by Comrade Paramonov and the comments to it note entirely accurately the difficulties related to the exploitation of directional wells with deep pumps. The institute is actively working on the solution of this problem. We were able to develop coupling rods with hard wear-proof coating. The testing of such rods in curved wells in Azerbaijan and directional wells in Nizhnevartovsk proved the high efficiency of this new development. The series production of such rods will be undertaken in 1987.

Parallel work is being done in other areas as well: our designers are engaged in the development of continuous or non-coupled drill pipes with an elliptical cross-section. This will substantially reduce wear and, consequently, will improve the reliability of the equipment. We have also undertaken the development of an essentially new type of pumping equipment, consisting of surface and ground units hydraulically connected. I am referring to the so-called hydraulic pump rod systems. They are less metal consuming and are more stable and reliable. Very soon an experimental model of this pumping system, developed by the institute, will be tested in Surgut.

Let me say a few words on some other projects. We are developing a 50-ton crane for a swamp tractor, used in well repairs. Such systems will have improved cross-country capability, durability and reliability.

The production of two new types of equipment developed by the institute is being mastered: a set of 80-ton crane complex for capital repairs of wells more than 4,000 meters deep and a highly mechanized system with a 32-ton lifting capacity for current well repairs. Both devices stipulate the vertical laying of pipes and a combination of operations which speed up repairs and significantly facilitate the work of the servicing personnel.

V. Kononov:

Why is not more modern equipment being produced? I saw a vibrating screen of a model unchanged since 1979. This is a clumsy metal-intensive item, requiring much iron and little thought. Is it that our engineers and rationalizers are unable to develop advanced equipment?

I. Karayev:

In a number of cases the development of new equipment is being held back for lack of the necessary complementing items and materials. For example, the petroleum workers need a small-sized Christmas tree with a flexible element. However, we are unable to develop it for the time being, for the Ministry of Chemical Industry is not allocating materials for the manufacturing of the flexible element itself. The Ministry of Instrument Making is not accepting requests for the development of a combination of a Christmas tree control station with a cut-off valve. The development of swamp-crossing vehicles with a freight capacity of up to 40 tons, which could be used as self-propelling oil field vehicles, is being held back.

Voice in the hall: Does the institute have a 5-year work program?

I. Karayev:

Naturally, it does.

Voice from the hall: To what extent does its program call for lengthening the period between well repairs?

I. Karayev:

By 50 to 100 percent.

A. Rasi-Zade, first deputy chairman, Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers:

It is inadmissible that so far the plans of the institute have been as a whole more oriented toward gradually improving existing traditional equipment rather than making and breakthrough and meeting requirements which would lead to the development of designs of increased reliability and standards superior to foreign models. Obviously, the institute, which is the flag bearer of engineering and design in the sector, should get rid of the old concepts more firmly and assume the difficult but necessary burden of leadership.

#### Marginal Notes

Prior to the discussion, those present looked at an exhibit of new equipment organized in the yard of AzINmash. The new freshly painted units, however, did not trigger nothing but approval. Thus, while one of the designers was praising a new model of a reciprocating pump, unexpectedly Yu. Paramonov, the author of the letter to the editors of KOMMUNIST, who had come to Baku, objected:

"Recently we had to discard 14 such pumps. Their reductors were not working."

Bearing in mind that the variety of items produce by machine builders for the oil fields is in the hundreds, this happenstance may seem an annoying accident. The trouble, however, is that it reflects a typical feature in the current situation, which was mentioned by many participants in the meeting. The essence of the problem was presented with extreme accuracy and brevity by Yu. Paramonov in his letter: So far, the only change has been that more equipment is now being sent to the oil fields. The level remains unchanged and the quality of manufacturing has improved for some items only.

The radical solution of the problem requires a comprehensive approach which presumes intersectorial integration. Here is a simple example: designers developed and machine builders manufactured a new promising type of equipment: a gas-lift equipment for deep directional wells. Specialists from Nizhnevartovskneftegaz called for increasing the pressure of the charge of the gas-lift valves and widening the diameter of their seat. This increased the uninterrupted work of the valves from 10,000 to 17,000 hours. Nevertheless, these main pieces of equipment are still inferior to the best foreign models.

What is the reason? As it turned out, we lack bellows and slide valves which can withstand a pressure exceeding 100 atmospheres. The slide valves produced

in the country can withstand a pressure of 16 atmospheres. In order to organize the production of the necessary slide valves, which would withstand the pressure of up to 160 atmospheres, the Ministry of Automotive Industry requested from the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building 1.5 million rubles in foreign exchange to purchase a set of equipment for the production of said items. Naturally, time was needed for the construction of the project. Would it not have been better to purchase the slide valves themselves, to begin with, which would cost no more than a few tens of thousands of rubles per year to the national economy? Only then should the Ministry of Automotive Industry have been ordered to organize the production of slide valves which would meet the requirements of petroleum workers, using domestic equipment. This idea, which was expressed in the course of the discussions, was energetically supported by the participants.

V. Kuchemov, deputy general director of the Petroleum Extraction Equipment and Technology Scientific Production Association, Ministry of Petroleum Industry:

The gusher euphoria has come to an end. Now the petroleum must be truly extracted. This is becoming increasingly difficult. This 5-year period 80 new deposits must be developed in Tyumen Oblast, compared with only 28 new ones which were opened in the previous 5-year period.

The new areas are distinguished by their more difficult geological features. The task which faces the petroleum workers in the country, however, is the following: during the 12th 5-year period they must extract more than 3 billion tons of petroleum and gas condensate.

Estimates indicate that with the present level of the equipment, in order to solve this problem we must virtually double the number of people employed in the industry. This requires additional housing, sociocultural amenities, etc. Obviously, we cannot follow this path which is simply unrealistic. The only thing left, therefore, is rapidly and radically to upgrade the quality and reliability of the equipment, which would enable us drastically to increase labor productivity. Otherwise we shall not be able to fulfill our plans. Therefore, our entire hope rests with you, comrade machine builders!

We cannot fail to note that today the level of oil extraction equipment as a whole is insufficiently high. In this area we are substantially behind global indicators, a criticism which must be honestly admitted. We, petroleum workers, realize that you have many difficulties and unsolved problems. But let me emphasize once again that all such difficulties and problems must be surmounted through joint efforts, guided by the only true criterion: the interest of the state.

Look at what is taking place now. The level of mechanization of repair operations remains inadmissibly low. The pumps you produce do not meet contemporary requirements. As Yuriy Ilich Paramonov pointed out in his letter, so far there is no instrument to measure the water, petroleum and gas. His letter accurately pointed out that joint intersectorial programs have proved ineffective. Let me add personally that although these programs are described as comprehensive, they do not include the solution of a number of essential problems.

Comrade Karayev and I have agreed to meet in Tyumen as soon as possible and to draft a coordinated plan. What should this plan include? Above all, we must single out the problems which are today the most vital, the most relevant in terms of production. Then, we must develop methods for the solution of long-term problems. Briefly, let me repeat that we must switch as soon as possible from reciprocal accusations to joint fruitful work.

A. Abdullayev, general director of the Neftegazavtomat Scientific Production Association:

Naturally, this is correct. Is it proper to speak of claims when all of us have an extraordinary amount of work to do. Still...how can we achieve a drastic reduction in the time needed for the development of new equipment under the existing order for material and technical procurements? This problem goes beyond sectorial limits and, in my view, is of national significance. The time has come to change the work style of USSR Gosnab officials in the area of material and technical procurements for scientific research. Otherwise it would be difficult to accelerate the development of new advanced equipment.

I am concerned by something else as well. This 5-year period the Ministry of Petroleum Industry has significantly increased its requests for a number of instrument-making devices. In our view, the petroleum workers exaggerate their actual needs by 50 percent. Yet we must plan the respective technical retooling of enterprises, the installation of automated lines, robot-engineering complexes and testing facilities. In other words, we are planning the extensive restructuring of the production process. What could this lead to? To the fact that as a result of inaccurate forecasting of needs unproductive outlays will increase substantially. This is inadmissible. In our view, this question must be studied yet once again and closely and a balanced and substantiated plan must be drafted for the variety and amounts of equipment we produce for the petroleum workers.

Let me say a few words on essentially new developments, based on contemporary microelectronics, which can operate within a broad range of temperatures, the use of large integrated circuits and the extensive use of microprocessors which could include the manufacturing of individual units and assemblies on their basis, and which would enable us substantially to improve basic technical features of items and their competitiveness based on world standards.

The solution of this problem is impossible without modern production of electronic units and printed circuits on the basis of the latest technology. For the time being, this does not exist. Yet in order for such technology to be developed, once again, we must combine the efforts of Minpribor and Minnefteprom. In general, let me point out that we cannot do without the close and fruitful interaction between petroleum and machine building workers, the more so since the amount of work is increasing at a rather high pace. For example, the production of means of automation for the oil fields at the plants of our association will nearly quadruple this 5-year period, compared with the preceding one. In order to meet such a stressed assignment, work in all areas must be improved.

Yu. Paramonov:

The petroleum workers vote with both hands in favor of new equipment. However, give us truly new equipment, not semi-finished items. In frequent cases we spend more money testing and completing a piece of equipment than its original cost. Recently, our brigade failed to produce 12,000 tons of petroleum in 1 month as a result of the application of one such "innovation." It is this type of equipment that enrages the people.

V. Konovalov:

This, I believe, is a basic problem. The new equipment must be developed and perfected by the manufacturer and only then delivered to the oil field.

G. Vartanov, brigade leader, Baku Instrument Manufacturing Plant:

Yu. Paramonov expressed in KOMMUNIST serious and, in my view, substantiated claims concerning the quality and technical standard of many of our machines and instruments. Unfortunately, not everything possible is being done to reliably block the production of faulty equipment. At worker meetings we have repeatedly discussed such problems and have been able to accomplish a great deal. This year, for example, the production of new items is 50 to 100 percent higher than during any previous year. Stricter rules are being applied in the acceptance of equipment and technical facilities at enterprises have improved. The steps planned for this 5-year period will enable us to solve many problems which remained unsolved for many years.

However, there are problems with which the collective is simply unable to cope. Here is an example: in his letter, the Tyumen petroleum worker mentioned, in particular, the fact that the dynamographs we produce, which should record the features of the work of the deep-well pumps are hopelessly obsolete and are extremely costly to operate. This is true! We have been producing such equipment for the past 20 years and have been issued plans for their production year after year. I believe that our Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems should listen more closely to the remarks of the petroleum workers.

For the sake of fairness, they too should be blamed. Why is it that the Minnefteprom makes poor use of its right as a customer and accepts the delivery of old equipment? Strange though it might seem, even our suggestions to improve and update the equipment meet with no support by this ministry.

Another serious problem is the technical condition of production facilities where items for the petroleum industry are manufactured. Our plant is old and its metal processing, assembling and testing equipment does not meet modern requirements. In April 1986 we established a special design-technological bureau with an experimental production facility. However, to this day we do not have the necessary equipment for it.

The plant does not have spare areas; the departments of the chief designer and mechanization and automation do not have experimental sections. Yet it must be clear to everyone, including the personnel of the central departments, that

it would be possible to supply the oil fields with modern high-quality equipment only by solving problems which are of vital importance to us, the producers of such equipment. Only then would we be able to provide our worker's guarantee that the equipment we produce is of high quality.

#### Marginal Notes

We already noted that a significant percentage of the equipment which goes to the oil fields in the country is produced at Azerbaijan plants and associations. It is here that major scientific research and design organizations in petroleum machine building and instrument manufacturing are concentrated. However, the technical facilities of enterprises and institutes is hopelessly behind modern requirements. This was mentioned by many participants in the discussion. Plants equipped with extremely old tools, lacking scientific design experimental production facilities are all features which, unquestionably, prevent us from reaching world standards by machines and units manufactured in the republic.

One year ago a joint program for work during the 12th 5-year period was approved for the Ministries of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, Petroleum Industry and Gas Industry and the USSR Ministry of Geology. However, this document did not include a target-program approach to the solution of all problems related to supplying petroleum workers with high-quality equipment. Even if the program is fully implemented, according to the specialists, we shall be unable adequately to ensure a contemporary technical standard for the equipment. The point is that the program does not include necessary assignments to related ministries, needed in making complementing items and materials; nor is there a coordination of deadlines for the manufacturing of many types of equipment.

In this connection, the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building and the Ministry of Petroleum Industry and many machine building ministries were instructed to revise this document in order to upgrade a number of features of the technical standards of the basic variety of drilling and petroleum extraction equipment produced in series, this 5-year plan and until the year 2000. They were also instructed maximally to reduce the time needed for the development of new equipment.

Currently a draft comprehensive scientific and technical program has been formulated for the creation of new petroleum and gas extraction equipment and for improving serially produced equipment, which would enable us by 1990 to reach the production of 90 percent of the basic pieces of equipment on the level of the best world standards. The program, in the formulation of which 14 ministries participated, calls for upgrading the productivity of drilling operations by 50 to 100 percent, mechanizing and automating basic technological processes in drilling and extraction and well repairs, and increasing the efficiency of drilling and petroleum and gas extraction equipment by a factor of 2-3 and, for some varieties, 3-5, raising it the level of the best global accomplishments. Related ministries have been issued 405 assignments on the production of complementing items and materials.

As was pointed out in the course of the meeting, the majority of the ministries adopted a constructive approach to the formulation of their programs. Not all, however. The Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building and the Ministry of Petroleum Industry have still not been able to coordinate 95 assignments with related ministries. Nearly half of these assignments affect the Minpribor.

Other types of disorganization as well as causing a great deal of harm to the common efforts. For example, that same Minpribor, which has a number of enterprises in the republic, as part of scientific-production and production associations, is not solving problems of production specialization and concentration. This makes it difficult to implement a unified and purposeful technological policy and make efficient use of available forces and funds.

Another exceptionally important problem, which was raised in KOMMUNIST and was heard once again in the Baku discussion, must be solved: shortcuts in investment policy. All those present at the meeting unanimously agreed that it is abnormal when consumers of petroleum extraction equipment are being allocated dozens of times more capital investments than producers. How is it possible, under such circumstances, to hope for any acceleration of scientific and technical progress in petroleum machine building?

A. Karakhanov, chief of Glavneftemash:

In order to block even further the production of substandard equipments, representatives of the Ministry of Petroleum Industry have been put in charge of accepting deliveries of main items produced by six plants. Here are the results: in the fourth quarter of 1985, 62.7 percent of the equipment was accepted; the figure rose to 70.5 percent in the first quarter of this year and to nearly 81 percent in the second.

V. Konovalov:

Starting with 1987, the system of state acceptance of the output will be applied throughout the main administration. Comrade Karakhanov, I believe that there is no particular reason for rejoicing. The state is forced to take this step, which involves huge additional costs, because the technical control departments of enterprises have proved inadequate and lost the confidence of the public.

A. Karakhanov:

Unfortunately, this is true. The study of claims filed against our items indicates that the main reason for defects is carelessness in the manufacturing of individual assemblies and parts and poor technical control.

Furthermore, we have yet another serious problem: the inadmissibly long time it takes to develop new equipment. Most of the time goes into the stages in the manufacturing of prototypes and acceptance tests. Since our own testing stand lacks all the necessary facilities, the developers must use the support centers of the Ministry of Petroleum Industry, where tests are frequently delayed because of disparities between local conditions and technical

specifications. In frequent cases machines break down prematurely as a result of careless transportation or unskilled handling. Therefore, the petroleum workers as well should assume some of the blame.

G. Trifonov, deputy chief of the Minpribor Main Scientific and Technical Administration:

From my viewpoint, it is simply necessary to exchange information the way we are doing it here. It is important to draw proper conclusions from such discussions. To a certain extent, we have been able to identify new reasons for the lagging. This will enable us to draw the attention of administrative, scientific and production agencies. This is the main feature on which efforts must be concentrated.

The great responsibility assigned to the Minnefteprom determines our attitude toward problems of the development of instrument manufacturing for the petroleum and gas industry. The harnessing of the scientific and technical potential and production facilities to meet such purposes was announced by us at the very beginning of the last 5-year period. At that point an all-union industrial association was set up, which included all plants producing instruments for petroleum and natural gas fields. We included in the development of such instruments four large institutes and as many special design bureaus. The results were the following: whereas as a whole the volume of instrument manufacturing at ministry enterprises increased by 28 percent over the past 5-year period, the production of instruments for the petroleum and gas industry increase by 70 percent.

Naturally, we are fully aware of the fact that everything is as yet behind the needs of petroleum and gas extraction workers. We realize that our output is not always consistent with requirements. Therefore, the author of the letter in KOMMUNIST is entirely right. Actually, the consumer is always right.

We have planned our main areas of work for the 12th 5-year period. The first is the faster development of the manufacturing of tools for the north. The Minpribor has received the full amount of the capital investments needed for this purpose, which has made it possible substantially to reorganize about 20 different projects.

The second trend is the coordination of programs. In the past, in receiving assignments, we lost years in coordinating various problems. I hope that this will be no longer the case.

The third area is the comprehensive development and delivery of pretested automated control systems. We realize that all of our faults have imposed a heavy burden on the consumers.

Finally, we are organizing skilled technical servicing of goods we have manufactured.

We are paying great attention to the development computer equipment. By 1990 its volume should be increased by a factor of 2.2. Proportionally, there will be an increase in software, which must become a marketable commodity.

## Marginal Notes

The participants in the Baku meeting heard with interest the story of future developments in instrument manufacturing. Unfortunately, the senior personnel of the ministry virtually ignored the specific and quite serious claims addressed at instrument manufacturers in Paramonov's letter in KOMMUNIST, and the claims voiced by the participants in the discussion. Actually, how could we ignore the fact that the long years of Minpribor efforts have not resulted in developing means for controlling the basic parameters in the extraction of petroleum, something extremely needed by the industry?

Yes, a great deal today depends on the purposeful technical policy of ministries and the coordinated efforts of different departments, rallied for the sake of a single purpose: to provide the oil fields with equipment and instruments which can drastically upgrade yields and facilitate the work of petroleum workers. However, the machine builders in Azerbaijan have a great deal of internal reserves, the first of which is to enhance party work in the main areas of the struggle for high production quality. Quite indicative in this respect was the statement by Z. Kyazimov, party committee secretary of the Machine Building Plant imeni Leytenant Shmidt. It gave the appearance that literally after the party committee had taken a few practical steps an atmosphere of success had developed at the enterprise. Let us recall that the publication in KOMMUNIST criticized the quality of pump rods produced by this plant. Z. Kyazimov merely touched upon this topic. As V. Konovalov, who guided the discussions, pointed out, the plant party committee secretary should have self-critically assessed this situation. Only with such an approach could there be a question of a profound restructuring of the activities of party organizations in the spirit of the requirement of the 27th CPSU Congress.

Yu. Paramonov raised vitally important and urgent questions which, if not answered, would make it difficult to hope for any radical change in the petroleum industry. This was the unanimous conclusion reached by the participants in the discussion of his letter to KOMMUNIST.

In summing up the discussions, V. Konovalov, second secretary, CP of Azerbaijan Central Committee, noted that the enterprises in petroleum machine building and instrument manufacturing have formulated for the 12th 5-year period and are implementing comprehensive plans for radically upgrading the technical standard and quality of petroleum extraction equipment and instruments, the main parameters of which--productivity, reliability and economy--will enable them to attain modern technical standards. His speech included another conclusion as well: the need for more active and aggressive action on the part of machine builders in the technical retooling of the petroleum industry. It is not only the demand of consumers that must stimulate the activities of equipment producers; the producers themselves must dictate, if one may say so, the fashion on the consumer market. Awareness of this dialectical interconnection, as was emphasized at the meeting, will be a powerful lever in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. The role of the party organizations would be difficult to overestimate in the formulation of such an approach to the work, based on the unity of interests of labor collectives and sectors and our entire society.

The participants resolved that this discussion held by one of the labor collectives, initiated in KOMMUNIST, should be continued after a while.

Several days after the Baku meeting, a republic conference of the party and economic industry aktiv was held. It discussed the tasks of the industry's workers in connection with the conversion to extradepartmental control--state acceptance. State acceptance will be also introduced at seven leading Ministry of Chemical Machine Industry enterprises, starting with January 1987.

The report submitted by G. Kolmogorov, USSR Gosstandart chairman, and the speeches by K. Bagirov, first secretary of the CP of Azerbaijan Central Committee, and others, noted that of late the Glavneftemash enterprises have done a great deal to improve the quality of the equipment; the percentage of accepted items has been increased substantially; production standards and metrological support have improved. Shops and production facilities are being extensively restructured at the machine building plants imeni Leytenant Shmidt, imeni Sardarov, imeni Dzerzhinskiy and others. However, as in the past, quality problems remain urgent in a number of enterprises manufacturing petroleum extraction equipment. The responsibility of labor collectives for end labor results is increased with the enactment of the regulation on discounting wholesale prices of commodities which should no longer be produced.

Tremendous work remains to be done, in terms of scale and importance. The comprehensive plans--programs, the drafting of which is being completed in the republic, are aimed at upgrading the quality and reliability of output. Today the labor collectives are clearly aware of their tasks. This is helped by the mass political and organizational work actively carried out by the party organizations.

The participants in the meeting set themselves the objectives of seeing to it that the quality of output become the subject not only of professional but also national pride. Goods stamped "Made in Azerbaijan" should not yield to the best domestic and foreign models.

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## WAYS OF IMPLEMENTING SOCIAL GUARANTEES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 86 (signed to press 20 Nov 86) pp 52-60

[Article by M. Sokolova, candidate of economic sciences]

[Text] The discussion on accelerating social development and enhancing the role of the human factor in the economy taking place in this journal is, unquestionably, topical and important. I would like to pursue the debate, initiated with the articles by Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya and S.S. Shatalin, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, on ways of solving a number of urgent problems and on principles for perfecting social policy. We shall consider the method for concretizing such principles as they apply to the system of distribution relations in socialism, based on the results of long studies of this area of social relations.

### On the Problem of Real Income

As was already noted, perfecting distribution relations becomes one of the main tasks in the restructuring of the economy. The direct interaction between the economic and social areas of social relations takes place through the distribution processes, which express the basic principle of social justice under socialist conditions: "From each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work." Violations of this principle, which accumulated year after year, were one of the most important obstacles to socioeconomic development. Weakened material incentives were inseparably related to preserving, despite changed circumstances, as accurately emphasized by S.S. Shatalin, of the "mechanism of gross output," which largely predetermined the development of equalization trends.

Let us note an additional adverse aspect in regulating wages, which lowers their stimulating function: over the past 20 years the need for wage differentiation, based on actual differences in the quantity and quality of labor, was insufficiently taken into consideration. The principle of reducing wage disparities was considered self-seeking, as a result of which through the end of the 1970s priority was given to increasing the wages of low-paid (and less skilled) workers.

It was precisely at that time, within a 10-year interval (1968 and 1978) that we conducted in Taganrog a study on the level and way of life of urban

families. The results indicated that the wages of unskilled workers and employees had increased more over the 10-year period compared to those of skilled workers, and much more than the average earnings of highly skilled specialists. A distortion had occurred in wage correlation, which had led to the fact that a significant percentage of relatively low paid people had moved during a 10-year period into the group of highly paid workers and, conversely, previously highly paid personnel had become members of a lower-paid group (in terms of relative changes in average wages).

One of the major reasons for this distortion was the fact that the solution of the social problem--raising the minimal wage--was within the range of the existing fund, achieved by freezing the wages of the highly paid and, in their majority, most skilled and efficient workers on which the pace of development of the production process depended above all. The "ceiling" for skilled growth was rather low, which removed the incentive to enhance the labor activeness of those who tried to work more and better. This is confirmed also by data of the Taganrog study, which indicated the limited opportunities of people engaged in more efficient and productive work after children had appeared in the family, and the need and wish to earn more developed. In our view, this, precisely, is the economic reason for "not working at full capacity," convincingly described by T.I. Zaslavskaya.

The creation of a mechanism which would ensure a consistency between real labor results and wages and the systematic implementation of this principle, described at the 27th Congress as the essence of socialist social justice, will require lifting all restraints in wage differentiations.

Enhancing the stimulating role of wages presumes strengthening the value of the earned ruble. The creation of a new economic mechanism, aimed at increasing the role of the consumer in acknowledging the efficiency of produced goods and services, presumes that prices must be consistent with socially necessary outlays. This should bring about radical changes in price setting. However, a simple increase in the prices of scarce commodities in the national economy (meat products in particular) without ensuring their reaction in stimulating production would, in our view, result merely in lowering the real population income and would not solve the problem of balancing supply with demand, even if such a step would ensure a balance at the time of its implementation. In order to maintain a permanent balance and, correspondingly, ensure equal possibilities for the population to acquire commodities and services, price changes must be a link in an entire set of steps in the radical economic reform (in which prices would perform the function of influencing consumers and equitably assessing the work of producers). It is precisely the fact that rating by the consumers was not taken into consideration that became one of the main reasons for the spreading of a wasteful approach and to lowering production efficiency. If prices are raised within the system of the economic reform, the population's real income will come from increasing payments for efficient labor, based on results. The creation of economic levers ensuring a direct correlation between wages of production collectives and individual workers and end labor results, acknowledged by the consumer, will provide an efficient system for faster economic growth. It will also mean a qualitatively new stage in the implementation of the principle of social justice in society.

The problem of perfecting the second type of population income, which is an intrinsic part of socialism--income from social consumption funds--must also be solved immediately. As the authors of the articles we mentioned convincingly proved, the distribution of social funds involves the principle of real equality among all members of society in terms of satisfying needs considered most significant from the viewpoint of social development or, as aptly defined by S.S. Shatalin, needs "supervised by the state." Here the principle of social justice is implemented by ensuring the most important social guarantees codified in the country's constitution. Naturally, the extent of actual equality in the utilization of the various types of social consumption funds differs. Pensions and, to a certain extent, scholarships are related to labor activity and are of a double nature: they perform the economic function of stimulating labor (which determines their differentiation through their link with wages) and the function of social guarantee (social protection or guardianship), i.e., ensuring state guaranteed income to those who are still or unable to or can no longer earn a living.

The implementation of the principle of equality among all members of society in the satisfaction of education, health care and housing needs may be traced most consistently in the free distribution of social consumption funds among a certain segment of the population. For although the real possibilities of people to satisfy these needs are not extended to all, the principle of free benefits loses its social meaning. Clearly, in this case it would be more equitable to distribute such funds according to labor (since they come out of the labor of the working people) and to make them part of the family budget. The increasingly consistent availability of "starting opportunities" in developing the capabilities of people belonging to different socioeconomic groups, mentioned in Zaslavskaya's article, is precisely the kind of objective need which brought to life the free form of distribution under socialism.

Looking at our country's past, we can confidently say that without the socialization of funds spent on education, medical aid and children's institutions, the quality changes which were achieved in education and culture would have been impossible.

Currently, the principles of equality of rights among all members of society, which are inherent in the social consumption funds, are by no means observed fully. This has been largely the result of the use of the residual principle in allocating resources for sociocultural needs, an approach which was sharply condemned at the 27th Congress. As a result, the social guarantees provided through the social funds were no longer consistent, in terms of level and quality, with the need of the people for most important goods. On this point we fully support S.S. Shatalin, who emphasized that the urgency of ensuring a steady quantitatively and qualitatively growth of needs does not diminish and demands steady attention and consideration of objectively steadily increased requirements in drafting social development plans.

#### On the Role of Socioeconomic Standards

In order to radically change the existing situation, as the party asks, the methods used to determine the level of need for social guarantees in the distribution area must be substantially and comprehensively improved.

Each stage in social development and level of well-being reached has its specific amounts and structure of social requirements, manifested through individual and social preferences. The overall needs of the people, if we refer not to individual items or services, but of sets of the same, which make living conditions possible (such as nutrition as a whole rather than the availability of meat, bread, potatoes, etc.) constitute, as Marx said, an internally interrelated natural system. Such needs are not interchangeable. They do not disappear. They have no point of saturation and the entire set develops upwards, following the so-called law of elasticity. This means that the increased amount of means of satisfying various needs differ according to the levels reached in the well-being of society. The links within the internal set or, more specifically, the consumer set, are so precise that individual elements within its structure allow us to obtain information on the living standard as a whole (thus, we judge of the well-being of the population in one area or another by the percentage of its income that is spent on food).

The laws which govern the set of social needs can be studied and established in detail for a planned period of time. All of this gives an idea of the social guarantees included in distribution relations in terms of the specific degrees of satisfaction of various types of needs. Such standards can express most fully the social order relative to the purposeful reorganization of relations. We believe that planning the means of satisfying needs through social consumption funds is possible only on the basis of substantiated standards which characterize some of their necessary levels. Therefore, a method based on statistical evaluations of consumer behavior is inapplicable.

Most frequently the term "socioeconomic standards and norms" encompasses the entire legal base used in social planning. Its content is quite heterogeneous. Here we are referring to the socioeconomic standards which concretize the system of socialist distribution relations. Their economic nature is based on their organic link with the distribution of resources with a view to satisfying vital social needs; the social content is defined by the fact that, acting as a social assessment of the level of needs, considered by society as possible and necessary to satisfy at a given stage of development, they provide social guarantees and ensure the social justice of the socialist distribution system.

Let us emphasize here the basic distinction between socioeconomic standards and rational consumption and standards. As we know, the latter reflect the idea of sensible needs, which exist regardless of production possibilities or distribution relations. Socioeconomic standards are inseparably related to the possibilities of the economy and are consistent with the levels of needs which must be satisfied at a given point. Therefore, whereas a rational consumer budget reflects the maximal limits of consumption (within a sensible range), socioeconomic standards are guarantees of minimally acceptable levels of satisfaction of needs at the scale of well-being which was reached.

Such socioeconomic standards include the minimal wage, the minimal pension and other most important features of the retirement system, levels of scholarships and aid to families with children, levels of expenditures for education and children's preschool establishments, and standards of availability of housing and health care. Let us consider this question in somewhat greater detail.

Superficially, it may seem that the law of distribution according to labor does not consist of requirements concerning the size of the wage and is dictated only by the ratios according to which the results of public production must be distributed. Actually, no amount of wage can ensure its stimulating function. Its level is determined in direct relation to the living standard which has been obtained and its initial value--the lower limit of needs. Naturally, in this case there can be no question of a minimum of funds needed for the reproduction of simple manpower, not to mention a physiological minimum which has nothing in common with wages under socialist conditions. Its minimum as a socioeconomic standard is the minimally accepted level of satisfaction of needs.

The standard of the minimal material well-being of the simple worker and his dependents expresses the demands of the present, objectively determined by changes in the population's living standards, already made or taking place. Obviously, the scientific substantiation and determination of the level of minimal wages is the most important component in setting the quantitative limits of the entire set of socioeconomic standards.

The role of the minimal wage as a social standard is not limited to the fact that it guarantees the level of the minimal accepted living standard (given the level obtained in the level of the economy). Its size determines the amount of the wages of all those employed in public production, for the individual wage must exceed the minimum precisely to the extent to which the labor of this individual is quantitatively and qualitatively different from simple labor. Therefore, the minimum wage and the size of its differentiation determine the wage fund needed for observing the principle of distribution according to labor and, consequently, for the application of the most efficient incentives in all public production sectors.

The substantiation of the necessary level of minimal wage as a socioeconomic standard can be achieved in two different manners. The simpler is to define the pace of its possible growth on the basis of extrapolating the dynamics of this value over the past period. In that case the speed of growth of the average wage (and the size of the wage fund) will entirely depend on the scientific prediction of the extent of differentiation. Increasing the minimum at a faster pace compared with the average wage inevitably leads to a reduction in wage disparities. If the correlation in the dynamics of the minimal and average wages is not consistent with changes in labor itself, violations in the proportions of the amount of labor and its wages appear as a result of unsubstantiated equalization.

The second way of justifying a wage minimum responds better to its nature as a social standard. It presumes developing a methodology for setting minimal consumption requirements at the level reached in societal economic development. Let us point out that little use is being made of this method.

Purposeful social influence on social development is largely achieved through the social consumption funds. All types of income earned by the population through this form of socialist distribution are guaranteed by the state to specific groups in connection with developing socially significant needs.

Therefore, the volume and overall structure of the social consumption funds, we believe, should be entirely determined on the basis of socioeconomic standards. The most important among them are social standards which reflect the quantitative features of the pension system. The link between a pension and the past labor contribution of the individual requires a differentiated approach to setting its amount. The feature of guaranteed income from society enables us to limit the extent of this differentiation within the framework defined by the set of goods which meet existing traditional needs of individuals who have lost their ability to work. Justifiably, great attention was paid to this problem in the discussions conducted in this journal. Maintaining a correlation between the size of the pension and the average wage guarantees a proportional increase in the material well-being of all population strata with the development of social needs. Obviously, such correlations, which reflect differences in the living standards of working people and pensioners, are not fixed once and for all. Like all standards under consideration, they change as the well-being of the different population strata and groups improves.

As we have pointed out, a number of adverse social features have accumulated in the practice of pension allocations; there is urgent need not for individual improvements but for revising the pension system as a whole. A decision was made on drafting a new law on pensions. The principles of socioeconomic standards enable us to ensure social justice in this important income distribution area.

We believe that changes must be made in the current practice of receiving both a pension and a wage. It would seem expedient to include in the new law on pensions the so-called principle of deferred payments, which presumes an increase in the pension by a certain percentage for every year worked after reaching retirement age. This will create an adequate incentive to work on the part of anyone who can still do so and who can be of real use to society.

As to the other types of payments from social consumption funds, they are in the nature of social assistance (to families or individuals) and their amounts and types are not strictly determined, for they are an additional source of material security. However, the choice of the specific varieties of such social assistance is important.

#### 'Limits' of Material Security and Aid Efficiency

The question of the efficiency of the various means of assisting families with children remains controversial. In his article, S.S. Shatalin expresses the views of economists and sociologists who are in favor of broadening the conditions for granting financial aid for children of lowest-income families. They see the social effect of this type of aid in the fact that it reduces differentiations in the material security of children and contributes to diminishing and, in the future, eliminating all low income. S.S. Shatalin notes in his article that this type of social aid is an element of active demographic policy.

The results of our surveys, which included a special study of the influence of this type of aid to the material situation of low-income families, do not

agree with the fact that this helps to achieve even a single one of the social effects we mentioned. Above all, it seems to us that the concept of eliminating low material security is insufficiently clear, for the very content of this concept is relative. It indicates that the level of income of a given group of families is the lowest compared with that of the other groups. As S.S. Shatalin emphasizes, quite justifiably, as well-being increases, the level of low earnings changes. Thus, in the 10-year interval between the two Taganrog studies, the average per capita nominal family income increased by more than 50 percent; the lowest income increased by the same percentage. The share of families with income considered as the borderline of low income declines by several hundred percent, while the share of relatively low-income families (those whose income remains below the average within the same proportion) remained virtually unchanged. Consequently, the families with income which is now higher by 50 percent would be reclassified as low-income, the correlation among low, average and high income remaining unchanged. The gradual reduction of the share of relatively low-income people should be considered a phenomenon on the same order as reducing differentiations among wages and income, based on the extent to which differences in the labor itself are reduced.

It would be inaccurate to see the reason for low income simply in terms of the number of children in the family. This concept was based on information received from state budget statistics, which use the sectorial principle in the selection of families. This selection is clearly based on the families of working people only. According to our data, based on the territorial principle of the selection of families, the highest percentage of low-income people were, first of all, the families of the "strict pensioners;" they were followed by families in which the mother is temporarily unemployed after childbirth; finally, partial families with one or two children. Hence the conclusion that the problem of increasing the income of low income families must be solved, above all, by perfecting the pension system (which we discussed) and giving aid to each family at the time when a child appears and the mother, as practical experience indicates, in the majority of cases becomes temporarily unemployed. This trend in the assistance of families, the development of which is stipulated in the directives of the 27th Party Congress, has already proven an element of active influence on the demographic behavior of young families, most typical under contemporary conditions: families in which the woman has a profession and is employed. This type of aid is a social guarantee, for with its help women acquire the most favorable possibility of combining the role of mother with that of participant in public production. This is its socioeconomic effect. The advantage of this system, from the demographic viewpoint, is that it stimulates above all having a second child by virtually all families, including those in which the parents are oriented toward an active labor career (which, precisely, is a major reason for not having two, not to mention three children). The further development of this type of social aid to any family with a new child should, in our view, include a differentiation in the amount of allocations, based on the mother's wage. We could describe this type of social guarantee not as "partially paid leave related to the birth of a child" but as "partially retained salary" of the mother related to the implementation of an important social function: labor which ensures, as has been confirmed, optimal conditions for raising and maintaining the health of a new generation during

the first years of its life (obviously, as has been suggested by a number of people, it would be proper, eventually, to extend this to the other adult members of the family who are willing to provide temporary care of the newly born child).

Substantial further work is needed on the matter of expanding the temporary limits to the right of such guaranteed assistance. The point is, as noted by specialists with increased frequency, that extending an interruption in employment to 3 years will inevitably worsen the possibility of women to have a full labor career. This step is effective and necessary under contemporary conditions. However, we must bear in mind that the strategic direction followed in providing truly equal opportunities for women to realize their capabilities lies in the all-round advancement of the social area--from improving the quality of work of children's institutions to the extensive development of consumer services.

#### On the Question of 'Free' Benefits

The most difficult and topical problem in concretizing the matter of social justice in the quantitative assessment of the level of free or subsidized social services offered to the population. The overall development of needs and the functional interconnection among all of their components call for linking their levels of satisfaction with the planned indicators of the growth of the entire set of consumer demands. This set, which characterizes the average volume and structure of consumption for the entire population, provides information on traditional and customary and, therefore, necessary social needs for a given period. Their objective nature as an integral set indicates that the level of satisfaction of needs, guaranteed to all members of society, must be strictly linked to the achieved average living standard. Only then will equal opportunities appear for free or subsidized services to all population groups to the extent consistent with social requirements.

Let us imagine that state expenditures for education, health care, and so on, would fall behind their average development had they been paid for by the families out of their income. There would be a disturbance in the correlation between the set of requirements which can be met out of individual income and the requirements of the population with average or higher income and the standard and quality of free social services.

Establishing standard outlays for such benefits on a level consistent with the characteristics of the per capita structure of outlays would mean that more than one-half of the population with an income below the average level of requirements concerning education, medical aid, etc., would be satisfied to a greater extent than would have been possible if paid out of the family budget. It is precisely this that constitutes the most systematic implementation of the principle of equal possibilities in the consumption of the most important social services, which is the foundation of social funds.

These principles used in substantiating social standards in education and health care also reflect the lowest limit of needs. In groups of families with above-average income a greater solvent demand inevitably arises relative to the volume and, above all, the quality of goods which are offered free of

charge within the limits of the guaranteed level. The impossibility of using a relatively higher income for such purposes may lead to an inflation in material consumption and a scarcity of quality service. In order to avoid a trend toward consumerism (as the well-being improves the need for such goods will increase at faster pace), we should determine the extent to which the flexible income of highly paid population groups includes paying for higher quality benefits provided by social consumption funds. Obviously, it is precisely this part of the respective needs that must be met out of individual income or enterprise funds allocated for such purposes. In such cases, social consumption funds will include more benefits which are granted by society to all its members within the limits of socioeconomic standards.

In this connection the question of satisfying housing needs becomes particularly important. Naturally, the basic approaches to the formulation of social standards for housing should be identical to the other benefits provided by society. However, they also include a number of substantial differences. The need for housing is part of the group of natural requirements, determined by the need to spend a substantial share of available resources for this purpose. Furthermore, in this case the subject of consumption is not the individual, but the family. The housing needs of a family change in different stages in its life and development and are based on the type of family structure.

All of this indicates the need for a special approach to improving the allocation of housing. It presumes the use of socioeconomic standards based on the same principles as those governing other free benefits, extending benefits to the entire population in the country. We believe that under these circumstances it becomes necessary to give to all families whose housing is not part of the state sector state aid for private and cooperative housing. The use of housing over and above the stipulated standards should be paid for out of the family's income.

Therefore, the formulation of a system of socioeconomic standards is a major means of providing social guarantees. By concretizing and implementing the objectives of economic development, the socioeconomic standards define the lower limits of the necessary social requirements. Their substantiation and the scientific anticipation of the rate of differentiations in salaries quantitatively determine the full satisfaction of social needs.

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VIEWS AND SUGGESTIONS. RESPONSES TO THE ARTICLE 'THE HUMAN FACTOR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 86 (signed to press 20 Nov 86) pp 61-68

[Text] V. Lipitskiy, candidate of philosophical sciences, Moscow:

The article by T.I. Zaslavskaya (KOMMUNIST, No 13, 1986) raises a number of major problems related to the ways of enhancing the human factor. The author not only brings to light a number of crucial contradictions and "sensitive spots" in our social organism, but also suggests a system of steps aimed at the further intensification and strengthening of social justice. Her constructive approach encourages us to continue our quest for reserves for acceleration, found in the human factor.

The study of the problem proves that the main obstacle to progress in the economic area today is the scarcity of effective incentives. The existing motivational mechanism does not ensure the efficient utilization of production resources. Justifiably, S.S. Shatalin describes it as the global historical task of socialism (KOMMUNIST, No 14, 1986).

The humanistic trend of our system and the objective conditions of its establishment and development required the faster growth of social guarantees compared with some economic realities and with the level of awareness of the citizens. An unforeseen consequence of this was the appearance of a number of people who, their "rear lines" secured, unable to see the sufficiently powerful positive motivations, are not inclined to work to the fullest of their capabilities. How to correct this situation?

In choosing the proper solution, it is important, above all, to take into consideration all possibilities of directly upgrading the interest of the workers in the results of their toil. We believe that one of the main ways is that of developing to the fullest extent the economic functions of the worker, on the basis of a profound reconstruction of relations which appear in the area of socialist ownership.

A great deal is being said and written today on the severe lack of a proprietary attitude toward the work on all levels of production and management. The reasons for this phenomenon are based on the unexpectedly durable consequences of the old alienation of labor. With a high level of

socialization of means of production, a situation remains in which, on the sociopsychological level at least, "The totality of objective labor conditions is pitted against the worker as being the property of someone else" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 26, part III, p 364). A considerable percentage of citizens do not feel themselves the owners, i.e., the co-owners of public property. We see a relatively peaceful coexistence between two criteria of honesty: the same people who would rather lose a hand than dip it into their neighbor's pocket, steal from the state with no pangs of conscience.

Today we no longer imagine that in itself socialization, given proper explanatory work, would motivate the working people to behave as proprietors. "It would be naive to imagine that the feeling of ownership could be developed with words," the 27th CPSU Congress noted. "The attitude toward ownership is developed, above all, by the actual conditions under which a person operates, and his possibility of influencing the organization of the production process and the distribution and utilization of labor results." The justifiable demand is made of ensuring the real participation of the working people in managing socialist property. The Law on Labor Collectives created political prerequisites for such participation. The insufficient pace of its implementation, which was also mentioned at the congress, is related, we believe, to hindrances in the formulation of respective economic prerequisites.

The already initiated broadening of rights and enhancement of the autonomy of labor collectives and the restructuring of the economic mechanism are providing the worker with greater reasons to see himself as the owner of the production process. However, even these useful steps could turn out insufficient unless they are based on concretizing his attitude toward socialist ownership, which presumes the organization of intermediary links in the relationship between society as a whole, as its general subject, and the individual workers. In this sense, the application of the brigade contracting order is a specific step. Characteristically, the search for such solutions is taking place in a number of socialist countries. Naturally, the solutions are by no means unquestionable. However, available experience deserves a most thorough and unprejudiced study. It is time to abandon the view that socialist ownership is not something fixed, frozen within its preset form. We have all the right reasons to believe that on the way to its higher directly social form, it could undergo intermediary stages in connection with the degree of maturity of the entire production relations system. At the present stage, the condition of the latter also raises the question of the need for the worker to see more clearly a manifestation of public ownership and to develop substantive economic grounds to feel himself its co-owner. It is only thus that we can reach the situation predicted by Marx: "...Only if labor conditions belong to the associated workers and the latter consider that under such conditions labor is their own product and a tangible element of their own activities" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op cit., vol 26, part III, p 283).

Concretizing the attitude toward ownership can become the base for restructuring distribution. Even the most advanced and most scientific system of wages and bonuses cannot solve the main problem: totally freeing the socialist working person from all aspects of hired labor. The shaping of a

truly proprietary motivation, with a high level of reliability, could be ensured with the direct participation of the working people in the income and expenditure activities of their enterprises. As to the practical forms through which the new type of ownership and distribution relations could be manifested, they could be refined as a result of scientific research and experimental testing.

Setting up a system of economic motivations on the basis of a changed attitude toward public property could radically enhance the efficiency of incentives and, consequently, the use of production resources. We believe that the thus released reserves for economic growth would enable us to avoid a number of difficult solutions in the social area and become a truly socialist way of energizing the human factor.

S. Zlupko, candidate of economic sciences, senior scientific associate, UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics, Lvov Department, Lvov:

In considering the interaction between the human factor in the development of the economy and social justice, Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya writes that the qualitative reorganization of the system of jobs in public production and changing employment conditions is a long-term topical and difficult problem. It would be difficult to disagree with this concept.

Despite the seemingly quite obvious importance of perfecting the system of employment in the development of production forces and all aspects of social life, for a long time this area did not draw the proper attention of the economists, most of whom are still proceeding from the fact that under socialism the problem of employment was fully solved by the turn of the 1930s, when unemployment was eliminated in the USSR. Identifying the solution of the employment problem under socialism with the elimination of unemployment inherited from capitalism prevented them from engaging in theoretical work and led to a passive and inertial attitude in economic thinking in this area. This is confirmed by the fact alone that the very term "employment," was ignored for a long time whenever it applied to socialism in economic and referential works.

The appearance of an imbalance in locating manpower at the beginning of the 1960s and the need to develop a mechanism for the redistribution of manpower in connection with scientific and technical progress activated scientific research in the field of employment. However, its methodological, theoretical, managerial and applied aspects were not developed on the level of contemporary requirements.

The materials of the 27th Party Congress emphasize that we must have not only full but efficient employment. No proper significance was ascribed to differences between its theoretical and practical aspects. Yet full and efficient employment are not one and the same. This was convincingly described in T.I. Zaslavskaya's articles, based on sociological studies according to which nearly one-third of all surveyed workers applied themselves fully to the job. The loss of skill, education and other components of the labor potential is also the result of the imperfection of the employment system, the problem of which was simplistically interpreted over many decades.

This adversely affected the development of the mechanism of managing it under production intensification conditions.

In this connection, stimulating human efforts, including their material, social and moral aspects, becomes tremendously important. Today hardly anyone would object to the fact that we must intensify the stimulating role of distribution relations, wages in particular. In practice, however, wages are not always earned, which depreciates their stimulating function and lowers its efficiency in regulating employment.

The social consumption funds which, as was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress, should not be considered a form of philanthropy, must serve the cause of rational employment more energetically than in the past. Yet, for a long time the distribution of social consumption funds was theoretically presented as being virtually the same as a communist form of distribution. This reinforced the view that they were universally accessible. In practice, this claim frequently became unrecognizable: in frequent cases accessibility to social benefits (health care, education, culture, recreation, etc.) was provided above all to those who needed it the least. This led to violations of the principle of distribution according to labor which adversely affected employment efficiency.

Here is an example: the sociological studies we conducted in the Truskavets resort city indicated that most of the people who were there for purposes of treatment and recreation were employees and engineering and technical workers and only 25 percent were workers, although it was precisely workers who account for the majority (more than 60 percent) of the employed population.

It is quite important for the mechanism of social incentives to be based on the strictest possible control on the part of the state, the local authorities and the labor collectives.

F. Mukhametlatypov, formerly a worker with 10 years seniority and currently docent, Bashkir State University, Ufa:

I would like to express some views on some relevant concepts included in T.I. Zaslavskaya's article. First: the article notes the increased role of individual workers in public production. This is true. However, I believe that the "collective human factor" should assume a much greater significance in production life. If we approach such problems from this viewpoint, it becomes obvious that in our country the entire (or almost entire) system of controlling, organizing and stimulating labor provided by forces outside of man's control is of an individual rather than collective nature. As a result, the power of the production collective remains virtually unused. Could that be the reason for the fact that, so far, we have been unable to use all the opportunities of socialism in increasing labor productivity to a much higher level compared with capitalism.

Furthermore, the extensive increase in jobs is accompanied by a not always substantiated broadening of opportunities for earning a decent wage. There are substantially more channels for obtaining money from the state in the guise of wages, scholarships and material aid, than the possibility of

applying them. This cannot fail to change respect for work and to distort the attitude toward consumer values, which had remained steady through the centuries among working people.

One could say that some people have acquired the habit of obtaining money as wages (whether are truly earned or not). Recently, at one of the large industrial enterprises, in a single day 60 petitions for a transfer from a shop were received by the cadre department. The reason was the alleged low wages. A study of the situation indicated that the average wage at the shop was close to 300 rubles monthly; even novices earned over 200. Working conditions were good and the work was interesting. What was the matter? It turned out that these requests were a reaction to efforts to streamline labor norming and organization and make wage outlays consistent with wages. Eventually, these workers withdrew their requests although no one had asked them to do so or talked them into it. They did this by themselves, voluntarily, unwilling to lose what they already had at the plant: not only an interesting job with good working conditions and a decent wage but also the possibility of improving their health in rest homes, prophylactic establishments and boarding houses, to use the services of the palace of culture and children's combines, consumer and trade service virtually at their fingertips at their place of work, and so on. This case may have been exceptional but, nevertheless, it remains noteworthy: the problem of "earning" the wage is topical, sensitive and difficult to solve, and we are still looking for the key to its solution.

Finally, let us talk of socialist justice, which is the basis of that article. The efficiency of that principle as a regulator of social life depends on the extent to which the people understand the laws and principles of social development. Were we to approach said phenomena from this position, we would see that our society is undergoing a kind of revolution: that which only yesterday seemed tolerable and even natural to all of us is already becoming intolerable today and will be categorically unacceptable tomorrow. Here as well the main role is assigned to the principle of socialist justice, the implementation of which enables us positively to solve arising contradictions, harmoniously to interlink the various components of social life, shape the overall development of our society and highlight the advantages of the socialist system.

One of the requirements of socialist justice is providing the members of society with jobs consistent with their capabilities. In this respect as well I would like to make a specific suggestion, developed in the course of long years of sociological practice.

I believe that the unsatisfactory use of manpower in enterprises and associations may be explained in great part by the lack of integral cadre management. Cadres are recruited by services, administrations and labor organizations while production shops are engaged in the utilization of their labor. Conflicts, which are practically insoluble within the framework of existing organizational stereotypes, arise between these subdivisions. This most frequently contributes not to lowering but to increasing cadre turnover, the dimensions of which are huge.

The losses which this causes could be reduced significantly by adopting an integral approach to the training, selection, hiring, placement and use of worker cadres. It would be expedient to this effect for the departments in charge of cadres, cadre training, labor organization and wages, and scientific organization of labor to merge within a single department managed by fewer people, for the purpose of all of them is the same: to ensure the implementation of the principle "From each according to his capabilities." The conversion of enterprises to cost accounting, self-financing and self-recovery on the basis of collective forms of organization control, incentives and motivations also calls for such a reconstruction in labor and cadre management.

A. Ryabov, teacher, candidate of historical sciences, Moscow:

Of late the works of some social scientists specializing in economic problems seem to have a simplistic approach, a certain underestimating of the sociopsychological, political and moral aspects and consequences of the economic changes they suggest. In my view, these faults have not been avoided by T.I. Zaslavskaya.

I shall share my views on some of the problems raised in her article. The author ascribes to the human factor an exceptionally important role in the development of our economy, pointing out the limited value of automatic regulators of economic relations (p 62). A great deal is being said about the difficulty of managing the human factor in production. In this connection, I consider unconvincing the suggestion of raising the prices of a number of most important food products and changing the correlation between free and paid distribution of goods in favor of the latter. Let us assume that these suggestions are dictated by purely economic considerations and for the sake of the more efficient functioning of the economy. Even in that case the case (this is for the specialists to determine), in any case we must not ignore the sociopsychological influence of said measures, for otherwise it would be difficult to speak of any enhancement of the human factor in general.

The author justifies the need for such measures by citing tasks of social policy, the policy of redistribution above all, aimed at the fuller implementation of the principle of social justice. The same view is held by S.S. Shatalin, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, in his article "Social Development and Economic Growth" (KOMMUNIST, No 14, 1986). The main argument in favor of such steps is the claim that the present system of prices and payments for services is essentially a state subsidy to higher paid worker categories. The arguments include data based on sociological surveys.

Nevertheless, I consider such suggestions quite debatable. I believe that the reason for the great disparity in population income is not found in wage differentials. A significant difference in income (by tens of times) is due, first of all, to the extensive development of private farming and, secondly, unearned income and accumulations which have developed over the past 20 years. The seriousness of the last of these factors is acknowledged by T.I. Zaslavskaya in her article. Therefore, according to the logic of the author, it would be more accurate to claim that low prices subsidize precisely these strata. However, it is precisely in their case that the suggested steps would

be barely felt, something which cannot be said of the overwhelming majority of workers engaged in public production. From the sociopsychological and moral viewpoints, such a situation could be hardly considered just for this population category which plays a decisive role in enhancing the human factor in the economy.

T.I. Zaslavskaya's suggestions also fail to consider the fact that the problem of the influence of the quantity and quality of labor on wages is by no means solved for the rather large stratum of average- and low-income employees who do not receive various benefits. Yet the consideration of their specific interests is another important social problem. Finally, it is difficult to agree with the fact that the average payment for labor in the private sector should be significantly higher than wages in public production. Combined with the suggested steps to raise the prices of the most important food products and services, this conceals the danger of turning the creative energy of the workers to the private sector and the development of a petty ownership mentality, which clearly conflicts with the tasks of public production intensification.

In my view, this leads to the assumption that the best means of implementing the redistribution function of the state is a policy of taxation, based on the legal control over private labor activities. A tax policy which would take into consideration scientifically set levels of private accumulations and would set high income taxes on large private farms would be a powerful tool in the redistribution of vital goods and equalizing "starting opportunities." On the other hand, the law should allow private labor activities primarily where raising wages in public production jobs is impossible.

V. Dubovik, senior engineer at a civil aviation enterprise, Kaluga:

I would like to express a few thoughts on material incentive. What has been the reason for wage increase of late? A scarcity of fuel and energy resources appeared toward the end of the 1970s, and the coal mining industry was not fulfilling its plan. This became the reason for raising the wages of workers in the coal industry and granting them a variety of benefits. At the beginning of the 1980s the poor work of the rail transportation system began to disturb the entire national economy. This was followed by raising the wages of railroad workers. There are virtually no male teachers in the schools, which is becoming a factor with far-reaching social consequences. The decision was made to raise the wages of teachers. These examples show that wages were raised when the work of a sector worsened and when such worsening began to hinder the development of the national economy. Naturally, such practices are unacceptable.

In the past, a 13th-month wage was introduced at the enterprises, paid on the basis of economic activities. Its purpose was to make everyone care for the work done by his collective. Without discussing the positive role which it had in stimulating thrifty economic management, let me mention its negative side which was the strongest at points of intersection with the interests of other enterprises. The result was that from the economic viewpoint the working person was totally indifferent to the state of affairs in another collective. If improving the economic situation of "one's own" enterprise was

possible at the expense of another, this was frequently done by economic managers, thus accustoming their subordinates to this type of approach. Frequently minor gains for "one's own" enterprise are very harmful to other.

Here are typical examples. For the sake of attaining its shipments indicator one aviation enterprise loaded "its own" airplanes only; "other" airplanes were allowed to take off half-empty. Meanwhile passengers would spend days on end at the airport waiting for a seat. The personnel of that enterprise took this step for the sake of gaining a minimal material advantage, thus causing losses to the entire sector and even greater losses to the country's economy. All pilots are familiar with the difficulty of fueling a noncharter airplane and having it serviced in someone else's airport. Strict instructions were issued on this matter by the ministry but the problem of taking care of "one's own" remained. The situation of railroad workers, where tracks merge is similar. As we can see, many people have developed feelings of petty ownership instead of ownership of the country.

Currently the organization of experimental sections, shops and facilities based on cooperative principles, without which technical progress is impossible, is becoming a stumbling stone. The comprehensive use of mineral, water, timber and other resources is impossible. Problems of the comprehensive building up of cities and settlements are difficult to solve. Everywhere state interests are opposed by departmental interests, which are supported by material incentives. The party assessments of such phenomena indicate the extent of such management mentality.

I believe that there is an urgent need to enhance the material interest of the working people in increasing the volumes of output and labor productivity not only in their own enterprise but in their sector, in the entire national economy. It would be useful to discuss how to organize a system for such incentive, which would develop in the members of society a feeling of collectivism and of being the masters of the country. A system of priorities would help in this case for, unquestionably, in solving any problem we must think, above all, of the interest of the state. We must see to it that people would be as interested in announcement issued by the Central Statistical Administration on the implementation of the state plan as much as they are in their family budget. This would be a tremendous step toward enhancing the human factor in the economy.

P. Koverda, candidate of historical sciences, party buro secretary at the Bulanash 3-4 Mine, Yegorshinskoye Mining Administration, Sverdlovsk Oblast:

I read the article pencil in hand (as I do, incidentally, the other articles in this journal). This is something which, I admit, I did not use to do in the past and which I consider proof of the reorganization of the work of the journal itself. Unquestionably, this article will trigger views and responses (even if not addressed to the editors). I too would like to discuss some of its features.

Let me mention above all the stipulation that assigning an increasing number of skilled workers to controlling the activities of others is unprofitable and extremely inefficient. On this level the question arises of the legitimacy of

increasing the size of control authorities. The existence of a widespread and well-paid apparatus presumes either lack of faith in the power of the prosecutor's supervisory functions or in upgrading the level of decency, discipline and conscientiousness, which is the focal point of all efforts of the party and the results of which are already obvious. I believe that any excessive imposition of control "nursemaid" in the production area, bearing in mind its understandable psychological influence, would contribute to the fact that the controlled "children"--society--will forget how to control themselves. Yet we are trying to promote self-control in everyone.

I see the real exercise of the rights of labor collectives as the true function of people's control, i.e., in the fact that this must become a prerogative of precisely the working people, represented by their largest public organization--the trade unions--the role of which, in recent years, in terms of bearing responsibility for the outcome of many national problems, has drastically declined. Control must be essentially public. This will help to implement even more clearly the Leninist formula that the trade unions are a school of administration, economic management and communism.

T.I. Zaslavskaya expresses interesting thoughts on the private sector. I believe that this is a type of "testing ground," a practical "labor scientific research institute," in which are displayed (and are accessible to studies) the most efficient labor opportunities. They include acknowledged leaderships, packed work days, interchangeability and, above all, capital returns on tools and equipment and economy of materials, providing that many projects are delivered ready for use. The study of all such aspects of work in the private sector and the application of the positive experience in public production are important and valuable. This is a process remindful of what is currently taking place in the agrarian sector, in the "triangle:" market-agrobusiness trade enterprise-state trade store. Here a close study is being made of the experience of the market, and changes in the "triangle" aimed at improving the overall level of trade in the country will largely free from administrative pressure. I believe that, speaking of private labor, we should not discuss only income control and a progressive income tax but a thorough study of all the levers which contribute to high labor returns.

I. Karpova, junior scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law, Moscow:

Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya justifiably points out that the time has come to undertake the specific scientific development of a number of crucial socioeconomic problems. In my view, a problem which urgently demands comprehensive scientific studies is that of the amounts, limits and structure of individual income in a socialist society.

Today the viewpoint that if you can earn, earn as much as you like, is quite popular; the unlimited growth of individual income does not conflict in any way with the nature of the socialist society. The supporters of this viewpoint deem it normal that the level of material well-being of some social groups may several hundred percent higher than the average living standard. Usually, this situation is interpreted as follows: well, people live on their earnings. As a rule, the study of "superincome" stops there.

Obviously, the time has come to analyze, using all the available scientific methodology, the extent to which the economic and social principles of socialism are consistent with the existence of impressive amounts of private funds. Is it not time to determine the way particularly large accumulations are formed? Even if such labor income is of impeccable origin, the mechanism of its formation should not be a matter of indifference to social scientists.

The large number of letters to newspapers and journals confirm the social concern about trends which have been noted in the distribution area. Need we prove that this concern (in most cases) has nothing in common with the desire for equalization? Many authors, however, consider any discussion of the problem of equality under socialism an outbreak of harmful equalization feelings. Opposing views are frequently oversimplified and reduced to a primitive level. The question, in this case, is entirely different.

In our country the increased well-being of the population is a matter of state policy and a number of party and government decrees are aimed at its comprehensive acceleration. However, the uneven nature of this growth in terms of the different population groups raises a few questions. Question 1: Are there objective economic reasons for such a drastic lack of proportionality in the growth of income as has been noted of late? Could it be that it is related precisely to negative, stagnation economic phenomena such as the fact that "surplus money" is in circulation, unsecured by real values but in the possession of someone (incidentally, who?). Question 2: Even if such disproportionality is entirely economically justified, should we not reduce its social consequences through an active policy of redistribution? It seems to me that these problems should draw the attention of philosophers, economists and sociologists.

Practical experience indicates that people engaged in private labor earn extremely high incomes. T.I. Zaslavskaya believes that in this case a high income is justified, for this type of labor is highly efficient and advantageous to society. Naturally, individual labor efforts must assume their proper place in the economic structure, and it would be inexpedient to restrain it artificially. Honestly speaking, however, I fail to understand why less progressive forms of labor are of lesser advantage to society than more progressive ones. Let us take as an example the so-called moonlighters. Naturally, they make use of equipment. Essentially, however, they engage in manual labor, i.e., they use old construction methods. It is ordinarily considered that their work helps to solve many of today's economic problems. But could it be that in some cases they hinder their solution? You must agree that a conflicting picture develops: on the one hand, we have scientific and technical progress and large-scale production; on the other, we have the "jobber," with his primitive tool. In itself, this contradiction not only has the right to exist but, as dialectics teaches us, is a motive force of development. However, we should not present, as we frequently witness today, this contradiction as harmony, as a coincidence between the objectives and interests of public production and private initiative.

To an even lesser extent should we consider private enterprise as almost a prototype of a communist attitude toward labor. Unquestionably, an entire historical age leads to such type of labor (voluntary labor, unnormed labor,

labor based on the habit of working for the common good); however, this is precisely the way we must follow and remember that the solution of any specific problem of today influences the historical future. This applies to solving the basic problems of the policy of distribution under socialism. The main among them, in my view, is how to assess the existing disproportion in the growth of the population's income: as a feature of social well-being (increased prosperity) or, conversely, a feature of a breakdown in the functioning of the socioeconomic mechanism. The scientists have the floor.

L. Zharov, candidate of medical sciences and candidate of philosophical sciences, head of the Department of Philosophy, Rostov Medical Institute, Rostov-na-Donu:

I would like to express my views on a specific problem, that of the correlation between paid and free benefits in health care. Obviously, today this is an area of social life in which a number of contradictions have accumulated, one of the consequences of which has been frequent violations of the principle of social justice. The concept that human health is "state property" (Lenin) and of the equal responsibility born by the state and the individual for preserving and strengthening his health has been misshaped under the influence of the "gross-output approach." On the one hand, the increased number of hospital beds and physicians, drugs and medical equipment failed to yield the expected improvements in health standards, for it led to a typically consumerist approach on the part of the population; on the other, health care became increasingly splintered among all kinds of departmental services with quite drastic differences in the possibility of providing medical and preventive care to "their own" groups. In turn, this triggered both a visible lowering of the professionalism of medical personnel and displays of antihumanism, including a growth of criminality on this basis.

On the theoretical level, we cannot fail to see here the clash between free service as a principle of socialist health care and the increased "price" of human health, paid for by the state and society at large. What the individual did not feel, as a rule, was being felt increasingly by society and the gap between what is and what should be gradually became increasingly clear. The problem is further complicated by the fact that the health of society is not ensured only by medicine and health care but is also a rather accurate reflection of social relations as a whole with all of their contradictions.

In this connection, it has frequently been suggested to make health care services partially payable, for a great deal of that which ensures the proper level of health (food, clothing, etc.) is related, entirely or mostly, to the real labor contribution of the individual and his wage. The most serious objection to this has always been the fact that paid services in medicine would constitute a step backward, a loss of the social gains of socialism, which were won immediately after the revolution. However, nor should we ignore the fact that certain changes are taking place in the mass consciousness, the essence of which may be reduced to a belief in the ever-growing influence of commodity-monetary relations on health care and medicine (naturally, not in extreme situations of catastrophes, accidents, etc.), and the distortion caused by the so-called covert economy. Furthermore, the

attitude of the people toward their health and the standards of medical and hygiene standards leaves something better to be desired.

This takes us to the main question: To what extent would partial payments for health care services contribute to eliminating the consumerist approach to health, which medical science and society are expected to provide with a minimal or total lack of personal efforts? Would this be an incentive for the individual and would this make him realize, on a mass scale, the social value of health and eliminate the approach to it as being a strictly personal matter? The solution of such problems requires social experimentation with the adult and active population without affecting free medical services to children, pensioners and special groups (military servicemen, etc.).

V. Maksimov, economist, Krasnodar:

After reading T.I. Zaslavskaya's article, I deem it necessary to express a few considerations. Obviously, we must distinguish among questions which should be discussed and others on which no discussion time should be wasted.

It is possible to discuss--there is enough time--the question of how to use manpower surpluses, should they develop. There is no need to discuss the problem of the "different" ruble or whether or not we should raise rents to a level which would compensate for the cost of operating housing facilities and ensuring their reproduction. As long as the low cost of housing and consumer goods cannot benefit equally all working people, low prices will remain a source of unearned income for those who make use of such benefits.

Such problems must be dealt with not by a theoretical journal but by the USSR Council of Ministers, the sooner the better, so that the reconstruction be actual and not in words only.

V. Sushkov, party committee secretary at the power shops, Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine imeni Yu.V. Andropov, Lipetsk:

I read the article by Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya with great interest. In my own letter, I would like to draw attention to the particular importance of the moral and psychological aspects in solving the problem of accelerating socioeconomic development.

A feeling for great accomplishments will not develop by itself. Under the conditions of the further enhancement of the well-being of the people, upgrading the efficiency of ideological work, in which changes are, for the time being, essentially quantitative, little attention is being paid to the qualitative side. It is precisely this circumstance that causes formalism and alienation from life, as a result of which some organized measures, visual agitation and lecture propaganda yield no results.

This is due, above all, to the still insufficiently profound study and proper consideration of public opinion in dealing with specific projects. We could say that the feeling for the project or, metaphorically speaking, the coefficient of enthusiasm which develops among the people is an intermediary criterion of the quality of political and educational steps. In both

ideological work and the search for new optimal ways we must experiment, including within the primary party organizations, without waiting for the approval of each step from above (we have so little time!).

With the advent of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in our life, the creative standard of social labor increases at a headlong pace. In this connection, a vocation for a chosen profession, which is an incentive for enthusiasm, enables us to achieve high skills and success in life. A person who likes his work is better protected from ideological infantilism and, as a rule, ignores the difficulty of the work, for frequently one uses one's own leisure time to pursue a favorite work, which ennobles and enhances the individual as a person. At the same time, reducing unattractive work and improving vocational guidance will, unquestionably, contribute to upgrading the positive activeness of the population. The new organizational steps taken by the local party and soviet authorities to enrich the leisure time of the working people will help many of them to solve problems of social orientation and creative self-expression. Today this is a very important prerequisite for the social satisfaction of the population, the youth in particular.

Year after year, we note that many palaces of culture and sports remain underutilized and we take steps and try to gather the people in various urban centers. We fail, despite our persistence and a broad information system. In practice, as we know, if true interest and need are developed no one has to be asked twice. Heavy-handed regulating of recreation is not successful. The organization of the leisure time requires new approaches and ways, which should contribute to strengthening optimism and intensifying the labor and social activeness of the population.

At the present time, in order to mobilize the spiritual and creative forces of the individual, observing the rules of social justice in the promotion to leading positions becomes particularly important. Obviously unfair appointments hinder initiative from below and develop in capable workers the feeling of insecurity and indifference, adversely affecting the work of establishments and enterprises. The basic criteria for promotion must unconditionally include the ability to display initiative, to think creatively and systematically to advance in one's assigned sector. Managers who have failed to display such capabilities must be dismissed from their positions.

Such criteria apply to party work as well. Some secretaries and heads of party committee departments have not visited with the working people for years on end and have not even met with secretaries of shop party organizations. The reason is lack of professional personality. They fear sensitive problems and try to conceal this by displaying ambition and inaccessibility. Every single manager must prove his right to lead, day after day, by displaying ideas, initiative, dedication and painstaking work with every person. Only thus will he be able to organize and inspire people to great accomplishments.

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## THE HUMAN FACTOR IN ITS DEMOGRAPHIC DIMENSION

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[Article by A. Vishnevskiy, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] Demographic processes play an important role among the complex and varied social developments which determine the shaping and utilization of the main resource of our society--its human potential. They implement one of the necessary functions of any society--the continuing renovation of human generations, the reproduction of the population. The increase or drop in its size, changes in terms of sex and age groups and many other quantitative characteristics which form the "demographic" dimension of the human factor, depend on the way the population is reproduced. At the same time, demographic processes have a profound influence on a number of social qualities of the people, something which must be taken into consideration in describing the growing role of man in the accelerated development of society.

For a long time the basic features of Soviet demographic development have been shaped by a conversion, which has taken several decades and has still not been completed, from the old "traditional" to the new contemporary type of population reproduction. In terms of significance and scale, this process, known as the "demographic revolution" or "demographic transition," is as important as are sociohistorical processes, such as industrialization, urbanization and cultural revolution. It is making a substantial contribution to shaping the material foundations and social relations of socialism.

Although as a whole this transition is progressive it, as well as the new type of population reproduction which will be established after it, have their internal contradictions. Their development triggers a number of major problem situations, which are worsened by the fact that the establishment of the new type of population reproduction in our country took place under difficult historical circumstances. This includes the tremendous harm to demographic development, still not entirely surmounted, of two world wars. The appearance of problem situations, determined by the features of demographic development, and their analysis and the formulation and implementation of steps aimed at their elimination or reduction are an inseparable structural component of theoretical and practical work on the acceleration and advancement of the country's entire social development.

Nevertheless, it would be improper to see merely the adverse aspects of contemporary demographic trends. We should not forget that the grave and complex demographic problems of the present have replaced different but in no way less crucial and complex problems which existed in the demographic area quite recently and which had appeared in the course of positive historical changes. It would be hardly justified to hope that a demographic development will become entirely "conflict-free," and that contradictions and problems will disappear totally from the population reproduction area. In order to see the "demographic dimension" of the human factor in its entirety, we must properly evaluate not only difficulties and adverse trends, which today are the focal point of attention of demographers, but also the valuable, the positive features of contemporary demographic developments.

#### The Life Potential of Generations and Its Use

The central set of problems sharing common "demographic roots" is related to essential changes in the nature of the flows of births and deaths, which define the overall course of the process of generational change, with fast transitions from high mortality and birthrates to low levels of both, unparalleled in history. In order to judge of the scale of such changes, as applicable to our country, let us recall that in 1913 there were 45.5 births and 29.1 deaths per 1,000 population. In 1960, when the demographic revolution in most of the country had entered its final stage, there were 24.9 births and 7.1 deaths per 1,000. Naturally, such changes could not vanish without a trace or without most profoundly affecting human and social life.

One of the main processes in the demographic revolution is the rather strong and headlong drop in the mortality rate. An exceptionally high mortality rate was indeed one of the most crucial sociodemographic problems of our country in the very near past. As early as the turn of the 20th century the average life span per 1,000 new births was no more than 32,000 man/years. This precisely was the life potential, the amount of time allocated to the generations of our predecessors for all of their life's accomplishments. Let us also take into consideration that during the period of the highest vital activeness of a generation--the 20 to 60-year interval--no more than slightly half of the entire life potential, approximately 17,000 man/years, remained. At the beginning of the 1960s, however, the life potential of the generation per 1,000 new births had come close to 70 years, i.e., it had more than doubled. The period of highest activity in life reached 35,000 man/years.

Such a substantial quantitative change had as its consequence basic quality changes, for it provided the possibility of making and entirely new use and filling the time of human life. The number of years of active life of a generation always indicates an increase in the wealth of society and of material and spiritual values created by each generation and the contribution it makes to social development. However, the changes we are discussing enabled us to use the available amount of time essentially differently and thus to obtain an increase in the national wealth more than the one proportional to the increased life potential of the generation or of its active segment.

Until quite recently, due to low labor productivity and the small overall working time, it was difficult for a given generation to satisfy its vital minimal requirements. Its contribution to the growth of the social wealth could be only very small. Primarily accessible to our forefathers were extensive methods for increasing the social wealth, in particular by increasing the amount of working time spent by a generation by starting work as early as possible and ending it as late as possible. The people--naturally we are referring to the working majority--went to work in childhood instead of going to school. This was due to a variety of reasons, not least of which were demographic. Spending many years in acquiring an education on a mass scale under the conditions of a short life potential was an impermissible luxury. If the mortality rate, the infant mortality rate in particular, is high, society and the individual family must bear the cost of raising a large number of children who will never become adults. In our country, for example, by the turn of the century one-half of newly-born children died before reaching the age of 20. This reduced the efficiency of the outlays for the education of children and prevented education from becoming a separate area of human activities, and the period of upbringing a separate stage in the career of an individual.

By starting a labor career early, the person was able properly to master the knowledge and skills required in daily activities, in his job above all. Such skills were adequate in routine underproductive labor and for relatively simple forms of social intercourse. However, people were not trained for more complex and varied activities. Today the situation is different. Having a much greater life potential at its disposal, each generation can spend a significant percentage of its time resources in preparing for active work during subsequent decades, without any harm to the stock of overall working time. In developing and enriching man's natural gifts, such training drastically upgrades his contribution to increasing the national wealth and to overall social development. This, however, is very costly to society. Naturally, having used many years to train a person and having invested significant material and spiritual resources, society is interested in high returns. Hence the aspiration to increase life's potential and that share of it which is spent by each generation in active and constructive efforts. It turns out expedient, while limiting "procreation," i.e., the creation of new life, the birth of children, within sensible limits, to pay much more attention than in the past and to allocate resources for "recreation," i.e., for the preservation and restoration of health and increasing the life span. This is indicated by basic economic logic. However, in this case economic considerations walk hand-in-hand with humanistic ones.

The unity between economic and sociological development and its humanistic trend are what makes the demographic revolution a historically progressive process, an organic part of the progress made by Soviet society. Its successful development is also related to improving the utilization of the human factor, for each premature death is, in addition to everything else, an irrecoverable loss of unused human potential. The demographic revolution makes successful struggle against premature mortality possible.

Unfortunately, at present we cannot be satisfied with our successes in this struggle. It is precisely at this point that we encounter one of the gravest

sociodemographic problems of the present. After several decades of fast decline in the mortality rate and an increase in the life span, starting approximately with the mid-1960s, a lengthy period of stagnation appeared. The already relatively high mortality rate, particularly of men in the working age groups, was maintained and, in some cases, even increased; the USSR fell increasingly behind, in terms of indicators of mortality and average life span, the majority of economically developed countries.

Naturally, the consequences of the present adverse trends in the mortality rate bear no comparison whatsoever in terms of scale and significance with the tremendous advances shown in the average life span and the volume of man's life potential, achieved under the Soviet system. These trends must be evaluated objectively but on a balanced basis, with no unnecessary dramatizing of the situation. Equally unquestionable, however, is the fact that in no case should they be tolerated. In our country infant mortality for children under 1 is substantially higher than in the big capitalist countries. The average life span falls quite short of the age of 70, compared with 75 in the United States and France and 77 in Japan. According to estimates, the amount of wealth produced by a generation during its life as a result of such a lag in the average life span (i.e., excluding differences in labor productivity) is lowered by a minimum of 7-8 percent, which is the equivalent of tens of billions of rubles. Are we all that wealthy to withstand such losses? This is also not exclusively a matter of economic harm, for it is a question, above all, of human lives. We must understand the reasons for this situation and correct them as soon as possible. We must regain the previous stable trend of reduced mortality rate and increased average life span.

We must catch up in this area. In the past we had become so thoroughly accustomed to victories in the struggle against the mortality rate that the change in the situation caught us unaware. At that time, precisely during the 1960s and 1970s, instead of mobilizing all our forces in the struggle for an upturn in the negative trends, we displayed unjustified complacency and were unable to oppose anything to this trend. Statistics indicating this adversity were simply no longer made public although, in itself, accurate information is the most important instrument in controlling social processes. The lack of information on the true state of affairs does not contribute to developing and awareness of the seriousness of the situation and concentrating the necessary efforts on one of the most important sectors in the social area or the search for efficient ways leading to the desired change.

So long as no such change has taken place, society will experience major losses, although difficult to assess, related to the insufficient utilization of the human factor. It is not merely a matter of the slow growth or even of a certain reduction in some periods of man's lifetime potential, which we already mentioned. Here, precisely, quite accurate computations are possible. What greatly matters is something else. Historical-demographic studies indicate that the active and conscious attitude of man toward the preservation of his health and life, like those of his children and people close to him is a relatively new phenomenon, one of the results of the demographic revolution. The development of such an attitude is a very important component in shaping the entire life stance of the person. If a man or a woman is passive, indifferent, or ignorant on matter affecting the health and life of people

closest to them (which, for the time being, unfortunately, is not all that infrequent), and if they destroy their own health through the use of alcohol and drugs, it would be difficult to expect of them any high level of activeness and awareness in other areas, such as jobs, social life, etc.

#### Changes in the Population's Size and Age Structure

As we pointed out, a characteristic feature of the new type of population reproduction is an essentially different attitude toward "procreation" and "recreation." A drastic reduction in the number of births within the families becomes possible; intervals between children, the age at which the childbirth period begins and ends, its reasons, and its standards, which regulate the entire demographic behavior, change. Each such change has its own consequences which substantially influencing social life. In particular, a drop in the birthrate, considered in terms of its correlation with a lowering of the mortality rate, leads to major changes in the growth rates of the population and in its age structure.

In the first half of the 20th century, our mortality rate dropped faster than the birthrate. That is why the natural population increase was high, possibly the highest in the entire history of the country (naturally, this applies to the periods of peace in the development of the Soviet state. The periods of military upheavals were noted by huge human losses which had reduced to naught the long period of population increases. For example, the losses in the Great Patriotic War were so high that it took 10 years after the war merely to regain the prewar population size).

Starting with the 1960s, the situation changed. The drop in the birthrate outstripped in the drop in the mortality rate and the surplus in the annual number of births over deaths declined sharply. It was precisely then that we became aware of the situation which is currently greatly worrying demographers. The source of concern is not an overall decline in the birthrate (which is natural to a certain extent) but the fact that it has dropped below a level which would ensure even a simple replacement of generations, the simple population reproduction. In order for the generation of children to be at least equal to that of the parents, considering the present mortality rate, no less than 230 children per 100 married women must be born. However, among those who were born in the second half of the 1940s, the figures per 100 married women were as follows: 200 children for the RSFSR, 206 for the Ukraine, 225 for Belorussian, 218 for Lithuania, 209 for Latvia and 226 for Estonia. The birthrate among subsequent generations was even lower and, in a number of republics, dropped below 200. Therefore, in a large part of the country's territory, inhabited by more than three-quarters of its population, progressively virtually all postwar generations are not reproducing themselves.

For the time being, in the republics of the Transcaucasus, Central Asia in particular, and in Kazakhstan the birthrate remains higher. Here as well, however, one could speak of a certain declining trend which, in the final account, could lead to the situation which has developed in the European part of the country. In any case, the influence which these areas have in preventing a reduction in the birthrate and the natural increase in the

population for the country at large will weaken and population growth will become even slower.

Currently the population of the USSR totals 280,900,000 people; in the past 30 years (i.e., since it reached the prewar figure) it has increased by more than 80 percent. However, the growth rates are declining. They exceeded 1.7 percent annually in the 1950s and 1.3 percent in the 1960s; in subsequent decades they have remained on the 0.9 percent level. Should the current demographic trends remain, sooner or later a time will come when the growth of the population in some areas will come to an end and, subsequently, will turn into a population loss.

Another important consequence of the reduced birthrate is an irreversible change in the age structure of the population, its aging: there are far fewer children and adolescents and many more older people per 1,000 population. During the first decades of this century, people over 60 in our country were fewer by a factor of approximately six, compared with children and adolescents under 15. Today there are about two children or adolescents per elderly person and the correlation is continuing to decline.

#### Demographic Processes and Labor Resources

Changes in the number of people in the active age group, who are the base of the country's labor resources, are particularly important. Naturally, today solving the problem of accelerating social development is related, above all, to the more intensive use of available, including human, resources. In this sense the faster or slower growth of the population and its economically active segment are not among the factors which have a determining impact on economic or social progress.

In the 1970s, when the attention of the specialists was drawn for the first time to the problem of scarcity of labor resources, it was initially erroneously related to demographic trends and, in particular, to a decline in the birthrate. It subsequently became clear, however, that the growth of the active population, based on demographic factors, was high at that time while the problem of manpower had been caused by the slow growth of labor productivity and insufficient economic intensification. This does not mean, however, that the features of the country's demographic development are having no influence on its economic development or are not triggering their own problems. Let us note two features, important from this viewpoint, related to a drop in the birthrate and the heterogeneous nature of this decline in terms of space and time.

The first is a decline in the growth of the population of the active-age group in the two final decades of our century. In the 1970s 51.1 million people turned 16 (i.e., they became part of the manpower resources). These were people born between 1954 and 1963. The number of people born between 1964 and 1973 (the future generation of labor resources of the 1980s) did not exceed 42.6 million, or there were 8.5 million fewer people. Even between 1974 and 1983, despite the greater population size (which increased by 54 million between 1959 and 1979), those scheduled to replenish manpower resources in the 1990s were fewer by 2.7 million compared to the previous 20 years. Let us add

that the 1980s and 1990s are a period during which a relatively high number of people, who were born in the second half of the 1920s and the 30s, will be past the active age group. The combination of the small influx and the great outflow of the active-age population will result in the fact that during the 11th, 12th and 13th 5-year periods its overall increase will be significantly lesser than in the 9th and the 10th. By the end of the century the size of the active-age population will be increasing more slowly than the increase in the entire population, and its share of that population will diminish. Furthermore, as a result of the "aging" processes we noted, the age structure of the labor resources themselves will worsen: the share of the younger groups, 16 to 40, will drop.

The second feature of demographic development of interest to us is that of major regional disparities in the growth of labor resources, related to features of the birthrate. The following table shows changes in the percentage of children born in different parts of the country:

|   | 1940 | 1960 | 1985 |
|---|------|------|------|
| RSFSR   | 59.9 | 52.1 | 44.2 |
| European Union Republics<br>(excluding the RSFSR) | 25.7 | 24.1 | 21.2 |
| Transcaucasus                                     | 4.1  | 6.4  | 6.6  |
| Central Asia and Kazakhstan                       | 10.3 | 17.4 | 28.0 |
| USSR  | 100  | 100  | 100  |

One of the consequences of the territorial differences in the birthrate which appeared in recent decades and have remained, are the accelerated increase in population size and, therefore, manpower in the southern parts of the country. The territorial mobility of the native situation in these areas remains low and does not contribute to its interrepublic redistribution. The preservation of differences in the natural growth in the population leads to changes in its deployment in the country. For example, in 1950 Central Asia and Kazakhstan accounted for about 10 percent of the entire population of the USSR; they currently account for about 17 percent, and this share is continuing to rise. Correspondingly, the share of the RSFSR and the European Union Republics is declining.

What is essential from the viewpoint of labor resources is the fact that it is precisely the southern areas which account for virtually the entire increase in the active population of the country in the 11th and 12th 5-year periods. In this case this could play the role of a factor of extensive (naturally, along with intensive) economic development. In the European part of the country, however, the demographic situation offers no such opportunity. Not excluded here is even an absolute reduction in the size of the population of active age and perhaps the only suitable way is that of intensification; more than ever before it is necessary to solve the problems of society not with numbers but with skills.

The fast changes in the distribution of the overall number of people born in the various parts of the country are faster than changes in the deployment of the elements of the infrastructure, allocated for the upbringing of

children, preserving their health, and professional training and, subsequently, providing them with jobs. This too must be borne in mind when we consider the influence which demographic processes have on the quantity and quality of labor resources.

#### Human Factor and Family

The social qualities of a person are largely created and reproduced within the family. The activeness, responsibility and interestedness of a person and his entire life stance regarding social affairs greatly depend on his home life.

The family changes above all under the influence of socioeconomic shifts. However, demographic changes as well profoundly influence its functioning as a social institution, a small social group, a socioeconomic cell, etc. Giving birth to a child is assuming an increasingly smaller role in the life of the married couple, partly because today it ends much earlier and partly because the spouses are now generally able to control this process. This justifies Engels' statement to the effect that the elimination of the concern of women about the "consequences," which was "the most essential social aspect--moral and economic," would be a "sufficient reason for the gradual development of more liberal sexual relations and, at the same time, a more tolerant approach on the part of public opinion toward virginity and female restraint..." (K. Marx and F. Engels "Soch." [Works], vol 21, pp 78-79). Like anywhere else in the world, the behavior of the people concerning marriage or divorce is changing substantially and so does the structure of values which define demographic and family behavior. Not all such changes are positive. Some of them trigger a number of undesirable consequences. The number of divorces and incomplete families and people who live actually or openly without the benefit of marriage and the number of premarital relations are increasing. These phenomena affect the destinies of millions of people. The number of divorces in the country is approaching 1 million annually. Nevertheless, we must not limit ourselves merely to condemning such phenomena. We must calmly analyze the objective trends in the development of the institution of the family, marriage, parenthood in particular, and the role which the natural conversion to a historically higher type of population reproduction plays in this development.

Let us not fail to note among the main progressive consequences of the demographic revolution its profound influence on the solution of a very urgent recent social problem: the lower status of women in the family and society. The new place which procreation has assumed in family life is one of the most important prerequisites for the the real emancipation of women and their real equality with the men, higher economic and social mobility and comprehensive development of personality. This should not be ignored in assessing the situation in parts of the country where no conversion to a low birthrate has occurred yet. Multiple pregnancies, births and nursing of children and care for them limit the range of interests of women and their possibility of participating in public production and social life and their role in the family. A gap widens between the requirements of a contemporary way of life and the actual situation of mothers of six, eight or 10 children.

An entirely different yet equally serious problem develops in areas with a low birthrate. Here social interests of mothers suffer from the "double burden" caused by the combination of job with family functions. The reduced birthrate in the USSR was both a consequence and a prerequisite for the mass involvement of women in public production, particularly in nonfarming sectors. At childbearing age, the production activeness of women is almost the same as that of men. Women account for more than half of all workers and employees in the country and for 44 percent of kolkhoz members. Despite certain advantages, actually women average almost as much working time as men. At the same time, women do most of the work at home. Although the working week of workers in industry must not exceed 40.5 hours, the actual length of the work week (time on the job, time related to the job, time spent in household chores and private plots) of women in industry is close to 80 hours. The situation is worsened by the fact that so far the need for children's institutions has not been met entirely. However, even such institutions do not solve all problems of working mothers. At best (assuming that the children are not sick) they allow women to work at their jobs without worry. However, mothers engaged in professional activities and taking care of the house have neither the time nor the strength to be together with their children and participate in their activities. Surveys indicate that women themselves are dissatisfied with this situation which adversely affects the raising of their children.

Therefore, in most parts of the country women's professional functions conflict with their functions as mothers, which hinders the implementation of both and reaching total actual equality between men and women. The study of this contradiction and ways of optimizing the combination of production and maternal functions of women should be considered a separate and very important scientific and practical problem which is still awaiting a solution.

Equal attention should be paid to the new status of children in the family, for it is a question of the generations which will assume responsibility for the development of our society in the approaching 21st century. The early socializing of children and their upbringing in the family greatly depend on the age of the parents and that of their brothers and sisters, their number and other demographic features.

In principle, the small number of planned children, born at times convenient to the parents and the early end of the child-bearing period create the potential possibility for the parents to pay maximal attention to their children and dedicate to them their maximal efforts and facilities. Obviously, this opportunity is used greatly. Inherent in relations between parents and children today are close contacts and a great range of emotions compared with the past. A small family makes a democratic style of upbringing possible. This favors the shaping of an independently thinking, active and highly flexible and adaptable person, who can solve a variety of creative problems formulated by the dynamic development of contemporary society.

All of this must be remembered as we assess the situation in Central Asia and other areas with a high birthrate. Here demographic conditions, particularly in rural areas, partially contribute to the preservation of the traditional family structure and substantially influence the socializing of children. Consequently, wherever, as we pointed out, the main growth of the population

and manpower will be concentrated in the immediate future and where the needs of agriculture for manpower will be reduced, involving people in nonagricultural sectors and, in general, in modern-type work, and migration to other parts of the country may be hindered by the insufficient sociocultural, territorial and professional mobility of the growing generations and their poor ability to adapt to new situations. To a certain extent, it can be said that the demographic heterogeneity of the population in our country hinders its social homogeneity.

This does not mean that the currently predominating small family does not create its own problems of socialization of the growing generations. In frequent cases the excessive attention which is sometimes paid to the children by parents in small families and the central position which such children assume in the life of the family breed egotism, an awareness of one's own exclusiveness and individualism, which also worsens social adaptation and hinders the involvement of the individual with the collective and his participation in the solution of common problems. In the view of many researchers, a small number of children undermines the viability of the family as a social group: its size becomes excessively small and does not ensure the necessary variety of relations, without which the durable and stable existence of a family becomes impossible.

Another important aspect related to the same topic involves the functioning of the family as an economic, a consumer unit above all. We know that the appearance of children substantially increases the material needs of the family. In our estimates, even with free health care, education, and subsidy in paying for children's institutions, etc., the needs of the family, immediately after the birth of the first child, increase by approximately 10 percent; should another child come 2 years later, the difference, compared with a childless couple, becomes 25 percent. As the children grow up, in two-children families, this difference increases to 75 percent. Meanwhile, the income of the family is based on its labor contribution and is virtually unrelated to the number of children. The result is that families with children, not to mention those with several children, find themselves in less favorable material conditions than childless couples or couples with a small number of children. To what extent does this situation influence the decision of the couple to have or not to have another child, the willingness of the woman to work or not to work outside the family, and the choice of job for herself or her husband? Could society somehow influence this situation? It is at this point that we face the question of a demographic or, put more accurately perhaps, sociodemographic policy.

#### Sociodemographic Policy and Science of Demography

The need for having a demographic policy has been repeatedly emphasized in party and state documents. The main tasks of such a policy were formulated also in the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress. A great deal has been done to implement previously planned measures. State aid to families with children is being steadily increased and they are being granted ever new benefits. From 1970 to 1985 alone expenditures in aid to mothers and low-income families with children have increased by a factor of 3.8. Overall expenditures for aid

to mothers, from different sources, exceed 5 billion rubles. The health care and social insurance systems are improving their work.

We must point out, however, that in itself allocating even substantial funds for sociodemographic purposes does not guarantee the successful solution of the problems which face society. The same amount of money could be spend differently, with greater or lesser results. Do we have the right to claim that the best possible way of solving sociodemographic problems has already been solved, and that all questions are clear? This is by no means the case. Many of them have not be adequately studied.

Let us consider perhaps the relatively separate question of the amount and forms of state aid to the family and the stages in the family's life cycle when such aid is particularly important. Today the greatest attention is paid to the period directly following the birth of each child. However, many unclear problems remain here. Everyone recognizes that material aid to families with small children must be increased. However, what direction should such an increase take? What is better: to increase the amount of monthly aid or the duration of payments? Should aid be the same to all families or should we take into consideration the level of their well-being and the already existing number of children? Should we or should we not tie the amount of such aid to the earnings of the mother or of both parents? Such problems are being discussed by demographers without, however, the support of adequately serious studies.

However, there are some problems which are more general and, therefore, more complex and, furthermore, which have a clear ideological aspect. Everyone agrees that we cannot tolerate the negative phenomena noted in the demographic area or in the realm of family relations. However, what line should be followed?

In fiction, journal articles and scientific publications we occasionally come across evaluations of a demographic and family situation and recommendations to correct problems smacking of the advice of staying home. The harmony of family relations and family order is emphasized, which allegedly existed in the past, as compared to today's disharmony; calls are being heard for restoring some already historical elements of the family structure. Occasionally, even the orientation of women toward active participation in public production and having a professional career are criticized.

Yet both conditions and the people themselves today are entirely different from what they were, let us say, a hundred years ago. Today motherhood does not objectively clash with women's professional and social activities. Naturally, although women alternate between family and nonfamily functions, one cannot fail to see the profound inner unity between the two. The new type of population reproduction also creates new grounds for the distribution of roles between parents: the more the physiological functions of the mother yield to educational functions, the broader becomes the field of activities in which both mother and father are interchangeable and the less reasons exist to believe that men were made for extrafamily activities whereas women were made for the home. Furthermore, the new horizons opened to women who have gone beyond the traditional range of home obligations, contribute to the

establishment of a new type of personality, consistent with their new civic and family roles. Women with broad professional and social interests are better prepared to raise their children as first class members of society.

Perhaps the way to eliminate the difficulties and negative phenomena which have appeared in the demographic and family areas should be sought not by returning to the past. For these are not difficulties of a crisis but difficulties of restructuring which, precisely, means that a new type of family is developing, adapting to the changed social, economic and demographic situation. In such a family, free from inequality and rigid assignment of roles and strict hierarchical discipline, which are typical of a patriarchal family system, the best possible conditions are created for the free development of the personality of all of its members and of the human qualities which, precisely, must be the main factor in the acceleration of social development. Naturally, as was noted in the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress, "Establishing a new family is no simple matter. It is a complex process which has its problems." It is clear, however, that such problems must be solved on the basis of the realities--demographic included--not of yesterday but of today and tomorrow.

Such is, in general, the principle on which sociodemographic policy is based: it must be directed toward the comprehensive support and strengthening the positive and progressive trends in demographic development and, at the same time, limiting and preventing the negative trends, easing problems and contradictions created by this development. However, in order for this policy to be successful mere knowledge of its general principles is insufficient. In order to avoid a simplistic solution in the formulation of objectives and choosing the means of a sociodemographic policy and make the objectives more specific and the means more efficient, broad studies of contemporary demographic processes are needed. Much more completely and profoundly than is the case today, we must bring to light existing problems and contradictions. We must theoretically interpret phenomena in the case of which, so far, we have been forced to limit ourselves merely to circumstantial observations. We must also determine the demographic trends which could be changed and those to which, considering their irreversible nature, we should adapt ourselves. The aging of the population, for example, is an irreversible trend and the task may be for the respective institutions (economic, social and others) to be reorganized to a certain extent in accordance with the characteristics of the contemporary age structure of the manpower, the new correlation among adult contingents in society and the new structure of population requirements.

At the same time, the contemporary demographic situation includes elements which require the adoption of a different stance by society: not to adapt to noted demographic trends but to change the trends themselves. Specifically, this includes the lowering of the birthrate below a level which ensures the simple reproduction of the population, adverse mortality rate trends and some others.

The comprehensive interpretation of the new phenomena and trends and their positive content and, at the same time, the fast reaction to the appearance of problem situations and the substantiation of administrative decisions,

objectives and policy methods are all the tasks of science and a mandatory condition for efficient practical work.

Today the country has a number of prestigious scientific collectives engaged in demographic studies. Works are being published, cadres of demographers are being trained, and scientists are participating in the substantiation and formulation of demographic policy. Nevertheless, it is no accident that of late, on two occasions, articles in KOMMUNIST have expressed concern for the demographic studies in the country: in the article "All About Demography" by S. Shatalin, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member (No 12, 1986) and the letter of Academician A. Aganbegyan (No 16, 1986). Unquestionably, the level of development of our demographic science is inconsistent with the scale of the problems it must solve. Society is awaiting practical recommendations. However, would such recommendations be very useful if the applied areas of science are not based on solid foundations? The foundations of our demography remain underdeveloped. Few studies are taking place in the main areas: in the areas of population reproduction, which is the core of all demographic problems. Such studies were successfully conducted in our country by major specialists before the war and even before the revolution. Nor has the interdisciplinary study of the interaction between the demographic area with the other spheres of social life assumed the necessary scope. Younger areas of demographic science, which are energetically being developed abroad, are here in their embryonic stage: economic, social, historical and medical demography. There is a lag in the area of mathematical demography. Extremely little attention is being paid to the study of global demographic processes. Yet they are both a source of experience and an area of the ideological struggle.

As we see, demographic science suffers from a number of shortcomings common to our social sciences. The demographers have their own specific difficulties related to the unsolved organizational problems and the difficulty of obtaining statistical data needed in their work and the lack of a demographic journal (the list could be extended). It is a good thing that now such problems have drawn adequate attention. Thought-out organizational and personnel solutions are needed, which would enable us to consolidate the successes achieved by the demographers and mount a true scientific offensive along the entire front of existing sociodemographic problems.

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## HIS PATH TO THE PEAK

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[Article by Yu. Petrov]

[Text] Sheep breeding is an age-old occupation of the Kirghiz population, among whom many outstanding masters of this work can be found. One of the most noteworthy, however, is Tashtanbek Akmatov, the first shepherd in the republic to become twice Hero of Socialist Labor.

His youth was spent in his native village, by the Kok-Say River. It is here that he and his wife Azinakan raised their nine sons and daughters and are now helping to raise their grandchildren.

He took over shepherding from his father, in that distant 1955, as a 17-year old. Until that time, Tashtanbek spent his entire leisure time and holidays from school in the mountains, with his father. It is since then that he has worked every day at his high mountain job, the results of which have amazed shepherds and sheep-breeding specialists who come to see him. Today his indicator, 100 lambs from 100 ewes, is considered normal and included in the plans of many brigades. Akmatov, however, has reached with his own flock a record-setting figure: 186 lambs, with a brigade average of 143.7. Although the planned figures call for 3,500 grams of wool per sheep, his average is 5,057.

"Unfortunately, there are those who think that we are providing Akmatov with some kind of special facilities," I was told by Rayymbek Baytikov, party committee secretary at the Kolkhoz imeni XXII Partsyezda, Tonskiy Rayon, Issyk-Kul Oblast, where we went to meet with the noted shepherd, discuss the problems which had developed in the republic's sheep breeding and learn about the features of this ancient yet eternally young profession.

"At the time that we were setting up his consolidated brigade, which was to take care of four large flocks," the party manager went on to say, "Tashtanbek insisted on including one of the kolkhoz flocks which had shown the worst indicators. On the way to the pasture grounds, after no more than one kilometer, several dozen sheep died.... One month later, however, this flock became unrecognizable: well taken care of, well fed, as though it was a different one." Today output per brigade member (there are nine of them)

averages nearly 25,000 rubles. This is higher by a factor of six compared to the average for the republic! Frontranking shepherds, headed by Akmatov, fulfilled their annual plan for all indicators in June: in terms of heads, wool and meat.

We walked along the bubbling Kok-Say stream. We admired the white waters of this mountain river and thought of the fine points of shepherding. In this area the mountains and valleys resemble each other; the sheep are of the same breed; the feed is the same yet differences in results are striking. Unwittingly, the question arises: what is the "technology" of the success achieved by this advanced collective? Naturally, a great deal depends on breeding and the food; however, even more depends on the shepherd himself, on his mental curiosity and emotional concern, on what is known today as the human factor.

Tashtanbek Akmatovich welcomed us in a new, bright and comfortable sheep pen. He began the conversation slowly, setting the type of rhythm which excludes any fussing in the discussion and puts the mind to work. He well remembers the conditions under which his father worked. The family lived in a hut and the sheep had no roof. These were all the available "comforts." Spend the winter as best you can. Now, Tashtanbek has a spacious sheep pen, heating lamps for the "young ones," a gas hotplate, running water and a television set. So far, no telephone, but he can get in touch with the kolkhoz by radio at all times.

"Everything a person needs has been provided. Work. Think."

"Is it not lonely? Do the shepherds feel neglected, cut off from the big world and the bright lights?"

"It becomes boring and sad when there is no purpose. We do have a purpose. The purpose is to make sheep breeding in the republic highly profitable and to have no losses. We would like to eliminate losses entirely, to forget that they exist. I cannot look at the sheep in the eye when its lamb dies.... Jobs vary. Some people raise animals while others raise sheep. Do you note the difference? All sheep may look alike but each one has its own likes and habits."

"Can you identify all of them 'personally'?"

"No problem." A smile spreads along the wrinkles on the shepherd's face. "I am with them all day long. It is under my very eyes, as the saying goes, that they "get their feathers," i.e., they acquire their wool. Believe it or not, each skin shows, as though on a film, any changes in feeding, lack of water, poor care. We frequently determine the "curves" in the "biography" of each animal...."

Even before coming to the kolkhoz, I had heard of Akmatov, who is respected for his human and practical qualities, not only by all shepherds in the republic but also by many people in the Issyk-Kul area. He is a graduate by correspondence of an institute and according to his diploma, he is a learned zootechnician. This is by no means an official statement concerning his

"status." Essentially, Tashtanbek is engaged in most serious studies in the flocks, the results of which, in terms of scientific level, would qualify him as a dissertation candidate. He, however, believes that plunging into big science is still premature.

It feels good, coming out of the sheep pen, to continue with the slow conversation, to breathe the mountain air, to look at the green valley and the snowy peaks of the highest ridge. One remembers Pushkin: "Sheep are crawling on lush slopes and shepherds are descending to the happy valleys...."

"Yes, lush," said Tashtanbek Akmatovich excitedly. "They are lush and fertile, like blades of grass. I prefer a comparison with another word: "gold." The mountains and valleys shine like gold under the first rays of the sun in the morning. And now the shepherd is known as a tutor," he said laughing loudly. Seriously, he added: "The golden colors of our mountains and valleys are becoming duller. The sheep kill the grass and degrade the alpine meadows. The mountains are becoming bare and the valleys are "peeling off" visibly. We are already short of fodder, for which reason productivity is dropping sharply."

Akmatov has frequently discussed this problem at party obkom plenums; he is a member of the party obkom elected at republic conferences. Until the 27th Party Congress, however, even his prestigious voice remained a "voice in the desert."

Everyone in Kirghizia remembers recent times, when the "loud-ringing figure" proclaimed from a rostrum became a mandatory assignment. Ignoring the voice of reason, the logic of accurate economic computations and the views of scientists and practical workers, the former republic leadership demanded that the stipulated indicators be reached at all costs, regardless of outlays. Their intentions may have seemed to be good, for according to their obligations, within 2 or 3 years the population would be supplied with meat and production would increase several hundred percent. Actually, what happened? Whereas no more than a few years ago meat per head averaged 25-26 kilograms, last year this indicator had dropped down to ... 7 kilograms in some farms.

This economic fallacy was aptly described by the people as "tail chasing" (words which became wildly popular among the local newsmen).

Such "chasing" turned out to be quite expensive. During the 11th 5-year period, nearly 1.5 million sheep died in Talas Oblast alone. In terms of meat, this was the equivalent of two annual plans. Now the offspring is insufficient even to maintain the size of the flock. Low productivity was concealed behind the large number of sheep, forgetting that intensive sheep breeding is determined not by the number of sheep, although this too is important, but, above all, by balancing outlays against results and quality.

T. Akmatov never chased "tails." For many years his brigade had a stable number of head: 1,505 adult and 518 young ewes. This was not a case of stubbornness but of firmness of conviction that his actions were right and decisiveness in defending his ideas and, if you wish, courage. It took

courage not only to take the flock to a dizzying altitude or lead it on the edge of a precipice but also the courage of words told in the face of whitewashers of all sorts.

Today a great deal is being said in the republic about the restructuring. However, to talk and to restructure are different things. Otherwise why is it that everyone claims to be in favor of what is new and progressive, in favor of searching and initiative, whereas in fact many farms prefer to work as usual, following the old ruts?

The new system of planning and economic incentive presumes taking an entirely different view on the internal possibilities of the republic's farms. Profit, production profitability, high level of quality of output and the economic interests of society, the collective and its individual members call for putting on the service of the national economy all available reserves, including those hidden deep underneath, which were previously either not noticed or ignored. Economy and thrift in everything, an economical attitude toward resources and working on the highest possible scientific, organizational and cultural levels are the features of the initiated restructuring process.

In the overall process of renovation, economic restructuring becomes closely interwoven with social, with moral restructuring. In recent years, in Kirghizia and in all central Asian republics, for example, the problem of the change of generations has become aggravated: the young do not wish to go into sheep breeding. Akmatov has had no such problems. He has always been and remains a close tutor of young people, a "shepherd" who has turned many of his pupils into adults and helped them in their careers. After serving in the Soviet army, his brigade was joined by Kanybek Atakanov and Asylbek Sultanaliyev; Beyshembay Kydyrmyshev joined the brigade 10 years later. The collective has six members of the Komsomol.

"The young do not have the caution of age," Tashtanbek Akmatovich said, making tea; "To stop and think is a manifestation of mature judgment."

How has this tutor been able to attract young people? Above all with his ability to see the future.

In the 1950's the Kolkhoz had 9,000 sheep; today it has more than 45,000. Young people were unwilling to take care of small flocks distant from settlements. Akmatov decided to apply the brigade work method on a cost accounting basis. He was the first in the republic to consolidate four brigades into one and run it on the basis of a collective order contract.

All brigade members are equal. All decide everything themselves, with interest and justice. They can compute like real economists. Everyone has his own thrift account. That is why this flock has the greatest number of offspring and the highest amount of wool in the republic and the lowest labor and fund outlays compared with other brigades. Despite poor weather conditions, last year the results achieved by the brigade exceeded the average for the 5-year period. With outlays totaling 103,700 rubles, gross output reached 208,200 rubles. Production costs per kilogram of mutton averaged

slightly over 61 kopeks; production costs per kilogram of wool averaged 5.90 rubles.

This year the collective found the possibility of sending additionally to the meat combine several hundred head of sheep averaging a live weight of no less than 34 kilograms each. This means that production costs will drop even further. In the other republic farms, which are striving to achieve quantitative indicators regardless of cost, their production costs will exceed retail prices. Incidentally, what is essentially demanded of both farms is quantity. It is as though output is one thing and economics another.

Naturally, this famous brigade has its followers. Currently 79 consolidated shepherd brigades in Toskiy Rayon are working on the basis of a single order and payments based on end results. The number of such followers in the republic is increasing.

However, a leader would not be a leader and an example for emulation were he to be satisfied with results, regardless of how good they were. The brigade unanimously decided to grow their own feed for their flocks. They asked to be assigned 90 hectares of neglected land, equipment and fertilizers and undertook to do the rest by themselves. They are planning to make a dam to irrigate the land. They have estimated that this would yield an additional net income of 25,000 rubles. Consequently, production costs will drop even further and profitability (which is already high) will increase greatly. The result will be inexpensive meat and inexpensive wool.

Briefly, once again the simple truth was confirmed: a person can harness his creative and practical possibilities most energetically wherever a means has been found for drastically upgrading not only individual but also collective interest in labor results.

Tashtanbek Akmatovich believes that the scientific approach must be displayed in everything in order to ensure further intensification in sheep breeding. The pasture land is the laboratory where such constant research is underway. From consolidated brigades one should convert to related and comprehensive brigades, where sheep breeding and fodder procurement would be in the hands of a single collective. Green pastures have a high nutritive value and contain the mineral substances and even medicinal components needed by the animal. They must be protected in all possible ways. A single shepherd cannot take care of the pasture land which, however, becomes possible in a consolidated brigade. The frequent moving of the sheep to new sections with fresh grass stimulates their active life and increases their appetite. By the time the big flocks have returned to the old pasture grounds, two or three weeks later, the grass has fully regained all of its valuable qualities. The unsystematic destruction of the grass is avoided in a consolidated brigade and valuable fodder is preserved better.

T. Akmatov generously shares his experience. He speaks out at seminars and describes the achievements of the brigade in newspapers and journals; he has already written three books. His work "The Collective Contracting Order in the Sheep Breeding Brigade," which was published by Agropromizdat, triggered particular interest. The work analyzes the many years of experience in the

cost accounting activities of the collective which has been a model of creativity and strong economic management.

The work of the shepherds is endless. Whatever the weather, the sheep must be fed and watered and the people must see to it that their wool is not damaged. This must be done year after year on an even rhythmical basis. However, the work of shepherd Akmatov appears simple and monotonous only on the surface. It does not consist of rounds but of spirals. Rising higher, in the course of his difficult path, he discovers something new, previously unknown heights which were formerly concealed behind the fog of prejudice and obsolete traditions. His aspiration to the peaks, where the stars are brighter, is indomitable.

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IN THE SPIRIT OF THE PARTY CONGRESS

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[Article by Jambyn Batmunkh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic]

[Text] This year our people solemnly celebrated the 60th anniversary of the victory of the Mongolian People's Revolution; at the beginning of November we marked the 65th anniversary of the establishment of equal friendly relations between Mongolia and the RSFSR and the historical meeting between V.I. Lenin and the Mongolian delegation, which included D. Suhe-Bator, the leader of our revolution. At that time Lenin said: "...The only right way for all working people in your country is the struggle for state and economic independence, allied with the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 44, p 232). Today we can say with just pride that the MPRP firmly followed Lenin's behests and, in the spirit of the best traditions of the revolutionary struggle, implemented them properly. The first agreement concluded between People's Mongolia and Soviet Russia, having withstood the test of time, became a truly historical charter of the revolution, friendship and internationalism. Lenin's prediction on the future development of the Mongolian People's Revolution came true.

The achieved successes, which confirmed the scale of building socialism in the MPR, create new opportunities for the implementation of the party's programmatic course of turning the country into an industrial-agrarian state. The resolutions of the 19th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, which was held in May 1986, are aimed at the efficient utilization of these opportunities.

The latest MPRP Congress took place under circumstances of high party- and principle-mindedness, practicality and openness. Its resolutions earmark the further levels to be reached in building socialism, perfecting socialist production relations and asserting a socialist way of life. The congress convincingly proved that our party is a mature political organism. On the one hand, this is the result of the increased political activeness and social optimism of Mongolian communists and all working people and the strengthening of the unbreakable unity between party and people; and, on the other, the

influence of the 27th CPSU Congress, and its inspiring example of exceptional practicality and true bolshevik spirit.

Economic and social policy is the main field of activities of the MPRP. The central task of the economic and social development of the Mongolian People's Republic for 1986-1990 was defined at the 19th Party Congress as the stated development of public production and upgrading its efficiency, and, on this basis, ensuring the further enhancement of the people's well-being. During the 8th 5-year period the national income will be increased by 26-29 percent; capital investments in the national economy will be increased by 24-26 percent compared with the preceding 5-year period. There will be a further increase in industrial potential, and the gross volume of industrial output will increase by 30-34 percent.

It is worth noting at this point that the last 5-year period was characterized by the commissioning of major production capacities, the building of which had been undertaken in previous years. Consequently, the growth rates of public production were relatively high. Today such carry-over large industrial construction projects are relatively few, which explains a certain lowering of the pace of development. Nevertheless, during this period as well the absolute growth of the national income will increase.

By 1990 the production of agricultural commodities will increase by 18-20 percent. We are contemplating the further strengthening of the material and technical base of agriculture and the utilization of intensification factors. The party's agrarian policy will continue to focus on the implementation of the target agricultural and food programs.

Concern for the individual and the growth of the people's well-being is the supreme objective of MPRP activities. Specifically, this is reflected in its social policy. During this 5-year period consumption funds will increase by 20-25 percent and the population's real income by 20-23 percent. Extensive steps have been planned in the sociocultural area. The wages of people employed in material production and services will be increased and so will the income of the members of agricultural associations. Medical and consumer services will be expanded, particularly in the countryside; the housing conditions of the working people will improve and the public education system will advance. The party's Central Committee undertook the implementation of these tasks immediately after the congress. The decision was made to raise the minimal pensions of livestock breeders and, during the second half of next year, to reduce the cost of household electric power consumption. Steps to improve population consumer services were taken at the first session of the Great People's Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, 11th convocation. We are nearing the end of a nationwide discussion of the theses of the MPRP Central Committee on improving the public education system. The building of housing and other sociocultural projects will be expanded, particularly that of establishments for children. Steps are being taken to reduce the cost of the administrative apparatus.

The congress paid particular attention to the further assertion of social justice. A line of comprehensive encouragement of honest and conscientious, active and fruitful toil and perfecting the system of socialist distribution

in accordance with the principles of direct correlation between wages and income and real labor results and quality will be pursued firmly and consistently. This will be based on the socialist distribution principle "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work."

The party has set difficult yet entirely realistic tasks, the implementation of which depends on steadily upgrading the quality and efficiency of all work. Particularly important in this connection is the efficient utilization of capital investment, the comprehensive strengthening of thrift, proper distribution and rational utilization of manpower, improving the quality of output, work and services and applying the achievements of science and technology.

The need to concentrate the efforts of the party and the people on the solution of these problems is the result of several circumstances. The level of development reached by Mongolia is significantly below that of the highly developed socialist countries. A certain gap remains between need and the degree of its satisfaction; the balance of payments remains stressed. All of this calls for upgrading the pace of socioeconomic development and enhancing public production efficiency. Nevertheless, we must admit that the insufficiently complete utilization of available reserves and opportunities seriously restrains our progress.

More than ever before, today we must bring into action the substantial production, scientific and technical and spiritual potential developed by Mongolia, increase returns on scientific research and improve the efficient utilization of the aid provided by the fraternal countries; we must make a better study of and creatively apply their experience, including in the area of developing material facilities for national economic intensification. Under contemporary conditions no single production or social problem can be solved without relying on the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. In turn, this calls for strengthening the ties between science and production. Such was the conclusion drawn at our party's 19th Congress.

One of the prerequisites for the advancement of society is promptly to recognize and resolve arising contradictions between production forces and production relations, steadily to improve production relations and to support their correlation with dynamically developing production forces. As a new social system, socialism is always in a state of ascending development. Its material and technical base assumes new qualities and the problems it must resolve become more complex; at the same time, man himself changes noticeably.

The changes in production forces formulate new requirements concerning production relations, level of awareness, education and skill of the working people and the management of social processes. The role and significance of the human factor increase. Practical experience proves that the tasks which were set can be carried out only if concern for the person, as the main resource of socialist society, assumes a central position in the activities of all party, state, public and economic organizations.

The MPRP is always concerned with perfecting administration and economic management methods. Lenin's instruction to the effect that "centralism,

understood in its truly democratic meaning, presumes for the first time in history the possibility of full and unhindered development not only of local features but also of local initiative, local enterprise, and a variety of ways and means of advancing toward the common goal" (op. cit., vol 36, p 152) is our theoretical and methodological guide in this matter. This means, above all, a conversion to economic methods of management on all levels, strengthening centralized planning and, at the same time, increasing the autonomy of sectorial and local authorities, enterprises and farms in the interest of upgrading production efficiency and its end results, developing the initiative and activities of labor collectives, ensuring unity between economic and social policy and applying the elements of intensification.

Such are precisely the objectives of the economic experiment we are conducting in our country, taking into consideration the experience of the fraternal countries, the Soviet Union above all, in the light, food and communication industries and in individual construction, transportation, consumer good and communal economy enterprises. A number of important decisions have been made on the implementation of the agricultural and food programs, particularly in broadening the rights of local administrative authorities, perfecting the planning and management of agriculture, providing financial aid to weak and underprofitable farms, economically stimulating the growth of agricultural output and perfecting the working and living conditions of the rural working people. The extensive dissemination of the brigade form of labor organization is noticeably contributing to the enhancement of labor activeness and to increasing interest in the results of production activities.

The high responsibility of the party as the political vanguard of the people increases as the scale and tasks of building socialism expand. The 19th MPRP Congress pointed out that the further enhancement of the party's leading role in all areas of social life requires a principle-minded assessment of its activities and a critical, scientific, creative and practical approach to all problems.

The party is steadily developing as a living organism. It has always ascribed great importance to increasing the vanguard role of the party members and to reinforcing its ranks with the most progressive members of society, with those who are distinguished by their high political, practical and moral qualities. Today our party has more than 88,000 members, i.e., approximately one out of 9 people employed in various areas of the national economy. The percentage of workers is growing steadily, now accounting for 33.2 percent of the membership. The resolution of the 18th Congress on giving priority in party enrollment to the best young people was carried out successfully.

The 19th Congress reasserted that in the future as well the ranks of the MPRP must be increased and strengthened in such a way that a quantitative growth will not weaken its qualitative structure. It was precisely this that dictated some amendments and supplements in the party statutes, made at the congress.

The party organizations paid tireless attention to having the party members always and everywhere implement the party line, set examples of conscientious and productive toil, help the young, the novices and those who have fallen

behind, act as pioneers for everything that is new and actively contribute to the establishment of a principle-minded practical and creative atmosphere in the collectives and struggle irreconcilably against all negative manifestations. Efficient steps are being taken to upgrade the educational role of party meetings and instructions; more frequent reports are being submitted by leading officials, with a view to strengthening political influence at party meetings; the features of party members are being asserted. Talks are being held more regularly and more extensively.

The 19th MPRP Congress called for a restructuring of the style of party work. Above all, we must provide scope for the initiative and enterprise of the party organizations. They must be given the opportunity to implement the resolutions of party authorities in a more businesslike manner, to abandon bureaucratic methods and to prevent any passive expectation of instructions or engaging in meetings and paper shuffling instead of live work. It is only thus that the party organizations will be able to be independently responsible for the problems raised by practical experience and assess the implementation of their own decrees on the basis of actual results.

The Central Committee tirelessly sees to it that any restructuring of the style of party work is consistent with the instructions of the congress, i.e., with the strict observance of the standards and principles of intraparty life and management. Particular attention is paid to upgrading the responsibility of cadres for their assignments, developing criticism and self-criticism, intensifying control, ensuring further improvements in the ideological upbringing of party members and the strict observance of statutory requirements and party discipline. Making no efforts to avoid problems, the delegates to the party forum expressed a number of practical remarks and suggestions, on the basis of which the MPRP Central Committee took specific steps for their implementation or intensified study. The same type of work is being done in the local party organizations.

The recent Central Committee plenums, including the extraordinary 8th Central Committee plenum of 1984, were of major importance in ensuring party policy continuity and reaching a higher level in party leadership.

The increased leading role of the party is inseparably related to the combativeness of the primary party organizations, which are the party's foundation. They are engaged on a daily basis in extensive political-educational and organizational work within the masses. Since 1970 their number has increased by nearly one-half; the number of party groups has more than tripled. Party organizers are being appointed in areas where there are no party members, in order to strengthen the party's influence.

The strengthening of the primary party cells and improving the ways and means of their activities are a subject of special concern of the party committees on all levels. In recent years zonal conferences of secretaries of primary party organizations have been held. For the first time, in 1984 a partywide review was held of the combativeness of the primary party organizations, covering three-quarters of their overall number. This enabled us to sum up acquired experience and to determine more precisely what should be done to

raise to the proper level the standards of ideological-education and organizational work. This practice will be continued in the future.

The elected party aktiv, the efforts of which determine the state of affairs within each party organization, plays a great role in the party's life. In the course of the accountability reports and elections alone, which were held in 1985, 23,000 party members were elected to leading MPRP bodies. During that time 26.2 percent of party committee and cell secretaries were replaced and 73.8 percent were reelected, indicating both renovation and continuity. Today more than 90 percent of secretaries of primary party organizations have higher or secondary-school training. Seminars and short practical training courses are regularly organized by the Higher Party School of the MPRP Central Committee and the interoblast higher party schools in the USSR, where secretaries are assigned to study first-hand experience in CPSU party building and to enhance their party-political skills.

Concern for the primary party organizations remains a pivotal trend in party activities. It was this that guided the 19th MPRP Congress in promoting the enhancement of activities of primary party organizations and increasing their combativeness as a partywide task of key significance. Its implementation was directly related, above all, to upgrading the role of the primary party organizations within each labor collective, perfecting their organizational structure and training leading cadres. One of the essential requirements was for the daily work of the primary party organizations to be closely related to the problems resolved centrally and locally in accordance with the overall party policy course.

The congress noted that the initiative-minded creative activeness of the party masses is impossible without efficient organization, that collective leadership must be combined with personal responsibility and trust in and respect for cadres and concern for them with high exigency and principle-mindedness. This approach is expressed in the practice which has developed of considering reports submitted by party leaders to the MPRP Central Committee and to the village and city party committees. This year alone reports to the Central Committee were submitted by secretaries of a number of primary party organizations, including those of the central apparatus of the Ministry of Fuel and Power Industry and the party organization of two somovs in Uvsanurskiy and Bulganskiy Aynaks.

The 19th Congress proved the exceptional importance and usefulness of principle-minded criticism and self-criticism and the full use of their life-bearing power in restructuring the style of party work. Let us note that the absence, rejection and suppression of criticism hinder the uprooting of negative phenomena which harm the interests of the people and the principles of socialism, such as bureaucratism, tolerance, arbitrariness, nepotism, favoritism, acceptance, concealment of shortcomings and omissions, whitewashing, etc. The congress made it incumbent on all party organizations to assess on a strict and principle-minded basis each such case and to create the type of conditions and atmosphere in which frank and constructive criticism and self-criticism, particularly criticism from below, could develop freely and naturally.

In accordance with this requirement, the party organizations have intensified their critical approach to the consideration of discussed problems. The materials carried by mass information media have become more demanding; stricter demands are being made on party and state authorities and personnel for the elimination of shortcomings and omissions. This helps to assert in the party organizations an atmosphere of practicality and openness and is a reliable base for upgrading their combativeness. Turning ideological-political and organizational work toward life, toward establishing in the labor collectives an atmosphere of creative quest, and toward measures aimed at strengthening discipline, order and organization, taking place in the party organizations is resulting in positive changes. Better results are being achieved wherever the search for reserves and possibilities and concern for improving the working and living conditions of the people are based on a profound analysis and are consistent with the actual living and working conditions of labor collectives.

Cadre policy has been and remains an object of constant concern and attention of the MPRP. The role of man and the significance of cadres in the implementation of the broad tasks of progress and advancement of our society, formulated by the party, will increase even further. Renovating the ways and means of work with cadres, increasing their efficiency and taking into consideration the new phenomena and processes taking place in the country's social life are becoming an imperative of the time. Such was precisely the approach taken by the 19th MPRP Congress to problems of perfecting cadre policy. A harsh assessment was given to shortcomings, such as violation of the principles of collective leadership, subjectivism and one-sided approach to cadre problems. The congress demanded of the party organizations to be strictly guided by the Leninist principles of cadre selection, placement and upbringing, to reach a proper combination in the work of the experience of mature cadres with the energy of the young, to promote women to leading positions and to improve the system of party cadre training and retraining. In recent years, as a whole their educational level has substantially increased. All leading workers of rural, city and rayon party committees and executive managements of hurals of people's deputies have higher training; most managers of industrial and agricultural enterprises and secretaries of their party organizations are diplomaed specialists. All of this is natural. Today 20 percent of those working in the MPRP have higher or secondary training. Consequently, we have a tremendous reserve for the selection and training of leading party and state cadres.

The party proceeds from the fact that today leading positions must be held by people who can think in broad and creatively daring terms, who are not afraid to assume responsibility and are able independently to solve problems of growing difficulty. No less important to leading personnel, however, are also qualities such as ideological and political tempering, the ability to communicate with people and to listen to their opinion and to implement practical remarks and suggestions, make rational decisions, complete projects and choose the ways and means which would make it possible to achieve the greatest and most durable successes with the least efforts. Let us note in this connection the congress' instruction of rating cadres according to the actual implementation of resolutions and final results of accomplished projects.

The 19th MPRP Congress asserted that openness, the prompt and efficient information of the party members and the entire people on the policy, resolutions and activities of the party and seeking the constant advice of the working people must become an inviolable principle of party life. Party information is a strong weapon for upgrading the efficiency of party decisions and measures, improving the work style, studying public opinion and strengthening relations with the masses. It will continue to improve in a direction which will ensure its truthfulness, practicality and efficiency. We are convinced that a callous and indifferent attitude toward the letters, suggestions and wishes of the working people weakens the ties between the party and the masses and damages the honor and reputation of the party organizations.

The tasks of building socialism cannot be implemented by the forces of the party alone. Lenin said that "to build a communist society by the communists is a childish, a totally childish idea. The communists are a drop in the sea, a drop in the sea of people" (op. cit. vol 45, p 98). The party maintains its ties with the masses not only through the party organizations and the party members but also through the state and public organizations. It deems exceptionally important the development of socialist democracy and ensuring the active participation of the working people in the management of society, the state and the economy. This is clearly confirmed by the recently taken steps by the MPRP Central Committee to strengthen democratic principles in the management of agricultural associations, steps which contribute to strengthening the influence of the working people on solving production and management problems and upgrading the responsibility of managers to their collectives.

The party congress formulated the tasks of further strengthening the political system of socialist society, enhancing the activities of the hurals' deputies and their executive authorities, the trade unions, the Revolutionary Youth League and other social organizations and the restructuring of their work style and the more efficient participation of the party members and all working people in sociopolitical life. The implementation of these assignments will intensify socialist democracy and strengthen socialist self-government by the people.

The enhancement of the leading role of the MPRP in the country's social life significantly increases and significance of ideological work. However, despite obvious successes in this area, we must admit that our ideological and political education efforts are not always in step with the development of social life. Formalism, pretentiousness and other shortcomings, which lower its efficiency, have not been eliminated entirely. Yet prompt and efficient reaction to phenomena in social practice and to its new requirements noticeably help to create and establish in labor collectives a healthy political-ideological and moral-psychological atmosphere. The congress had all of this in mind in defining the task of reorganizing the style of ideological work. To begin with, it emphasized the need to strengthen its scientific foundations and its influence on social life; secondly, it indicated the expediency of adopting a comprehensive approach to the education of the new person, the builder of socialism. Labor upbringing became the focal point of such activities.

The party deems important to develop in the people the feeling that they are the owners of the country, an awareness of responsibility for its destiny, which is inseparably linked with the increased power of socialism and to raise them in a spirit of loyalty to the principles of socialist patriotism and internationalism. All of this calls for substantially improving ideological work and its management, and a more profound study of the very target of propaganda and agitation. It was precisely this that was discussed at the practical science conference on "The 19th MPRP Congress: New Tasks and Ways of Solving Them," which was held immediately after the party forum.

The congress formulated specific requirements in the area of developing theoretical thinking and comprehensive study and development of the central problems of building socialism. Bearing in mind that all ideological and educational activity must be based on life itself, the congress indicated the need to perfect the system of political education and economic training and to upgrade the efficiency of lectures and mass agitation work. These instructions were implemented in the recently adopted special Central Committee decree, which earmarks steps aimed at eliminating scholasticism and bookishness, making classes more interesting and useful and making use of active teaching methods based on examples borrowed from the daily production and economic activities of labor collectives.

As was most convincingly confirmed at the 19th Congress, loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian and socialist internationalism is an inviolable law of MPRP activities. The fact that our country has become a modern socialist state and that in 65 years of development the MPRP has become one of the combat detachments of the global communist movement, was the result of the invaluable role played by the close alliance and cooperation between our party and the CPSU and the constant study of its rich experience, which is of universal historical significance, and of its creative application under Mongolian conditions.

Today relations between Mongolia and the USSR, which are strengthening in accordance with the spirit and stipulations of the Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid Treaty, cover all aspects of social life, steadily lifting to new heights dynamic development along all lines. Concern for strengthening Mongolian-Soviet unity is a fundamental trend in MPRP activities. Regular bilateral summit meetings and talks are held, imbued with the common aspiration to upgrade the efficiency of interaction and cooperation between our parties and countries and to make better use of existing opportunities. This is also the purpose of the Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation Between the Mongolian People's Republic and the USSR for the Period Until the Year 2000. Let us emphasize that the radical restructuring of all aspects of life of Soviet society, which is becoming even more dynamic after the 27th CPSU Congress, is enjoying the tremendous and deserved attention of our party members and working people. It is giving us an inspiring impetus in mastering the new style of thinking and creative approach to the work.

The further strengthening of the ties of friendship and cooperation with the other members of the socialist community, the active participation of the Mongolian People's Republic in the development of socialist economic

integration on a bilateral and multilateral basis and, above all, the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress of CEMA for the Period Until the Year 2000 are major areas of application of the party's efforts.

The struggle for ensuring peaceful conditions for building socialism and communism, strengthening the unity and cohesion among the members of the socialist community and consolidating and developing friendship and cooperation with them and solidarity with the revolutionary struggle waged by the working class in the capitalist countries and the liberation movements of countries and peoples on earth were and remain the very foundations of MPRP foreign policy.

Our party and people proceed from the fact that successes and accomplishments in constructive toil are the most substantial contribution which we make to the defense of peace and that a durable peace is, unquestionably, the most important prerequisite for the successful building of socialism. Today mankind has no more vital and urgent concern than safeguarding and strengthening universal peace and security. The MPRP and the Mongolian people warmly approve and fully support the impressive set of constructive peaceful initiatives and suggestions formulated by the CPSU and the Soviet government and, in particular, the program of the struggle for creating a comprehensive system of international security, eliminating nuclear and other mass destruction weapons by the end of this century, restraining the arms race, the nuclear arms race above all, its nonproliferation in space, and the numerous suggestions made in favor of improving international relations through the active and well-wishing dialogue among all countries, strengthening good neighborly relations and reciprocal confidence and extensively developing equal and mutually profitable peaceful cooperation among countries with different social systems.

Each one of the Soviet proposals, not to mention looking at them in their totality, are of tremendous importance and, as we see it, are a sensible foundation for reaching radical agreements on the key problems of our time. The Mongolian people consider the moratorium which the Soviet Union has imposed on nuclear tests, which has lasted for more than 1 year, a manifestation of the new style of thinking, proceeding from a profound understanding of the realities of the age of nuclear energy and the scientific and technical revolution, and as a specific action on the way to the elimination of nuclear weapons.

The political far-sightedness and daring, good will and tireless efforts of the leadership of the CPSU and the Soviet state led to a new meeting between Comrade M.S. Gorbachev and the U.S. President. The peoples of the world, including our people, warmly approve and support the flexible and constructive stance held by the Soviet Union at that meeting. We are convinced of the fact that the package of its far-reaching and flexible suggestions would make it possible to reach an agreement which, should it be implemented as a binding treaty, could mark a sharp turn toward universal security and a new nuclear-free world. Unfortunately, however, the way to such agreements was blocked by the U.S. administration which, in order to suit the military-industrial complex, is scorning the expectations of the peoples of the world and is

trying to wreck the open-end anti-missile defense treaty in order to implement its sinister "Strategic Defense Initiative."

The United States is persisting in pursuing a policy of force and diktat in international relations and in increasing the arms race and its extension to outer space, in an effort to achieve military-strategic superiority over the socialist world. The U.S. NATO allies, as well as Japan, are being involved in this with increased energy.

The MPRP is vitally interested in strengthening peace and security throughout the world, including the Asian-Pacific area. Our party, which firmly supports the implementation of the Soviet initiative of a comprehensive approach to ensuring security in Asia, will pursue its active efforts to promote its suggestion of concluding a convention on reciprocal nonaggression and nonuse of force in relations among countries in Asia and those bordering on the Pacific Ocean.

The development of events clearly proves that in Asia as well the problems of war and peace must be solved in the interest of ensuring safety and progress. In this connection, as we know, the MPRP supports a meeting among representatives of communist and worker parties of the Asian-Pacific area on problems of ensuring peace and stability. The 19th Congress emphasized that the MPRP is prepared actively to participate in the preparations for and holding of such a congress.

Very little time has passed since the 19th Congress. The domestic and foreign policy which the MPRP formulated at the congress is enjoying the total support of the Mongolian people. The resolutions of the congress and the atmosphere in which it took place were an inspiring incentive for the political and labor upsurge of the party members and all working people in our country. The fact that 99.99 percent of the voters voted in favor of the candidates of the bloc of communists and nonparty members in the elections for the Great People's Hural, proves the deep trust of the people in its party and its policy and their belief in the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism.

The party and the people are concentrating their main efforts on the implementation of the congress' stipulations. They have a carefully thought-out plan for action. The MPRP Central Committee formulated an expanded a set of steps related to the implementation of the basic tasks of economic and social policy, party and state building and ideological and organizational work. Problems of implementing the resolutions of the congress at plenums of village and rural party committees and at general meetings of primary party organizations were considered in a businesslike manner.

As a whole, the assignments for the first 9 months of the first year of the 8th 5-year period have been successfully completed in many economic sectors. The country is raising 8.9 million head of young cattle, which is half a million more than last year's level. Grain, potato and feed crop harvests are also significantly above the planned figures. Compared with a similar period in 1985, industrial output increased by 8.6 percent.

Initial and generally positive results are encouraging. However, they also remind us that this is merely the beginning, and that much more remains to be done. The main thing now is not to slow down the pace we have reached, and persistently to see to it that the economic and social policy formulated at the 19th Party Congress is being systematically implemented. The high mood prevailing for new accomplishments, convincingly manifested in the growing labor and political activeness of Mongolian party members and working people, proves their resolve to implement the stipulations of the 4th MPRP program and to embody in constructive actions everything that was formulated at the party's 19th Congress.

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ETERNALLY LIVE CAUSE OF A REVOLUTIONARY, PATRIOT AND INTERNATIONALIST

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[Article by Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CPCZ Central Committee secretary; written on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of Klement Gottwald's birth]

[Text] The 90th birthday of Klement Gottwald--the noted personality of the international revolutionary workers movement and outstanding leader of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which he headed from 1929 until his death, on 14 March 1953, falls on 23 November. Between 1946 and 1948 K. Gottwald was president of the Republic of Czechoslovakia; from 1948 to 1953 he was its first labor president. Klement Gottwald has become forever part of history and his name will live eternally in the memory of our peoples because of his revolutionary activities, services to the Czechoslovak state and contribution to the cause of the restoration of its freedom and independence and the assertion of its national and socialist nature and the triumph of the ideas of socialism in Czechoslovakia. The generations which will continue what the pioneers and first builders of the new society began mention his name with respect. The cause to which he dedicated his life largely bears the imprint of his personality, loyalty to Lenin's doctrine and the banner of the Great October Revolution which, nearly 7 decades ago, inaugurated a new era in the history of mankind, the era of transition from capitalism to communism.

Klement Gottwald's political activities encompassed most of the dramatic and decisive stages in the most recent history of our people. He was at the origins of the founding and establishment of the Communist Party--the revolutionary vanguard of the working class and the entire people. He participated in the struggle waged by the toiling masses for their daily bread and work, against exploitation and denigration and for basic social rights and a life worthy of man. He made his contribution to the merciless war to death for our national survival. Finally, he witnessed the great victory of the people who, after the liberation of the homeland by the Soviet army, was able to benefit from the results of its struggle and successfully complete the national democratic revolution and initiate the reorganization of society, guided by the ideals of socialism.

It was the great luck of our country that at the point when it had reached one of the most difficult periods in history, when the question of whether it will remain under the power of the capitalist past or take the path of revolutionary change and, once and for all, put an end to the rule of those who had benefited from the exploitation and oppression of the people for such a long time, that a communist party was already active in our republic as one of the most influential and authoritative forces to which the toiling masses of town and country justifiably linked their hopes. All of this is the unquestionable contribution of Klement Gottwald. He set up an efficient Leninist party leadership which was aware of its responsibility to the working class and proved able, taking into consideration the specific historical conditions and specific needs of the people, creatively to apply the overall laws of Marxism-Leninism to our reality and to formulate and develop the strategy and tactics of the class struggle through which, tempered and maturing, step by step gaining a leading position in society, the working class assumed hegemony.

The turning point which determined its development was the 5th CPCZ Congress, which was held on 18-23 February 1929. At that time Klement Gottwald was 32 years old. Nevertheless, he had already become an experienced political worker (he had been made member of the Politburo in September 1925, i.e., at the 3rd Party Congress, as well as member of the Organizational Buro of the Party's Central Committee, which consisted of seven members; on 1 May 1926 he became the head of Agitprop and, in September 1928, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International; in the spring of 1931 he was made member of the Executive Committee Presidium). During that historical period he formulated at the highest party forum the platform of a principled struggle for the party's bolshevization and for giving it the opportunity of fulfilling the role of revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat and rallying the people's masses under its leadership for a decisive struggle against capitalism, for overthrowing the domination of the bourgeoisie and establishing the power of the working class, of the people.

At that time the party was in a state of profound crisis. It was disorganized and weakened. It was under the influence of the social democrats and right-wing opportunists, whose helplessness and capitulationist attitude toward the bourgeoisie had turned into despair and extreme left-wing sectarianism. In subsequent years as well, one or another of these extremes frequently let itself be felt, threatening to compromise the party in the eyes of the masses and to undermine its efficiency to which, to the last minutes of his life, Klement Gottwald ascribed exceptionally importance. Under Gottwald, however, they never again gained the upper hand. The general line (it is true, with some temporary deviations) was clearly and unilaterally defined by the Leninist theory of the role and building of a party as the supreme form of the organization of the masses, confidently marching in their vanguard and, at the same time, closely linked with them, a party which taught them and learned from them, steadily developing and selflessly serving the people, responding to their vital demands, needs and concerns, never losing track of the end objective of the struggle. Incidentally, in one of his first articles on this topic, Klement Gottwald had described bolshevization in the broad and narrow sense of the term. In the broad sense, as a "continuing process in the development of the party, never ending, never completed;" in the narrow sense,

as a "summation of this experience and the utilization of the methods which enabled the Russian Communist Party to defeat the bourgeoisie and establish a proletarian dictatorship. Naturally, this did not mean and even, conversely, excluded the simple duplication of the Russian experience. That which could be used from the Russian experience were the methods through which the bolsheviks, headed by Lenin, were solving their daily problems. We can say today that bolshevization means the utilization of Russian experience under the specific circumstances prevailing in one country or another...."

At that time, when the 5th CPCZ Congress, which had elected Comrade Gottwald its general secretary, had taken the party out of its crisis, it was a question, above all, of preventing its breakdown, purging it from right-wing opportunism, putting an end to illusions of a possible reconciliation with the bourgeoisie, breaking with isolationism in party work and tailism which doomed the party to a passive attitude and hindered the efforts to prepare the proletariat for the fierce class battles, the revolutionary struggle and the role which, sooner or later, it had to play in the decisive political clash with the bourgeoisie.

The fact that in that clash the bourgeoisie would face an enemy which would not retreat and would be ready to any sacrifice and fight stubbornly and purposefully until it overthrew the bourgeoisie was accepted by the manufacturers, bankers and land owners and the people who supported their power soon after the 5th Party Congress and after Klement Gottwald's speech in Parliament on 21 December 1929. The speech which Gottwald delivered at that time in the name of the party was noteworthy. Never before had the party's objectives been described so openly and clearly, together with what the party was ready to do for the sake of attaining its main objective: the liberation of the working people. Despite obstructions and efforts to prevent him from speaking, Gottwald decisively exposed the then prevailing "democracy" as a state of capitalist blood suckers pursuing their narrow-class egotistical interests and ready, for the sake of wealth and power, even to sell out their homeland. He was not afraid to say that the Czechoslovak communists are learning and will continue to learn from the Russian bolsheviks how to turn capitalist Czechoslovakia into a socialist republic which would become the true native home of the working people. All subsequent developments confirmed the viability of this principle-minded position taken by the CPCZ, a position which Klement Gottwald described in plain terms.

This position was a manifestation of ardent patriotism, inseparably linked with support of internationalism. It was based on a profound understanding of the role of the working class in the contemporary history of our peoples and the consequent mission of the Communist Party, which had to lead in the struggle for national freedom and the social self-awareness of the people to the victory of socialism. Whereas the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie sought support above all in France and England and, with the advent of Hitlerite fascism to power, absurd though this might seem, to a great extent in Germany, the people's masses linked their hopes to the Soviet Union. Klement Gottwald clearly mentioned this in that 1929 parliamentary speech. Although at that time this statement could be viewed by a number of people as insufficiently patriotic, in the course of time, a rather short time at that, it became a manifestation of true patriotism. It was no accident, therefore, that its

spokesmen were the internationalists, the friends of the Soviet Union, whose ranks legitimately increased as the threat presented by Hitlerite fascism grew, a fascism which did not conceal its aggressive plans and designs on Czechoslovak territory.

The time of trials, in the course of which the CPCZ displayed its national character, gave it the legitimate right to act on behalf of its peoples. It was preceded by years which indicated with particular clarity how important it was for the party to go through the bolshevization process. This applied to the economic crisis of the beginning of the 1930s. We can boldly claim that it was only thanks to this new course, related to bolshevization and the mastery of Leninism that the party was able to lead the working class in the struggle against unemployment and for the very existence of millions of working people as well as against the demoralizing influence of the crisis.

It was precisely at that time that the party restored and strengthened its ties with the working class and the people's masses in the urban districts and the countryside and, particularly, in the large factories and mining areas, which became its bastions. Half a million people had been thrown out on the street as a result of the crisis. They sought work with a feeling of despair and doom. They were willing to do anything for the sake of earning a few pitiful pennies for survival and for keeping a roof over their heads. The party proved at that time that it lived with the fate of the people and that it put the people's interests above anything else and that one could entirely rely on it. Its members could not be frightened by threats, persecution or jail. Fire was frequently opened at workers, women and children who demonstrated. The Masaryk democracy, which loyally served capitalism, was merciless and cruel toward those who stood up against rightlessness and demanded basic human rights. As Gottwald had promised in parliament in 1929, the communists kept their word, not yielding to terror. They courageously fought for the basic rights of the working people. The party aktiv set the example in this struggle. Klement Gottwald was constantly among the working people. He was wounded during one of the demonstrations and jailed. He was frequently forced to go into hiding. It was during that period that the party earned a high moral prestige which ensured the success of its activities in later years.

Unquestionably, the secret of the success achieved by the communist movement was that it was armed with the right revolutionary theory--the Marxist-Leninist doctrine--which is the basis of the principle-minded policy of our party as well. Klement Gottwald's merit was the fact that he never allowed himself to deviate from the chosen path and retained his loyalty to this doctrine. However, he always approached it as a tool which should be used with a view to achieving an objective knowledge of reality and effective influence on the development of events. He systematically combined principle-mindedness with political realism. He accurately and sensitively distinguished between the party's strategic and tactical tasks. He never violated principles for the sake of a short term advantage. This feature--the ability to combine principle-mindedness with flexibility, the ability to draw proper conclusions from the changed situation--was manifested clearly for the first time in the period after Hitlerite fascism came to power in Germany. It was no accident that he was one of those who made an active contribution to

the formulation of the general line of the 7th Cominform Congress, which called for a most decisive rebuff to fascist expansionistic plans and for the prevention of the threat which stemmed above all from the aggressive nature of Hitlerite Germany, supported by the military-industrial monopolies and reactionary imperialist politicians.

The CPCZ quickly realized that the threat to the republic predetermined the new nature of the internal class struggle and that a reorientation was necessary in the policy pursued until then, and the fact that the struggle for worker power had to be subordinated to the struggle for eliminating the threat of fascism and the preservation of democracy on the basis of the creation of a broad popular front. This became the party's key task. In order to cope with it unity within the working class was necessary. The party's leadership focused all its efforts on gaining the support of the social democratic and the other parties which claimed to support the workers. It was not the party's fault that its reformists, closely related to the ruling bourgeoisie, sabotaged the reaching of this historically important objective. As a result, the Communist Party was only partially successful. However, even that success was valuable. The new orientation of the party ensured that in its further development it did not convert into a politically totally unimportant group of sectarians, alienated from the people's masses, but was able worthily to represent the working class and the entire people. It was the only political party which came out with honor from the trials during the period of the Munich conspiracy (September 1938) as well as when our country, as a result of the treachery of the Western allies and the capitulation of its own bourgeoisie, was occupied by the German fascists (15 March 1939). At that time the party was already enjoying the extensive support of the people.

Klement Gottwald deserves unquestionable credit for this as well. Already then, when events were leading to the Munich treason, and while our republic was being sold out, he spoke out not only as the acknowledged leader of a political party and a representative of a revolutionary movement but also as a statesman who had focused his entire energy on mobilizing the forces of the public to prevent the threatening surrender and the loss of state sovereignty. Already then he appeared as a major personality in modern Czechoslovak history. He was aware of how groundless the concept was, which based the existence of our state on social and national inequality (concealed behind declarations of equality) and reliance on the "honor" of the Western powers should the external menace of German imperialism threaten the republic. At the same time, he was aware of the force of prejudices and nationalistic zeal with the help of which the bourgeoisie had tied a significant percentage of the people to its state, presenting it as a universal gain which, allegedly, had been gifted to us at Versailles after 300 years of foreign enslavement. It was clear to Gottwald that only the experience gained by the people under the circumstances of a real threat to the existence of the republic would help to disperse such illusions and myths which had been skillfully and persistently voiced and instilled in 20 years of bourgeois propaganda. That is why he directed the party to awaken the awareness of the people and to lead them in the struggle for strengthening democracy and against those who had led the republic to its collapse and against anyone who tried to play in Hitler's hands in the hope that "all he wanted" was to settle his accounts with the communists and wage war on the Soviet Union.

The political consciousness of the masses rose rapidly. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was able to enhance the activities of the broad public circles. The party's slogans which called for defending the republic, particularly with the Austrian Anschluss (March 1938) and the provocative activities of Henlein's pro-Hitlerite movement among the German minority and provocations on the part of fascist Hungary and Poland, began to find support among the masses. A great positive role was played by J.V. Stalin's statement that the Soviet Union will not abandon our country in trouble should we turn to it for help. "History is not aware of a case in which an armed people, a united, strong and fearless people has voluntarily laid its head on the executioner's block. Nor shall we do this..." Gottwald wrote in RUDE PRAVO, during the days when our fate was being decided in Munich in our absence. The people were united and firm. This, however, could not be said of the then Benes government, which obeyed the Munich diktat and was not interested in the least in taking the helping hand of the Soviet Union. "...I, as a communist, am always proud of the fact of being a Czech," Klement Gottwald said on 11 October 1938 in parliament. "I am proud of the nation of Husites to which I belong and I know that the Czech people will remain a people of Husites in the future as well. However, neither as a Czech nor as a communist can I be proud of the actions of a government which on 30 September led the nation to the consequences we are experiencing today. Anyone who has retained even a drop of honor should be ashamed of this."

A ban on the activities of the Communist Party was imposed soon after that. The party could head the anti-fascist struggle of the people only in a state of deep clandestinity. Its activities, which were exceptionally difficult to carry out under our circumstances (suffice it to mention the ease of surveillance and the smallness of the territory) were guided by the party's leadership from Moscow. During those most difficult and darkest 6 years, in the course of which our country was under the yoke of Hitlerism, the blood shed by the party earned universal respect and authority. It was only after the war that we found out in its entirety about the terrible fate which the Nazis were preparing for our people. They intended to liquidate some of them, Germanize other and enslave them; the living were to be exiled from their lands which Hitler had proclaimed (incidentally, this is mentioned today at gatherings of FRG revanchists) "age-old German territory." Our peoples--their future generations--have no right to forget the fact that it was not a question of a chimera triggered by a sick imagination but that this criminal and monstrous plan was being methodically implemented and that its full implementation was hindered only by the successful advance of the Soviet army and the definitive defeat of fascist Germany, to which it was above all the heroic Soviet people who made a decisive contribution.

The communists had never nurtured even the slightest illusions concerning the fascists' intentions. Nor did they tolerate the occupation. They headed the people's resistance and became the main force of the gradually established national-patriotic and broad democratic front. After suffering the heaviest casualties in the fierce struggle they expected to obtain the benefits of this struggle, so that after the liberation, of which they had no doubt and which they firmly believed would come from the East, never again would there be a return to the old order under which our statehood and national existence had been threatened and the people had been deprived of the right to have a say in

the destinies of their country. The CPCZ learned the right lessons from the Munich surrender and the tragic development of the events which followed it. The party drew conclusions from historical experience, conclusions which were embodied in the strategy of the national-democratic revolution which it headed, expressing the interests of the working class. An exceptionally favorable circumstance which decisively influenced the successful development of the revolution was the fact that the national liberation struggle waged by our people, which culminated with the Slovak national uprising in 1944 and the May uprising of the Czech people in 1945, was crowned by the liberation of our country by the Soviet army. Equally important was also the fact that the 12 December 1943 Moscow Friendship, Mutual Aid and Post-War Cooperation Treaty, which was concluded between Czechoslovakia and the USSR, guaranteed to the new people's democratic state full support against any aggression. It was thus that the Czechoslovak people were able freely to choose the further path of their development in accordance with their sovereign will.

The treaty between our fraternal countries, sealed with the jointly shed blood in the struggle against fascism, was one of the first major victories of CPCZ policy and, personally, Klement Gottwald, who had done a tremendous, an invaluable amount of work for our friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and for our relations, based on the principles of internationalism, to be firm and long-lasting. He accurately described the significance of this treaty in one of his numerous speeches on radio Moscow in the Czech language, speeches he carefully wrote during the war years. "The 12 December 1943 Moscow treaty," he said at that time, "lays a firm, an inviolable foundation to our future national and state life. This treaty saves our peoples from the heaviest possible burden which they have carried for centuries: their fear for their lives. This treaty provides us with a firm foundation. However, the building in which we shall live, we and those who will come after us, must be built by ourselves. It is on us that the type of building depends. We want to make it as good as possible. This is largely being determined as of now. The struggle against the occupation forces and the traitors, a merciless struggle, waged with all possible means, is what already today largely predetermines the way our life will be built in the liberated fatherland."

Today we are familiar with the development of post-war events and with the implementation of the policy of the CPCZ in the liberated new people's democratic republic. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, headed by a convinced Leninist and tried fighter for the cause of the working class and our peoples, the wise and sober statesman Klement Gottwald, the Czechoslovak people undertook the construction of this building which was to become its native home. The party drew up its plan. The conditions for laying the foundations of this building were determined by the times. These were firm and reliable foundations. However, in the course of the subsequent historical period a number of obstacles had to be surmounted. Inordinate energy had to be displayed and tremendous efforts made so that the initiated building be completed and that socialism would win in our country and, subsequently, be able to develop successfully.

Naturally, at the beginning of this long path about which entire generations of fighters for social justice had dreamed, there were more energy and resolve to go forth rather than the knowledge which was require needed for such

advance and for avoiding errors and seeing at the proper time possible deformations, the source of which was the simplistic concept of the possibility of the revolutionary reorganization of society and its pace and forms. The tremendous difficulties and problems caused by the cold war, which had been cynically unleashed by the Western powers and the reactionary imperialist forces with a view to "restraining communism" did not become clear immediately. When this war was proclaimed by W. Churchill in its Fulton speech, in June 1946, the war was already actually underway. The countries which had experienced the severe consequences of the war and which had decided to take the path of socialist development had, fortunately, the opportunity of drawing on the experience of the Soviet Union, relying on its aid and increasing their efforts in creating a new international community which could counter imperialist intrigues and the forces which urged counterrevolutionary activities. It was in this new specific historical situation, the nature of which determined the revolutionary upsurge of the broad antifascist national liberation struggle waged by the masses and the impressive victory of the first socialist country over the imperialist strike force of fascism, that the attractiveness of the ideas of socialism and, with it, of the ideas of international solidarity, increased.

All of this, naturally, speeded up our development as well. As the party's influence increased, the confrontation between revolutionary and progressive forces, headed by the communists, and the counterrevolutionary and reactionary forces, headed by the servants of big capital, the activities of which were encouraged by the West in the hope of deceiving the people's masses and leading them away from the revolutionary path, assumed an increasingly sharp nature.

The enemies of people's democratic Czechoslovakia were unable to implement their subversive plans and to restore the capitalist order in our country, for this time the people's masses were headed not by social democrats, with their corrupt and opportunistic leadership, but the Leninist Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, headed by leaders such as Klement Gottwald. In February 1948, once again the party proved that the people can rely on it. It mobilized them, lead them out of the factories and into the streets and prevented a crisis which the reaction had provoked in the hope of triggering chaos and the dissatisfaction of the people and thus "fish in troubled waters." Unquestionably, a great deal of credit goes to Klement Gottwald, president of the National Front government and party chairman, and his initiative, courage, perspicacity and decisiveness and exceptionally profound understanding of the connection between strategy and tactics, in the way in which the party showed itself at that time, its fast and decisive actions, leading the working people to the defense of the gains of the democratic revolution without a single shot being fired, forcing the counterrevolution to capitulate peacefully and democratically. His contribution to the development of events, to the fact that the plans for a putsch were exposed on time and wrecked with the help of the working people, and that the West was unable to turn back the development of socialism in Czechoslovakia and to tie it, once again, to the chariot of imperialism was decisive. The voice of Klement Gottwald was heard at that time from Prague's Staromestskaya Square, throughout the republic, like an alarm bell, and the people, in their majority, realized that the situation was critical, that there was great risk, and rose to the struggle against the

reactionaries, united and rallied like one. The will of the people won and, with it, the justice of socialism triumphed.

The position held by Gottwald in those memorable February days was an example of principle-minded and creative activity of a communist leader, a circumspect and courageous representative of the working class, who did not fear to assume responsibility when the interests of that class were threatened and when it was a question of defending the gains of the working people, which they had achieved after a long blood-shedding struggle. Understandably, this precisely was one of the main reasons for which subsequently, toward the end of the 1960s, some right-wing opportunists tried to cast aspersions on Gottwald and present his principle-mindedness and integrity in his struggle for the interests of the people and his boundless loyalty to the working class, Marxism-Leninism and the Soviet Union as being just about a mortal sin of some kind of "dogmatism" and "conservatism." It was thus that the right wing concealed its own status as a renegade. Vladislav Vanchura, our great writer and progressive modern novelist, who was killed by the fascists during the period of the so-called "Heidrichiade," himself emphasized that the new can be carried only by the star of communism and that in our century no true progress can be achieved outside of communism. Those who reject the principled positions of Marxism-Leninism and switch to the camp of the enemies of the first socialist country cannot consider themselves "modern thinkers" or "fighters for progress."

The truly historical greatness of Klement Gottwald lies in the fact that he marched in step with his time. He was in the leading ranks of those who had become aware of the universal historical significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution and Leninism and had drawn from this consistent conclusions for his country and for himself personally. As an opponent of meaningless phraseology, he studied social reality closely and each of its new phenomena. He never allowed himself to be guided by any kind of stereotype or ideological cliches. He addressed the working people in a language they understood well, not only because he was one of them, coming from the ranks of the working class, well familiar with its life, but above all because, on the basis of a scientific outlook, mastered thanks to persistent independent studies, he had been able to sum up their practical experience and point them in the right way.

Klement Gottwald died relatively young, at age 56. However, he left behind a great legacy, crowned with his work on the building of socialism presented at the 9th CPCZ Congress in 1949. It was also under his leadership that the initial steps were taken for the implementation of the program for building socialism--the development of industrialization, cooperativization of the countryside, the implementation of the Leninist cultural revolution, giving the people's masses access to the accomplishments of the human mind, science and technology and conditions for creative labor. However, even Gottwald, in the final period of his life, was unable to avoid what is now known as the cult of personality. Negative phenomena related to violations of socialist legality and the Leninist norms of party and state life and in the practice of building socialism intensified at the beginning of the 1950s.

A Leninist approach to party history demands the strictest truth. Years later, it is possible to assess with a great degree of objectivity the role which Klement Gottwald played in our latest history. Time proved that the tragic errors, which must not be belittled, were not and cannot strike out his exceptional merits and significance. Nevertheless, the assessment of the specific historical conditions of party activities and its leaders must be closely related to understanding the need, under the new circumstances, and in the interests of the future, systematically to struggle for principles of a universal nature. Nothing can justify the efforts to conceal negative phenomena and the unwillingness to draw lessons from the errors of the past. It is no accident that indecisiveness and fluctuations in their evaluation and, above all, the unwillingness to deal with them contributed to the outbreak of the crisis at the end of the 1960s. The right-wing opportunists and a variety of riff-raff grabbed at all of these painful problems, demagogically using them to attack socialism, to fan nationalistic feelings and anti-Soviet hysteria and to cast blanket aspersions on the entire historical path covered by the party.

Klement Gottwald's anniversary is an occasion to recall once again his behests addressed to the present. What are they mainly? Are they the fact that he was so greatly loved and continues to enjoy such a love today, although he has been dead for more than 30 years? Unquestionably, the reason is that he was one of the outstanding founders and leaders of a Leninist-type party, which carried out in our country a revolutionary mission and was the most progressive force in the difficult time of struggle against capitalism and for national freedom and the very existence of our homeland and for laying the foundations of socialism. He was an incorruptible and irreconcilable revolutionary, an experienced politician and state leader, guided above all by the basic interests and needs of the people, of our nations. He believed in what he said, in defending the interests of the working class and the people, fighting for such interests, making no concessions, not allowing disparities between words and actions. He was one person among millions, simple and modest. However, he did not blend with the crowd. He always marched ahead, regardless of danger, to which, because of his daring and firmness, he subjected himself and those close to him. It is thus that he helped to strengthen the moral authority of the party, of which the people judge not only by its program but by the dedication with which the communists are implementing this program, above all, those who must set the example--its leaders.

Gottwald's appeals, such as "forward, not one step back!," "Face the masses!," "By building the fatherland you strengthen the peace!," "Together with the Soviet Union always and forever!," and "Be united and decisive and your truth will win!" were not merely slogans. They were like a combat call which expressed firm will, decisive actions and dedication. We already pointed out the importance which Gottwald attached to the party's combat capability. He saw in its readiness to draw lessons from victories and defeats, in its ideological tempering and principle-mindedness, unity and discipline, based on high awareness, its ability steadily to develop (bolshevization is a continuing process!) and to respond to the new demands and requirements and to implement its plans and steadily to test the program against life a key to success by the revolutionary workers' movement and in building socialism.

He was one of those able to see in their entirety the hidden dangers which threaten a party when it becomes ruling. "Try not to lose your balance," Gottwald said, as recalled by his closest supporters. Bureaucratic administration was deeply alien to Gottwald who, even if he allowed it to happen, tried at least to neutralize it with a "party approach," tirelessly reminding the people that in a people's republic the institutions must serve the people and that there must be no place for bureaucrats, for new officials, for no one who would like to turn a responsible position into a profitable job. Unquestionably, one of the tragic aspects of the final years of his life was the fact that, like those we already mentioned, other negative phenomena, alien to his nature, became widespread regardless of his desire and efforts. The paradox was that the bearers of such phenomena were many of those who had experienced the harsh school of life and had come from the working class. Some of them subsequently had to pay the cost of bureaucratic arbitrariness and, in the course of time, found themselves in the ranks of most extreme critics but not of the distortions but of the socialist system itself.

Klement Gottwald bequeathed to us to watch over like the apple of our eye the purity of party ranks, the moral authority and the gains of the party. He bequeathed to us carefully to preserve and develop friendship with the Soviet Union and to strengthen the unity with its Leninist Communist Party. How topical are his words today: "We shall not allow any force to separate, to divide us from those who have always been for us, who liberated us, who helped us gain our freedom. We shall retain forever our loyal friendship with the Soviet Union and we shall thus forever protect our freedom and the independent Czechoslovak republic."

Today the responsible program adopted at the 17th CPCZ Congress, is the implementation of Gottwald's behests. It is a program of dynamic and accelerated socioeconomic development of our society, blossoming of culture and all-round strengthening of socialism, a program of struggle for social progress and peace. It was formulated under the direct inspiring influence of the Leninist course of the CPSU adopted at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and developed in detail at its 27th Congress. The reorganization, which is taking place as a result of the implementation of this course in the life of the CPSU and in Soviet society as a whole is to us as well a major incentive and an invaluable support in our further advance. We realize that our party earned the historical right of being the political, ideological and moral leader of society not only because of its great past but above all because of its creative revolutionary daring and principle-mindedness with which it is solving today the problems and the responsibility with which it is preparing to solve the problems of tomorrow.

We think of the accomplishments of leaders of the past, such as Klement Gottwald, assess their role and compare the times in which they lived with our own. Taking our great predecessors as an example, we are learning how to value the truth, not to yield to difficulties, and advance beyond the limits which restrained them in their time, eliminating prejudices and concepts which have failed to withstand the tests of time. Such comparisons may have different consequences: they could intensify both our doubts and our faith. In this case, they strengthen our conviction that the path we are following today is the true one. Each step forward multiplies our forces and increases

the value of what we gained in the past. Unquestionably, we shall solve the problems of the present "crucial" period, as well as the problems which are just beginning to face us, if we take into consideration the lessons of history and the valuable experience we have gained at such high cost. We shall solve them if we act responsibly, competently, in accordance with existing difficulties and the "miners' faith" (described by Julius Fucik, and which was the distinguishing feature of people like Gottwald) in the creative efforts of the toiling masses and the historical superiority of socialism and communism and the peaceful future of the peoples.

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## LENIN'S PARTY AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE CYPRIOT PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 86 (signed to press 20 Nov 86) pp 105-110

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

[Text] This year the progressive Cypriot public marks the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party, the worthy continuator and heir of which is the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), founded in 1941.

The great contribution of the CPR-AKEL in the national liberation struggle of the people against British colonial domination and in building an independent Cypriot state and repelling the intervention of imperialism, which is trying to turn the island into its military bridgehead in the Middle East, is greatly valued in the Soviet Union. The principle-minded line of AKEL in the just settlement of the Cypriot problem within the framework of a representative international conference, under United Nations aegis and strengthening peace in the Eastern Mediterranean, earned the profound respect of the Soviet people.

The CPC-AKEL, which is basing all of its activities on the inviolable principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and is struggling for the basic interests of the working people and actively participating in the anti-war movement, has become a mass party. Its influence among the people and prestige in the international labor and communist movements are growing steadily. The firm ties of friendship and cooperation between AKEL and the CPSU are strengthening.

A correspondent of this journal asked E. Papaioannou, the secretary general of AKEL, to describe the problems and tasks which are facing the party at the present stage and share his thoughts on the 27th CPSU Congress which he attended as a guest, and the significance of the documents adopted at the congress and the subsequent peace initiatives of the Soviet Union. Following is Comrade Papaioannou's answer.

It would no exaggeration to say that each congress of the CPSU--the leading party of the greatest country in the world, and the most progressive force

which, slightly less than 7 decades ago, inaugurated a new era in the history of mankind, is of tremendous importance. History itself is being made at such congresses, the decisions of which not only determine the destinies of the nations of the endless land of the soviets but also greatly influence the development of all mankind.

But even against such a background the 27th CPSU Congress holds a special position. Its decisions are consistent with the urgent requirements of the time and the present complex and contradictory and, in some respects, decisive situation, opening bright prospects to all mankind.

The gravity of the times experienced by the nations in the world was described as follows by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, in the political report to the Congress: "It is time to have a full understanding of the harsh realities of today: nuclear weapons conceal within themselves a storm which can wipe mankind off the face of the earth." "The world in which we live on the threshold of the third millenium," the report emphasized, "is a world full of hope, for never before have the peoples been so comprehensively equipped for the further development of civilization. However, even such a world, overburdened with dangers and contradictions, leads us to describe it as perhaps amost alarming period in history."

The land of the soviets, which was born of the October Revolution, was against war from the very first days of its existence, and has always remained a firm and consistent defender of peace. Peace and socialism are indivisible concepts and it is no accident that the first decree signed by the great Lenin after the victory of the revolution was precisely the Decree on Peace. Under the leadership of Lenin's party, the Soviet Union has remained loyal to the behests of its founder and has been justifiably acknowledged as the most consistent fighter for universal peace and international security. In its time it did everything possible to prevent World War II. When the war nevertheless broke out, at the cost of incalculable sacrifices the USSR, which gave mankind an example of nationwide heroism, played a decisive role in achieving victory over fascism and establishing peace, and in the creation of the United Nations as a collective agency for ensuring international security. Loyal to its Leninist course, the Soviet Union formulates as a basic principle in international relations that of peaceful coexistence among countries with different political and social systems. The struggle for its implementation has been embodied in hundreds of Soviet proposals and initiatives in the areas of disarmament and detente.

Mankind characterized the Soviet proposals on the reduction and total elimination of nuclear armaments and other mass destruction means by the year 2000, which M.S. Gorbachev formulated on 15 January 1986, as grandiose and capturing the imagination. These proposals, salutary to the future of mankind, were further supported and developed in the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress. These initiatives, as well as the extension of the unilateral moratorium imposed by the Soviet Union on all nuclear tests, strengthened the hopes of the peoples throughout the world of the possibility of avoiding the death of mankind and the fact that man would be able to cross the threshold of the 21st century with confidence in a bright future.

However, expressing the interests of the military-industrial complex of the United States, the American administration stopped at nothing, continuing to pursue an aggressive policy threatening all mankind. The uninterrupted nuclear explosions in Nevada prove Washington's scorn of world public opinion. They also prove to the peace-loving forces the need further to enhance their efforts. Today no one doubts that imperialism is increasing its efforts to perfect nuclear armaments and to achieve military superiority at all cost. This is also confirmed by the maniacal U.S. support of plans for the militarization of space with the help of the notorious "Star Wars" program. As a result of the stubborn refusal of the administration in Washington to review its positions on this matter, it became impossible to make binding the agreement on a reduction of armaments, reached at the recent Soviet-American summit in Reykjavik.

The aggressive nature of U.S. policy and the NATO military is also confirmed by the steady expansion of the network of military bases, the strengthening of armed forces and concentration of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons in Western Europe and in many other parts of the world. In Cyprus, which has become the victim of imperialist policy, although not acknowledging this openly, the United States has secured for its own use the very large base in Lefkoniko, on territory occupied by Turkish forces, and a naval base on the shore of Kyrenia, as well as missile launching pads in the mountainous area of Pentadaktylos and the Karpas peninsula.

The unrestrained arms race is continuing in the United States for the sake of preserving and increasing the superprofits extracted by a handful of merchants of death--the bosses of the military-industrial complex. The hegemonistic ambitions of the most reactionary circles of the U.S. ruling class, dreaming of military superiority and the possibility of dictating their will on the planet, are pushing the world to the edge of nuclear death. In the opinion of specialists, the arsenals of countries producing nuclear weapons have sufficient arms to annihilate mankind several times over. The absurdity of this situation, which appeared by the fault of imperialism, is that the huge funds spent on the creation and improvement of mass destruction weapons could have been fully used for the development of economically backward countries and in the struggle against hunger and poverty in the world.

It was pointed out at the Geneva summit between M.S. Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, in November 1985, that a nuclear war should never be unleashed and that no one could emerge from it as the winner. Consequently, the efforts of the ruling upper crust of the United States to achieve military superiority and its stubborn urging on of the nuclear arms race, with all the adverse consequences and tremendous dangers this entails, are deprived of any logic.

That is why mankind so angrily condemned the position assumed by President Reagan at the Reykjavik meeting. As the prisoner of the military-industrial complex and, because of this, continuing to insist on pursuing the "Star Wars" program, he bears full responsibility for the failure to achieve what could be the most important agreement in history, the possibility of which has become entirely real as a result of the new, constructive and far-ranging Soviet proposals.

Like all people of good will, the communists in Cyprus well remember the conclusion of the 27th CPSU Congress, which states that the threat of war is great but not fatal. "Our ideal is a world without weapons and violence, a world in which each nation will be able freely to choose its way of development and way of life," the CPSU Central Committee general secretary emphasized at the congress.

The people of Cyprus, who suffered from the aggressiveness and militaristic policy of imperialism, highly value and fully approve the Soviet peace initiatives. They also support the principle-minded stance of the Soviet Union on the creation of a comprehensive system of international security and the preventing imperialist military superiority. Such a position is not only patriotic and aimed at the good of the Soviet people but also truly internationalist, for it is consistent with the basic interests of the peace and independence of all peoples on earth.

By the fault of imperialism, the developing countries, inhabited by 2 billion people, have become an almost total area of poverty. As M.S. Gorbachev pointed out, the imperialist system continues to live largely at the expense of plundering the developing countries and their most pitiless exploitation. The forms and methods may change but not their essence.

A common method of exploitation of the developing countries today is granting predatory loans by imperialists and organizations they control, such as the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development. The indebtedness of such countries is increasing steadily and has already exceeded \$1 trillion, as a result of higher interest rates and strict repayment conditions. This is an debt which, as has been repeatedly proved, cannot be repaid although, in fact it was repaid a long time ago. Nevertheless, the foreign debts continue to increase steadily.

The peoples of the world perfectly realize that the Soviet Union has always been their firmest supporter and ally in their struggle for national independence and progress. The world public will never forget that more than a quarter of a century ago it was precisely on the initiative of the USSR that the United States adopted the Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Soviet Union has always truly assisted and is assisting the liberation struggle of the peoples. We, Cypriots, have frequently had the opportunity to realize this through personal experience.

Nor should we ignore the recent major Soviet political initiative--the 21 January 1986 declaration--which suggests principles for the just settlement of Cypriot problem. The fact that both the government and parliament of Cyprus unanimously welcomed this declaration proves its importance and its positive nature.

The Soviet declaration emphasizes that the just solution should ensure the independence, sovereignty, unity and nonalignment of Cyprus, the withdrawal of all foreign troops, removal of foreign bases and the total demilitarization of the country. It supports the solution of the domestic aspect of the problem by the people of Cyprus themselves through the offices of the United Nations and, the foreign problems, through the aegis of a UN conference.

In the great bolshevik tradition of supporting the struggling peoples, the 27th Party Congress of the Soviet communists asserted the "invariable solidarity of the CPSU with the forces of national and social liberation and its line of close interaction with countries with a socialist orientation, revolutionary-democratic parties and nonaligned movements..."

The contribution which the 27th CPSU Congress made to the general ideological treasury of the communists the world over is invaluable. It enriched the Marxist-Leninist theory of contemporary capitalism and contributed to the development of the theory of scientific socialism. The profound study of contemporary state-monopoly capitalism and the nature of multinational corporations, which contributed to the further intensification of the Leninist theory of imperialism, proves that imperialism is the highest and final stage of dying capitalism. In addition to the main contradiction between imperialism and real socialism, the congress also subjected to a scientific study the contradictions not only between imperialism and the so-called "third world" but also the internal contradictions among the three main centers of contemporary capitalism (United States--Western Europe--Japan), the intensification of the crisis and the breakdown of the capitalist system itself, its militarization and dehumanization.

The 27th CPSU Congress will be recorded in history not only for its most valuable resolutions in defense of peace and life on our planet. Its theoretical analysis and broad resolutions on accelerating progress toward socialism in the Soviet Union will become a landmark in building the new society. The present level of development and acquired experience and comprehensive power make it possible to reach a new stage in the socialist upsurge which will be characterized by almost doubling the national income and doubling and ensuring the qualitative transformation of the production potential of the land of the soviets.

In accordance with the trends of economic and social progress and the new edition of the CPSU program, this will be accomplished by applying the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution in production. Also important is the fact that the acceleration will be based on perfecting the economic management system, intensifying material and moral production incentives and increasing the socialist self-governing by the people.

This is a vivid manifestation of the new approach, based on the use of the creative initiative of the masses, which V.I. Lenin valued so highly. It is directly related to the further intensification of socialist democracy and collectivism and the further enhancement of the living and cultural standards of the multinational Soviet people.

In the course of the advance toward an increasingly developed socialist society, which is the logical stage on the way to communism, the shaping of a harmonious and socially active individual, combining spiritual wealth, moral purity and physical perfection, has always been the main objective. The Soviet people, raised in an altruistic and collectivistic spirit and on the principle of "one for all and all for one," in building their new, higher and most just society, are at the same time molding themselves as worthy of this all-round perfect society. A great deal was said about the 27th CPSU Congress

as being a congress of renovation, criticism and self-criticism. Yes, this was indeed a congress of innovators, a congress of change in thoughts and actions. Yes, it was a congress of sharp criticism and self-criticism. However, the sworn enemies of socialism and the Soviet Union are vainly trying to speculate on this and to fabricate anticommunist ideas. Any unprejudiced and honest person can clearly see that such criticism was by no means a rejection of socialism or of the policy of the Soviet Union. On the contrary, it was constructive, imbued with patriotism and faith in socialism, full of strength and confidence in itself and of the will to surmount difficulties and, naturally, it did not negate in any way what the land of the soviets had achieved in nearly 7 decades of development. The 27th CPSU Congress noted the errors and shortcomings but, along with them, indicated the efficient and realistic ways of surmounting them, so that the grandiose objectives of accelerating the further development of socialism in the Soviet Union may be reached. They will be attained, for the Soviet Union has the necessary material, technical and human resources to this effect.

The implementation of these objectives, let me reemphasize, is not only the patriotic duty of the Soviet people, contributing to the further strengthening of the socialist homeland and its well-being. The Soviet people are also thus performing a supreme international duty assigned to them by history: the duty to defend peace and life on our planet. The Soviet people are also implementing their international duty of defending the independence of the peoples and their inalienable legitimate right to decide their own fate. The stronger the Soviet Union becomes in all respects, having become the defender of the peace, freedom and progress of the peoples from the day it was founded, the more efficiently it will be able to perform this role and the more attractive will become the strength of its example which, like a beacon, indicates to the working people everywhere on earth the path to a happy future--socialism.

To us, Cypriot communists, the 27th CPSU Congress became a source of inspiration, a source of daring and optimism, despite the remaining the tragic situation in our country. By this we mean the already 13 years of Turkish occupation of 37 percent of Cypriot territory and the forced division of the island and its people, the problem of the missing refugees, and the growing military presence of the United States and its NATO allies on our soil.

Our people welcomed with enthusiasm and gratitude the Soviet suggestions of 21 January 1986 on the principles which would bring about a just settlement of the Cypriot problem, seeing in the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress the continuation and strengthening of the role of this great friendly country as the defender of justice in the interest of all nations. The demand for an international conference sponsored by the United Nations to solve the international aspects of the problem of Cyprus, as suggested by the Soviet Union, has now become the meaning of the struggle waged by the majority of the Cypriot people. AKEL, which has always supported this proposal, is urging it even further as a necessary prerequisite for a just and stable solution of the problem, for the good of our people as a whole and for the sake of peace in a vulnerable area of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East.

Like all revolutionary parties of the working class throughout the world, AKEL is learning from the treasury of ideas of the 27th CPSU Congress.

It is learning, above all, strength, courage, confidence and optimism in the struggle for freedom and peace and for the happy socialist future of our people. It is drawing renewed enthusiasm for the struggle for peace and ending the nuclear arms race on earth and its nonproliferation in outer space, and for increased participation in the growing universal movement which demands of the militarists to put an end to gambling with the fate of mankind. We realize more clearly than ever before the need to increase our efforts and to develop the struggle for closing down military bases on our island and the withdrawal of all foreign forces and for the island to become not a bridgehead to imperialist aggression but a bridge to peace in our area. This will be the best contribution which the progressive and patriotic forces of Cyprus can make to the struggle for peace and international solidarity.

In preparing for the opening of the 16th AKEL Congress, and celebrating this year the 60th anniversary of the CPC-AKEL, the Cypriot communists, who have always looked upon Lenin's party and the great socialist country with trust and fraternal friendship, are drawing from the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress lessons on how to preserve the party's ideological purity. For the communists, for a long time the testing stone of this purity has been the attitude toward the Soviet Union and loyalty and dedication to the invincible principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, which were applied on its soil.

Our confidence in the successful implementation of the highly humane and grandiose resolutions and objectives of the 27th CPSU Congress is based on the awareness that Lenin's party is at the head of the multinational Soviet people, a party which led them to exploits which amazed and inspired mankind. It is based on faith in the infinite possibilities of the Soviet people who have resolved to make their country even stronger and more prosperous and even more able to defend the peace and freedom of their own country and throughout the earth. We are deeply convinced that through their persistent efforts the Soviet people will lift even higher the torch of freedom which was lit by Lenin and which will illuminate the path of all working people on earth toward a society of peace, equality and fraternity--socialism and communism.

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## EXPERIENCE AND LESSONS FROM THE NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY WAR IN SPAIN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 86 (signed to press 20 Nov 86) pp 111-119

[Article by Ignacio Galiego, general secretary, Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain]

[Text] The year 1986 marked the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the national revolutionary war, in the course of which the tremendous majority of the Spanish people rose to the defense of legitimate republican and people's institutions and against General Franco's fascist mutiny, openly supported by Nazi Germany and Italian fascism.

The war lasted 3 years, and although no precise data on the number of casualties exist, the facts prove that about 1 million people died directly in combat, during military operations conducted against the civilian population, and in the course of the repressions mounted by the Franco regime.

The war in Spain triggered a broad repercussion and entailed major political consequences in Europe. To a large extent it was the threshold of World War II. Half a century later, the study of the events of those most difficult days remains a source of experience for the people's and revolutionary movements both in Spain and far beyond it.

### Popular Victory and Reactionary Mutiny

In February 1936, 6 months before the outbreak of the military-fascist mutiny, the elections for the Cortes (the Spanish parliament) were won by the Popular Front. The Popular Front rallied socialists, communists, anarchists, petit-bourgeois republican parties and political groups of nationalist from Catalonia and the Basque country. The program of the Front was moderate. Nevertheless, it was consistent with the vital interests of the working people and the other population strata. It included, among others, the demand for higher wages and freedom for political prisoners.

The victory of the Popular Front reflected the deep expectations of the broad population strata aspiring to social justice and freedom. This victory was achieved against a background of unparalleled actions by the popular masses, particularly only a few months after the general revolutionary strike in the

Asturias. The strike was drowned in blood by the African army--the forces of the Tercio Foreign Legion, brought from Spanish Morocco, and mercenaries commanded by General Franco.

No more than 10 percent of the deputies were communists, elected as part of the Popular Front ticket. The situation within the popular forces was characterized by major ideological and political differences. During the entire subsequent period they triggered deep contradictions. Nevertheless, the Popular Front was able, in the course of 3 years, to oppose the fascist rebels and, despite the civil war, to make deep social changes. This was made possible by two basic factors. First, the unity and firmness of the working class, which was tempered in the battles which preceded the July 1936 events and in during the armed opposition to the rebels; second, the increased role of the Communist Party which, expressing through its decisive actions the will of the toiling people, became the most popular and influential political force in the country.

The defeat of the Spanish people in the war against the fascist rebels does not refute in the least the rightness of the policy of alliances which we, communists, pursued during that period within the Popular Front. Conversely, unquestionably, this policy was justified under those circumstances and was a decisive factor in the resistance shown by the popular and democratic forces to the reactionary offensive.

The unitarian trends which were manifested in the Popular Front made it possible to make progress in unifying the workers within a single party. Two circumstances were of particular importance in this sense, and had a great political impact on subsequent events. As a result of the rapidly developing process of rapprochement between socialist and communist youth organizations, a single organization appeared, known as the United Socialist Youth (USY). In Catalonia socialist and communist organizations and two other Marxist parties merged within the United Socialist Party of Catalonia. In both cases, the new organizations were of a class-oriented nature, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and pursuing an internationalist policy.

Under the conditions of the extreme aggravation of the class struggle in the country, acting within the coalition, our party significantly strengthened its ties with the working people, with the popular masses, and broadened its political influence. The number of party members, which was 30,000 in February 1936, had reached 400,000 by 1939. The Communist Party became the staunchest supporter of the unity within the Popular Front, which relied on the anti-fascist unity of the working people and the broad popular masses. It was precisely the Communist Party that played a decisive role in the implementation of two of the most important tasks: raising a people's army and introducing profound changes on the territory under the control of the republican authorities. The merit of the communists in these main areas of activities of the Popular Front are unquestionable. Without the implementation of these two tasks there could not even be a question of organizing a resistance to reactionary forces or repelling the fascist menace.

The military-fascist mutiny broke out on 17 July 1936 on Moroccan territory under Spanish rule and, in Spain itself, on 18 July. It involved the majority

of the command corps of the armed forces and the best trained and combat-capable military units. The working people--communists and noncommunists--demanded from the very beginning weapons to oppose the rebels. Because of the inability of the government in power to anticipate and prevent the dangerous development of events, a new government was formed on 19 July, which met the demands of the people. It was thanks to this that the mutiny was suppressed in Madrid and a number of other places.

#### Course of Social Change and Opposition to Fascism

The broad mobilization of popular forces made it possible to set up battalions of people's militia, each one of which was related to the parties and organizations within the Popular Front. These battalions lacked a unified command and, in some cases, pursued exclusively party objectives. However, the territorial division of the country, which took place after the fascist mutiny, and the war which broke out, requiring the use of powerful combat ordnance raised most urgently the need to set up a real army. The militia organized by the Communist Party--the Fifth Regiment of the People's Militia--was the prototype and embryo of the future People's Army. Objections to an army were voiced essentially by the anarchists, whose ideological postulates hindered the need they had realized of having armed forces to defend the revolution. Despite this opposition, in the final account, common sense triumphed. A general staff was created as well as a unified command. The institution of political commissars was set up. Thanks to this, the people's army was able to organize a serious opposition to the rebels, an opposition which lasted until 1939.

Another substantial obstacle in the activities of the Popular Front was that of differences between those who believed that priority should be given to achieving military victory and those who considered "making a revolution" the primary target. This was a complex dilemma, theoretically as well as practically. As a result of the strengthening of the republican camp and the people's army, which had organized an armed resistance, conditions were established for implementing major social changes, particularly important among which was a radical agrarian reform. In this manner, the tasks of the armed resistance and the revolution proved to be closely interlinked.

The communist Vicente Uribe headed the Ministry of Agriculture from September 1936 to the end of the war. On 7 October 1936 the republican government promulgated a decree according to which the lands of those who had joined the rebels were expropriated and divided among the peasants. At their meetings, the peasants themselves decided how to divide them and to use them individually or collectively. By the middle of 1938 more than 5.5 million hectares had been expropriated, more than 3 million of which were for collective use.

In order to imagine to the fullest extent the significance of these changes, let us emphasize that the agrarian and financial oligarchy--that same social force which had historically blocked making a bourgeois-democratic revolution in Spain--was the main support of the rebels. The defeat of the popular forces in 1939 meant, in addition to everything else, a return to the previous situation in the countryside. At the same time, it brought about a

strengthening of the agrarian and financial oligarchy which for a long time held a leading position in the Franco dictatorial system. It was precisely this that determined the specific features of capitalist development in Spain, aggravating in our country particular aspects of the general crisis of capitalism. The point is that to this day the working class, the farm-hands in particular, are calling, in the course of their struggle, for agrarian reform and redistribution of land ownership.

Tremendous work was also done during the war in the area of culture. Hundreds of thousands of working people--men and women--previously deprived of the opportunity to obtain an education, learned to read and write during that time. As historian Pierre Vilar notes, "illiteracy was eliminated in plants, factories, trenches and hospitals." Brigades of noted men of culture addressed the troops, reading poems and staging performances. Hundreds of big and small newspapers became the guide of those who worked in factories and plants or fought on the fronts.

Gradually, the entire people realized the need to defend the works of art, architecture and sculpture, books and historical documents, considering them a tremendous wealth which had to be rescued from barbarism and war. This had been impossible in the past, for the ruling classes blocked the exposure of the broad popular masses to cultural values.

Profound social changes, the mobilization of the people in the struggle against fascism and the 3 years of armed resistance were made possible thanks to the fact that in addition to the republican governmental institutions, everywhere people's authorities--Popular Front committees--were set up. Initially some differences were noted in relations between these two forms of power. The main thing was, however, that the working people took up the defense of the republic as their own cause. Therefore, in the final account, the republic and people's powers began to act jointly, supplementing each other. It was only in Barcelona that major armed clashes occurred between anarchists and other leftist organizations on the one hand, and the republican authorities, supported by the other members of the Popular Front, on the other.

One of the distinguishing features of the people's regime, which developed in the republic of Spain, was the fact that they applied to all social strata, from settlements or residential districts to plants and factories. Another feature was the profoundly unitarian nature which made it possible for all the organizations within the Popular Front to join in the work. The Popular Front committees became the true authorities of the masses and it was through them that the working people in the cities, the farm-hands and the peasants gained, for the first time, the possibility of really participating in the country's political and economic life.

One such united body was the Madrid Defense Junta, which included representatives of parties and trade unions within the Popular Front and professional military, who had remained loyal to the republic. It was this junta that led the people of Madrid to a heroic struggle and defeated the offensive of the Franco forces. Unable to seize the capital of the state, they were forced to engage in a protracted warfare.

The communists formulated a slogan which has since become the symbol of any anti-fascist popular resistance: "They shall not pass!" The working class, the entire population of Madrid, were well aware of the tremendous political importance which the defense of the capital had in terms of the course of the war, and Madrid withstood. The city was occupied by the rebels only after the end of the military operations.

### International Solidarity

The decisive battle for Madrid took place from 6 to 8 November 1936. On the last day a big meeting was held in honor of the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. On 9 November the first international brigade of volunteers, who had joined the battle for the city, marched through the city streets.

The international brigades were one of the highest manifestations of proletarian internationalism. Men and women from several dozen countries, including Germany and Italy, whose armies were engaged in open intervention in support of the local fascists, took the side of the Spanish people in their struggle against barbarism. The Spanish working people will be forever grateful to the internationalists, those who fell or are still alive. Their example has left deep marks in the awareness of the Spanish working people who, having experienced the bitterness of defeat and forced to leave their country, joined in the struggle waged by the peoples of the world against fascism. In Europe they fought against fascism everywhere, from the ranks of the Red Army to the French Resistance.

In addition to the internal factors, the legitimate government of the republic and the Spanish people were able to repel the fierce attacks of domestic reaction and international fascism for 32 months with the help of the internationalist aid of the Soviet Union. Rivers of ink have flown on the subject of the international aspects of the war in Spain, both in our country and abroad. In this connection, let us consider a few facts which are well known but are frequently omitted in works claiming to provide a "neutral" overview. Both the German Nazis and the Italian fascists maintained closest possible contacts with the Spanish military leadership and the local fascists during the time that the mutiny was only being organized in our country. The specific manifestations of their intervention were not slow in coming. As early as 29 July 1936 Germans began to take part in building an air bridge along which the African army was being moved to the Iberian Peninsula. Starting with 6 August they took over the virtually entire management of this move. In turn, as early as 25 July the Italians sent 12 airplanes to Tetuan.

The Nazis organized the Condor Air Force Legion, consisting of 150 aircraft. With its help, rotating, no less than 100,000 people gained combat experience. This legion, which operated with the knowledge and agreement of the Franco command, was responsible for the bombing and destruction of Guernica, which the Spanish painter Pablo Picasso immortalized in his painting.

The Italian fascists sent to our country entire corps of infantry and tanks, officially numbering 70,000 people. Actually, their number was substantially

higher, for the strength of these corps was being steadily maintained. Italian aircraft bombed Barcelona in 1938.

In addition to direct intervention, the Nazis supplied Franco's army with substantial amounts of heavy and light arms, tanks and airplanes. All of this was nothing but real foreign intervention. It provided open support of the military who had mutinied against the democratic government which had been legitimately elected in the country and had been one of the charter members of the League of Nations.

The war in Spain developed against a background of growing fascist aggressiveness in Europe. Countries which subsequently entered the coalition which won in World War II held by no means identical views on supporting the legitimate government of the Spanish republic. Under those circumstances the help of the land of the soviets was of tremendous importance. The "nonintervention" agreement, which the European countries, including Germany and Italy, initialed in August 1936, was never observed by the fascists. In noting this fact, on 7 October the Soviet government declared that "unless violations of the nonintervention agreements are terminated immediately, it would consider itself free to ignore its stipulations."

The position held by the capitalist countries toward the war in Spain was controversial if not favorable to the rebels. Nowhere else but in England was the airplane which Franco used to fly from the Canary Islands to Africa, to head the mutiny, purchased. The official representative of the Franco forces was welcomed by official London. The United States supplied Franco with substantial amounts of petroleum and ammunition and granted him credits. France, which had a Popular Front government at that time, headed by socialists, assumed a hesitant position under British and local reactionary pressure. Despite the sharp criticism voiced by the communists and members of the progressive groups within the Popular Front, the L. Blum government (1936-1937) became one of the creators of the infamous "nonintervention" policy. According to this policy, the legitimate authorities of the republic of Spain were, among others, prohibited from transporting weapons they had purchased across the Franco-Spanish border. As a result, the republic of Spain found itself helpless. In the final account, the result of the "nonintervention" policy was that hundreds of thousands of Spanish refugees, who had crossed the French border after the fall of the republic, were thrown into concentration camps and kept there under inhuman conditions.

Therefore, in addition to the participation of the international brigades, it was only Soviet aid that was effective and significant on the side of the Spanish republic. It not only helped to improve the combat capability of the republic and organizationally to strengthen the popular army but also infinitely enhanced the reputation of Lenin's homeland among the working and all Spanish people, popularizing the ideals of the October Revolution and creating unbreakable internationalist ties which are alive to this day, despite all unsuccessful efforts of anti-Sovietism from the right and the "left." The cohesion and the heroic struggle waged by our party and Soviet loyalty to the cause of the Spanish people and their republic enhanced the prestige of communist ideas not only in Spain but also far beyond it.

## Present-Day Tasks

The social and economic conditions which brought about the conflict on Spanish soil between the forces of reaction and democracy half a century ago are quite different today. Spain today is an industrially developed country in which the share of agriculture and the number of farm-hands have declined significantly. The dominating position among the bourgeoisie is held essentially by the financial oligarchy and circles closely related to international monopoly capitalism. The penetration of multinational corporations in the Spanish economy is particularly energetic in key sectors such as food production, automation, advanced technology, etc. This penetration is continuing to grow at a very fast rate.

The defeat of the working class in the civil war led to the increased exploitation of the working people and greatly determined the further course of economic development. The availability of extensive and inexpensive manpower eliminated the need for new technology. The agrarian counterreform led to the increased impoverishment of the rural population, forcing millions of daily workers and small peasants to emigrate, depriving Spanish agriculture of the possibility of ensuring the country's independent food production. The financial oligarchy concentrated essentially on speculative capital investments, farming out to foreign capital key industrial sectors.

The working class became the victim of bloody reprisals. Its organizations were splintered and subjected to most cruel persecution. The Communist Party was the only political organization whose activities within the country remained uninterrupted throughout the entire 40 years of Franco dictatorship. Initially fighting with arms in partisan detachments and, subsequently, when the international political circumstances changed and Spain's economic development assumed new forms, participating in the re-creation and organization of a labor movement and in the political struggle waged by the masses.

The experience of the war and the most difficult struggle waged against Franco convinced the Spanish working people of the need for unity. We, communists, have always aspired toward it, occasionally even compromising on the leading role which is justifiably ours as an organized force and an active participant in the struggle. The struggle for unity had its ups and downs and errors were made. After the war, however, the aspiration for unity shown by the working people--socialists and communists--was opposed by the position held by the social democratic leadership, which was against any agreements with the communists. Nevertheless, unity among the Spanish working people remains our permanent objective without which no profound social change is possible.

We are marking the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the war on Spanish soil under circumstances of an aggravating crisis of capitalism which in Spain is further worsened by the specific circumstances of its economic and political development. More than 3 million working people, i.e., more than 20 percent of the active population, are doomed to unemployment. The hiring of workers on the basis of unspecified conditions or on a part-time basis has become widespread. Spain's membership in the EEC severely hit entire industrial and agricultural production sectors.

"Eurocommunism" threw the Spanish communists into a deep crisis, and the leftist parties came out weakened. Our efforts to rally left-wing forces and restore a single influential Communist Party which Spain needs today, a party based on principled class-oriented positions, creatively and accurately applying Marxist-Leninist theory under the new circumstances and adopting the best internationalist traditions of the working people and the Spanish communists, have already yielded important results. However, they are still modest compared to the tasks facing us.

Under these circumstances, the 50th anniversary of the national revolutionary war assumes special political and ideological significance. Politically, steps dedicated to this anniversary are laying the grounds for meetings and joint actions on the part of the broad circles of leftist forces, also contributing to exposing the rightist trends in the policies of the government and the leadership of the Spanish Socialist Labor Party (SSLP), currently in power.

More than 50 organizations which have included, from the very beginning, the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain, and other political and trade union organizations, cultural unions, the veterans of the struggle, and others have set up an organizational commission in charge of organizing the events related to this anniversary. The main work will take place during the autumn and winter. Celebrations in the course of which the Spanish people will honor the international brigades are assuming particular significance.

For a long time, one of the trends in the ideological struggle waged by the bourgeoisie against the class awareness of the working people was to forget the origins, development and consequences of the war and its national and class nature, and the role which the various social strata and political forces played in it, under the pretext of forgetting the horrors of the conflict of the past. Actually, it is a question of efforts to eradicate from the memory of the young generations an entire page of the history of class battles in our country, battles which are extremely instructive and were imbued with the best traditions of the struggle waged by our people for their independence and freedom.

The attitude of the present government toward steps related to this noteworthy anniversary is two-faced. The biggest newspapers, which express the views of the various bourgeois strata, including EL PAIS, the pro-government newspaper, dedicated special articles to the 50th anniversary. These are efforts to emasculate the class-oriented nature of the war in Spain and, particularly, to belittle the role which the communists played in the unification of the republican camp and in organizing the resistance to the rebels. Measures dedicated to the anniversary are becoming an important element in the ideological struggle and the efforts which we, communists, are making to rebuild the left-wing forces in Spain.

For example, our efforts have been embodied in the activities of the International Camp, sponsored by the Young Communists Associations--the CPNI Youth Organization. This event met with broad response in Spain. Its main topic was the 50th anniversary of the founding of the United Socialist Youth. The anniversary of this event is closely related to the history of the war in

Spain. The organization of such a camp was in itself a suitable opportunity for nearly 1,000 young Spanish participants and delegations from 11 countries to discuss topics such as "Youth and the Struggle Against Fascism" and "Youth and Peace."

From the ideological viewpoint, the possibility arises of discussing with broad circles of working people and leftist forces as a whole basic problems the solution of which will determine the process of rebuilding the leftist forces. Ideological discussions among communists themselves as well will, unquestionably, be of great importance.

Some of the problems to be discussed include those of the democratic revolution, unity among the working people and the policy of alliances promoted by the communists, proletarian internationalism, problems of power under the conditions of the development of profound social changes, the role of the Communist Party and others. The problem of peace is of decisive significance in the present difficult international situation, as it was in 1936-1939.

#### Intensifying the Struggle for Peace

Naturally, the situation in the world arena today is entirely different from what it was during the period of the war in Spain. The main distinction is the existence of a powerful community of socialist states and the fact that former colonies gained their independence and took the path of autonomous historical creativity. Nevertheless, the threat of war remains, with its incomparably worse consequences to mankind, its very existence, compared with World War II.

Those who participated in the battles against fascism in Spain were fully justified in considering them the threshold of a big war. It so happened that earlier than the other peoples in Europe, the Spaniards experienced the type of barbarism which the fascist aggressors were able to inflict, conspiring with their allies within the country. The terrible experience of those years strengthened our support of peace and solidarity with all nations victims of imperialist aggression.

Once again, through its thoughtless policy, the American administration is sowing the wind of war. The nuclear arms race unleashed by the United States, efforts to militarize space, the global policy of social revenge, the armed aggressions against Grenada, Libya and Nicaragua, and steady hostility toward Cuba are the manifestations of a foreign policy course based on the hegemonistic ambitions of today's Washington rulers. The Spanish people are actively fighting for peace, for pulling our country out of the aggressive NATO military bloc and the closing down of American bases on our territory. The Soviet peace initiatives, including the proposals for a gradual nuclear disarmament, and the decision of unilateral extension, for a fourth time, of a moratorium on nuclear tests met with the support of the broad circles of the Spanish public.

The irresponsible position of the Reagan administration at the recent Soviet-American summit in Reykjavik caused tremendous disappointment in the Spanish

popular masses and in the peace-loving public throughout the world. At that meeting, displaying daring and far-sightedness and true concern for the destinies of mankind, the Soviet Union formulated specific and interrelated proposals, carefully balanced from the viewpoint of the interests of the parties to the talks and the entire community of states. Based on the principles of equality and identical security, they ensured a solution to the basic problems of reducing and eliminating nuclear armaments. The Soviet proposals, which triggered the admiration and such great hopes among all people of good will, embodied a new approach, a new way of thinking, the need for which is dictated by the realities of the nuclear missile age.

However, no success was achieved in converting the practical agreement on the most important problems of global politics, of vital significance to all mankind, into agreements binding the parties. The only reason for this failure was the U.S. aspiration of stubbornly implementing its militaristic "Star Wars" program and, consequently, the continuation of the race for new types of armaments. It is thus that the present administration in Washington proved, one more time, to all nations its lack of readiness to reach an agreement on eliminating the threat of nuclear war. It became even more obvious that the multi-billion profits to be extracted from SDI and the further encouragement of the arms race, to the benefit of the aggressive militaristic circles of the monopoly bourgeoisie in the United States, whose interests are represented by today's Washington leadership, are much more important than the defense of peace and the salvation of the present and future generations from total destruction by the flames of a nuclear war.

The Spanish people who, arms in hand, defended their gains and the freedom of their people and national independence to the utmost in 1936-1939, fully realize that today the reappeared threat of war should be countered by the broadest possible offensive mounted by the peoples in defense of peace and against the aggressive policy of imperialism, which is the only source of the threat of a nuclear cataclysm.

The best way in which we can celebrate the 50th anniversary of the national revolutionary struggle against fascism is by intensifying the struggle for peace.

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## THE LENINIST SCIENCE OF BUILDING SOCIALISM

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[Review by S. Volodin of the book "V.I. Lenin o Sotsialisticheskom Stroitelstve" [V.I. Lenin on Building Socialism]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 463 pp]

[Text] During crucial moments in history, the entire difficulty and art of politics, in the familiar Leninist expression, is to take into consideration the characteristic features of this transition and, therefore, to restructure approaches to the work, to adapt to the new conditions "party knowledge and party awareness," and properly to define the most urgent, the most vital, the most topical task and concentrate on it "all the forces of all working people, of the entire nation" (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 40, pp 104-143; vol 44, p 194).

There have never been nor are there any direct analogies in history. The external "similarity" of events is most frequently misleading. Each step forward in social development triggers new questions and forces us to take a new look even at that which has long become customary. However, Marxist-Leninists have never considered the groundlessness of drawing direct historical parallels as scorning experience or a lightweight attitude toward its lessons. The true similarity among specific historical situations and, therefore, among tasks, methods or means of solving them, is determined by the comparability of the nature of the ages and periods under consideration, their type and the continuity of objectives and ideals of the communists and of their specific thinking and acting methodology. That is what makes so important and valuable to us the fruitful experience in building a new world in the first crucial post-October years. That is why today, during our constructive restructuring and radical renovation we deem so necessary Lenin's advice and analysis of crucial situations in our socialist history.

Lenin's theory of building socialism is not a code of frozen systems and rules and prescriptions applicable to all cases in life. It is a science to which we must turn as such, i.e., which must be studied and creatively developed and applied. It is precisely thus that the collection under review, recently published by Politizdat, helps us to approach Lenin's legacy. It has systematized the statements made by the leader of the October Revolution and

the founder and head of the first worker-peasant state in the world on key problems of building socialism. Naturally, similar books have been published in the past as well. However, this work is substantially different from its predecessors. Fragments of Lenin's works have been put together in such a way as to highlight with extreme clarity the topical nature of their concepts and, at the same time, avoid the superficial, the simplistic approach, the efforts to make today's processes fit "old formulas," and to encourage the reader himself to undertake the profound study of prime sources. The collection is aimed at students and propagandists within the political and economic education systems and anyone who is studying problems of contemporary CPSU strategy related to the implementation of the course of acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. The work comes equipped with a detailed topic index and each of its sections has a special introductory article, the purpose of which is to guide the independent work of the reader and to help him find his way in the infinite vastness of Lenin's mind.

The main guideline which provides us a key to the concept of building socialism, described in the book, is Lenin's idea of socialism as a developing society, built through the live creativity of the people's masses, a society whose objective is the all-round identification of human possibilities.

"...It is important to realize," Lenin wrote on the eve of the October Revolution, "how infinitely false is the ordinary bourgeois concept that socialism is something dead and frozen, something given once and for all, whereas in fact it is only with socialism that the fast, real and truly mass movement ahead, in all areas of social and personal life, can begin with the participation of the majority of the population and, subsequently, the entire population" (p 63). This ever-accelerating movement, to cite Lenin, "eliminates all the old obstacles and destroys obsolete ways, leading the working people on the road to independently making a new life" (p 134). Along that way the stereotyped concepts of socialism as the kingdom of cliches, monotony and grayness are destroyed. "Variety...is a guarantee of vitality," Vladimir Ilich noted at one point (p 138). Unity in what is basic, radical and essential is not disturbed but secured through variety in details, in local characteristics and ways and approaches to the matter, which is what distinguishes a living and developing from a dead and ossified social organism.

The struggle between the new, which is developing, and the old which is departing, which is inherent in anything that lives, is also inherent in the developing socialist society. It is manifested most clearly at sharp turns in history when, in Lenin's words, we cannot do without the strongest possible "pitching," without a period of experimentation and considerations of the choice of new means consistent with the new objective situation. At such times we must show proper persistence in order to try hundreds and thousands of new approaches, ways and means of struggle so that we may choose the most suitable among them and determine the extent to which such new means are "socialist" or "communist," and the extent to which they are contributing to the reorganization and strengthening of our system and to its progress. For socialism, Vladimir Ilich reminds us, "must accomplish this movement forward in its own way, through its own means or, more specifically, through Soviet means" (p 142). Lenin condemned any chasing after imaginary pseudonovelties.

He opposed self-proclaimed workers who "fabricate something particular and wise and justify themselves by saying that the new economic policy must fabricate something new. Meanwhile, they fail to carry out their assignments" (p 124). In calling for the reorganization of all party and soviet work under the conditions of the NEP and emphasizing the radical and novel nature of this crucial situation, he cautioned that, here as well, "the communists must think things out," that it is not necessary in the least "to start reorganizing right and left," and to replace reorganization of the work with the reorganization of institutions (see pp 92, 98, 120-121).

Building socialism, which, as described by Lenin, is an "extraordinarily difficult matter," offers the broadest possible opportunity for realizing the creative potential of man and his spiritual and moral growth. It is only the building of socialism that makes it possible, on an increasing scale, "to prove oneself, to develop one's capabilities and talents," or, in other words, "to feel oneself a person" (p 133). Therefore, from the very first days of the Soviet system, for these words were included in Lenin's article "How to Organize the Competition?," written in December 1917, a clear idea was provided of the humanistic trend of the new social system oriented toward the individual, his needs, interests and objectives. From the onset this system was based on the programmatic principles of the Communist Party and Marx's ideal of the free development of one as a prerequisite for the free development of all. From the very first steps in the implementation of its social policy, bolshevism and the young Soviet republic tried "to make the life of all working people the easiest possible, offering them the opportunity for well-being. Socialism alone can accomplish this, Lenin said at the First All-Russian Congress of Soviets of the National Economy, on 26 May 1918. "We know that it must accomplish this and the understanding of this truth constitutes the entire difficulty of Marxism and its entire strength" (p 241).

However, there was a long and difficult path to be crossed from the proclamation of this humanistic principle to its practical implementation. The ideal of the future, Engels himself had noted, becomes "a historical necessity only when the material conditions for its implementation become available...by virtue of some new economic conditions" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 20, p 292). The current production and spiritual potential of the country and the acceleration of its socioeconomic development make necessary and possible substantial progress toward attaining this objective and enhancing the well-being of the Soviet people to a qualitatively new level worthy of the citizens of a socialist society.

In order for the person "to be able to feel himself a person," ensuring an adequate level of material well-being is insufficient. Also necessary are favorable conditions for the all-round development of the individual and the creative forces of man, which is possible only on the basis of the development of a democracy which would imbue all levels of the socialist social system. Lenin related laying the foundations for socialism to the "democratic building of all governmental life, from top to bottom," and efforts "to find the most advanced political form" of organizing the people who govern the state themselves (see p 274). This form of organization was found by the toiling masses themselves. The soviets became the legitimate final authorities of the state system. However, it would be improper to restrict the area of

development of democracy within socialist society merely to the sphere of political relations. Lenin's speech "What is the Soviet System?" was recorded in the spring of 1919. In simple terms, clear to all, Vladimir Ilich described the essence of the concept of socialist democracy and people's self-government. The Soviet system, he said, allows the previously oppressed masses "to increasingly assume in their hands the entire management of the state and the economy, the entire management of the production process" (p 284). In order to accomplish this, the working person who was given proprietary rights in October 1917 must feel that he is actually not only the proprietor of his plant but a representative of the entire country. Lenin firmly opposed primitive anarcho-syndicalist concepts of the implementation by the workers of economic functions in production. He described "any direct or indirect legitimizing of the ownership of an individual factory or special production facility by an individual profession" the "greatest distortion of the basic principles of the Soviet system and the total abandonment of socialism" (p 278). Any large-scale machine industry, i.e., the material, the production source and foundation of socialism, Ilich taught, demands the unconditional and strictest possible unity of will, guiding the joint work of hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands of people (see p 152). Only thus would it be possible to eliminate the old petit bourgeois customs--"splintered labor, and mistrust in the public economy" (p 163).

This developing Leninist idea became the theoretical foundation of the subsequent growth of the Soviet economy and its enhanced efficiency. In the course of this tremendous project, creative use is being made of the ideas of the tax in kind; all levers which contribute to increasing "production above all and at all cost" (199) are being applied. This includes, above all, individual interest, mastering the tools of commodity-monetary relations and promoting cooperation. Today, when the scale of economic restructuring is expanding in the country on the basis of scientific and technical progress, new economic management methods and extensive development of the initiative and autonomy of labor collectives, and when qualitative improvements are taking place in production relations, the "value" of these methodological Marxist-Leninist instructions rises sharply.

The humanistic nature of Lenin's concept of building socialism is clearly manifested in the principles of the international policy of the Communist Party and Soviet state as well, which were formulated in those distant post-October years. A separate section in the collection deals with them. Stubbornly struggling for a breathing spell of peace in the spring of 1918, the bolsheviks linked the acceleration of social progress to attaining two inseparable objectives: the creation of a socialist society and a durable and just peace among nations (see p 431). Lenin's assessments, cited in the book, convincingly prove that systematically implementing all obligations dictated by loyalty to the principles of international solidarity among workers in all countries in their struggle against the forces of capitalism and for socialism, the Bolshevik Party proceeded in international realities from the need to live "within a system of countries which, in terms of each-other, maintain a state of political balance" (p 435), which means the need to build and maintain correct and civilized intergovernmental relations, which would be inconceivable without the firm pursuit of a peaceful policy, which would include sensible concessions. Only thus, Lenin believed, would the real

opportunity appear of dedicating oneself truly to the cause of economic building and "working calmly, firmly and confidently over a longer period of time" (p 436). He considered this the prerequisite for and successful implementation of the international mission of socialism, which is called upon to prove its advantages not through the force of arms but through the dynamic development of the economy, science and culture and upgrading the living standard of the working people and intensifying socialist democracy. "We have said and are saying that 'socialism has the strength of the example,'" Vladimir Ilich pointed out. "Violence has its power in the case of those who would like to restore their own power. However, it is this that ends the value of force. It is influence and example that matter subsequently. We must prove the value of communism in practical terms, with examples" (p 449).

What are the qualities needed by the bolsheviks to achieve the full attractiveness of the example of socialism and of the communist ideal? Lenin's answer to the question was the following: we need greater endurance, greater patience, greater persistence, greater stubbornness, more systematic work and greater art of organization. Lenin fought to the death against Oblomovism, slackness, carelessness, slovenliness, inaccuracy, the tendency to talk instead of work, take up everything and finish nothing, and the aspiration to take more and give less to society, considering their defeat a prerequisite for the victory of the new system.

In one of his last public speeches, in defining the task of mastering the lessons of the first 5 years of the Russian revolution, Vladimir Ilich said: "...We must, above all, learn how to read, write and understand what we have read..." (p 191). In leafing through the pages of the history of building socialism and trying to grasp the meaning of Lenin's writings, we must, above all, learn how to understand what we have read and apply this great ideological legacy in the course of the profound revolutionary changes in all realms of life of our society.

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## CONSULTATION WITH THE READERS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 86 (signed to press 20 Nov 86) pp 123-127

[Report by V. Romashov and N. Tyurin. Evaluation of the work of KOMMUNIST by Leningrad's scientific public]

[Text] Live and direct contacts with the readership have always been one of the fundamental traditions of our party press. The task of strengthening ties with the readers and comprehensively and objectively taking their opinion into consideration regarding the topics and quality of publications was also formulated in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST."

On 29 October 1986 the editors held a conference with the readers at Leningrad State University imeni A.A. Zhdanov. The conference was attended by social scientists from many VUZs in the city, scientists from academic institutes (humanities and natural sciences), associates of the Party History Institute of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom, post-graduate and undergraduate students and publishing house personnel. Since the meeting took place at the Institute for Advancing the Skill of Social Science Teachers of LGU, it was attended by students from virtually all union republics, for which reason we could say that the scale of this conference substantially exceeded the regional level.

The meeting was conducted by Dr of Historical Sciences A. Degdtyarev, head of the Science and Schools Department, Leningrad CPSU Obkom. I. Frolov, KOMMUNIST editor in chief, spoke on the activities of the journal after the 27th CPSU Congress and its future plans.

### Maximal Attention to Basic Problems

What is mainly exciting the public today? What are the main questions the answers to which it seeks in the journal? According to the statements of the participants in the conference, they include, above all, developing a new way of thinking in science, the consistent and unconditional rejection of ossified dogmata in the attitude toward life and practical experience, schematism in research and the hypnosis of past experience. In our view, typical in this sense was the address by V. Marakhov, professor and head of the Historical Materialism Department, Department of Philosophy, of Leningrad State University.

As the speaker emphasized, the fact that KOMMUNIST is turning to the readers for advice is by no means merely a gesture of respect. The point is that at the present stage in the life of society, which is quite complex in terms of its study, progress and substantial results can be achieved only through joint forces. In Marakhov's opinion, it is the area of social relations, the study of specific types of appearance and functioning of these various relations among social communities and groups within Soviet society, in all possible areas of activities, that must draw the prime attention of social science and, consequently, of the journal. It is very important in this case not to follow traditional concepts and accept them mindlessly as the truth. For example, in studying the problem of social contradictions, on each separate occasion we must determine the extent to which one contradiction or another is a source of development and what, specifically, is its motive force. In describing the Leningrad experiment of integrating the efforts of scientists participating in work on the comprehensive program "Man, Scientific and Technical Progress and Social Relations: Acceleration," V. Marakhov suggested that the journal pay maximal attention to the specific means of organizing scientific forces to work jointly on the most important problems of the social sciences.

V. Fetisov, docent, Department of Scientific Communism, IPK, noted that of late the journal has noticeably enhanced its activities in covering problems of political economy and economic policy, which has met with a favorable response by the readers. However, the number of articles on philosophical problems and scientific communism is clearly insufficient. This is regrettable, for in this area as well a number of problems have accumulated, awaiting their interpretation. For example, it is difficult today to find serious works on the interconnection and interaction among structural components of Marxism-Leninism at the present stage. The belief is that the correlation among philosophy, political economy and scientific communism, which appeared at the onset of Marxism, remains unchanged. But is this the case? Ignoring the specific nature of each one of these disciplines and the persistent absolutizing of their unity and commonality actually lead to the fact that, for example, for nearly one quarter of a century the topic of scientific communism as a science has been the subject of a sluggish discussion, with no end in sight. According to V. Fetisov, such problems should not be ignored by KOMMUNIST.

The statement by Professor V. Yelmeyev, head of the Applied Sociology Department, Leningrad State University, and professor O. Tatarov, deputy director of the Institute of Party History, Leningrad CPSU Obkom, dealt with the relevant and crucial subject of giving a new content to formulas which, as a result of frequent use, have turned not into an actively operating concept but, rather, a kind of concession to good manners. In particular, the view was expressed that the interpretation of the concept of "dialectics of production forces and production relations" remains superficial and treated on an elementary level. According to V. Yelmeyev, it would be impossible to "discover" anything new in this problem with such an approach; it hardly deserves such great attention to the detriment of other problems related to the acceleration of our development, dictated by social practice.

O. Tatarov cited as an example his experience of intercourse with students of CPSU history. It is true that there is no shortage of textbooks, monographs

and articles dealing with this important sector of the social sciences. However, both teachers and students are experiencing today a great deal of difficulty, for nothing essentially new has come out in the development of this topic in recent years. For example, if we consider the fifth article of the editorial cycle published in KOMMUNIST on the topic of the creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the party, developed at the 27th CPSU Congress, the novelty here could be largely reduced to an expanded comment of changes in party statutes. Yet definitions such as the increased leading role of the CPSU, party collective thinking, and development of the principle of democratic centralism must be supported with extensive scientific arguments. The journal and its writers are as yet to deal with this matter.

Those present at the conference were particularly interested in the articles published in the journal on topical problems of political economy, the role of the social sphere and improvements in the economic mechanism. Debates frequently broke out in the course of the meeting on specific publications (the articles by T. Zaslavskaya, O. Latsis, S. Shatalin, V. Kirichenko and others). Lack of space prevents us from giving details of this very interesting debate, which involved M. Popov, docent, Political Economy Department, IPK; V. Fedorov, docent, Petrozavodsk State University, G. Gorlanov, dean of the Economics Department, Leningrad State University; Professor A. Malafeyev, Political Economy Department, Leningrad Engineering-Economics Institute imeni P. Togliatti, and others. Let us emphasize that this topic triggered the most lively exchange of views and sharp formulation of problems. Indicative from this viewpoint was the statement by Academician Zh. Alferov, head of laboratory at the Physics-Technical Institute imeni A.F. Ioffe, who, among others, said:

"The time has come when no one among us can stand aside from the vital problems of the economy. Let us consider the price-setting mechanism, many of whose items have become obsolete and must be radically revised. In our laboratory we deal with semiconductor and solar energy, which are the most promising and ecologically purest way of obtaining energy under present circumstances. However, in order to speak of the extensive development of this area we must be familiar at least with the cost per peak kilowatt of generating capacity by solar electric power plants and the technology used in generating it. However, no single economist in an academic or sectorial institutes would be able today to provide an objective method for determining costs. We are given very disparate figures. Obviously, we cannot deal with directive-issuing organizations on the subject of long-term developments with such economic reasoning...."

A number of specific suggestions were addressed to the journal, aimed at broadening and deepening the treatment of economic problems. Let us name but a few: consideration of the correlation between the principles of self-financing and, consequently, of the autonomy of labor collectives and the linear methods of economic management (G. Gorlanov); objectivity of statistical accounting methods (A. Malafeyev); and manifestations of the law of value in the production of consumer goods and services (V. Fedorov).

## A Person With a Big Plan

"In describing my studies in our ministry, I was asked: 'Integral personality? Personality is nothing but a word....' However desirous they may be, neither political economists nor other economists can speak of the human personality as an integral category, for their function is to consider relations between producers and consumers...."

This quote was from the statement by S. Minakova, docent at the Philosophy Department, Leningrad Mining Institute imeni G.V. Plekhanov. A polemical sharpness and emotionality were inherent in other statements made by the participants in the conference in discussions concerning the sociological and psychological aspects of topics discussed in KOMMUNIST. The readers noted and, as a whole, positively rated the journal's section "Everything Within Man--Everything For Man." In their view, however, the possibilities in this area are much greater than results. The range of problems related to the increased role of the human factor is truly tremendous. Here as well, our readers emphasized, it is very important to consider any problem related to the acceleration of socioeconomic development and the spiritual enhancement of Soviet people on a comprehensive and specific basis, relying on practical experience and taking into consideration the complexity and variety of manifestations of the personality and the ways in which the individual develops as a citizen.

For example, Professor B. Parygin, head of sector at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Problems, considers as one of the roots of scholasticism in the social sciences neglect of the simple old thought that man is the sum and measure of all things. To a greater or lesser extent, all of us owe something to this most important set of problems. Omissions must be energetically corrected. As to the journal, its publications should make more purposeful use of the potential of sociology and social psychology.

Professor V. Ivanov, head of the Ethics and Aesthetics Department, Leningrad State University, who discussed specific articles in KOMMUNIST on topics related, one way or another, to moral aspects, emphasized the following: the readers expect of the journal not enumerations of facts, figures and names but a deep interpretation of complex phenomena in the spiritual area of our contemporaries and the study of factors which influence the shaping of the life stance of a person. In addition to journalistic witticisms, theoretical summations on this topic are also needed.

For example, a large number of articles claim that the school reform is frequently "spinning its wheels." Why is this nationwide project developing quite differently from what was expected? In this connection, he recalled an article which was written quite some time ago by Leningrad scientist I. Kon, who said that a school reform is necessary; it is an important task. However, we must not forget that the school is the mirror of society and that its problems are a reflection of social problems. Unless such problems are solved, we would be unable to accomplish anything in the school. This article was not published in KOMMUNIST. We would like to hope, V. Ivanov emphasized, that the journal will give preference to precisely such materials in which the analytical study of the essence of major problems is clearly expressed.

Our contemporary, who is at the cutting edge of the restructuring, must be free from any stupefying influences, whether alcohol, mysticism or religion. Such was the basic thought expressed in the statement by Professor N. Gordiyenko, head of the Department of Scientific Atheism, Leningrad State Pedagogical Institute imeni A.I. Herten. In particular, he suggested to the editors to depict in a number of articles the relevance of Lenin's criticism of dangerous phenomena such as God-seeking and God-building. We, the speaker noted, have become accustomed to consider this problem on an academic-historical level. Yet we have today an outbreak of God-seeking trends among some circles of the intelligentsia. This is confirmed by a number of recent publications. The polemics between Lenin and Gorkiy and Lunacharskiy on the attitude of Marxism toward religion provides us with unfading models of a strictly scientific party-oriented and principle-minded attitude toward conscious or subconscious delusions on the part of men of culture.

In discussing the growing influence of ecological problems on all areas of human activities, A. Alimov, docent, CPSU History Department, Leningrad Institute of Soviet Trade imeni F. Engels, recommended that the journal start a special rubric on the theoretical and practical aspects of environmental protection activities. What arguments were cited in favor of this suggestion, considering that newspapers and journals, as well as specialized publications, frequently include sections on ecology? First, according to A. Alimov, the group of ecological problems has reached today to a level of national importance and the prestige of KOMMUNIST would lend great support to its treatment. Second, it is precisely in such a journal that it would be suitable to analyze the experience in socialist use of nature in terms of practical experience and problems. This experience is truly unique. Our society has been able to solve a large number of tremendous ecological problems. The practice of socialist use of nature convincingly proves that efficient means exist for preventing major ecological dangers and for sensibly regulating the interrelationship between man and his environment.

The expressed views, specific suggestions pertaining to the journal's topics, content, forms of presentation, style, etc. greatly exceed the possibility of even a brief enumeration. Here are, therefore, a few quotations from statements by participants in the conference:

I. Sigov, director, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Problems:

In my view, it would be expedient to introduce in the journal a section of "Strategy of Acceleration. Regional Aspect." The reason is that each area has many problems specific to it and has acquired experience worthy of serious attention, summation and dissemination...

T. Zuyeva, FPK student, and tekhnikum teacher:

Good articles on the theory and practice of restructuring are needed both by the rank-and-file engineer, the foreman, and the brigade leader. Therefore, the KOMMUNIST editors should see to it that the articles are always easy to understand. A major prerequisite in this case is eliminating from the language and style unnecessary complexity and strictly specialized terminology or, in

general, pseudoscience, something is still frequently encountered in its articles.

D. Bubnov, student, Economics Department, Leningrad State University:

The role of young people in the restructuring and enhancement of the human factor were noted in the party's Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST." However, as in the past, there are virtually no interesting discussion-provoking publications on youth topics. If some editors think that today's youth reads only about sports, fashion and discotheques, they are mistaken....

#### Cooperation Between Reader and Journal

The participants in the conference gave the editors a great deal of practical advice on how to raise the work of the journal to a qualitatively new level on a stable and long-term basis. The majority of suggestions were well considered and sincere.

The readers were particularly interested in the development of new features which have appeared in the journal after the congress, such as the "Discussions and Debates" section. While energetically supporting this section, many participants in the conference cautioned that a discussion is, above all, an argument rather than surreptitious agreement with one-another. Thus, G. Nikiforova, post-graduate student, Department of Philosophy, Leningrad State University, noted that articles currently included in this section represent different viewpoints but are within the same scientific discipline. Should the views of representatives of different fields of knowledge not be expressed? In her opinion, it is only in the latter case that noticeable results could be achieved in the study of any complex social phenomenon or trend.

V. Yelmeyev supported the idea of the need to publish sharply differing approaches to the discussion of any specific problem. Let us consider that of commodity-monetary relations or the law of value under socialism. Would it not be useful to continue the debate on this topic and give the floor to scientists who consider and bring to light negative aspects in the current process of development of commodity mechanisms?

V. Fetisov raised the important methodological question of the objectives and tasks of debates. Currently renovation processes are underway in a number of social sciences, which would be inconceivable without broad public debates. The task of a journal such as KOMMUNIST, obviously, is not to make an "inventory" of various opinions but to sum up the results of such debates. This is necessary so that the results may become a starting point for new development, for the abundance of viewpoints at a given stage plays a positive role but, having reached a certain level, it becomes a hindrance to the further progress of science.

What are the organizational ways of strengthening ties between the journal and its readers which the participants in the conference consider most realistic and effective?

According to B. Parygin, a sociological study of the readership and its sociopsychological characteristics, interests and demands would be of great help to the editors.

A. Astafyev, docent, Leningrad State University Department of Philosophy, suggested that the journal become somewhat concerned with so-called "social instructions" issued to social science, for the main difficulty in organizing comprehensive problem studies lies precisely in the organizational separation between scientists and practical workers in the field of the social sciences.

In the opinion of IPK Professor A. Mamzin, head of the Philosophy Department, the readers themselves should greatly restructure their attitude toward the journal, more persistently converting from the "consumer-reader" reaction to co-creativity in terms of problem formulation, suggestions, evaluation surveys of article series, etc.

Finally, many speakers raised sharply and persistently the question of bringing order in the distribution of KOMMUNIST. On the day of the meeting Leningraders had received issue No 14 only, whereas in Moscow No 15 had been available for more than 2 weeks, and No 16 was ready to go to press. In frequent cases, the readers emphasized, a journal issue with topical materials has had to be "procured" in Moscow by telephone, jumping at an opportunity, etc. It is natural to ask, G. Gorlanov said, how late is KOMMUNIST being received in the Far East? Efficiency in the distribution of the party press is not merely a technical problem. In the unanimous view of the participants in the conference, such breakdowns must be eliminated as soon as possible.

As was noted at the All-Union Conference of Heads of Departments of Social Sciences, enhancing activities on the theoretical front is considered by the CPSU Central Committee a most important task. It is a component of our strategy and an urgent and objective requirement. In this process a great deal has had to be abandoned and a great deal restarted. The conference which was held in Leningrad by KOMMUNIST readers indicates most clearly that our social sciences have the necessary scientific potential for achieving their objectives. There is an aspiration to surmount inertia, drastically to enhance research activities in the main trends of development of Marxist-Leninist thinking, and strength and cooperation with practical workers. The editors study closely the suggestions and remarks voiced at the conference with a view to their practical implementation. The meaningful and useful meeting between the journal and the readers' aktiv proves that this form of work must and, unquestionably, will become traditional to us.

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CHRONICLE; MEETINGS WITH THE EDITORS

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[Text] "The social vector of acceleration" was the topic of a "roundtable" meeting, sponsored jointly on 31 October by KOMMUNIST and the Leningrad CPSU Obkom in the premises of the Izhorskiy Zavod imeni A.A. Zhdanov Production Association. The discussion was centered on enhancing the activity of the human factor in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress as seen through the lens of the practical experience of the Izhorskiy Zavod Association. The participants in the meeting focused their attention on new little-studied problems of interaction between science and production and between man and equipment. The Intensification-90 program, which is being applied at Leningrad city and oblast enterprises, was analyzed from the viewpoint of practical science.

The roundtable meeting sponsored by the journal was attended by Yu.F. Solovyev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Leningrad Party Obkom.

The following represented the central economic departments, ministries and scientific research organizations: V.V. Simakov, chief of the consolidated science and technology department, USSR Gosplan; S.F. Chasnyk, deputy minister of power machine building; I.M. Makarov, deputy minister of higher and secondary specialized education and USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member; I.I. Sigov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Problems; Ye.G. Antosenkov, director of the Scientific Research Institute of Labor, USSR State Committee of Labor; M.I. Voyeykov, head of sector at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics; B.D. Parygin, head of sector, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Problems; B.V. Rakitskiy, head of laboratory at the USSR Academy of Sciences Central Economic/Mathematical Institute; V.A. Parshin, department chief, technical administration, Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy; and G.N. Cherkasov, department head, Leningrad Finance-Economics Institute imeni N.A. Voznesenskiy.

Also attending were frontranking workers, specialists, economic managers, party personnel from the Izhorskiy Zavod Association, and senior personnel of the Kolpinskiy CPSU Raykom and the Leningrad Party Obkom.

A report on the roundtable meeting will be published in one of the next issues of this journal.

The editors were visited by Norman Birnbaum, professor at Georgetown University, member of the editorial board of the journal THE NATION (United States) and active personality in the international social democratic movement. The guest was interested in the future socioeconomic development of the USSR, problems of scientific and technical progress, and restructuring of the country's national economic management. Problems of development of the democratic and anti-war movement in Western countries, the possibility of strengthening cooperation among all left-wing and peace-loving forces and the role of mass information media in this process were discussed.

The journal was visited by a group of U.S. scientists and public personalities, including the noted futurologists John Nesbit and James Ogilvy. In the course of the talks problems of the new way of thinking and its role in safeguarding and strengthening peace on earth and solving other contemporary problems were discussed. Particular attention was paid in the exchange of views to the significance of the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and leaders in world culture who participated in the Issyk-Kul forum.

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