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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

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25 June 1982

USSR REPORT

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 6, April 1982

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

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TEACHING WHICH ILLUMINATES THE ROAD TO COMMUNISM

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[Review of the book "O Lenine i Leninizme" [On Lenin and Leninism] by L. I. Brezhnev. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 336 pp]

[Text] Mankind gratefully remembers the names of many fighters for the freedom and happiness of the working people. Their actions and thoughts have set new landmarks in societal social and spiritual progress and have justifiably become part of the universal treasury of knowledge and experience.

Vladimir Il'ich Lenin has a special place in this cohort of the best among the best. His theories and activities, the heroic struggle of the party he created and the making of the first victorious socialist revolution in the world under his leadership formed a watershed separating the past from the future of the peoples and laid the beginning of the transition from capitalism to communism and from prehistory to the real history of mankind. It was precisely Lenin who formulated with his brilliant depth and foresight the strategy for building a new society and who laid the foundations for it, on the basis of which the grandiose building of developed socialism was erected with the efforts of the party and the people. Lenin's unusually comprehensive features, splendid wisdom and humaneness, outstanding life and gigantic activities and the invincibility of the theory he created were and remain the inexhaustible source of inspiration and reliable guideline for subsequent generations of revolutionaries.

All the most profound social changes which have enriched our century so greatly were and are being accomplished under the banner of Leninism, under the direct influence of Lenin's thoughts and actions. Such is the indisputable fact, the unavoidable reality of our time. This strengthens the confidence of the masses in the omnipotence of Lenin's doctrine and draws to it ever new fighters for the liberation of the working people from the burdens of exploitation and social and national oppression and for the triumph of socialism and communism. Naturally therefore, any new work on Lenin, Leninism and the universal historical significance and development of this theory is received with great interest and generates the broadest possible response.

The book on Lenin and Leninism, whose author is Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, the tireless continuator of Lenin's cause, the firm fighter for peace and the safety

of nations and outstanding political and state leader of our time. The work includes the full text or excerpts of his reports, speeches and articles on Lenin and his personality, struggle and doctrine, delivered or written by L. I. Brezhnev over the past 17 years in his quality as the head of our party. L. I. Brezhnev plays a key role in the formulation and implementation of the current political course of the CPSU, which represents the further development of Lenin's ideas and their embodiment in the resolutions of its 23rd, 24th, 25th and 26th congresses.

It is this feature which predetermines the characteristics and value of the book. In it Leninism is refracted through the party's policy and the activities of its Central Committee, which is steadfastly following the Leninist course and which remains infinitely loyal to Lenin's behests. This is a manifestation of the permanent universal historical significance of the great Leninist doctrine and its creative development and implementation by today's perpetuators of Lenin's cause. The work proves clearly and convincingly that the CPSU is holding high the banner of scientific communism and proletarian internationalism, which was raised by its founder and leader, and is fully resolved to continue to lead the people confidently on the Leninist way to communism -- the cherished goal.

1

Our entire party and Soviet people live with a single goal -- the building of a communist society. The problems which must be resolved in order to reach this great objective and the ways leading to its implementation were defined in the materials of the 24th, 25th and 26th party congresses, the Central Committee plenums and other party documents and fully approved by the Soviet people. Our society's confident march toward new heights of sociopolitical, economic and spiritual maturity proves that the party has set an accurate course. During its formulation and search for solutions to increasingly more complex problems of the contemporary development of the land of the soviets and the international situation, the CPSU has invariably sought Lenin's advice and turned to the priceless treasury of his thoughts and richest practical experience of this revolutionary fighter and builder.

The book provides an exhaustive interpretation of the unfading power of Lenin's doctrine and its permanent relevance regardless of changing historical conditions. "Lenin absorbed the entire wealth of the tremendous revolutionary discoveries made by Marx and Engels. He developed their ideas, made his unique contribution to them and developed the principles of the revolution and the building of the new society, which inspire us and will inspire our descendants. The fearlessness of his mind opened new horizons to mankind" (p 20). Lenin's discovery of the laws governing the development of socialism were and remain the guiding star in building the new social system.

The historical accuracy of Leninism has been confirmed by the virtually entire 65-year old experience of the first socialist state in history and the great accomplishments of the Soviet people. In following the path indicated by Lenin, under the leadership of the communist party, the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia accomplished changes, the scope and depth of which took centuries in the past, within an extremely short

historical time. Lenin's theoretical and practical genius and behests helped our party and people to sweep off all obstructions on the road to socialism: to surmount the frenzied resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes, to abolish hunger and dislocation, to cope with the most difficult contradictions of the transitional period and to lay the foundations for socialism. Industrialization, collectivization, the cultural revolution, the strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry and the development of equality and unbreakable friendship among the peoples -- all of these truly epoch-making milestones of mankind's social progress, first achieved by our homeland -- have now become part of the textbooks, the alphabet of scientific communism, as L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes.

During the difficult years of the Great Patriotic War, it was the inflexible loyalty to the Leninist principles and belief in the justice of the Leninist cause that gave the Soviet people, rallied around the party, the firmness and will to win, and led to the defeat of Hitlerite fascism and the liberation of the peoples it had enslaved. During the postwar years, creatively applying the tried Leninist doctrine under the new circumstances, the party charted a course toward the fastest possible restoration of the destroyed economy. The inspired heroic toil of the entire people and the utilization of the tremendous advantages and opportunities of the new system made possible not only to heal the wounds inflicted by the war within a few years but to create all the necessary prerequisites which would allow Soviet society to take another major step forward.

The building of developed socialism in our country was the greatest accomplishment of the Soviet people and the outstanding achievement of the Leninist political course followed by the CPSU. It embodies the highest current stage of historical progress and represents a natural step on the way to communism. The reaching of this level by Soviet society and the successful progress toward it by a number of other socialist states marks the triumph of Leninism and its permanent international significance.

At the stage of developed socialism, the new society reaches a level of maturity in which the reorganization of the totality of social relations is completed on the basis of internal collectivistic principles inherent in that society. The main distinguishing features of the developed socialist society are full scope of action for the laws of socialism, the manifestation of its advantages in all areas of social life, the organic integrity and dynamism of the social system and its political stability and inviolable inner unity (see p 265). The developed socialist society is "in Lenin's words, a firmly established socialism, which is the starting point for the gradual transition to communism. It is precisely this level of development which socialism has reached in our country" (p 261).

Today, the first socialist country stands in front of the world as a society whose flesh and blood embody the cherished dreams of toiling mankind for freedom, equality, justice and fraternity.

Soviet society is a society of real rather than abstract humanism, for here the production of material goods, the results of spiritual creativity and the entire system of social relations are at the service of the working man and

the increasingly fuller and harmonious development of his personality; it is a society which has reached the highest level of blossoming of science and culture, the results of which have been made available to all classes and social strata.

Soviet society is a society of true democracy which, under the conditions of the state of the whole people, is actually guaranteeing the increasingly broader and more active participation of the masses in the administration of social and governmental affairs and the solution of all vitally important foreign and domestic policy problems. The dialectics of the development of the political superstructure under mature socialist conditions, as Lenin predicted, means that the strengthening of the state and the perfecting of democracy not only do not clash but complement each-other. Historical experience proves that if the role of the socialist state is weakened democracy does not come out strengthened. Instead, it is "the elements of anarchy and lack of control which grow and threaten the gains of socialism" (p 97).

Soviet society is a society of friendship and cooperation among all classes, social groups, generations and working people of all nationalities, a society the social mind and heart and leading force of which is the working class.

Soviet society is a society of inviolable friendship among all nations and nationalities in the USSR and their prosperity and rapprochement. The founding and development of the USSR, which was created 6 decades ago, irrefutably proved the indomitable vital strength of Lenin's theory of nations and the principles of the Leninist national policy of the CPSU. At the same time, guided by Lenin's behests, the party realizes that the dynamics of a large multinational state such as ours creates many new problems. The irreconcilable struggle against chauvinism and nationalism, the education of the working people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and the proud feeling of belonging to the single great Soviet homeland are the guarantee for their successful resolution.

Naturally, Soviet society is also a society the material foundations of which are highly developed production forces, a powerful progressive industry and a large-scale highly mechanized agriculture. This realistically secures the basic human right -- the right to work -- and the steady growth of the prosperity of the working people. It establishes an atmosphere of social optimism and confidence in the future.

No single society known to history has done or could do so much for the working people as has socialism, which retains tremendous possibilities for ensuring the further growth of the economic potential and the increasingly fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people. Guided by Lenin's concept that socialism means the live creativity of the masses, our party is directing the efforts toward the comprehensive upsurge of the labor and sociopolitical activeness of the Soviet people in order to be able to use the opportunities of developed socialism to a maximum and to ensure the successful solution of the problems which arise during this historical stage.

"Marx' doctrine is omnipotent because it is true," Lenin wrote ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 23, p 43). He repeatedly emphasized that Marxism is not an ossified dogma but a live and creative doctrine which draws its strength from life, from social practice. He not only emphasized this but left us the best possible example of precisely such an approach to revolutionary theory. As the author points out, Lenin "firmly opposed the belittling of revolutionary theory, the emasculating of its creative nature and its reduction to a sum total of ready-made prescriptions. Lenin's entire life consisted of tireless creativity in theory, politics, the organization of the class struggle and party and state construction" (p 119).

This Leninist, innovative and truly revolutionary approach to theory is fully inherent in our party, which was and remains the party of scientific communism. "Marxism-Leninism is the only reliable foundation for the formulation of an accurate strategy and tactics. It allows us to understand historical prospects, to define the line of socioeconomic and political development for many years ahead and to be accurately guided in international events. The power of Marxism-Leninism lies in its continuing creative development. This is what Marx and Lenin have taught us. The party will always remain loyal to their behests!" (p 235).

The book offers an expanded description of the most important summations and conclusions which have increased the party's theoretical arsenal and enriched Marxist-Leninist theory. Unquestionably, the first among them in the concept of developed socialism, which has made possible to refine and concretize the party's programmatic objectives and to define the main directions of its policy and ideological and educational work on a long-range basis.

In bringing to light the socioeconomic and spiritual potential of contemporary Soviet society, its opportunities and the optimal means for their realization on the basis of this concept, the CPSU documents and the resolutions of the 26th congress provide the party and the entire Soviet people with reliable guidelines in building communism.

The USSR Constitution was the result of tremendous theoretical work. Its role as not only a legal but a most important political document and powerful weapon in building communism is largely determined by the fact that it sums up the greatest economic, social, legal and spiritual changes in the life of Soviet society and codifies the contemporary achievements and conclusions in the philosophical, legal, historical, economic and social areas of Marxist-Leninist thought.

Lenin's theory, cast in a streamlined system of concepts on the development of the socialist society, is an impeccable instrument used for analysing the historical processes taking place within it. Its use in the study of the changes which take place in the socioclass structure and national relations at the stage of developed socialism enabled the party to formulate concepts of basic theoretical worth. They include the founding of a historically new social and international community in the USSR -- the Soviet people -- and the concept of the establishment of a predominant and essentially classless

social structure within the historical framework of mature socialism, i.e., before completing the transition to the higher communist phase. The working class, whose role in the life of Soviet society is growing steadily, was and remains the leading force in this process.

The work comprehensively describes a series of other important theoretical concepts which guide the CPSU in perfecting developed socialism and building communism. They include the laws of the further development and strengthening of socialist distribution relations, the material and spiritual foundations of the socialist way of life and the interaction between economic and moral labor incentives.

The author profoundly substantiates the need to base the education of the new man on the solid foundations of socioeconomic policy, to mould purposefully individual needs and interests and to promote unity among ideological-theoretical, political-educational, organizational and economic work.

The most important summations and stipulations which constitute the theoretical foundations of CPSU economic strategy, codified in the resolutions of its 24th, 25th and 26th congresses are presented to the readers as the further development of scientific communism and the Leninist theory of the interrelationship between economics and politics. The enhancement of the prosperity of the Soviet people and the creation of more favorable conditions for the comprehensive development of the individual, which are the supreme objectives of this strategy, can be ensured under contemporary conditions only by switching public production to the track of intensification. The author formulates the prime tasks and problems in this area for the 11th Five-Year Plan and the entire 1980s in a Leninist realistic manner, on the basis of the thorough and comprehensive consideration of all internal and external factors which influence the country's economic development. They include a sharp upsurge in labor productivity, the efficient and economical utilization of all resources, the substantial acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the improvement of the economic mechanism and the enhancement of the level of economic planning and management.

In earmarking the means for the solution of these key problems, the party takes into consideration an important feature of social development in the period of mature socialism, such as the intensified interrelationship between economic and social progress and the interweaving of economic with sociopolitical and cultural-educational problems. This is reflected in the party's stipulation concerning the elimination of manual, unskilled and difficult physical labor, the formulation and implementation of the food program, the accelerated increase in the production of consumer goods, the adoption of a broad long-term social development program, which covers all most important aspects of the people's life, and the systematic enhancement of the well-being of the masses.

Life proves again and again that Lenin's ideas illuminate our road to communism and serve as a reliable support in resolving all problems arising along this road.

Millions of people the world over link Lenin's name with the theory of the party of a new type and the creation of such a party. Lenin united the party ideologically and politically. He raised it in a spirit of infinite loyalty to the toiling masses and made it the acknowledged leader of the people. With brilliant foresight, he determined that the successful completion of the cause of the Great October Revolution was possible only under the leadership of such a party. He substantiated the ideological, political and organizational principles which would enable the party to fulfill its leading role during all the stages of the struggle for socialism and socialist construction. Throughout all the stages of the building of socialism and communism the party has acted as the nucleus of our entire social system and the collective mind of the entire Soviet people.

The author describes vividly and convincingly the permanent international importance of the Leninist party doctrine. A party armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, expressing the will of the working class and all working people is a decisive force in the struggle for socialism and communism. It is the best guarantee that the interests of all toiling classes and social strata will be most fully considered and harmoniously combined in the course of the development of the socialist society. The experience of global socialism most convincingly proves the exceptional, the decisive importance which securing and steadily consolidating the leading role of the communist party as the most progressive, leading, organizing and guiding force, has in terms of the successful building of socialism.

The party's role and responsibility increase with the increased scale and complexity of the tasks facing the new society. In order to be worthy of its high calling as a political leader, the party must above all steadily strengthen its ties with the masses and be concerned with strengthening the people's trust in it. The main prerequisite for achieving this is the formulation of an accurate political course, which can reflect the interest of all social and national categories of working people and the endless struggle for their implementation. "In our country there neither is nor could there be a political force which can taken into consideration, combine and coordinate the interests and needs of all classes, social groups, nations, nationalities and social generations better than the communist party" (p 133). The conclusion that, having become the vanguard of the entire people, the CPSU has lost nothing of its class nature and has remained the party of the working class is of great ideological-theoretical and political significance.

The activities of the CPSU aimed at the steady increase and strengthening of ties with all population strata are described in the collection as the implementation of Lenin's behests. The letters and suggestions of the working people, who turn to the party with an open heart to discuss the most vital problems of social life, work and living conditions, to frankly share their considerations and concerns and to criticize existing shortcomings, are the channel through which the live contact between the party and the masses is maintained. A responsive and attentive attitude toward the letters, petitions and complains of the citizens must be considered by every party worker and manager as his duty to the people and the party. Informing all Soviet

citizens about party events and publicity in the work of the party organizations are also very important.

The increased role of the party not only does not exclude but even presumes greater initiative and activeness of the mass public organizations -- the trade unions, the Komsomol and the labor collectives. In a Leninist manner our party considers the trade unions its reliable support among the masses and a powerful means of developing democracy and involving the working people in building communism. The CPSU focuses its main efforts on helping the trade unions use their broad rights even more fully and with greater initiative. The trade unions and labor collectives must intensify even further their control over the solution of all problems related to the people's work and way of life, increase their participation in production planning and administration and cadre selection and placement, and in the effective use of enterprise and organization funds.

No political leader in the history of mankind thought so highly of conscientiousness, initiative, energy and activeness of the masses like Lenin. It was his deeply felt conviction that in the new society these qualities of the toiling people will be given full scope and become a powerful motive force. He considered their development the highest objective of the party's ideological and educational work. The collection depicts the entire variety of contemporary means and methods used in such work and shows the meaning of the stipulations of the 26th CPSU Congress on the reorganization of many of its areas and sectors.

The party directs all efforts toward the creation of a healthy ideological and moral-psychological climate on all social levels, the development of criticism and self-criticism and the growth of the citizens' political and legal standards. It strives consistently to link communist education most closely to the practical solution of the problems of building communism and the struggle against any manifestations of alien views and mores and vestiges of bourgeois and petit bourgeois mentality. In developing the Leninist propaganda traditions, the CPSU demands of the mass information media and all ideological workers not to avoid topical subjects or fear the discussion of sensitive problems.

The collection describes comprehensively and profoundly the many-faceted activities of the CPSU and its Central Committee, aimed at the development of the Leninist principles of democratic centralism under contemporary conditions, the improvement of intraparty life and the enhancement of the combat capability of party organizations and the quality of party ranks. Historical experience irrefutably proves the need for strong and conscious discipline within the communist party when it prepares the masses for revolution, leads them in the struggle, consolidates gains and lays the foundations for socialism. The party needs discipline just as much during the stage of developed socialism and under the conditions of building communism. "Only a party held together by unity of views and actions, with great experience in political and organizational activities, can make all efforts related to building communism purposeful, scientific and planned" (p 49).

The question raised at the 26th congress on the need to amend and supplement the current CPSU program is also discussed in the collection.

The Leninist ideas that the party is the leader of the revolutionary masses and the guiding force in the new society, tested and confirmed through long experience, and the Leninist principles of party construction are today accessible not only to the CPSU but the fraternal communist parties as well. History teaches us that the communists win wherever the party systematically fulfills its role as vanguard of the working class and the toiling masses, and wherever the Leninist norms of party life are sacredly observed. Conversely, any belittling of the party's role and violation of the Leninist principles of party construction may threaten the socialist gains of the people.

The party created by the great Lenin is properly aware of its growing role and responsibility. It values most of all the trust of the working people, cares for them and does everything possible to strengthen its ties with the people. "...This is the great Lenin's behest to which we shall remain faithful" (p 179).

4

Lenin's doctrine offers the only true and integral concept of the contemporary epoch, the essence of which is the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism. Lenin's genius pierced through the curtain of the future and saw the laws governing universal developments which, in his time, were merely an embryo but which now define the social features of the planet. Displaying his characteristic intellectual fearlessness and perspicacity, Lenin formulated problems the solution to which could not even be conceived by many among his contemporaries, but which are today in the center of sharp ideological and political battles. "Lenin had the rare gift of seeing in the present the future fate of mankind. ...Lenin's thoughts rushed far into the future. He illuminated the road which the working class was to follow over many decades with the light of scientific predictions" (p 119).

The principles and methods applied in the foreign policy of the socialist state, the relations between opposite social systems, the laws governing the world revolutionary process, the liberation struggle of the peoples, the norms governing relations among communist parties and the strategy applied in the struggle for socialism and socialist construction are a very partial list of the problems which Lenin's genius illuminated for the benefit of the revolutionary forces of the present and as a basis for the work of his students and followers.

The foreign policy of the Soviet state has been based on Lenin's ideas for more than 6 decades. These ideas, codified in the USSR Constitution, are the invariable principled foundation of all international activities of the Soviet state. "In the present international situation," L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes, "with all its complex and conflicting trends, the Leninist foreign policy principles remain our guiding star. This policy is distinguished by firmness in defending principled positions, a deeply responsible approach to the most important questions of global policy, which affect the fate of

nations, readiness to engage in talks and to reach agreements and flexibility in resolving practical problems" (p 8).

The class-revolutionary content of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state not only does not exclude but presumes the consistent and persistent struggle for a durable and just peace, the security of all nations, and the extensive and mutually profitable and equal cooperation among countries with opposing social systems. The peaceful nature of our international policy is based on its socialist nature and the desire to provide the Soviet people with favorable external conditions for the implementation of the vast plans for building a new society. The peace program of the 24th, 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses is the vivid embodiment of these highly humane foreign policy objectives of the CPSU and the Soviet state, consistent with the basic interests of most people on earth. "There is probably no state which has offered mankind such a wide range of specific and realistic initiatives on most important problems of international relations as has the Soviet Union in recent years..." (p 291).

The defense of the policy of peace today takes place under complex and aggravated international circumstances. The enemies of detente, arms limitation and improved relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have become noticeably energized in recent years. The USSR is persistently pursuing its efforts for the elimination of the threat of war, the preservation and intensification of detente and against the arms race. It is trying to develop comprehensively and to strengthen cooperation with peace-loving countries and realistically thinking Western circles and all social forces, movements and parties which are in favor of guaranteeing the most important right of man -- the right to life. This is the noble and most important cause of our time.

The fraternal socialist countries are working shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union in the struggle against imperialism and for peace, democracy, social progress and socialism. The socialist comity has introduced new principles and norms in international life, born of communist ideology and its great and noble objectives. The very existence of the socialist world gives tremendous moral support to the working people in the capitalist countries in their struggle for their rights. The successes of the anti-imperialist movement and the struggle of the peoples for peace and social progress are increasingly based on the cohesion among the socialist countries and the economic and defense power of the members of the socialist comity.

As the book proves, the steady implementation of the principles of socialist internationalism, the proper combination of the national with the international tasks of the socialist states, the development of their mutual aid and support, the consistent observance of their equality, sovereignty and independence and noninterference in reciprocal internal affairs are the main line followed in strengthening the world socialist system. The international experience acquired in the creation of the new system and the development of world socialism prove again and again the need to wage a firm struggle against any attempts to weaken the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist parties, to replace socialist democracy with political liberalism of the bourgeois variety and to erode the positions of socialism. "The lesson which

life teaches us is to be firm like Lenin in defending and upholding the principles of socialism" (p 72).

In encouraging the further strengthening of fraternal relations among socialist countries and mobilizing the working people for new accomplishments in building socialism and communism, the CPSU and the other communist parties which are heading the building of the new society are fulfilling their duty to their peoples and their international duty to the working class of the world, the author stresses.

The progress of mankind and its very existence largely depend on strengthening the unity among today's progressive forces which can defeat the sinister plans of imperialist reaction and its accomplices. Strengthening the unity of the most progressive revolutionary force of our time -- the communist and workers parties -- is particularly important. The consistent struggle waged by the communists for peace and against the aggressive policy of imperialism and the arms race, which threatens the peoples with nuclear catastrophe, is a great uniting principle and a powerful factor in the further unification and in raising the prestige of the world communist movement.

The variety of conditions under which the communist parties operate and the increasingly complex problems they face naturally create differences and discussions in their approaches to the solution of specific problems of the class struggle. The CPSU, the author notes, is steadfastly following the Leninist stipulation supported by historical proof that there neither is nor could there be any kind of "standardization" of roads leading to socialism, which would ignore the specifics and the historical and national features of one country or another. It does not impose on any one patterns and models in the struggle for socialism and socialist construction. However, the work emphasizes, the practical experience of the socialist countries confirms again and again the importance of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the development of the socialist society on the basis of common laws. Historical experience, L. I. Brezhnev stresses, has made total shambles of the attempts of bourgeois and revisionist ideologues to depict Leninism as an allegedly specifically Russian national phenomenon (see p 117). Political cooperation in the struggle against the common class enemy can and must be encouraged despite the existence of differences. The CPSU proceeds from the fact that "differences of opinion among communists can be surmounted, providing, naturally, that they are not differences of principle between revolutionaries and reformists and between creative Marxism and dogmatic sectarianism and left-wing adventurism. Naturally, a compromise in this matter is no more possible today than it was during Lenin's time" (p 289).

Armed with Lenin's theory, the communists see profoundly and accurately the nature and future of the processes taking place in the world and draw from this accurate conclusions regarding their struggle for the interests of the working class, the working people in their countries, democracy, peace and socialism. Such is the main idea expressed in the book on the role and significance of Leninism in the international communist movement.

Even decades later we remain amazed at the many-faceted nature of Lenin's personality. We see in him a most profound thinker, ardent revolutionary,

outstanding political figure and true popular leader. We also see him as a uniquely beautiful moral personality in which modesty, efficiency, simplicity, education, culture, in the loftiest meaning of the term, friendliness, respect for the people, principle-mindedness and inflexible energy aimed at reaching objectives combine harmoniously. To the communists and all Soviet people Lenin is the standard against which they compare their ideological and political maturity and loyalty to the cause of the party and communism.

Lenin and Leninism are a source of inspiration, an unfading beacon and wise councilor of the world's proletariat and all revolutionary forces of the present. However conflicting the picture of the world may be today, its main features and the main and decisive trend in global developments are precisely the ones anticipated by Lenin.

Lenin's thoughts, will and energy remain alive in the accomplishments of our party and people. To those who are continuing his immortal cause, the depth and foresight of Lenin's analysis of social developments, his method and style of work and highest spiritual qualities were, are and will remain the infallible compass for the solution of the problems facing the fighters for socialist objectives and the builders of the new society. "Lenin is precious to us not only because he is the banner of our revolution, the founder of our party and the builder of the first socialist state on earth. He is precious and close to us also because, perhaps particularly so, his sharp creative mind, depth of analysis, boldness in drawing conclusions and acting, unrestrainable revolutionary passion and greatest humaneness, simplicity and responsiveness have been and will remain our guidelines in life and priceless support and help in today's circumstances" (p 240).

The study of Lenin's outstanding life and activities and great doctrine and CPSU Leninist policy is a powerful means for shaping the ideological and political conscientiousness of the masses and the enhancement of their labor and social activeness. It is an irreplaceable source for the further development of the theory of scientific communism. "O Lenine i Leninizme," the book by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, is a major contribution to the solution of these important problems.

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L. I. BREZHNEV' 24 MARCH 1982 SPEECH AT THE CEREMONY HELD IN TASHKENT ON THE OCCASION OF PRESENTING THE UZBEK SSR WITH THE ORDER OF LENIN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 82 pp 14-21

[Text] Dear comrades!

Today is a red-letter day on your calendar. As you know, Soviet Uzbekistan was awarded the Order of Lenin for its achievements during the 10th Five-Year Plan. This order is being presented to you today. It is the result of great labor efforts and hard-won victories. Comrades, please accept my most sincere congratulations on the occasion of this high award of the homeland (lengthy applause)!

Events such as today's celebration please but do not slacken our efforts. They instill new creative forces in the workers. This is good. In the years to come, like the rest of the country the republic will go even higher in many decisive directions in its economic and social development. The implementation of the five-year plans approved at the 26th party congress greatly depends on the success with which we can cross the initial and, in some respects, most difficult section of the road. I am pleased, very pleased, to note that your republic, comrades, is off to a good start (applause).

The majority of labor collectives fulfilled their 1981 obligations quite well. The planned growth of industrial and agricultural production was reached and the allocated capital investments were utilized. To the best of my knowledge, your service industry is developing relatively well. The population's educational and cultural standards are rising steadily.

Let us particularly mention the successes achieved by Uzbekistan in cotton growing -- the republic's leading agricultural sector. We have the right to boast about the fact that during each of the past 2 years the Uzbek SSR kolkhozes and sovkhozes harvested more than 6 million tons of this most valuable raw material! Over a 5-year period sales of particularly valuable fine-fiber cotton have risen by one half. You are accomplishing something of great importance to the country and to every Soviet person (applause).

The successes of the farm workers of Uzbekistan have been highly rated and properly noted. It is no accident that recently eight frontranking workers were made heroes of socialist labor and many others were awarded orders and

medals. Allow me sincerely to congratulate all of them on the occasion of this high and honestly earned award (lengthy applause)!

In a word, the republic's accomplishments are significant. They are backed by the persistent and frequently heroic toil of millions of workers and kolkhoz members of Soviet Uzbekistan and by the vanguard role of the party members and the skillful leadership of the republic's communist party Central Committee headed by our respected friend Sharaf Rashidovich Rashidov (lengthy applause). Today the entire Soviet people glorify the leading workers in the plants and fields of sunny Uzbekistan (lengthy applause)!

Comrades, we must try to maintain the pace we have reached. Particular attention must be paid to improving the quality of cotton procurements. This will be the worthy answer of the Uzbek cotton growers to the party's appeal for production intensification. It is precisely in this area that you have unused reserves, to put it mildly, or rather shortcomings. I have been told that the share of first and second grade raw cotton has dropped from 70 to 46 percent of the total over a 5-year period. Comrades, this situation must be changed as soon as possible.

As you know, the party's Central Committee is working most intensively on improving population supplies of consumer goods, food above all. A comprehensive food program is being formulated and refined, which will combine the production, storing and processing of farm goods. Naturally, a program, even a very good one, will not resolve the problem by itself. The volume of agricultural production must be increased considerably in all parts of the country. I believe that Uzbekistan can make a substantial contribution to this undertaking. You have made positive changes in livestock breeding: in 1981 you were able to increase meat production by 8 percent, milk by 5 and eggs by 8.6 percent. However, speaking frankly, these increases are still no proof that the population's needs are being met fully.

You have also increased grain production, mainly corn and rice. The republic is also producing now more vegetables, melon crops and grapes. The animal husbandry fodder base has been strengthened.

This is good, comrades, but not enough. It is not merely a question of improving on previous accomplishments. It is above all one of meeting the increased requirements of the Soviet people and the increased possibilities of modern agriculture.

Frankly, these possibilities are not being used fully. With irrigated farming these vegetables, melon crops fruits and grapes could yield -- as they do in the progressive farms -- substantially higher than average crops in the republic.

I am confident that the leaders of the republic, oblasts, rayons, sovkhoses and kolkhoses and all working people are well aware of the political meaning of the efforts to make use of reserves and to ensure high rates of growth of agricultural commodities this five-year plan.

Let me say a few words on the work of industry in 1981. The main indicators of its progress in the republic are not bad: the plan is being fulfilled in terms of growth rates of output and labor productivity. However, a closer look shows that here again major reserves and unfinished projects exist. For example, is it tolerable that production capacities in many of your sectors are being underutilized? Furthermore, a trend has been noted toward even greater underutilization. For example, in 1980 facilities for the production of chemical fertilizers were used at no more than 74 percent of capacity; the percentages of capacity utilization in cement and cotton fabric production were even lower. While the country urgently needs goods the plants are wasting one quarter of their time!

Comrades, this situation must be corrected quickly. The party's course of production intensification calls for using all economic reserves and developing the ability to handle available capacities efficiently.

It is very important to make fuller use of available manpower. It is no secret that the republic still has a manpower surplus, particularly in the villages. Meanwhile, there are manpower shortages in many industrial and construction sectors. This is the reason, for instance, for which the Tashkent textile combine is operating at 75 percent of capacity, and that the Bukhara one is working at 50 percent of capacity. Serious steps must be taken, such as organizing worker training, providing incentives for the workers, and upgrading the conscientiousness of the people. This is a major project for the party and soviet organs and the Komsomol.

You are doing the right thing by creating hundreds of new production capacities, such as enterprises, shops and branches in small towns and villages in the republic. This makes it possible to involve many more thousands of people in material production.

Our manpower shortage is particularly severe in the areas of Western Siberia and the Far East, where the main fuel and energy base is being developed and powerful industrial centers are being created. They are already playing a tremendous role in the country's national economy and their importance will increase greatly in the future. That is why we must thoroughly support the desire of the young people in your republic to participate personally in the largest construction projects of our century -- the development of Tyumen's petroleum and gas resources and the building of the BAM. This, comrades, is an outstanding school of civic and international education (applause).

This year we are celebrating the great anniversary of our multinational fatherland. One of the most important results of the 60-year path covered by the USSR and one of the main sources of our strength is the firm and unbreakable friendship among all the peoples in our country (applause).

All the successes achieved by your republic in the economic and social areas and in culture are related to the steadfast implementation of the Leninist principles of national policy. It was precisely because Soviet Uzbekistan always marched shoulder to shoulder and in the same rank as all the fraternal peoples of the USSR that it was able to leave behind its past backwardness so

quickly, and to become a comprehensively developed and prosperous republic, and one of the most advanced countries in the East (applause).

Today's Uzbekistan is making a very substantial contribution to the economic and cultural life of our entire huge country and to the development of the friendship among the Soviet peoples. For example, the CC CPSU sets a great value to your active participation in the implementation of the comprehensive program for the development of the Nonchernozem (applause).

This, comrades, is a good example of internationalism in action, for under the conditions of our multinational country today internationalism means mainly honest, conscientious and fully dedicated work for the common good by all peoples in the country (applause). It means the ability to put national above departmental and local interests and to ensure the efficient work of the country's single national economic complex (applause). It means the prompt and qualitative implementation of all interrepublic procurements, the maximal utilization of local resources, and the active participation in the solution of the problems which determine the upsurge of the economy and the well-being of the entire people.

Here is another important aspect of internationalism: like all our republics, Uzbekistan has a multinational population. Looking at some statistical data before this trip, I noted that the republic's party organization rallies party members belonging to 84 different nationalities (applause).

To a certain extent, the republic's multinational population structure is reflected in cadre policy. Secretaries of Uzbek oblast, rayon and city party committees include members of 20 different nationalities (applause).

In general, we must try to give proper representation in party and state organs to the nations and nationalities within each republic (applause), naturally, bearing strictly in mind the practical and ideological and moral qualities of each person. This line is consistent with the instructions of the 26th CPSU Congress and Lenin's caution to avoid even the slightest injustice or violation of the rights and specific requirements of all nations and nationalities in the country. We cannot err by following the path which Lenin outlined (lengthy applause)!

The star of the Orient -- Tashkent, which was reborn from the ruins, a city with a highly developed industry and great science, an important cultural center in which some of the largest world assemblies of writers and film makers take place -- stands out in the galaxy of capitals of union republics as the hand-made symbol of the fraternity and friendship among the peoples of the USSR. The centuries-old history of the Uzbek people numbers many a glorious page. However, comrades, the golden age in its development does not lie in the past but in the present and the future (applause).

You justifiably preserve and honor the great traditions of an ancient culture linked with the names of Ibn Sina, Navoi and Ulugbek or materialized in the architectural monuments of Samarkand, Bukhara and Khiva (applause). However, this would have been insufficient without enriching your culture with the achievements of modern civilization, the spiritual values of socialism and

the experience of the other fraternal peoples. The Uzbek intelligentsia, which grew up under the Soviet system, has brought fame to its republic and people with its outstanding scientific discoveries and engineering and technical accomplishments and splendid works of art. Glory to the men of science and culture of Soviet Uzbekistan (lengthy applause)!

Life clearly proves that despite the slanders of our foes socialism not only does not allow the peoples to lose their unique features and cultural and traditional characteristics but raises them to a higher level and makes them accessible to many other nations.

It is not national exclusivity, narrow-mindedness or various old prejudices that provide the key to this new blossoming. It is precisely because they were surmounted that paintings, the theater and the motion picture have entered Uzbek culture and have truly blossomed. Today the spiritual life of your republic, as that of our other republics, would be inconceivable without all this (applause).

The Uzbek woman became a free and equal member of the socialist society only after the feudal-bey customs were abolished. Today she plays a great and unquestionable role in production, science and art. This can only please us, communists. Still, is everything here as it should be? I do not think so. Naturally, comrades, you remember the stipulation of the 26th party congress on the need to promote women to leading party, social and economic positions more energetically. Unfortunately what has been done so far for its implementation in Uzbekistan, as elsewhere in the country, is insufficient, although the time has come to do so. Our common cause can only benefit from staffing leading positions with the best, most talented and prestigious members of the millions-strong detachment of Soviet women (applause).

Comrades, the University of Turkestan (now Tashkent) was opened in 1920 on by decree signed by Lenin. It became a forge for cadres for all of Central Asia where no single higher educational institution had previously existed. Today Uzbekistan has 43 higher educational institutions (applause). In terms of population size you have a higher percentage of university students than countries such as France, the FRG and Japan. The percentage of university-trained specialists in public production in the republic is higher than the national average.

Unquestionably, a great deal has been achieved. However, these indicators should not lead to relaxation. We must handle the acquired intellectual potential even more carefully. Unfortunately, you are currently not using the specialists as you should. For example, less than one half of the specialists with higher and secondary agricultural training are directly working in kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Meanwhile, 10 percent of all agronomists and more than one third of all engineers, technicians and mechanics working in the sovkhozes have no university or secondary specialized training. The situation in the kolkhozes is similar. Is this proper, comrades? Obviously great improvements must be made in the use of cadres. The reasons for shortcomings in this area (not only in Uzbekistan) vary. They include the inertia of the higher schools, which are graduating many more specialists than the national economy needs in some sectors, and an

insufficient number in others; the existence of parochialism and the desire to employ the specialists in one's own republic, even though not in their field and despite the acute shortage of such specialists elsewhere; and simply errors in cadre policy and the improper use of young specialists. I think that the republic's party and soviet organs must deal seriously with this problem.

Comrades, one of Uzbekistan's most important social accomplishments is the considerable increase in the strength of the working class, which today accounts for the majority of the republic's population. The growth rates of your working class in the 1970s was triple the national average. Naturally, this imposes upon you a special responsibility in the professional training and ideological and moral tempering of the young people entering the workers' ranks. To the best of my understanding you are aware of this problem. During the 11th Five-Year Plan the republic must open about 200 vocational-technical schools and train 700,000 skilled workers. I wish you success in this exceptionally important project of training the new generation of the working class and the worthy builders of the communist future (applause)!

In a word, dear comrades, your accomplishments are substantial. However, the unresolved problems you face are also many. Most of them, however, could be described as problems of growth, problems created by the active and aggressive development of our socialist society. These problems will be unquestionably resolved by remaining loyal to the Leninist style, not becoming conceited, being self-critical, directing the attention of all party organizations from top to bottom to unresolved problems and enhancing the activeness and initiative of the broadest possible toiling masses. We are confident that the Uzbek communists -- a great detachment of the Leninist CPSU -- will deal with them honorably (lengthy applause).

Comrades, the labor successes of the Soviet people and our entire accomplishments in peaceful construction are assuming particular importance against the background of the now sharply aggravated international situation. In their efforts to hinder the course of world history, to prevent the development of socialism and to strangle the liberation movement of the peoples, the aggressive imperialist forces have exacerbated the world situation. They are encouraging the arms race to an unbelievable degree, impudently interfering in the affairs of other countries and peoples and trying to impose their will on them. They are openly announcing their plans for starting a nuclear war.

Under these conditions, the economic and defense power of the Soviet Union and its socialist allies and their restraint, self-control their consistently peaceful policy are clearly seen by all nations as the main obstacle on the path of the warmongers and the main bulwark of peace on earth (applause).

Lately I have frequently discussed in great detail the struggle which our country is tirelessly waging together with the peace-loving forces on earth for eliminating the threat of global nuclear war and restraining the arms race, including the deployment of nuclear missiles in Europe. This is a struggle which we cannot abandon even for a single day and which we intend to wage until the threat has been eliminated and a lasting peace has been secured (lengthy applause).

This is precisely the line followed in the decisions we recently made to end unilaterally the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in the European part of the USSR and even to reduce the number of such already deployed missiles. This is also the purpose of the new suggestions formulated by the Soviet Union on limiting military activities by individual countries recently announced in my speech at the USSR trade unions congress.

We have voiced our sensible and peace-loving views, which were met with the approval of the entire world (applause). We are now waiting for the West's answer.

Now as to our policy in Asia. You are familiar with the successful development of cooperation between our country and Mongolia, Vietnam and the other fraternal countries on that continent and with people's Afghanistan. The Communist Party of Vietnam will be holding its fifth congress soon. All of us sincerely wish the heroic Vietnamese communists and the courageous Vietnamese people success in the peaceful building of socialism and defending the gains of the revolution (lengthy applause).

Allow me now to discuss relations with three of the largest Asian countries -- India, Japan and China.

For more than a quarter of a century the Soviet Union and India have worked actively and tirelessly for the development and intensification of friendly cooperation between them. A great deal has been achieved in this direction. Today our two peoples maintain strong ties in the economic, scientific and cultural areas. They have not only become better acquainted with one-another but have learned to respect and value one-another sincerely during these years (applause).

All of this is taking place despite differences in sociopolitical systems, and with the strict observance of the principle of noninterference in reciprocal domestic affairs and full reciprocal respect for the foreign policy features of the individual country.

This is the basis on which the feeling of reciprocal trust between our countries and their leaders is strengthening. Today this represents a tremendous priceless capital (applause), which greatly strengthens the feeling of security in both countries, creates a large zone of peace and stability in Asia and allows the Soviet Union and India successfully to interact in the international arena for the safeguard and consolidation of peace and the development of peaceful cooperation among the peoples.

We would like to maintain stable and good neighborly relations of mutually profitable cooperation and trust with Japan as well. Although even now a mutually profitable economic cooperation exists between us, it is by far not as extensive as it could be. Unfortunately, there is even less reciprocal trust, which is greatly hindered by outside forces which show little concern for the interests of our two countries, forces which tried to prevent the normalizing of relations between Japan and the USSR and to prevent Japan's emergence in the world arena as an independent and sovereign state from the very first post war years.

They are still trying to prevent the establishment of good relations between Japan and the USSR and to involve the Japanese in the maelstrom of anti-Soviet policy, as though the Japanese people had not suffered enough from the policy of militarism, aggression and hostility toward their neighbors in the recent past.

They would like to erase from the memory of the Japanese the good experience of recent decades -- the experience of increasingly fruitful cooperation with the Soviet Union. They are persistently tossing up the threadbare foreign myth of the "Soviet threat." Unfortunately, this primitive fabrication seems to have some supporters in ruling Japanese circles.

Frankly speaking, however, it is hard to understand the moral right which allows some leaders in Tokio to speak to their people and the world about the "fears" they allegedly feel as a result of one Soviet action or another, when they are unwilling even to listen to our proposal (made a year ago) on discussing reciprocal fears and concerns and agreeing on taking steps to strengthen reciprocal trust, acceptable to both parties. Our proposal on measures of trust in the Far East does not necessarily presume in the least an assembly of all the countries in the area. Progress along this way could be started quite well on a bilateral basis, between the USSR and Japan. There is nothing bad about this!

We call upon our Japanese neighbors to weigh this proposal once again.

I repeat that we continue to call for good neighborly relations and the broadest possible reciprocally profitable cooperation with Japan as we have in the past. The USSR is prepared to act in this direction, naturally on a reciprocal basis.

Now as to our relations with China. This is no simple question.

The principle-minded position of our party and Soviet state on the question of Sino-Soviet relations is clearly expressed in the decisions of the 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses. Let me recall the following features as well:

First. Although we have openly criticized and still are many aspects of the policy (particularly foreign) of the Chinese leadership for being inconsistent with socialist principles and norms, we have never tried to interfere in the internal life of the PRC. We have never denied that China has a socialist social system, although Beijing's rapprochement with imperialist policy in the world arena naturally conflicts with the interests of socialism.

Second: we have never supported the so-called "two Chinas" concept. We have always fully recognized the PRC's full sovereignty over Taiwan.

Third. The Soviet Union has never posed a threat to the PRC. We do not have, nor have we ever had, any territorial claims against the PRC. We are ready at any time to continue the talks on existing border problems for the sake of reaching mutually acceptable solutions. We are also prepared to discuss the possible steps which could be taken to strengthen reciprocal trust along the Sino-Soviet border.

Fourth. We clearly remember the time when the Soviet Union and people's China were linked with ties of friendship and comradely cooperation. We have never considered hostility and alienation between our countries as normal. We are ready to reach an agreement without preset conditions on steps acceptable to both sides for improving Sino-Soviet relations on the basis of respect for reciprocal interests, noninterference in reciprocal affairs and mutual benefit, naturally not to the detriment of any other country. This applies to economic, scientific, cultural and political relations, to the extent to which both countries are ready to take one concrete step or another in any one of these areas.

That is what I wanted to tell you today regarding our relations with some Asian countries. As a whole, our policy on that continent, as anywhere else, is one of strengthening peace and firmly rebuffing the enemies of peace. It is a policy of peaceful cooperation with anyone willing to participate in it, a policy of fraternal friendship with the socialist countries, solidarity with all forces of social progress and defense of the sovereign rights of nations. We shall never abandon this inflexible Leninist foreign policy (stormy and lengthy applause).

(Comrade L. I. Brezhnev read the ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium awarding the Order of Lenin to the Uzbek SSR and pinned the high award of the motherland on the republic's flag accompanied by the lengthy ovation of those present).

On behalf of the CC CPSU, Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers, I warmly congratulate you and all working people in Soviet Uzbekistan for this deserved award (lengthy applause).

I wish you good luck and new great successes, comrades! (Stormy and lengthy applause. The people stand up and shout "Glory to the CPSU!" "Glory to the Leninist Central Committee!" and "Hurray!")

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L. I. BREZHNEV'S 25 MARCH 1982 SPEECH AT THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF UZBEKISTAN
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 82 pp 22-24

[Text] During yesterday's award presentation I had the opportunity to speak of your achievements and to discuss many problems which must be resolved this five-year plan.

At this meeting I would like to mention a few other problems.

What we must emphasize most is that our country is confidently following the course set by the 26th CPSU Congress and that the party's domestic and foreign policy is being implemented consistently. All national economic sectors and the economies of all union republics developed further during the first year of the new five-year plan. Many important social measures were implemented despite some difficulties.

As to your republic, during the last five-year plan alone 67 large industrial enterprises were commissioned. The republic's capital and working assets now exceed 53 billion rubles. This represents a tremendous wealth, comrades, which must be used as fully and efficiently as possible.

As a whole, your industry is operating stably and is meeting its planned assignments. This is good and we welcome it. However, you must learn to make use of all your substantial reserves.

We cannot ignore the fact that last year one quarter of your enterprises failed to fulfill their procurement obligations. Their output fell short by 400 million rubles. Meanwhile, related enterprises in other parts of the country kept awaiting their output.

Poor use is being made of productive capacities in sectors such as the cement, light and construction materials industries.

Improving labor productivity is one of your serious problems. This factor accounted for only 56 percent of the increase in industrial output in 1981. Comrades, you must tighten up labor discipline and make better use of the achievements of science and technology. So far, you are applying in your work only slightly more than one half of the scientific developments made available to the national economy.

These are all real reserves and it is your duty to put them to work.

Now, as to agriculture. Its gross output in the republic increased by 26 percent during the last five-year plan compared with the previous one. Naturally, this is satisfactory.

The cotton growers reached high results. The fact that cotton production was increased mainly as a result of higher yields is particularly important. In your republic yields increased by 5 quintals per hectare during the five-year plan and averaged 33.3 quintals in 1980.

Naturally great possibilities remain in cotton growing as well. You must show particular concern for the quality of the cotton. I know that some people ascribe the decline in quality to machine cotton picking. Unquestionably, it is simpler to maintain a higher quality with hand picking. It is clear, however, that there can be no return to manual work.

Therefore, other means must be sought, such as strict observance of optimal periods for agrotechnical operations and of machine-picking technology. In a word, you must learn how to grow high-quality cotton even with total mechanization. Obviously, you must also improve the storing and processing of the raw cotton.

Let us now speak of animal husbandry. You have achieved positive changes in this sector during the last 5-year period. More meat, milk and eggs were produced, cow productivity improved and the delivery weight of the cattle increased. However, comrades, you are also aware that the development of this sector is still lagging behind rapidly rising population demand.

The Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee suitably discussed this problem at its plenum. The measures which were earmarked must be steadily implemented. Managers and all working people in the countryside must develop the same type of responsible, I would even say loving, attitude toward animal husbandry that they show toward cotton growing.

I believe this to be urgently necessary. Judge for yourselves: to this day more than 300 sovkhoses and kolkhoses in the republic have no cows and 207 farms have no cattle whatsoever. This is improper.

Currently, responding to the party's call, many industrial enterprises are organizing auxiliary farms in order to improve food supplies to their collectives. But what can we say about kolkhoz and sovkhos managers who, although having both land and irrigation, are unwilling to participate in increasing the amount of extremely needed goods? The republic's central committee and party organizations must consider this question more closely.

We always cite Uzbekistan as an example of effective utilization of irrigated land, particularly in growing cotton. Nevertheless, in the case of fodder crops the situation is less satisfactory.

During the 10th Five-Year Plan, yields averaged about 270 quintals per hectare in corn for silage, 287 quintals in feed root crops and 122 quintals in alfalfa hay.

Meanwhile, many farms in the republic are already steadily averaging about 200-220 quintals of alfalfa hay, 700-800 quintal of silage crops, more than 1,000 quintals of feed root crops and 100 or more quintals of corn grain per hectare. However, this valuable experience has not become widespread in your area.

Let me say a few words about construction. Here again, substantial progress has been made. The Uzbek construction workers have launched several initiatives on completing projects ahead of schedule and, even more importantly, have kept their word.

Facilities in the construction industry have been expanded considerably and capacities for the manufacturing of fully prefabricated parts and the production of new and efficient materials have increased.

Nevertheless, everything is hardly satisfactory in your capital construction.

Not all construction organizations are implementing their planned assignments. Last year, substantial capacities for the production of raw materials for chemical fertilizers and plant protection chemicals needed in agriculture were not commissioned.

As you yourselves realize, all of this prevents a reduction in the volume of unfinished construction and adversely affects all work related to raising the efficiency of capital investments.

I believe that as you continue to develop facilities in the construction industry you must learn how to make better use of already installed capacities. No more than 60-65 percent of capacities for large-panel housing construction are being utilized. This means that the population is being deprived of 400,000 square meters of housing per year.

You must also concern yourselves with the quality of construction work, housing construction above all. I was told that in Samarkand, Bukhara and some rural rayons the working people are widely criticizing the low quality of the housing.

That is all I wanted to say about the economy and economic management.

A few words now on the organizational aspect of the work, on party organizational work.

The Communist Party of Uzbekistan is a combat detachment of the CPSU numbering nearly 600,000 members. This is a tremendous force, comrades!

I would like to draw your attention on the need to enhance steadily the feeling of responsibility of oblast and rayon party committees for the implementation of party policy locally.

Why do some party members fail to set the proper example at work or are unable to achieve good work results? Why is it that some collectives headed by party members are not meeting their assignments and socialist pledges?

I think that the answer to these questions should be sought in the lack of specific and efficient work of many party obkoms, raykoms and gorkoms in the organizational and ideological-educational areas. Obviously, there is also a lack of self-criticism.

The bureaucratic work style, which has sunk roots here and there, is causing a great deal of harm. It is drawing cadres and aktivs away from actual work and is not contributing to the proper upbringing of the people. This is a subject I have discussed frequently.

Comrades, the 17th Congress of USSR Trade Unions was held in Moscow recently. The congress' materials and the speeches of the leaders and the rank and file delegates contained a great deal of useful thoughts, ideas and initiatives based on the practical experience of millions of working people in the land of the soviets. I advise you to study them carefully and to apply all of their useful features in your work.

We shall soon be holding the regular Komsomol congress and elections for local soviets. The entire Soviet people are actively preparing for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR. Unquestionably, all of these events will contribute to strengthening the unity between the party and the people further, the growing friendship among the peoples of our country and the upsurge in the labor and political activeness of all party members and all citizens of the land of the soviets.

I am confident that under the guidance of the CC CPSU the republic party organization will lead the working people of Uzbekistan to new heights in economic and cultural developments and the implementation of the decisions of the 26th party congress.

I wish you great success in this work.

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CHERNENKO VIEWS IDEOLOGICAL, ORGANIZATIONAL WORK

PM131039 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, 1982 (signed to press 9 Apr 82)
pp 25-43

[Article by K. Chernenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, under the rubric "Our Knowledge, Strength and Weapon": "Vanguard Role of Communist Party. Important Condition of its Increase. Regarding the Quality of Ideological and Organizational Work"--capitalized passages published in italics]

[Text] A definite law is that problems which, as it were, do not age come into being at the very beginning of really major, epoch-making phenomena in social life. They do not age even when their successful solution in this period or that has already made an indelible mark on the course of historical events. The years pass, generations succeed one another, but these problems still perturb people, require an ever-new exertion of creative thought and prompt heated disputes inside or between political parties.

One such problem for a party of the Leninist type is to ensure the firm UNITY OF IDEOLOGICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL WORK. That formula essentially expresses in condensed, concentrated form, as applied to the revolutionary party of the masses, Leninism's viewpoint on the correlation between ideology and policy, and between theory and practice.

Historical experience proves that even after the victory of socialism it remains one of the most urgent tasks to ensure in reality the unity of the party's ideological educational and organizational work. And this task is not resolved automatically, but requires vigorous, purposeful and continuous efforts. Practice shows that shortcomings in organizational work have an adverse impact on the party's ideological condition and reduce the effectiveness of the communist education of all the working people. There is also a reverse relationship: the weakening of educational work among the masses and the depreciation [prinizheniye] of its ideological and theoretical standard are liable to undermine the party's leading role in society.

How can such phenomena be prevented? How can the optimum combination of the two extremely important aspects of party work be ensured? The practice of party committees constantly requires answers to those questions. For THE CLOSE UNITY OF IDEOLOGICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY AT ALL LEVELS CONSTITUTES A MOST IMPORTANT RESERVE FOR INCREASING COMMUNISTS' VANGUARD ROLE IN IMPLEMENTING THE INNOVATIVE AND COMPLEX TASKS PUT FORWARD BY THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS.

Let us recall how V.I. Lenin used to approach the issues raised above. It is all the more important to do this in that our Bolshevik Party is approaching its 80th anniversary. And this obliges us to view the tasks of the present moment in living connection with the lessons of the past.

The idea of THE PRIMACY OF THE IDEOLOGICAL UNIFICATION of Communists as conscious expressers of the vital interests of the working class and as like-minded strugglers was indisputable so far as Lenin was concerned. This follows directly from his definition of the nature of the party as a combination of scientific socialism with the mass workers movement.

'Lenin's attitude to the ideological form of the proletariat's class struggle and to the scientific formulation of the party's program, strategy and tactics also stems from this. Hence also his thesis of the need "To Illuminate With Theory Each Particular Fact" (Complete Collected Works, vol 4, p 328). A convinced, militant materialist, Lenin never tired of emphasizing the decisive role of practice in the clash between different ideas and in determining the truth of particular theories. But that was the conviction of a materialist who had profoundly assimilated the revolutionary dialectics of Marxism and had a masterly grasp of them and who was well aware that a political struggle will be won only by he who takes part in it under the banner of an advanced scientific theory. "...The lack of a theory," he wrote, "takes away a revolutionary trend's right to exist and inevitably condemns it, sooner or later, to political failure" (Complete Collected Works, vol 6, p 379).

All this, of course, in no way signified the depreciation of the tremendous importance of the party's organizational tasks characteristic of certain opportunists, who claimed that these tasks are resolved "incidentally, in the process of political struggle." While Communists' ideological unity is a necessary prior condition of the strength of a party organization, correctly organized organizational work is a powerful means contributing to the implementation of ideas and ensuring that scientifically substantiated party policy merges with the revolutionary creativity of the masses.

This stance of Lenin's is expressed with perfect clarity in the work "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," which offers a detailed account of the basic principles of party organizational building. "...The proletariat," he emphasized, "can become and inevitably will become an invincible force only thanks to the fact that its ideological unification by the principles of Marxism is bolstered by the material unity of an organization that rallies millions of working people into a working class army" (Complete Collected Works, vol 8, pp 403-404). In other words, Lenin clearly perceived the unity of ideological and organizational work as a most important condition of the resolution of the political tasks of the working class and the party's fulfillment of its vanguard role.

Of course, the unity of ideological and organizational work, as Lenin saw it, is not something given once and for all, something frozen and unchanging. The correlation between these inextricably connected aspects of party activity, their real content and the specific forms of unity change with the changing historical conditions and social and political situation. However, the essence and topicality of Lenin's principle remain immutable today, as they did 80 years ago. Let us look at it in more detail.

1.

NO OTHER POLITICIAN REALIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PARTY'S IDEOLOGICAL WORK WHEN IT CAME TO PREPARING THE MASSES FOR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND BUILDING SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM WITH THE SAME CLARITY AND PROFUNDITY AS LENIN. No other political party carried out this work with the same purposefulness and energy as the Bolshevik Party.

Back in the period of the struggle for the party's creation, pondering the role of scientific ideology and of party leaders possessing wide ideological and political horizons in the organizational formation of the masses' revolutionary movement, Lenin wrote in his polemic with the apologists of spontaneity--the "Economists": "...An 'ideologist' only deserves the title of ideologist when he marches ahead of the spontaneous movement, pointing the way for it, and when he can resolve earlier than other people all theoretical, political, tactical and organizational questions..." (Complete Collected Works, vol 5, p 363). Many years later, formulating conclusions from the experience of Great October for the Second Comintern Congress, Lenin specially emphasizes that one of the conditions of Bolshevism's success as a current of political thought and as a political party is the fact that it arose on the firm foundation of the theory of Marxism.

Not ideological and organizational amorphousness but ideological and political and organizational unity whose foundation is faithfulness to the principles of Marxism and scientific communism is what Lenin saw as an integral feature of the party of the new type. That is what he was convinced was the best guarantee that the party would always prove itself to be a really leading, organized and organizing force in the struggle for socialism. Our party has never deviated an iota from that behest of Lenin's.

Opportunists invariably deny, in different forms in different countries, the need for such unity and uphold the concept of ideological and often organizational "pluralism." And, just as invariably, practice shows that wherever it flourishes, "pluralism" leads only to the loss of the party's combat capability and to the erosion of its ideological foundations and class borders--in short, to its transformation into a motley conglomerate of politically and ideologically disunited groups and groupings. This kind of "pluralism" used to knock and even now knocks from the proletariat's hands its chief weapon in the struggle to gain and defend people's power--organization.

So far as we are concerned it is axiomatic that the strengthening of the party's leading role and the deepening of the scientific foundations of its political and organizational activity are inseparable from THE CREATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF LENINISM. For the CPSU, Leninism is not only a comprehensively time-tested harmonious and integral system of philosophical, socioeconomic and political views and principles. For our party it is the deep-seated philosophical [mirovozzrenchenskaya], methodological foundation of all its life and activity today.

History cogently confirms that the strength of Leninism lies in the fact that it is firmly based on facts and solves all theoretical and political problems

in indissoluble connection with the class struggle and the international practice of socialist and communist building.

It is precisely because the CPSU invariably proceeds in its theoretical work from real life in all its diversity and from what Lenin called the masses' own political experience that it foists on no one patterns, schemes or roads to socialism that disregard the peculiarities of particular countries. At the same time our party proceeds from the fact that both the road to socialism and the socialist system itself are characterized by a number of fundamental features and laws common to all countries. In point of fact it is a matter of the aggregate of the features determining the fundamental qualitative opposition between socialism and capitalism and socialism's conformity with the interests of the working people's masses. To hope to find some kind of a "model" of socialism that develops contrary to these laws and to cast doubt on their international significance and topicality is to nullify the incontrovertible conclusions from the practice of real socialism and to engage in theoretical and political pipedreaming that can only lead to revolutionary movement a long way away from socialism and bring it into an impasse.

The strength of Leninism is that it is a creative, constantly developing teaching that is implacable toward any manifestations of dogmatism or ossified thinking. After all, life does not stand still--it produces new phenomena and confronts us with new problems. And this sometimes prompts us to ponder seemingly indisputable theses, to deepen ideas regarding the laws that have been discovered and to reveal new trends. We cannot successfully march forward without developing the Marxist-Leninist teaching. At the same time Leninism will not accept misconceived innovation whereby principles tested by life are hastily replaced--for the sake of fashion or out of considerations of pure short-term expediency--with speculative [umozritelnyy] schemes that have not been comprehensively tested by experience and by the international practice of the struggle for socialism.

The genuinely creative and innovative nature of Leninism is vividly revealed in the party's contemporary theoretical work. The CPSU's ability to notice and interpret new processes and trends in a timely fashion and thereby to find effective ways of solving the urgent economic, sociopolitical and spiritual problems of communist building and the international situation was displayed in full measure in L.I. Brezhnev's report at the 26th CPSU Congress, in the congress decisions on preparing a new edition of the CPSU program and in other party documents.

The concept of developed socialism formulated by the CPSU is of outstanding significance. It is the reliable theoretical and methodological basis for determining our party strategy and tactics for a long historical period and the main lines of its organizational and ideological work and for eliminating from propaganda and education manifestations of "political blather" and "frivolity" (Lenin) in using lofty words and ideas! The concept of developed socialism enabled the party to interpret more profoundly the real dialectics of the creation of the communist socioeconomic formation and to clarify our ideas on the duration of the properly socialist phase of the new society and on the by no means exhausted potential for progress within its framework.

All this helped to overcome the one-sided, subjectivist views of both those who divided socialism from communism and represented it as a separate (in relation to communism) formation and those who hoped essentially to "leap" to the supreme phase of communism immediately after the building of the foundations of socialism was completed. "The experiences of the USSR and the other socialist community countries," L.I. Brezhnev notes, "shows that the creation of the foundations of socialism...still does not make it possible to begin a direct transition to communism. Definite stages of the development of socialism on its own basis have to be passed through first. And practice has shown that the development and improvement of socialism is just as complex and crucial a task as the creation of its foundation." Our party and the entire Soviet people are working purposefully on this task, for it is only as it is resolved, as the developed socialist society improves, that the gradual development of that society into a communist society takes place. It is a single historical process.

The substantially increased significance of theoretical activity and ideological work as a whole under contemporary conditions stems from the operation of a number of internal and external factors that the party cannot fail to take into account when it is formulating and implementing its political course.

First of all, there is the increase in the scale and complexity of the task of communist building, the strengthening of the interconnection between the economy's progress and society's sociopolitical and spiritual progress, and the growth of the masses' consciousness and labor and social activities. In conditions of developed socialism we have to resolve the truly historic task of switching the economy over to intensive development, which cannot be done without a radical improvement of the economic machinery and the whole management system of the national economy. It is also a case of erasing class differences, further expanding working people's participation in all state and social affairs, molding the new man--the man of creative labor and of great political and moral culture--in short, of completing the restructuring of all social relations on the basis of the collectivist principles inherent in the new system.

Only the implementation of this whole huge complex of tasks will create the necessary preconditions for the transition to the supreme phase of communism. It is the duty of science, of social scientists, to be more vigorous in helping the party to resolve them. It is only on this basis, incidentally, that it is possible to overcome the manifestations of scholastic theorizing in the social sciences fields that were mentioned at the 26th CPSU Congress and the practice--still not eliminated--of proving what has long been proved instead of interpreting the new phenomena of life.

You cannot help seeing that the scientific and technical revolution, the increased complexity of the fuel and energy, raw material and certain other conditions of the functioning of the national economy, and the worsened population problems are having an increasingly tangible influence on the development of our society. The formulation of a scientifically substantiated economic, social and demographic policy is today simply impossible without the profound theoretical study of the immediate and long-term consequences and trends

produced by these processes in production forces, in man's relationship with nature, in the structure and proportions of the national economy, in the content and nature of labor, in social-class relations and in the management of society.

Our internal development naturally depends to a great extent on the foreign policy situation. This has become considerably more complex in recent years. The CPSU Central Committee report to the 26th Party Congress and L.I. Brezhnev's subsequent speeches provide a comprehensive analysis of the reasons for the deterioration in the international situation, clearly describe the forces that are undermining detente and put forward constructive proposals and initiatives on removing the threat of war and strengthening world peace, curbing the arms race and developing equal and mutually advantageous economic relations between states with different social systems. The new proposals on lowering the level of military confrontation and on disarmament put forward by L.I. Brezhnev at the 17th Trade Union Congress are vivid evidence of the unswerving determination of the CPSU and the Soviet state to really stave off the growing threat of nuclear missile war. The analysis of the ideological struggle in the international arena and of its influence on the ideological situation inside particular countries is also of great significance in view of the fact that the class enemy's propaganda activeness has increased in the last few years and his attempts to exert a corrupting influence on the consciousness of the socialist states' population have intensified.

WE POSSESS A MIGHTY THEORETICAL WEAPON TO SOLVE THE VITAL PROBLEMS FACING US TODAY. THIS IS, ABOVE ALL, MATERIALIST DIALECTICS--in Lenin's words, the most comprehensive, meaningful and profound teaching on development. It is this that to a tremendous extent predetermines the unfading creative strength of Marxism-Leninism by equipping us with the only correct theory and method for the cognition and transformation of social life. The major shifts taking place in all spheres of the mature socialist society and the need more fully to reveal and utilize its potential urgently demand the further development of materialist dialectics and its categories, principles and laws.

Clearly, what takes pride of place here is the focal, basic category of Marxist-Leninist dialectics--the category of the contradiction--and its application to the study of processes and phenomena in our society. Contradictions are inherent in socialism, as they are in any developing, growing social organism. The art of political leadership and of the scientific management of society lies in revealing them in time and outlining ways of overcoming them. It is clear that the role of theoretical research carried through to the level of practical scientific recommendations is especially great here.

In our social science today the opinion has become established that contradictions are not something alien to socialism but are fundamentally different from the antagonisms of the bourgeois society and are all resolvable. However, we must move on from this truth, which is, to be frank, self-evident so far as creative Marxism is concerned. Our social science is called upon to study questions of paramount theoretical and practical significance such as the nature and types of contradictions characteristic of the contemporary stage of Soviet society's development and the objective and subjective factors

that cause them without trying, as sometimes happens, to write off all the existing difficulties and negative phenomena as "survivors of the past" in people's consciousness. The comprehensive theoretical analysis of the aforementioned problems helps the party to come to a deeper understanding of the economic, social or other causes of the contradictions that arise and to surmount them in a timely and efficient manner.

The dialectics of the development of the social-class structure of our society is also setting important tasks for theoretical thought. L.I. Brezhnev's report at the 26th CPSU Congress provides a scientific definition of the leading trends in this sphere which points to new avenues of research. But, unfortunately, some social scientists find it hard to turn from their accustomed ways. Isn't this why we still encounter the thoughtless repetition of obsolete formulas, the superficial commentary of truisms or the mechanical recording of facts that have pretensions to be scientific generalizations? Not only inertia and laziness of thought but also the inability to adopt a critical attitude toward one's own previous generalizations that have not been borne out by life are clearly having an impact.

The laws of the making in the main of a classless social structure within the historical framework of mature socialism, the leading role of the working class in this process, its growing influence on all the social groups of our society, and the degree of rapprochement that has been attained between those groups are all questions directly connected with the implementation of the CPSU's program aims and the supreme ideals and values of socialism. Both jumping the gun and underestimation of the major achievements in the erasing of interclass differences that are prompting the party increasingly to focus its social policy on overcoming differences that transcend the limits of individual classes and on solving problems that require most careful consideration of the peculiarities and interests of each group in our society are equally forbidden in the elaboration of these questions.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR" emphasized with new force the tremendous significance the party attaches to the political and theoretical aspects of the development of national relations. We have done what no one before us managed to do. The nationalities question, in the form we inherited from the capitalist past, has been resolved and resolved on a truly democratic, just basis. We are legitimately proud of this. But this does not mean, of course, that development in this sphere of social life has been frozen, so to speak. The dynamics of social and economic problems in a large multinational state such as ours constantly generate new problems in national relations--not simple problems either. The 26th CPSU Congress and the Central Committee resolution call on party committees to go deeper into these and to suggest in a timely fashion the correct ways of solving them. Here too, success cannot be expected without a firm theoretical base.

Our economists, philosophers, sociologists and all the working people on the ideological front are being set major theoretical problems by the 26th CPSU Congress' course of improving distribution relations in conditions of developed socialism and the whole system of material and moral labor incentives and of stepping up monitoring of the extent of labor and extent of consumption.

Without this it is impossible to fully implement the principles of justice and equality inherent in socialism, to educate the new man as a creative, harmoniously developed individual and to eradicate the various kinds of borrowed, alien phenomena and everything that, in a generalized way, we describe as antipodes of communist morality and the socialist style of life.

Our society is a society of working people, our way of life is a working way, and we Soviet people will accept nothing else. Those people who display exceptional enterprise and activeness in satisfying their own individual requirements regardless of the quantity and quality of their labor, the duty and obligations of a conscious citizen or social potential ought to get that properly through their heads.

A person's status under socialism is determined by socially useful labor and its results. The conscientious working person, the leading production worker, the creator of physical and spiritual wealth embody the social and moral values that have become established in the consciousness of the overwhelming majority of Soviet people.

Soviet citizens' great ideological and political maturity and profound devotion to the party cause and the ideals of communism find expression in a conscious attitude toward labor. Only he who gives his all to the common cause lives a worthy life. We must protect and develop this dignity of working people in every possible way.

Today there is no need to prove the correctness of Lenin's idea that THE EDUCATION OF THE NEW MAN IS NOT ONLY A MOST IMPORTANT GOAL BUT AN ESSENTIAL CONDITION OF SUCCESS IN COMMUNIST BUILDING. The role of skillfully organized ideological work is great in this sphere, too. It would clearly be correct for the efforts of all ideological workers (both theoretical and practical) to be focused around [as published] the further elaboration and implementation of the ideas put forward by L.I. Brezhnev and the party in the sphere of communist education in recent years.

Among these, special attention is deserved by the 26th CPSU Congress theses that the success of education is assured only when it rests on the firm foundation of socioeconomic policy; that it is necessary actively to form sensible individual requirements and interests; and that the making of the new man depends crucially on how the unity of ideological-theoretical, political educational, organizational and economic work is ensured in reality.

A rigorously scientific approach to the substantiation of party and state decisions and purposeful ideological work are for the CPSU a vital necessity, an essential condition of the successful fulfillment of its leading and organizing role and the best guarantee against manifestations of subjectivism, pragmatism, voluntarism or passiveness in policy.

2.

V.I. LENIN REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED THAT ONCE THE CORRECT, SCIENTIFICALLY SUBSTANTIATED POLITICAL LINE HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED AND THE MEANS OF IMPLEMENTING IT HAVE BEEN DETERMINED, ORGANIZATION BECOMES THE CRUX OF ALL WORK. "...THE MAIN BASIS OF THE DURABILITY OF THE NEW SYSTEM," HE SAID, "IS THE ORGANIZATIONAL MEASURES THAT WE WILL IMPLEMENT IN THE NAME OF SOCIALISM" (Complete Collected Works, vol 35, p. 288). That idea of Lenin's assumes special significance in conditions of developed socialism, when the scale of the party's political activity, the complexity and novelty of the problems that are being solved and the working people's social activeness increase immeasurably.

It is a case of the party's ability to rouse the masses to implement its policy and to organize precise, harmonious work by all components of the economic machinery and all institutions of our political system. In short, to ensure that organization of Soviet society along profoundly scientific and truly humanist and collectivist lines which distinguish socialism from capitalism.

The road to this lies via intensive work by theoretical thought, bold social experiment and the careful study of the experience generated by the masses' creativity. It also sometimes lies via setbacks and errors, which must be soberly analyzed! The correct conclusions must be drawn from them.

Organizational work is not only energy and vigor in implementing the set tasks but also a constant creative quest for the best possible ways of implementing them. It is not divided by an impassable wall from ideological-theoretical work, still less political educational work. It is a direct extension of them; thanks to its ideas acquire real practical force and the channel of the party's political strategy is filled with the living stream of the people's creative activity.

In the last one and a half decades the CPSU Central Committee has carried out much work to improve party leadership of the economy and of the sphere of social relations and culture. Leninist norms of party life have been restored and the party's ties with the working people have been strengthened. The measures implemented in this period have been aimed at strengthening the collectiveness of leadership, increasing the responsibility of the various management organs and the coordinating role of central and local organs of power, securing greater balance and proportion in the development of the national economy, ensuring that the decisions made are scientifically substantiated and ensuring broad publicity. The 26th CPSU Congress made a major contribution to improving the forms and methods of party leadership of social processes. It emphasized that vigorous, competent leadership is of decisive significance in improving the results of all the work of party organizations.

The new, broader potential in the implementation of our party's program tasks and in the realization of developed socialism's advantages require new forms of organizational and ideological educational work and even firmer unity between them. What does this demand mean today? What problems arise for organizational work in this connection, and how are they being solved or how should they be solved?

First of all it should be stressed once again that the further strengthening of the organization and cohesion of our party and all Soviet society is possible only on a firm ideological foundation. That foundation has been, is and will continue to be our Marxist-Leninist ideology. Second, you cannot expect long-term real success in any organizational work without skillful, cogent persuasion of the masses.

The party long ago resolutely rejected the methods of issuing administrative commands to the working people, and the implementation of any major political action begins with the raising of a question precisely formulated by Lenin: "Have we placed all the new production tasks on a sufficiently broad and solid basis of persuasion?" (Complete Collected Works, vol 42, p 217). Reasoning and persuasion are the party's main method of work among the masses. Of course, if someone is carrying out actions hostile to the socialist society's interests, the party believes it is justified for the state to use other means too. These are provided for by the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws.

Third, party propagandists and agitation workers, the press, television and radio must be bolder in instigating patriotic initiatives and undertakings and organizing their practical introduction in collectives and must wage an implacable struggle against everything hampering the precision and coordination of our work. In short, it is a question of further strengthening ideological and political educational works' connection with life and with the solution of the urgent problems of contemporary politics, of improving efficiency. There are many examples--and good examples--of this fusion of ideological educational and organizational activity in our country.

Nonetheless, you still encounter attempts by some--albeit not many--ideological cadres to cut themselves off from organizational work and to make out that the task of ideology is just to campaign and explain, and that others should do the organizing. There is no need to prove the erroneousness of that posture. Of course ideological and political educational activity cannot in itself resolve economic and social problems. The successes achieved in this should not be attributed solely to it, nor should it alone be blamed for the existing shortcomings. Only a fusion of ideological educational work with organizational work, a fusion geared not to the number of events held or to the notorious "coverage" ["okhvat"] but to specific end results, ensures progress.

There is another aspect of the problem that should also be mentioned--the level of organizational work must match the level of Soviet people's activeness, ideological and political maturity and professional skill and the nature of the tasks being resolved by the party. Is this match always achieved? Unfortunately not.

For instance, it is well known what a great effect the comprehensive team working according to a single job schedule produces in terms of the improvement of labor productivity and the saving of manpower and material resources. "A well-organised team that is working efficiently and I would say intelligently," L.I. Brezhnev noted at the 17th Trade Union Congress, "is a true school for the development of workers' management skills and an experimental laboratory for any creative initiative. The members of such a team acquire at work, in everyday joint labor, the economic and political knowledge that is so necessary

nowadays. The sense of being master of one's plant and master of one's country is really forged in such a team." However, so far this form of labor organization is being introduced only slowly. This is not because the working people do not understand its advantages or do not want to switch to the new form, but mostly because of some leaders' inability to ensure rhythmical, intensive work by the relevant enterprises and organizations.

Or take socialist competition. What is holding back its further development today? A reluctance to compete or the inability of those who are supposed to really organize the labor competition? Clearly the latter.

The effectiveness of competition is often decreased because local party, trade union and Komsomol committees and economic cadres focus their main efforts on only two phases of it--the adoption of pledges and the summing up of results. That sort of approach misses the main point--the very course, the living process of labor competition and the revelation of all the new and progressive things that the struggle for the highest results produces. Yet the entire history of this patriotic movement of millions attests to its wonderful ability to reveal ever-new strata of reserves in labor techniques and organization and in ways and methods of work.

The creative potential of competition is increasing with the growth of working people's education and skill. Comprehensive systems for the control of competition which cover all its phases must be more boldly introduced and innovations and initiatives that have proved their worth must be introduced more vigorously. More attention should be paid to the laggards and they must be brought up to the level of the main mass and then to that of the production leaders. Not just to win an open labor contest but to help one's comrades--that is the great moral strength of socialist competition. After all, it is not just a matter of the economic effect alone. The ideological and social results, the awakening of creative thought and the assertion of a sense of collectivism, comradeship and mutual assistance are equally important.

Clearly, it is the Communists who should set the correct tone in organizing competition and the entire labor process. They are called on to maintain in every way an atmosphere of creative quest, of the critical consideration of work, to act boldly themselves in cases where a particular economic or trade union leader displays inertia, disregard for people's interests and opinions, and a narrow departmental or localistic approach. They must give a principle assessment of the parasitic sentiments sometimes prevailing in certain collectives. How else, for instance, can we describe a situation where people view with indifference the fact that they are producing obsolete or poor-quality output which no one needs, yet regularly receiving their wages and often bonuses, too?

The well thought-out organization of economic activity produces a good effect--not only an economic effect, but a political and ideological one. "The economic mechanism's uninterrupted operation," L.I. Brezhnev says, "helps create a good businesslike atmosphere in the country, promotes the broad masses' labor enthusiasm and generates an increase in initiative among the working

people, since people can see that their work is bearing the necessary fruit and is benefiting the people and all society. And, on the other hand, nothing so dampens people's ardor as instances of ill-considered decisions, bungling, or bureaucratism on the part of individual workers, which means that labor, social wealth and the created assets are wasted." That is why the party, in assessing the work of leaders and economic cadres, demands the consideration not only of the indicators of the fulfillment of production plans but of the level of discipline, the moral and political climate in the collective and the working and living conditions.

In brief, it is a case of enhancing leading cadres' responsibility for the education consequences of economic activity. Today this is one specific way of ensuring the reality the unity of organizational and ideological educational work.

NATURALLY, THE ORDERING OF INTRAPARTY WORK SHOULD SET AN EXAMPLE OF PRECISION AND ORGANIZATION. A broad, ramified network of primary party organizations pervades all cells of our society's social organism and all components of its political and economic structure, imparting to each an increasing degree of organization, coordination and purposefulness.

It is clear that in the field of intraparty work it is essential constantly to seek new organizational forms according with the requirements of life. Here, too, much that is interesting and instructive has emerged in our country in recent years.

A form of party leadership like the councils of party organization secretaries, for instance, emerged with the appearance of production and science-and-production associations and is functioning successfully. Much that is interesting and fruitful has emerged in recent years in the activity of the party organizations of Moscow and Leningrad, the Ukraine and Belorussia, Georgia and Azerbaijan. The practice of the preliminary discussion by communists of questions submitted to party committee plenums and activists, of the broad study of public opinion during the drafting of laws and important party, and economic decision, and the system of regular reports by leading cadres to working people deserve approval.

The party committee is the political center for the administration of the collective's entire life, it is the collective's brain and conscience. And it should always maintain in the collective a high intellectual and moral standard and set an example of exactness and a Leninist style in work.

The role of the party committee secretaries and above all the first secretaries is particularly important here. They are called on to be first secretaries not only in terms of the extent of their powers and rights but also in terms of their competence, their ability to organize people for joint, harmonious work, their efficiency and principled character, modesty and accessibility, their ability to assess the situation self-critically and to admit honestly and frankly their blunders and errors if such have been committed.

One key problem of all organizational work has been and remains precisely organized monitoring of the fulfillment of the decisions taken. It is good that we have learned to compile comprehensive, targeted, long-term plans, and planning must continue to be improved. It is bad when individual party committees devote so much effort to compiling various plans that no time remains for their implementation. It is well-known how venomously Lenin ridiculed those who "quite often give the most wonderful advice and guidelines but prove to be, to the point of ridiculousness, TO THE POINT OF ABSURDITY, to the point of shameful, 'ham-handed,' incapable of IMPLEMENTING this advice and these guidelines, of exercising PRACTICAL CONTROL to ensure that words are transformed into deeds" (Complete Collected Works, vol 35, p 202).

In recent years the party organizations' rights in monitoring the activity of the administration have been substantially expanded and these rights must be fully used. At the same time they must not, of course, supplant soviet and economic cadres by assuming the entire burden of their organizational work of displaying excessive, petty tutelage. These methods of leadership break cadres of the habit of independence in their thinking and actions and generate irresponsibility and, idle talk. The party workers themselves, in the hurly-burly of their numerous managerial concerns, frequently overlook the main thing--political work with people, the elaboration of long-term problems, and monitoring of the fulfillment of decisions. And it is not easy to make anyone answerable in such a situation.

Special mention must be made of the party raykoms. Their role in the mechanism of party leadership is extraordinarily crucial. It is here, as a rule, that the activity of the professional party apparatus ends and broad independent party work begins; it is through the raykom that all levels of the party structure are linked with its basic nucleus--labor collectives' primary party organizations. With, a small apparatus of party workers in general, the raykoms perform work which is, without exaggeration, enormous in its importance and volume.

The CPSU Central Committees, as is well known, constantly analyze the raykoms' activity and seek to give them effective aid. The day-to-day training of rayon-level secretaries and apparatus workers has been set up everywhere. Republican and zonal seminar-conferences of ideological workers which involved the secretaries of all raykoms were held last year. This practice should obviously be developed.

Sometimes the question of enlarging the raykom's apparatus is raised. It must frankly be said that this is not a way out of the situation. A way out must be sought primarily in the precise delimitation of functions between raykoms, rayispolkoms, economic organs and public organizations--in the elimination of unnecessary parallelism and duplication in their work, and in the development of the structure for the management of economic, social and ideological processes at the rayon level. Here, of course, we must not fall into the so-called "organizational fetishism" against which F.E. Dzerzhinskiy warned.

"We think it is enough," he said, "to take a pencil and sketch a family tree with detailed groups, to put one group here, another there, one group manages this, another group manages that, yet another manages something else and so

on, and simply by drawing a picture we have organized matters.... The center of gravity should lie in the workers' responsibility, in pitting live people, responsible people against organizational fetishism". (F.E. Dzerzhinskiy. Collected Works, two volumes, Moscow, Political Literature Publishing House, 1977, vol 2, pp 491-492).

I shall cite an example of the truly creative organization of raykoms' work in the leadership of agriculture. It is well known that in recent years specialization has become quite widespread in agricultural production. But any "specialization," as Lenin said, "necessarily presupposes centralization and, in turn, unconditionally demands it" (Complete Collected Works, vol 6, p 130).

And it is precisely this centralization at rayon level which is lacking. Dozens of specialized organizations serving the kolkhozes and sovkhoses quite often work only "for themselves," for their own strictly departmental interests. That is what happened in Vilyandiskiy Rayon in Estonia. And then the republic's scientists elaborated a new structure for the entire administration of the rayon agroindustrial complex making it possible to direct the efforts of all those taking part in production toward the end result, taking into account the real economic potential and interests of each farm, enterprise or subdepartment. But how was the new system to be introduced?

The party raykom assumed the main organizational role. An agroindustrial association controlled by a council including, as well as the leaders of kolkhozes and sovkhoses and selkhoztekhnika and selkhozkhimiya enterprises and other organizations, the raykom first secretary and the rayispolkom chairman was created in the rayon.

Such work had to be done in overcoming the departmental disconnectedness which had previously been corroding the economic mechanism in the rayon. On the other hand, by introducing the new system the raykom spared itself the need to constantly coordinate the work of numerous enterprises and farms and exercise of petty tutelage over them and focused its attention on large-scale, long-term problems. More time emerged for political work directly in the labor collectives. Thus they succeeded in practice in pooling the efforts of all participants in production for the comprehensive solution of economic and social tasks and in enhancing the role of the rayon level in the management not only of agriculture but also of the entire agroindustrial complex. The effect proved more than impressive: During the 10th 5-Year Plan average annual grain production in the rayon increased 39 percent compared with the 9th 5-Year Plan while milk production increased 20 percent and meat production 40 percent. We must regard as no less important the fact that people have begun to work better, more eagerly and purposefully, for they can see clearly the end result of their labor and are actively interested in it.

Today Vilyandiskiy Rayon's experience has also been introduced in Pyarmuskiy Rayon in Estonia, while Talsinskiy Rayon in Latvia and Abashskiy Rayon in Georgia are taking basically the same path. The republican party committees are paying increasing attention to this experience. It is also being studied on a unionwide scale with a view to its further dissemination. The corresponding practice of the work of the Abashskiy Rayon Soviet in the Georgian SSR

and the Talsinkiy Rayon Soviet in the Latvian SSR was recently approved at a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session.

The development of voluntary work principles in party work, particularly in ideological commissions and methodological councils, is a considerable reserve for improving the standard of party leadership at the rayon level. Clearly, we should not strive to increase the number of these bodies. They should help the work of the bureau and apparatus and not burden it by holding numerous additional sessions.

In general, when there is talk of improving organizational work we must constantly see that the ultimate objective, the crux of the matter for which the particular organizational efforts are being made, is not overlooked for a minute and that the holding of various measures, which should serve only as a means, as an instrument of work, does not become an end in itself and the basic indicator of work. WHERE PEOPLE FORGET THIS, OUR MOST EVIL ENEMY--FORMALISM--APPEARS AGAIN AND AGAIN.

Many very true words have been spoken and probably will continue to be spoken about formalism--and entirely deservedly. After all, it is the opposite of the very spirit and methods of the Bolshevik Party's work. But let us think about what formalism is, assessed politically.

Formalism is multifaceted in its manifestations, but it has only one essence: sacrificing the content of a matter to form, forgetting the ultimate goal for which organizational work is undertaken, that lofty partywide or statewide idea which alone gives it meaning. Formalism is nothing other than the blunting of the political, social and moral responsibility of individual party, soviet, economic and other leaders, and, of course, an indicator of their low personal cultural level.

Formalism is akin to bureaucratism or, to be more precise, it is a form of bureaucratism, "Not the apparatus for the people but the people for the apparatus"--that is the "article of faith" of bureaucratism, whose roots go right back to the old society. Its manifestations can be observed not only in the activity of the state apparatus but also of the party apparatus "for these apparatuses," as Lenin said, "are closely interwoven" (Complete Collected Works, vol 42, p 49). This is also true of formalism, which sometimes makes itself felt in the activity of some party, trade union, Komsomol and other public organizations. It is alive and has the ability to grow rapidly where this evil is viewed with indifference and no constant and vigorous struggle is waged against it.

Some people suppose that the concept of formalism applies only to executive activity. No, it is also to be encountered at the birth and development of the main thing--the idea or design. A formalist, in preparing a decision, is not concerned to study people's opinions, proposals and views or to persuade them of the need to implement particular measures. In brief, he forgets the basic thing: that unity of action and harmonious joint work are born of people's clear understanding of the correctness of the decision which has been made.

The formalists' underrating of the primacy of Communists' ideological unification, only then to be followed by their organizational unification (like the unification of the efforts of any collective to attain a particular goal), is precisely what generates a multitude of decisions "from above" which have not been checked in working people's collectives, which they have therefore not taken close to their hearts and which are as a rule soon forgotten. Is this not the source of a whole flood of decisions, followed by new, even more powerful waves? Is this not the source of the practice--still encountered--whereby the committed collective discussion of the state of affairs is replaced by speeches by so-called staff orators and decision-making is reduced merely to the reading and formal approval of a draft? And is this not one of the reasons for the appearance of so-called repeat decisions, which can only be regarded as an indicator of grave defects in the style of work of a party committee or party organization?

The harm of formalism--and it is considerable--lies primarily in the fact that it restricts working people's real participation in the solution of the urgent problems of our life, stifles their initiative, and generates indifference and passivity. Formalism has an adverse effect on the militancy of party organizations and impedes the successful solution of the tasks on which the enhancement of the Communist's vanguard role depends.

Formalism in organizational work is activity devoid of specific content and is essentially empty activity. That is why the number of events held, the number of speakers at debates and the number of hands raised "for" a motion are paramount to a formalist. But he is little concerned for the real economic, social or political educational results of the aktivs, meetings, conferences and other events or for the businesslike, specific approach or depth of speeches. That is why where there is formalism there is also regimentation. It leaves no place for lively, creative thinking and action, for broad, truly effective organizational work by the party among the working people, reducing this work to the holding of numerous events regardless of their necessity and usefulness. Unfortunately, the approach whereby the activity of the party apparatus is judged by the number of questions prepared and conferences held and not by their end result has still not been eradicated in some places.

The CPSU's very rich experience of organizational work convincingly attests that this work is only really effective, and only fails to cross the borderline between a healthy desire to organize matters as well and as precisely as possible and regimentation and formalism, when the party committee or party organization constantly keeps sight of the specific goal, the specific result which it intends to achieve. And that means that organizational work should proceed hand in hand with ideological educational and propaganda work and that it should know and take into account the working people's thoughts and feelings. Without that it is hard to count on their vigor, initiative and enthusiasm in attaining the projected goals.

If these principles are forgotten or if people do not know how to implement them consistently, the sophisticated organizational techniques now available to party committees at all levels will not help. With the aid of modern computers it is possible to provide the party apparatus with up-to-date,

extensive information about how many meetings and conferences have been held and where, how many letters and suggestions have come in from working people, and so forth. This, of course, is no bad thing. But quantitative data per se cannot take the place of lively organizational work with people and the real solution of urgent tasks. As one party conference rightly noted, with a computer you can calculate to your heart's content the population's complaints about the poor state of apartments, but the crux of the matter is to mend the roof promptly.

Formalism is intolerable everywhere, but it causes particularly great harm in ideological educational and propaganda work. Here formalism is the direct depersonalization of people: for the formalist any audience appears as an amorphous conglomerate of people of no sex, age or social group, with leveled-down interests and requirements. Like his brothers in other spheres, he places the main emphasis on the quantitative, not the meaningful or ideological aspect of the matter. Here lies the root of one source of the blather, of the weak link with life and economic and organizational work, and of the desire to shirk acute, worrying problems discussed at the 26th CPSU Congress.

Manifestations of formalism in the sphere of education and propaganda at best leave people with a feeling of dissatisfaction and at worst cause irritation. They can also pave the way for the penetration of alien, harmful views and feelings and they diminish the mobilizing and organizational role of mass political work and of the press, television and radio. The way to overcome these manifestations is prompted by practice and has been clearly formulated by our party: It is to ensure the unity of word and deed and of ideological-theoretical, political educational, organizational and economic work.

Much has been done in the time which has elapsed since the adoption of the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work" and the 26th CPSU Congress' demand for the restructuring of many sectors and spheres of ideological work.

There have been improvements in the activity of the mass news and propaganda media and the system of party enlightenment and working people's communist education. However, these are just the first steps in resolving the tasks set by the 26th CPSU Congress and the party documents. Much work still lies ahead.

The struggle against formalism in the party's organizational and ideological educational activity is a multifaceted process which will obviously still require more time and effort and the testing, as Lenin instructed, of different means of attaining the goal (see Complete Collected Works, vol 43, p. 281). A very important condition of success in this struggle is not to leave a single manifestation of formalism or regimentation without a principled party assessment, and those who connive at them must be strictly penalized. Obviously, the eradication of this evil is inseparable from the further intensification of socialist democracy, the development of Leninist principles and norms of intraparty life, and the consolidation of the interconnection between the CPSU's ideological educational and organizational activity.

THE STANDARD OF IDEOLOGICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL WORK DEPENDS TO A DECISIVE DEGREE ON THE PARTY AND SOVIET CADRES AND ECONOMIC LEADERS, ON THEIR POLITICAL MATURITY, MORAL STANDARDS, PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE AND ABILITY TO UNITE AND LEAD PEOPLE. The party has trained and educated many such cadres.

But the very movement of life requires the influx of ever new forces in all sectors of party and economic work. And the party is following this process attentively. Suffice it to say that today nearly one-third (29.6 percent) of party gorkom and raykom secretaries are under 40 years old.

Of course, we cannot restrict ourselves here purely to the age indicator. For "youth," as Ya. M. Sverdlov stressed, "is far from being measured in years alone. A man can be young at 50 and old at 30" (Ya. M. Sverdlov; Collected Works, Moscow, Political Literature Publishing House, 1976, p. 94). Truly creative, enterprising workers free of stereotypes and cliches and at the same time possessing a mastery of the entire wealth of political work must be selected. It is important that the new recruits pass through not only our party schools but also the school of life and practical work among the masses.

Under present-day conditions special significance attaches to the inculcation of initiative, independence and the ability to assume responsibility and to take risks where the interests of the matter require it. Passivity, temporizing and the resultant wasted time sometimes entail greater losses than straightforward spoilage at work.

Harm is also caused by those economic leaders who prefer a directive-based, strictly administrative style or who go to the other extreme--excessive reliance on material incentives alone. Of course, economic incentives, like measures of administrative influence, are essential. Building communism just on the working people's enthusiasm is mere utopia. At the same time it is obvious that we must appeal not only to economic interest but also to the working persons' proprietorial sense and pride, to his professional honor and ideological conviction, and develop these lofty qualities.

The building of communism is not a great favor to the masses, it is their own vital concern. That is why it is so important that every theoretical proposition, political directive and even idea should be aligned with the working people's interests. That people should see in them the solution of their own vital problems and specific, practical steps in their advance toward our ideals, fusing together the will of the party and the inexhaustible energy of the masses and directing them toward the fulfillment of the set tasks--that is the true art of party leadership which all our cadres must constantly learn.

The party educates cadres in a spirit of high executive discipline, of the ability to approach the solution of any question from a nationwide, statewide standpoint and not a localistic or narrow departmental one.

I should like to recall that Lenin considered the question of the formation of a new labor discipline and its correct organization one of the fundamental economical and political questions after the revolution. He viewed the struggle

for its solution as one of the basic forms of the working class' great struggle for the creation and consolidation of a new social system (see Complete Collected Works, vol 39, p. 264); vol 40, p. 316 and others). It may confidently be said that even today this statement of the question by Lenin has not lost its significance.

At the same time it is essential to develop by every means democratic principles in all elements of social life. Sometimes you hear the question: Do we not have too much democracy, is it not leading to the slackening of discipline? I think that comrades who ask this question voluntarily or involuntarily identify democracy with petit bourgeois ideas of it as freedom from any responsibility to the state and society, leading to individualism and anarchy. Of course, there is not and should not be any such democracy in our country. As for true democracy--socialist democracy--the party is constantly working on its expansion and intensification, seeking, as Lenin instructed us to do, universal participation by the working people in the management of the state. Without such democracy there is not, nor can there be any, conscious discipline.

Discipline is strong only where people themselves understand the need for it, feel responsible for the work they are performing, and really set about introducing proper order. Without that no law enforcement organs or administration can operate successfully.

Democracy and centralism, democracy and discipline are fused together in all the party's activity. The CPSU seeks to ensure an atmosphere of genuine freedom and creativity in the discussion of all key problems of domestic and foreign policy at all levels. But once a decision has been taken, its strict fulfillment should ensue. On this question our party, in accordance with Leninist traditions, has never made and will never make any concessions to anyone. We know that within some communist parties voices are sometimes to be heard alleging that democratic centralism does not accord with present-day conditions and that the demand that every party member must take part in the fulfillment of collectively taken decisions is outdated. We do not know a single instance in the history of our party or the entire international communist movement confirming the correctness of this viewpoint. On the other hand we do know cases of the slackening of the principle of democratic centralism causing serious harm to a particular party and weakening it.

Without a firm, flexible, permanent link with the masses the party cannot successfully perform its role as organizer and leader of the masses. "The loss of the party's close link with the masses," M.I. Kalinin stressed, "would be the loss of its communist content" (M.I. Kalinin, Advice to a Party Worker on Organizational and Mass Political Work, Moscow, Political Literature Publishing House, 1975, p. 133). In persuading and organizing the masses, we must constantly be disposed to heed the working people's opinions, advice, critical comments and proposals.

I should like to touch on the following problem in this connection. A high sense of social justice is inherent in the absolute majority of Soviet people today. Naturally, they also link their ideas about it with the socialist

principles of distribution and react keenly to any deviations from them. Today there are virtually no supporters of distribution based on leveling down. But it is something else which gives rise to a natural protest from the absolute majority of working people: the unlawful enrichment of all sorts of dodgers, speculators, rogues and scroungers. Lenin's demand--preference in a shock work style must be accompanied by preference in distribution--is not implemented with proper consistency everywhere. And an honest worker cannot fail to be angered when he is essentially placed on a level with an idler.

Party, trade union and other public organizations, economic leaders and state institution workers must strengthen and enhance the prestige of conscientious, honest labor not only in words but also in deeds, morally and materially, using educational and economic, organizational and administrative levers.

"It is necessary to give every encouragement to conscientious workers and to leave idlers and slipshod workers no loopholes for living well while doing worthless work," L.I. Brezhnev stressed at the 26th Party Congress. "He who wants to live better must work more and better."

In brief, we must constantly improve the mechanism of distribution relations and seek to ensure that it accords as much as possible with the principles of socialism, and, of course wage an implacable struggle against those who abuse their position and especially against those who, as the saying goes, are beginning to confuse the state's pocket with their own. And no post will protect those who behave in this way from stern punishment. "No allowances for anyone when it comes to the honor and prestige of our party and the purity of its ranks!" L.I. Brezhnev says.

The party's prestige is also the prestige of each Communist. A party member wherever he may work, educates and organizes the nonparty masses not only by words but above all by his attitude toward work, social activity, the family, and his comrades and friends. It is the duty and obligation of the Communist constantly to live up to these demands.

The party makes three main demands on Communists: constant ideological and political tempering; high moral purity; and party and civic activeness and creative initiative, ardent participation in the work of his organization and labor collective, and responsibility for the state of affairs in society and in the country. We can understand how much wider this threefold party demand is than the still prevalent somewhat narrow earthbound concept of the communist's role and personal example: work well, be morally steadfast, and that's something at least. The initiative and organization activity that is a feature and that's something at least. The initiative and organization activity that is a feature of a real Communist remains in the shade here. Just as the entire party is inconceivable without organizational work to implement its decisions and designs, so each Communist is primarily an organizer of useful business and actions aimed at a socially important goal. This is precisely where his vanguard role is expressed. And this quality of the Communist is manifested not only in good, conscientious labor but also unfailingly in his initiative and enterprise, in the rallying of his comrades

to achieve the best results, in his uncompromising, implacable attitude toward any shortcomings, and in his desire to eliminate them completely.

I should like to repeat once more that it is to a considerable degree by Communists' actions and deeds that people judge the party they represent. And where if not in his own collective is the Communist clearly visible, on view all round? Here you cannot conceal a single error, a single blunder, yet it happens that people sometimes try to conceal these blunders with their party card. There are still comrades in our ranks who live by the principle "the quieter you are, the further you will go." Such people seem to work quite well and violate no norms, but they are watching only over their own welfare. On the other hand, there are also loquacious comrades whose "activity" takes the form only of words, of the desire to show themselves off, of superficial interest, of loud criticism of shortcomings but in fact a total inability or reluctance to roll up their sleeves and do something personally. We do not need self-regarding prigs or "truth-loving" talkers but fighters who march ahead and lead people.

It must always be remembered that, with the growth of the masses' ideological maturity and political awareness, the criteria according to which they assess all our work and the behavior of each Communist also grow. The concept of the nonparty Bolshevik once existed. It accurately reflected the strong moral and political state of our people. There are many more such people today. And the collective's public opinion distinguishes clearly between a person's formal membership in the party and his real existence as a genuine communist. That is why where party organizations fail to display due exactingness toward all party members, not only does the prestige of these organizations themselves suffer but definite harm is caused to the prestige of the entire party. The paramount duty of all party organizations is to seek to ensure that every party member is a real model of ideological conviction, a lofty, civic-minded humanitarian whom people would like to emulate.

At the dawn of the century Lenin wrote: "...Give us an organization of revolutionaries and we will overturn Russia!" (Complete Collected Works, vol 6, p 127). The party headed the greatest of all revolutions with about 350,000 people in its ranks. Today its membership is over 17 million Communists. With such a force we can truly cope with tasks of any dimension. It is merely necessary for the creative vigor of every communist to be a powerful and constant current feeding our entire social organism and imparting to it a high of vital staunchness and dynamism.

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BY THE ENTIRE FORCE OF TRUTH

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[Article by V. Stadnichenko, editor of RABOCHAYA GAZETA (Kiev) on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the founding of PRAVDA, organ of the CC CPSU]

[Text] Newspapers have been justly compared to the second hand of the clock of history. They reflect with strict accuracy the individual steps in life, the rhythm of the age and historical progress. However, no newspaper has been able to accomplish this on such a broad scale and as systematically as our Leninist PRAVDA.

Its spiritual ties with millions of readers have not been broken even for a single minute. Day and night, the teletypes listen to the pulsebeat of the country and the entire world, the party's thoughts become clearly enunciated and the newspaper columns are formed. A tired Martin furnace may stop for repairs. A baking oven may cool off and rest. They will be replaced by other ovens and other work hands. Even if a power plant were to slow down the peak load will be maintained in other cities and along other rivers.

PRAVDA, the organ of the Leninist party's Central Committee, like our main clock on the Spasskiy Tower, cannot stop even for a minute. Its heart beats evenly, tirelessly and challengingly.

1

PRAVDA, the teacher of the whole nation, the fiery propagandist and collective organizer of millions of working people, covered the hard and glorious road of the struggle against the enemies of the working class -- capitalists, landowners, tsarist security, and traitors to the proletarian cause. Born during the stormy age of the Lena events, from its very first issue it became the unrelieved guard who watched over the interests of the Russian working class and led the "iron battalions" of the proletariat in the battle for liberation from capitalist and feudal-landlord exploitation and national oppression.

How grateful we are to the PRAVDA comrades for reprinting the first issue of PRAVDA, dated 22 April (5 May) 1912. The editors who were lucky enough to receive a copy take great care of this priceless gift.

From time to time, in the rush of editorial work and the fast pace of newspaper publishing, there inevitably comes a point when one must stop, report to one's conscience and evaluate how well one is fulfilling one's duties as a journalist. How good it is at that point to open the first issue of PRAVDA and, for the umpteenth time, to reread the broad and crowded columns. Here is the power and the truth of the eternally young word of the proletarian newspaper: one will always find in it an answer to one's thoughts and strengthen one's faith in our communist cause even further.

Today as well, when the Soviet people are creatively in resolving the problems of the 11th Five-year Plan, the appeal contained in the editorial in PRAVDA's first issue remains relevant: "Let Us Understand the Lessons of Life and Act Together!" To this day, through the layers of time, we hear Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's live voice, always calling upon the party and the working class to become monolithically united and to develop a truly proletarian discipline and joint and harmonious work. Every single Leninist line is addressed to the workers and leads the working class to combat, but nowhere else more than in PRAVDA did the word of the leader reveal so much love for the working person and intolerance of his enemies and all kinds of phrase mongers who were emasculating Marxism.

"The working class must know the truth!... We shall find our truth by ourselves!" This is what we read in the editorial of the first issue. Lenin was always able to find this proletarian truth with which he charged the working masses as though with a revolutionary explosive. Between 1912 and 1914 alone the newspaper printed more than 280 articles and notes by Lenin!

The exploiters have always feared the people's truth more than anything else and destroyed the fighters for the people's cause with whips, hard labor and bullets. In the bloody history of tyranny the persecuting of the workers' PRAVDA by tsarism is the basest example of the fight against freedom of the press. The worker newspaper's editors and contributors were arrested and sent to jail and the printing presses were wrecked, but PRAVDA kept stubbornly reappearing and making its way to the workers, frequently under different names, which were always close to and understood by the workers, such as ZA PRAVDU, PROLETARSKAYA GAZETA, PUT' PRAVDY, RABOCHAYA PRAVDA, PRAVDA TRUDA or TRUDOVAYA PRAVDA.

It would be no exaggeration to say that each PRAVDA issue was printed in a state of siege by the enemy. Here is one of the many difficult trials experienced by our PRAVDA before the revolution. It is found in a document which shows the bitter class hatred of the counterrevolutionaries for Lenin's party and its central organ. In June 1917, the "League for the Struggle Against Bolshevism," which included members of the landowner-capitalist State Duma, passed the following secret resolution: "1..To kill Ul'yanov, who calls himself Lenin; 2. To blow up the printing press of the newspaper PRAVDA..." The hatred of the class enemy was boundless: the leader of the working class was not simply to be detained and thrown in jail but destroyed physically, treacherously murdered. PRAVDA was not simply to be fined and closed down but blown up with dynamite and rased to the ground. However, the words of Lenin's PRAVDA proved to be stronger than Kolchak's guns, Denikin's swords and Vrangeli's tanks. They won in the battle against the world bourgeoisie.

They won so that, after the October Revolution, they could lay their strong bricks in building the new socialist world. As chairman of the Sovnarkom, V. I. Lenin began his working day with PRAVDA. Let us recall P. Otsup's photograph, which has become the masthead of our newspapers on Press Day: Vladimir Il'ich in his office in the Kremlin reading PRAVDA. His eyes are focussed on the newspaper, his forehead is sharply bent over the thick PRAVDA lettering...

....Let us go back to that distant revolutionary time and, together with Vladimir Il'ich, open the fresh 17 May 1919 PRAVDA issue, still smelling of printer's ink. It was precisely this issue that was to become the starting point for Lenin's famous "Great Initiative."

The flames of the civil war light up the pages of the newspaper. The young Soviet republic is in the midst of a hail of bullets. Without sparing their lives, the soldiers of the revolution are resisting the pressure of the enraged enemy hordes. Lenin reads PRAVDA as though it were the operative communique from the front. The battles on the eastern front are reported: "There is fighting at Orenburg... On the Belaya River, the pursuit of the enemy, which is retreating to the east is continuing." Il'ich was pleased with reports from the southern front: "We have taken Lugansk after stubborn fighting." Podvoyskiy, the Ukrainian people's commissar for military affairs reports that "Our units have taken Cherkassy... Yesterday we took the Smela Railroad Station and Korsun' was occupied today." The situation on the Western front remained difficult: "Under navy cover the enemy landed in the Gulf of Finland... His offensive in the area of the Narva highway was repelled." Telegram from the northern front: "Our flotilla shelled enemy positions."

The world bourgeoisie was still hoping for a victory. But could those who had tasted the bread of freedom and who had taken away the land from the extortioners for themselves and their children be defeated? Lenin's penetrating eyes focus on the appeal of worker G. Ya. Platonov: "...Let us all rally around our precious red flag. To arms, all of us who can! To work in the rear, all of us who cannot! We shall defeat the enemy, we must defeat him, and we can achieve this only with our energy and unity."

Yes, only with energy, unity and work... Only thus can the revolution endure and be defended. The difficulties were exceptional. Every single bit of bread counted, and butter and sugar by the gram had to be spared for the hungry children. Very strict accounting helped. Vladimir Il'ich could read the following announcement in PRAVDA: "As of today bread will be sold in all Moscow rayons against presentation of rationing cards No 1 of the main bread card, No 1 of the children's card series B and C, No 15 additional card and No 18 milk card series B."

In order that rationing be lifted in all of Moscow and throughout the republic, to conquer hunger and dislocation and to defeat the pressing enemy forces, PRAVDA reported that "communists and sympathizers volunteered for work like soldiers on the Moscow-Kazan' road, on Saturday 10 May." Vladimir Il'ich read particularly closely and with great interest the article "Let Us Work Like Revolutionaries," subtitled "The Communist Saturday."

The Moscow railroad workers passed the following resolution: "Feeling that the communists must not spare their health and life for the sake of the gains of the revolution, no pay will be received for such work. A communist work Saturday must be practiced throughout the subrayon until Kolchak has been entirely defeated." No such thing had yet taken place in the Soviet republic. The author of the article could not remain indifferent to the unique picture: "...A hundred communists, tired but with a happy flame burning in their eyes, cheered the success of their project under the solemn sounds of the International, and it seemed as though these victorious sounds of this victorious anthem would spread beyond the walls of working Moscow and, like ripples from a rock thrown in the water, would spread throughout working Russia and stir up the tired and the slouchers."

How not to be pleased by such bolshevik enthusiasm? Could one abstain from participating in this happy collective toil? Il'ich was already thinking of a subbotnik in the Kremlin, and could see the entire country celebrating communist labor in the future. He firmly believed that "If in hungry Moscow in the summer of 1919, the hungry workers, after 4 years of hard imperialist war and another year and a half of an even harder civil war," as he was to write in "The Great Initiative," "were able to initiate such a great project, how far will we be able to take it once we have won the civil war and gained peace?" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 39, pp 21-22).

"The Great Initiative" is a model of Lenin's brilliant PRAVDA-style political journalism. It is also an example of the effectiveness of political journalism for us as well, for the journalists of the 1980s. It was the Moscow railroad workers who started the subbotniks. However, it was Lenin's article which gave a powerful historical boost and moral sanction to the spreading of the subbotniks and the broad movement for a communist attitude toward labor.

The unbreakable unity between words and actions makes party journalism truly effective. The same principle guides our PRAVDA to this day.

2

PRAVDA resolves key problems of the development of the socialist economy and the political and moral shaping of the new man in the spirit of Lenin's unity of word and action. Each one of its issues offers a broad view of our reality, of the accomplishments and thoughts of the entire people. However, it does not simply mirror the facts and phenomena. It shows the dynamic flow of life with its accomplishments and the dialectics of complex problems.

The entire wealth of our Soviet life and its clearly set boundaries are described today in PRAVDA as the united labor efforts of millions of people, focused on suitably welcoming the outstanding event -- the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR. The main achievement of socialism and Soviet history is the new working person, the patriot and the internationalist. It is his integral features that PRAVDA describes, in their entire spiritual beauty and true greatness of labor accomplishments.

The main obligation of the PRAVDA-style journalist is to talk to the readers in the language of truth. In the socialist society man is the yardstick of everything. The working class, the most progressive class in society, checks its accomplishments against the truth of Marxist-Leninist theory, which expresses his basic interests. A Sormovskiy Rayon worker described Lenin as "Simple like PRAVDA."

PRAVDA's Lenin emphasized that the millions of people will never listen to anyone's advice unless it coincides with what they have learned from personal experience. There are no questions which our party cannot openly discuss with the people, for its policy is clear and honest. The entire country, the entire world realize this every day, as they read the truthful and uncompromising PRAVDA words. For Lenin's words expressed at the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets may be added to any one article in PRAVDA: "...Our worldwide propaganda has always told the workers and peasants throughout the world the truth, whereas all other propaganda tells them lies" (Ibid., Vol 42, p 144).

It is precisely on the high level of truthfulness, frank discussion of problems and trust in the readers that PRAVDA presents its main topic -- the topic of party life. The individual readers "absorb" in their own way the contents of the individual issues: some look at the sports page, others read the commentary, others the chronicle of cultural events and others even begin with the weather. However, bearing in mind the variety of interests, it would be no exaggeration to say that the majority of PRAVDA readers look at the materials on party problems on page two and always find an answer to their questions; how to energize the life of a primary party organization, how to upgrade the vanguard role of the party member, what does it mean to be crystally pure and honest toward the party and the people? The reader reads, reacts, and becomes involved in the discussion of vital problems. We do not have to strain our memories to remember the broad readers' discussions sponsored by the newspaper in recent years, such as "What Is the Meaning of Being in the Lead?", "How Will Our Word Be Received?", "What Can the Primary Party Organization Do?", and "What Is Your Position, Communist?" The highest indicator of the effectiveness of party journalism is the realization that the life stance of thousands and thousands of party members and PRAVDA readers has become more principle-minded, more active and more aggressive.

PRAVDA steadily promotes the Leninist work style. It is able to note and appreciate promptly new developments, give active support to the initiative of the working people and open the way to progressive experience. PRAVDA's permanent topic is the thorough description of progressive experience. Let us recall the postwar period of restoration of the national economy, when a bold and sometimes daring solution saved months and years of work, and when the cunning of the innovator took the place of scarce machinery. Many construction workers of that time remember the long article "Let Us Make the Experience of Ivan Rumyantsev Accessible to All Assembly Workers," which promoted the large-block installation method. The party workers were among the first to realize the promising nature of the new method. It triggered the interest of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, first secretary of the Zaporozhskaya Oblast party committee, who was then spending his days and nights at the construction sites. He worked hard to promote the application of this

experience in rebuilding Zaporizhstal'. Soon afterwards this progressive method became widespread throughout the country.

Innovation develops and intensifies by interpreting the experience of millions of shock workers and competition leaders. PRAVDA has become the generator of creative research. We know the huge problems to be resolved during the 11th Five-Year Plan. Each one of its figures is based not only on planning and engineering computations but on the skill of the party's leadership and the enthusiasm and innovativeness of the masses. The more stressed our plans become the more we must rely on the live creativity of the masses. New knowledge, valuable experience and patriotic initiative are today the main reserve for the successful implementation of the tasks set by the party. And it is thanks to PRAVDA that many outstanding patriotic initiatives have turned into the flesh and blood of thousands of labor collectives.

Indeed, PRAVDA always knows how to present matters in such a way that the reader's mind and heart will act together with the paper. This is the true way leading to the energizing of his life stance, the upgrading of his political vigilance and the development of firm immunity to hostile ideology. Like in the now legendary times of the civil war and the mortal conflict with fascism, today the flaming words in PRAVDA lead us in the offensive against our ideological opponents and against those who are drawn to the button of nuclear war with the persistence of madmen. The newspaper not only does not leave unanswered a single sally of the ideological foe but deems it its daily task to attack bourgeois ideology at all times.

3

Each single Soviet newspaper -- big or small, with long traditions or created recently -- feels a life-giving tie linking it to PRAVDA. All of us come from PRAVDA in terms of our ideological convictions, loyalty to our purpose and journalistic zeal. The doors of the creative laboratory of our favorite paper are always open. We frequently wonder how it can keep in constant touch with the country's entire press. There is no simple explanation for this phenomenon. What matters most, however, is that it exists.

PRAVDA always finds it possible to praise a fellow-journalist and to note his success and, therefore, the general success of the "newspaper shop." Sometimes its positive assessment is expressed in a few words, but the journalist working hundreds and even thousands of kilometers away from Moscow develops more daring views and militant style.

A good word said by PRAVDA may not simply be a praise; it is always a comradely advice and consequently a specific help. I remember our active efforts in developing the section "The Collective Is the Educator" in RABOCHAYA GAZETA. This initiative was noted in a PRAVDA review. Our editors were pleased. However, a closer look at the review revealed critical remarks, such as the fact that occasionally the newspaper ignored man for the sake of percentile figures; the competition represents not only labor rivalry but the moral advancement of the collective; the collective is based on conscious discipline and the paper should pay greater attention to its application.

Our section became noticeably richer and we would like this fact to be recorded in the minutes of PRAVDA's editorial conference.

It is not too late to express our gratitude for the fact that in a special review entitled "Surmounting the Force of Inertia," PRAVDA encouraged our efforts to implement the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving the economic mechanism. The reason is that to this day this topic remains basic in RABOCHAYA GAZETA. Furthermore, again thanks to PRAVDA, this topic became substantially richer and developed as a trend under the heading "Surmounting the Force of Inertia." In the course of this qualitative change we relied on Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions contained in his report to the 26th party congress. In pointing out that not all planned levels had been reached, he said that "The main reason is that the force of inertia, traditions and customs, which developed when quantity rather than quality was being stressed, has still not been entirely surmounted."

The program for action of the thousands of journalists in the country is to surmount the force of inertia, to break down obsolete traditions and habits, and to become the "disturbers of tranquility!" Here again PRAVDA's example is invaluable. In analyzing main problems the newspaper always tries to resolve them on a union-wide level, on the scale of an entire sector or the entire national economy. The republic press as well is trying today to reflect the interests of the single national economic complex.

During the first year of the five-year plan RABOCHAYA GAZETA made a "journalistic landing" in the north, in the Yamalo-Nenetskiy Autonomous Okrug, in Tyumenskaya Oblast. Collectives of Ukrainian construction and road-building workers are building here the modern Noyabr'sk urban settlement and laying roads across the tundra.

This editorial trip to Tyumenskaya Oblast became a school of persistence, independence and responsibility for the journalists of RABOCHAYA GAZETA, particularly the young ones. Our "journalist troykas" work in shifts, like the "flying shifts" of the petroleum workers. In order to meet the deadline for the special edition they must fly by helicopter to Surgut, which is 230 km away from Noyabr'sk.

Actually, the work of our travelling Tyumen' editors exceeded the limits of an ordinary special edition. It is essentially a separate four-column newspaper, half PRAVDA's size, with its specific layout and problems. Frankly, its publication is no easy matter, but what gives us strength is that a firm friendship has sprung between journalists and workers in this rough area. On the eve of the second year of the five-year plan one of the new streets in Noyabr'sk was named "Rabochaya Gazeta." We immediately felt responsible for "our street" and felt close to the 500 families who settled in its new comfortable apartments.

A good word in PRAVDA always gives us a charge of courage and energy. If editors need any kind of help they invariably turn to their elder comrades in PRAVDA. Several years ago, our travelling editors were working at the construction site of the Odessa port plant. This was no "trip to the seashore."

Deadlines were extremely tight, as the precise day of arrival of the American ship which was to take on the first load of liquid ammonia of the new enterprise had been set precisely set.

At that time things were not going well at the construction site. The production system had broken down in several areas and the competition had become meaningless, for the individual pledges were no more than carbon copies of others. The joint party committee had been unable to control managing and training work.

The construction site needed a skillful organizer and competent manager. The efforts of dozens of construction organizations belonging to different ministries and departments had to be coordinated. "Who could head the project?" was the way the essence of the problem was presented in a critical article in RABOCHAYA GAZETA. It was followed by a second and a third equally sharply worded article. The articles were sent to the USSR Ministry of Chemical Industry. It was hoped that communications would be established quickly. However, valuable time passed and no contact was made.

By the nature of its party spirit the newspaper does not tolerate unresolved problems. What to do? We turned to PRAVDA and, as is always the case in the journalistic community, the PRAVDA comrades shared our concern. Several days later, a critical article appeared in PRAVDA, written by RABOCHAYA GAZETA, acting as PRAVDA's collective correspondent, entitled "Let Us Join Efforts."

The ministry was quick to respond. The minister sent to Odessa his representative to head the project's coordinating staff. The fact that the compensation deal contract was fulfilled in full was also due to the efforts of our senior friend -- PRAVDA.

Who among us has never met a comrade from PRAVDA in the course of an assignment, at all-union meetings or at rush editorial meetings? You may ask anyone you like and he is bound to remember such a meeting. Let me mention the moral base of PRAVDA journalists: despite character dissimilarities and variety of creative aspirations, the PRAVDA journalists share the main traits of absolute dedication to their work, high communicative standards and a Leninist, sensitive and gentle attitude toward other comrades. Finally, they also share an active attitude toward social problems. The PRAVDA people not only interpret life but try to change it in a Leninist way.

Lenin's statement on his fellow-party comrades fully applies to all generations of PRAVDA workers: they have not merely echoed learned words but have looked closely at the new historical conditions, considered the reasons for which circumstances had developed in one way and not another, and carried out serious and sustained proletarian work (see Ibid., Vol 19, p 107).

4

Today PRAVDA is a laboratory for journalistic research and creative experience. A good experience must be dynamic and developing. The professional journalistic problems we resolve today are our future experience, the experience of all Soviet journalism.

In recent years, and particularly after the 26th party congress, the press has tried creatively to reorganize its influence on the solution of the ripe problems of our life. We have realized that this is a difficult and complex matter which cannot be settled hurriedly, with appeals or promises, but with extensive journalistic work.

Nevertheless, the initial step has been taken. We have become aware of what we must reject firmly: the training of journalistic cadres who think in terms of ready-made formulas and write in cliches, and the abundance of "comment journalism." This will enable us to turn more persistently to "acting journalism," both in the newspaper and in life. Finally, we must eliminate as quickly as possible the conflicts which frequently develop between the reader and the content of the newspaper.

Together with the party organizations we must resolve the main problem of the five-year plan, effectively and with high end results and journalistic quality. This will prevent our readers from tossing the newspaper aside or turning off the radio or the television, as the 26th congress pointed out.

The single problem being resolved by the mass information media is to propagandize the implementation of party plans. However, the existence of a single objective does not mean a monotonous journalistic interpretation. All editors must do the exact opposite -- find an original approach, and develop their own creating means for the solution of social problems. PRAVDA has always had its specific creative method.

Our society advances along an unknown road. We do not shyly close our eyes to arising difficulties and shortcomings. The party poses the problem as follows: find the difficult problem, describe it honestly, find its causes in order to resolve it, and achieve positive results. Is this the way we work? Rarely. Quite frequently our newspaper articles, which describe a truly difficult problem, resemble a list of shortcomings presented on a highly emotional basis. The obvious fact that all of these shortcomings did not come to us from elsewhere but are unfortunately the result of our irresponsibility, or frequently of a compromise with our conscience and our "nonresistance to evil" is lost in the shuffle, with adverse consequences. In exposing the objective reasons for shortcomings or errors in one economic sector or another, PRAVDA tries to find the necessary ideological and organizational measures for their elimination, to involve millions of readers in the elimination of blunders and to create an atmosphere of social intolerance around the specific culprits. This can only improve matters.

The present economic task -- to convert the national economy to intensive development and to improve quality radically -- can be justifiably compared to the period of socialist industrialization in terms of importance. At that time the press quite successfully focused its main efforts on awakening the labor enthusiasm of millions of people.

Today the target of our journalistic efforts is to upgrade the responsibility of every working person for his sector. This calls for raising the civic consciousness of the masses and their attitude toward labor to a new level.

We are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that today the press cannot assume control over every single project, whether operational or under construction, or to extend its influence over the entire huge national economic mechanism. As we know, not even the Gosplan can achieve this entirely. Unquestionably, it is important and necessary for the press to help correct errors, eliminate omissions and even help a labor collective stand on its own. Today, however, we consider this insufficient.

In our days, according to PRAVDA's rule of "learning the lessons of life together and acting together," it is very important to develop in everyone -- from the worker to the manager -- a moral incompatibility with shortcomings and in the entire collective a strong immunity to a faulty work style, civic passiveness, and the violation of labor discipline and moral norms. In a word, it is important to develop the active and aggressive life stance of the builder of communism, his personal responsibility and constant initiative. Today creative initiative also means the discipline of free labor.

Although this is a much more complex and broad task, its implementation with the help of propaganda will be much more effective than a single action involving almost all economic projects or departments. In order to achieve such effectiveness we must significantly improve the educational role and ideological influence of the press. The newspaper is the collective educator of the masses. It is precisely education which offers a broad field of activities and an inexhaustible store of topics for our political journalism.

The decisions of the 26th congress, aimed at the development of socialist initiative and economic efficiency, demand of us a decisive intensification of the newspaper's role as an organizer.

Traditional organizational measures, such as mass surprise inspections, public reviews and editorial trips, have become ordinary. Such forms of journalistic influence will continue to be developed. Today however, we have the right and obligation to consider the organizing function of the mass information and propaganda media in a new light. The press can and must be not only the organizer of practical affairs and measures, the number of which will always remain limited because of modest personnel possibilities. It must above all be able to conduct organizing work skillfully in order to develop the civic and social awareness of the readers and millions of working people.

Education and organization are two reliable levers of journalistic influence. In order to ensure their use with maximal effectiveness we must triple our creative efforts, develop social activeness and the party militancy of the propaganda and information media, for achieving order and rhythmical work in an enterprise with the help of the press is one thing, and asserting the principle of conscious labor discipline in the entire society is something quite different. However, it is precisely this that is the more important, significant and practical objective of our journalism. "The development of the consciousness of the masses," Lenin emphasized, "remains, as always, the basis and main content of our entire work" (Ibid., Vol 13, p 376). Is this not the starting point and the ultimate result of our journalism?

Consequently, in our practical activity we must assert the view that the press, the mass information and propaganda media, are the organizers of the socialist and communist consciousness of the masses. This precisely is what radically distinguishes the Soviet propaganda organs from the bourgeois information media, which manipulate public opinion.

Such a formulation of the task requires a new approach to making journalism effective. The time has come to give the concept of effectiveness in newspaper work the following new and: the newspaper is responsible for its readers, their ideological tempering, civic consciousness and, finally, labor activeness and discipline. This is the crux of our work today.

This task may seem quite broad today. However, it is inevitable. We have all the necessary prerequisites to carry it out, for our country is blanketed with newspapers. Currently more than 8,000 newspapers are being published in the USSR on all levels -- central, republic and oblast -- all the way down to kolkhoz newspapers, in a total of more than 176 million copies. One could say that we are the "newspaperest people" in the world.

Life itself and the tasks facing the country demand that we intensify our ideological influence on dozens of millions of people. We have experience in this area. Currently extensive preparations are being made for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR. Let us point out that the journalists were among the first to start these preparations as they flew, drove and sailed across the Soviet Union... Unquestionably, following PRAVDA's example, the journalists will describe to their readers our beautiful homeland in its entire might, splendor and striving toward the communist future.

But why is it that such journalistic activity shows most frequently during periods of great anniversaries and popular ceremonies? Is the mobilization of the people for dedicated and highly productive daily work not the main task of our entire ideological work and journalistic activity? Unquestionably, it is its main and most urgent task.

Its implementation will mean to fulfill the requirement of the 26th congress on upgrading the social activeness of the press and the energizing of the journalist's party position. The implementation of this requirement means raising journalistic effectiveness to a qualitatively new level.

Last spring, the day the Fifth Congress of USSR Union of Journalists opened, PRAVDA appealed to us to check the sharpness of our journalistic weapons: "The Soviet journalist who speaks to millions of people must write vividly and convincingly, using the full range of publicistic tools. He must firmly avoid irksome cliches, standardizes sets of ready-made formulas, and boring materials which are still to be found in newspapers and on television and the radio. The truly creative style of our journalism is characterized by a competent conversation with the readers, deep knowledge of vital problems, desire to help in selecting the best ways leading to our objectives, wealth of thoughts and party passion in the presentation of materials."

This requirement formulated by PRAVDA has been adopted by all Soviet journalists. The party opened to the press workers broad opportunities for creativity. It has surrounded them with the respect of the people and given them extensive rights in social life. The only right the party never gave them is to work at half strength and to write coldly, without the publicistic fire which is inherent in the PRAVDA workers above all. With all our hearts, thoughts and words we try to stay in the ranks of the workers for the five-year plan, at the head in the main ideological front and in the militant party and PRAVDA-style positions.

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V. I. LENIN AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET SCIENCE

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[Review by S. Mokshin, candidate of historical sciences, of the book "V. I. Lenin, KPSS o Razvitii Nauki" [V. I. Lenin and the CPSU on the Development of Science]. K. M. Bogolyubov, general editor. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 800 pp]

[Text] In recalling his meetings and talks with Vladimir Il'ich over a 30-year period, G. M. Krzhizhanovski, the old bolshevik and scientist-engineer and Lenin's close fellow-worker, writes on how much Lenin liked to relax by discussing scientific and technical innovations, particularly those which could be applied in Russia. "Vladimir Il'ich combined to an inordinate degree the qualities of profound thinker and most active revolutionary" ("Vospominaniya o Vladimire Il'iche Lenine" [Recollections on Vladimir Il'ich Lenin], Vol 4, Moscow, 1979, p 35).

Lenin, the brilliant scientist and philosopher and outstanding politician and revolutionary, engaged in scientific work and in the study of social life systematically and steadily -- in freedom, in domestic and foreign exile and as the first head of the Soviet government. Lenin saw in the very nature of scientific thinking and combining theory with the interests of the broad toiling masses a means for the conscious and organized revolutionary transformation of reality. Life presented him with problems of philosophy, sociology, politics, economics, ideology and technology, which had to be resolved comprehensively, taking into consideration the specific circumstances of the period and the needs of the future. The study of the Leninist legacy is of tremendous importance in the implementation of the most important task set by the 26th party congress: the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory and the study of the social prerequisites and consequences of the scientific and technical revolution.

This clearly proves the value of the book "V. I. Lenin, KPSS o Razvitii Nauki," which was published by Politizdat and which includes the full or partial text of Lenin's works, speeches, letters and notes and party documents on the establishment and development of Soviet science. The publication of this anthology is an initial effort to assemble Lenin's works on the fate of science. It shows his comprehensive efforts in this important area of the theory and practice of the building of socialism, and communist party documents proving the implementation of Lenin's behest on the organization of

scientific research and the creation of the proper conditions for strengthening the alliance between labor and science and the means for achieving the close combination between the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and the advantages of the socialist economic system.

1

In heading the struggle waged by the Bolshevik Party for the radical reorganization of society on a new socialist basis, Lenin was guided by Marx' prediction that the world is entering a period in which working society will adopt a scientific attitude toward the progress of its advancing reproduction and in which the creation of spiritual and material wealth will depend on the general level of science and technical progress or else on the application of this science in production" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 46, part II, p 213).

V. I. Lenin defined with exceptional clarity and depth the importance to the proletariat of Marx' theoretical accomplishments. Marx discovered the legitimate trend of the increased role of science in public production and identified the connection between scientific and technical and social progress.

On the basis of Marxist revolutionary doctrine and under the new historical conditions, Lenin developed the doctrine, paying tremendous attention to the "dialectical interpretation of the history of human thought, science and technology" (page 73). Vladimir Il'ich studied the new phenomena in economic and social life and the course of the class struggle. He closely linked the Marxist concept of the role of science and technology in public production with the further development of the materialistic view on history and dialectical materialism. He convincingly substantiated the inability of capitalism to put the great achievements of science and technology on the service of the working people and proved the radical advantages of the socialist system in this area.

Leninism thoroughly substantiated the basic view that socialism can be built only on the basis of scientific and technical achievements. "...Socialism," Lenin pointed out, "as the ideology of the proletarian class struggle, observes the general conditions governing the appearance, development and consolidation of ideology, i.e., it is based on the entire knowledge gained by mankind. It presumes the high development of science, the need for scientific work, etc., etc." (p 32).

On the eve of the October Revolution our party and the Russian working class were already armed with the powerful weapon of knowledge and the revolutionary transformation of the world -- the theory of Marxism-Leninism. They already had a constructive program for proletarian power and a plan for nationwide production, accounting and distribution of goods. According to Lenin, the administration of society on a scientific basis and conversion to a new technology, higher than that under capitalism, obeyed the laws governing the development of the new system.

The October Revolution, which inaugurated the socialist age, also became a qualitatively new historical milestone in the development of science. It

introduced radical changes in the relationship between science and society and in the entire system of application of scientific knowledge. The revolutionary reorganization of the world and the breakdown of social relations required the comprehensive progress of science and the extensive application of its achievements for the good of mankind. In his speech at the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets (January 1918), Lenin formulated the major concept of the essential difference between the social role of science under socialism and capitalism. "In the past," he said, "the human mind and genius were creating only in order to give to some all the benefits of technology and culture, while depriving others of what was most necessary -- education and progress. Now all the miracles of technology and achievements of culture will become available to the entire people. Henceforth the human mind and genius will never turn into means of coercion and exploitation" (p 96).

Lenin saw the new social role of science and its humane function precisely in the combination of science with the interests and aspirations of the working class and the broad toiling masses. Science began to be considered as one of the main foundations in building the new system.

On the basis of a profound study of the Russian economy during the transitional period, Lenin earmarked the specific means and methods for the socialist reorganization of the national economy. The question of organizing science in the country and involving the scientific forces in building socialism became important elements in Lenin's plan.

Lenin considered the need for steadily strengthening the close link between socialism and science the most important principle of the policy of the communist party and the Soviet state, on the basis of profound socioeconomic processes, and as the key problem in building socialism and communism. The great problem of creating an essentially new social system could not be resolved without science and technology, without relying on existing achievements and without the application of the best accomplishments of the large-scale capitalist production method.

Lenin's ideas regarding the organization of science in the socialist society were that the existence of a Soviet system offers all the necessary conditions for the unlimited development of scientific research and the extensive application of its results for the good of man; that the latest scientific and technical achievements must be utilized in organizing the scientific management of the national economy; and that the formulation of socioeconomic plans must be carried out in accordance with the latest word of world science and technology. Socialism, Lenin emphasized, was inconceivable without large-scale production and technology based on "the last word of most modern science, without planned governmental organization..." (Ibid., Vol 36, p 300), and without planned management of the economy and all social life.

These Leninist ideas were confirmed by the entire development of the building of socialism. For the first time, scientific creativity on a national scale was placed at the service of the working class and all working people. Science became a powerful creative factor in the revolutionary reorganization of social life on a socialist basis and the theoretical foundation of the guided management of social processes.

Lenin considered the formulation and implementation of a comprehensively substantiated scientific and technical policy governing the general trend of scientific and technical progress in the country the most important priority task of the party and the Soviet government. This was an essential component of Lenin's plan for the socialist reorganization of all social life. Lenin related the specific prerequisites for and forms of such organization to the difficult but exceptionally rewarding task of organizing large-scale production, involving in such work scientists and technicians and combining the experience and knowledge of scientists and engineers with the activeness and energy of the broad toiling masses.

The problem of involving the scientific forces in building a new life was exceptionally urgent. This was due to the fierce confrontation between revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces in science and culture. It was no accident that Lenin considered the use of bourgeois specialists in the national economy one of the important means for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat (see *Ibid.*, Vol 39, p 264).

In the brief but meaningful "Outline of the Plan for Scientific and Technical Work", a two-page document included in the collection (pp 100-101), Lenin formulated the most important methodological principles of scientific management in socialist society. He pointed the general directions to be followed in domestic scientific research. His concepts became the basis of a broad program for the scientific management of the country's economic progress.

What was the essence of the problems posed by Lenin?

First, he formulated the task of planning, of the planned management of the national economy with the help of the best scientific forces; this called for the study of the basic trends in the development of production, technology and science, and the possibilities of and prospects for the development of the large economic rayons and the country at large.

Second, Lenin's program was based on the electrification of the national economy. Vladimir Il'ich related the solution of this problem to the upsurge of industry, the reorganization of agriculture, economic zoning and the development of national outlying areas. Lenin's principle of combining socialist science with practice was brilliantly embodied in the formulation of the GOELRO Plan -- the broad excellent scientific work, as Vladimir Il'ich said (see p 141), created "by the best scientific forces in our republic" (*Ibid.*).

Third, Lenin's plan ascribed tremendous importance to the study and comprehensive utilization of production forces, the elaboration of the principles of efficient location of production complexes, the economic specialization of the various areas and the ability to supply the national economy with all the main types of raw materials under the conditions of the country's technical and economic independence.

Lenin called for the creation of a leading governmental authority which would coordinate scientific research and guide the planned development of the

socialist economy and all work related to bringing science closer to production and the application of its results in the national economy. Lenin considered organization as the solution to the most important and difficult problem of the socialist revolution, the solution of which would enable the working people "extensively to disseminate and truly to subordinate public production and the distribution of products to scientific considerations in order to make the life of all working people much easier and prosperous (p 102).

V. I. Lenin was aware of the difficulties along this path. One of them was the fact that before the Great October Revolution there had been no socialist works on the future society and the practical difficulties involved in converting science from a tool of capitalism to a tool of socialism, a task which faced the working class in revolutionary Russia. The problem was easy to solve in terms of a general formula and in the abstract but, as Vladimir Il'ich noted, in the course of the struggle against capitalism this became an extremely difficult problem, a problem of universal historical significance. Lenin was convinced that the forces would expand during the struggle. However difficult the events of the Russian and international socialist revolution may be, the experience gained in building a new society could not be lost. "It has entered history as a gain of socialism, and it is on its basis that the future international revolution will be erecting its socialist building" (Ibid., Vol 36, p 383). Lenin considered this the vital force of scientific communism and the creative power of Marxism.

Therefore, in the post-October period, socialist science began to take shape under specific economic and political conditions. Deep changes occurred in the interrelationship between science and politics and ideology, and its very position as a complex phenomenon of social life changed.

In the course of the formulation and implementation of scientific policy Lenin directed the party to fight the arrogant and scornful attitude of some communists toward people engaged in physical work and to oppose the intellectualizing moods of left-wing elements and the barbaric and nihilistic attitude toward educated and highly skilled cadres based on Bogdanov's concept of total rejection of "bourgeois science."

The tremendous attention which Lenin paid to the development of science was manifested during the drafting of the party's program. He firmly believed that the moral authority of the victorious proletariat made possible the difficult task of involving the specialists in the building of socialism, for, as he pointed out, coercion alone "could not solve the problem of organizing the new science and technology in building the communist society" (Ibid., Vol 38, p 56). These ideas were developed in the draft RKP program. Vladimir Il'ich assigned priority to increasing labor productivity on the basis of the extensive and comprehensive utilization of specialists in science and technology. He particularly stressed in the Central Committee report to the Eighth RKP (b) Congress that the party considers this problem "one of the most important matters" (Ibid., p 139), on which the older teachers of socialism had not expressed their view. Returning to this problem in his report on the party program, Lenin stated that in it "we have deliberately developed this question in detail in order to solve it radically" (Ibid, p 165).

The RKP (b) program emphasized the task of achieving a rapprochement between workers engaged in physical and metal work and the important role of science in the development of the country's production forces. It approved of the measures aimed at "its further development and the creation of the most favorable conditions for scientific work" (pp 218-219).

Lenin and the party considered the close contacts between the scientific and technical intelligentsia and the toiling peasantry and their joint work for socioeconomic progress and the people's well-being a prerequisite for the practical achievement of an alliance between science and the proletariat which no force on earth could oppose. Such an alliance between science and the progressive class of our time -- the working class -- enriched the intelligentsia spiritually and helped it to accept the valuable proletarian qualities of revolutionism, collectivism, internationalism, adamancy and persistence in reaching set objectives, and high idea-mindedness. Such an alliance was also vitally necessary to the working class, for it enriched intellectual labor, made building the new society on the basis of the utilization of the achievements of science and technology possible, multiplied its power and strengthened its positions as the leading force in society.

On Lenin's initiative, leading organs in charge of developing scientific research in the country were created: a scientific and technical department of the All-Union Sovnarkhoz, in charge of applied research, and the Main Science Administration of the People's Commissariat of Education, in charge of coordinating basic theoretical research. Subsequently, in June 1922, the Sovnarkom Special Provisional Science Committee was set up. Its task was to establish closer relations between science and production and to create conditions contributory to the development of domestic science.

The materials included in the collection reveal Lenin's concern for preserving the scientific forces of the Soviet republic, directing science toward the further development of production forces, the scientific organization of labor, the opening of new scientific institutes and laboratories and the training, education and employment of scientific cadres.

Such was Lenin's outstanding contribution to the formulation of the methodological principles governing party policy in science and the comprehensive theoretical elaboration of the principles governing the organization and management of science in the socialist state. He earmarked practical measures in this direction and actually laid the beginning of long-term scientific and economic management and planning.

3

The collection extensively covers Lenin's theoretical legacy and the interpretation of his ideas on the role of the social sciences in the creation of a socialist system. "The purpose of our theoretical concepts," Lenin emphasized, "is to guide us in our revolutionary activities. The battlefield of activity is the best place for trying out our theoretical views. The communist's real test is his understanding of (how), where and when to translate his Marxism into action" (p 129). Lenin considered the persistent and systematic propaganda of Marxist views the party's most important task.

The conversion of most large scientific centers to the Soviet side caused great concern in the counterrevolutionary camp, intensifying its fierce attacks on communist party policy. The difficulties of the ideological struggle against the class enemy were intensified by the fact that the party had few theoretical cadres. The social science chairs in the universities were in the hands of the old faculty. A Marxist center for the training of theoreticians was needed. This was accomplished with the creation with Lenin's active support of the Socialist Social Science Academy in 1918 . The academy's task was to organize the government's Marxist propaganda, the creation and publication of Marxist literature and the study and teaching of scientific socialism.

Despite some shortcomings during the initial period (the relatively "variegated" faculty and a certain tolerance shows toward some workers such as A. A. Bogdanov and V. A. Bazarov, whose views on problems of the theory of scientific socialism were clearly not Marxist), the Socialist Academy (the Communist Academy as of 1924) became an important party instrument in developing the class awareness of the working people and the scientific propaganda of Marxism-Leninism. The academy engaged in serious research in the history of the labor movement. The methods of historical materialism began to be applied in the various social sciences.

Reactionary bourgeois historians and idealist-philosophers (N. Berdyayev, A. Izgoyev, L. Lopatin, E. Radlov, P. Sorokin and others) engaged in active and purposeful struggle against the Soviet system and the Marxist outlook. The leading personalities of Russia's bourgeois intelligentsia, who claimed to be the spokesmen for "educated society," in fact sometimes acted like an assembly of hardened reactionaries and enemies of science and progress.

The ideological confrontation in the country intensified. Meanwhile, the numerous ideological institutions in the Soviet republic frequently acted without coordination and an efficient plan. Major shortcomings existed in the organization of Marxist propaganda. Some organizations (such as Proletkult) defended their "independence" from the Soviet state and, by denying the value of the cultural heritage, avoided mass cultural and educational work. Lenin firmly opposed the corrupting influence of the bourgeois intelligentsia which had entrenched itself in the Proletkult. "The real task of the revolution," he wrote, "is not the invention of a new proletarian culture but the development of the best models, traditions and results of existing culture from the viewpoint of the Marxist outlook..." (Ibid., Vol 41, p 462). Lenin's advice to the leaders of Proletkult was not to learn some kind of special "proletarian" culture but "simply to learn" (p 203).

On Lenin's initiative, the CC RKP(b) Agitation and Propaganda Department was created in June 1920 with a view to improving the guidance of the ideological struggle. Glavpolitprosvet, a special institution which took over all political education and agitation and propaganda work, was created in October of the same year.

In his address to the All-Russian Conference of Political Educators, Lenin focused his attention on the tie between education and politics and to giving priority to the educational function of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Our task," he said, "is to overcome all capitalist resistance, not only military and political but ideological, which is the most profound and the most powerful" (Ibid., Vol 41, p 406).

With a view to "strengthening and improving the quality of agitation and progandanga" (p 225), the 10th party congress made Glavpolitprosvet the organ of state Marxist propaganda, operating directly under the Central Committee, separating it from the People's Commissariat of Education. Glavpolitprosvet activities began to develop extensively. Soviet party schools were set up, mass agitation campaigns were conducted and Marxist literature was extensively published.

Lenin also paid great attention to the establishment of a special institution in charge of finding, collecting and classifying documents on the history of the RKP(b) and the October Revolution, which were scattered throughout the country and abroad. This institution was Istpart, which was created by Sovnarkom decree dated 21 Septemebr 1920 and was headed by M. S. Ol'minskiy.

Despite the tremendous burden of military-political and economic matters, Lenin found time to "seek advice" from Marx and to plunge deeper and deeper into the works of the founders of scientific communism, seeking an answer to topical contemporary problems. He was always interested in the publication of Marx' and Engels' literary legacy. On his suggestion a plan was drafted for the publication of their work and an office for Marxist theory, history and practice was opened at the Socialist Academy. A Marxist Museum, which subsequently became the K. Marx and F. Engels Institute, was opened in December 1920. Lenin asked that all their writings be collected.

Not satisfied with all this, Lenin instructed Marxist historian V. V. Adoratskiy to prepare for publication Marx' and Engels' correspondence, which he considered a project of international importance. Vladimir Il'ich suggested that their most important writings be made accessible to the broad working circlces and so that the working people be able to read the original Marx, and that such a collection be translated into European languages, having noticed that Marx was even less familiar in the West than in Russia (see "Vospominaniya o Vladimire Il'iche Lenine," Vol 2, Moscow, 1979, p 182).

V. I. Lenin was interested in the teaching of the social sciences in the higher schools and tried to help the People's Commissariat of Education in surmounting the prejudices of the old faculty. On his suggestion the Sovnarkom resolved that the foundations of the communist outlook were to be taught in the VUZs and, shortly afterwards, that social science departments were to be opened in Russia's universities, in which the teaching was to be based on Marxist theory and methodology. Lenin also issued recommendations on the list of social subjects to be taught in the higher schools.

While strongly insisting on the teaching of social science in the VUZs, Vladimir Il'ich clearly realized that this problem could not be resolved without the training of Marxist instructors. On 11 February 1921 he signed a decree on setting up institutes for the training of red professors. The 10th RKP(b) Congress, which was held soon afterwards, called for the organization of Marxist study courses at the Socialist Academy. The Red Professorship

Institute and the courses actively promoted the Leninist party line in the struggle against the vestiges of bourgeois views, the ideological distortions of Trotsky and Bukharin, etc.

In Lenin's view, the training of Marxist teachers greatly depended on the school aids and textbooks meeting requirements such as high scientific standards, practical value, consistency and clarity of presentation and intelligibility (see pp 202-203 for instance). Some of the first Marxist school aids for Soviet VUZs were written by M. N. Pokrovskiy, V. V. Adoratskiy, I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov and others, which Vladimir Il'ich rated highly.

The creation of the CC RKP(b) Lenin Institute in 1923, on the initiative of the Moscow party, organization played an important role in the study and dissemination of Lenin's ideological and theoretical legacy. The 13th party congress set as the institute's main task "the fully scientific and complete publication of Lenin's complete collected works and the creation of a Leninist library for the broader workers masses, consisting of Lenin's selected works, in the languages of all the peoples inhabiting the USSR" (p 260).

It is thus that, with Lenin's most active participation, at the start of the 1920s a system of social science centers existed in the country, something in the nature of strongholds of Marxist theoretical thinking. They played an exceptionally important role in the elaboration and dissemination of Marxist-Leninist theory, helped to intensify the collecting and scientific publication of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin and party history documents, broadened the historiographic base of the social sciences by encouraging scientific research on problems of Marxism-Leninism and the history and policies of the RKP(b) and enriched science and practical work.

In his survey of publications on philosophy, periodicals and the table of contents of the first issue of the journal *POD ZNAMENEM MARKSIZMA*, Lenin drew the attention on the statement "From the Editors" and Trotsky's letter, which defined the philosophical line in the struggle for materialism. Vladimir Il'ich reached the conclusion that they, Trotsky's letter in particular, said nothing on the subject of dialectics as the living soul of Marxism. Lenin deemed it necessary to correct the editors and Trotsky by giving priority in the journal's efforts and along the entire philosophical front to the struggle for a dialectical materialistic outlook. In his article "On the Importance of Militant Materialism," published in the journal's next issue, Lenin formulated the actual tasks and the most important directions in the ideological struggle. He described its objectives, earmarked practical steps and armed the Soviet social scientists and the entire party with a program for the struggle against idealistic philosophy and for making dialectical materialism the dominant outlook in Soviet society. Vladimir Il'ich pointed out that a Marxist philosophical journal must be an "organ of militant materialism" (p 182), intolerant of any retreat from materialism and opposing "fashionable" philosophical currents, which hide behind tinsel the allegedly latest word of world science and technology, but which in fact are varieties of service to the bourgeoisie.

Marxist philosophy which, following the victory of the October Revolution, became the outlook of the ruling class was considered by Lenin a powerful

ideological weapon in the struggle against bourgeois ideology and a reliable foundation on which the communist party could rally around itself the broad toiling masses. Lenin realized that this task could not be accomplished with the efforts of the Marxists alone. That is why he considered the unification of communist with noncommunist materialists and the alliance between Marxist philosophers and progressive natural scientists necessary. In his view, such an alliance could be strong only if it rejected any attempt at diktat and the imposition of preset conclusions on the party by philosophers and natural scientists both.

V. I. Lenin not only showed a way out of the difficulties experienced by the natural sciences in his time but predicted for decades into the future the trends governing the development of the natural and technical sciences, philosophy and the social sciences as a whole. Even at that time scientific reality was fully proving Lenin's conclusions and it is precisely then that the theory of relativity was scientifically developed, an electronic model of the atom was created, the foundations of quantum mechanics were laid, the wave nature of electrons was discovered, etc. What Vladimir Il'ich had written about was happening, i.e., there was a rapid development of the natural sciences, which were experiencing a period of "profound revolutionary change in all areas..." (p 187).

In assessing the party's work in carrying out the decisions of postrevolutionary congresses and the successes and difficulties in the implementation of the new economic policy, Lenin declared at the 20 November 1922 Moscow Soviet plenum that "all of us together, not tomorrow and not in a few years, shall resolve this problem at all cost, so that NEP Russia will become socialist Russia" ("Poln. Sobr Soch.," Vol 45, p 309).

In his last works Lenin discussed the Russia of the future, a Russia which was moving steadily ahead toward large-scale machine industry and progressive culture, a Russia flooded in electric light. This was a brilliant scientific forecast of the future of the land of the Soviets made in a period of most complexly interwoven socioeconomic trends and conflicting views and feelings, a forecast which, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, indicated "in a theoretically impeccable manner the principal, the main directions of progress toward socialism."

4

Life entirely confirmed the creative power of Lenin's ideas on the development of science in the socialist future. The lightning of the October storm illuminated the road to the future of the peoples of many countries. Under socialist conditions science took a proper direction consistent with the interests of mankind and society. The documents published in the collection -- resolutions and decisions of congresses and conferences and CC CPSU plenums -- most convincingly prove the conclusion drawn in the preface: "The theory of the founders of Marxism-Leninism and their works are the vivifying source of scientific creativity and a reliable compass in the practical activities of the communist party and the Soviet people during all the stages of the socioeconomic development of our society" (p 4).

The reorganization of the Academy of Sciences into the highest scientific institution in the country marked the completion of the first stage in the establishment and development of Soviet science, which began with the October Revolution. Science became a powerful lever in building a socialist society and applying new planned methods for the development of the national economy. It became an instrument for the accounting, utilization and reconstruction of progressive forces and the upsurge of scientific and technical and general culture in the country. In its resolution on the Second Five-Year Plan for national economic development of the USSR, the 17th VKP(b) Congress noted the significant successes achieved "in the development of scientific and technical thought, which resolved a number of most important technical problems independently" (p 275). This high party rating of the achievements of Soviet scientists meant that science was operating in accordance with the practical interests of the socialist society and had assumed the role of a social force helping the tremendous expansion of the country's productive forces and its revolutionary reorganization on a scientific basis.

The first five-year plans, the years of socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization, became turning points in Soviet science. Science retained its planned nature and converted to a long-term planning system. The plans covered not only volume indicators (institutions, cadres and equipment) but the content of scientific research as well. Subsequently, on the basis of the study of the trends governing the development of science, technology and production, it became possible to pursue a uniform scientific and technical policy with an full cycle -- applied research - plant development - production application. The CPSU and the Soviet state encouraged learning how to control scientific and technical progress in the country systematically and to predict its possibilities, prospects and social consequences at each individual stage. The CPSU program, which was adopted at its 22nd congress, stipulated that the party will contribute to the further intensification of the role of science in building a communist society and to turning science entirely into "a direct production force" (p 291).

The steadily expanding role of science in the socialist society creates many difficult problems related to the effective organization of scientific research and management on the level of governmental policy, the extensive development of specifically socialist forms of combining science with production, the choice and preferential development of the most important lines in scientific and technical progress and the elaboration and consistent implementation of a uniform technical policy. At its 24th congress, the party formulated a task of historical importance: the organic combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system.

The implementation of this task required of our party and Soviet state to adopt the kind of measures which would ensure the more intensive utilization of scientific discoveries in the national economy, the economic interest of enterprises and all units within the economic mechanism in the speediest possible mastery of new equipment and the application of a system of interrelated long-term and current plans. The documents of the CC CPSU and the Soviet government (section 3) included in the collection indicate the tremendous importance which the party ascribes to the utilization of

scientific and technical discoveries and developments aimed at increasing the growth rates of social labor productivity and quality of output. Soviet social science undertook the study of life more actively, summing up the live practice and historical experience of the masses and actively assisting the party in implementing the program for building a communist society, in the communist education of the working people and in the struggle against bourgeois ideology and opportunism.

The land of the soviets entered the 1980s with a powerful scientific and technical potential. Science substantially broadened its influence. It is rapidly increasing its vanguard role and the dynamism of some areas of knowledge. The integration of scientific knowledge is increasing. The ties between basic and applied science are multiplying and research is becoming increasingly more comprehensive. The entire development of Soviet science proves Lenin's view that only socialism can put these powerful forces on the service of the working people for the implementation of the most humane ideals and that only socialism can ensure the transformation of science into a direct productive force working for communism through the purposeful and plannedly regulated upsurge of all scientific and technical sectors. "The communist party," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress, proceeds from the fact that the building of the new society is simply inconceivable without science" (p 348).

Basic and applied science have been allowed to develop fully in the mature socialist society. They are focused on resolving the major problems of the further progress of Soviet society, the faster conversion of the economy to intensive development on the basis of the elaboration of comprehensive target programs, the intensification of the interrelationship between science and production through a unified technical policy, planned socialist economic management and the combination of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist system. Socialism organically combines the process of humanizing labor with the application of the achievements of science and technology and the creation of material and spiritual goods with the development of man as the main productive force and the highest spiritual value of the new system. Being in the vanguard of social progress, our society embodies the integration between science and production, the unbreakable alliance between creative thinking and creative toil, and the unity between theoretical research and practical action. The resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress are a major contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and the Leninist concept of the role of science in the socialist society, and the planned management of scientific and technical progress.

The publication of the anthology "V. I. Lenin, KPSS o Razviti Nauki" is an event in the country's social life. It will be of great help to party and scientific workers, lecturers, propagandists and students in the party education system.

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TALE OF THE EARTH-BENEFACTRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 82 pp 65-77

[Article by Twice Hero of Socialist Labor T. Mal'tsev, honorary VASKHNIL academician]

[Text]

1

Figurative thinking helps people to interpret more profoundly the complex phenomena of surrounding reality. I think of the land on which we grow the grain as a chessboard with its many square-shaped fields over which bend thinking nature, i.e., man, and nonthinking nature (the elements, and weather and other conditions). Actually, the "chessboard" itself is part of non-thinking nature... Nature always plays the whites, i.e., it has the first move, for it determines the characteristics of the season, the temperatures the precipitations and their distribution. Nature acts unthinkingly yet self-confidently, being the master of the situation. This makes the task of the farmer quite difficult and varying. However, he has numerous advantages, such as thinking, the experience of past generations and technical equipment. In order not to lose the game in progress the farmer must coordinate precisely his objectives and tasks on the basis of specific circumstances.

Every chess player has his favorite gambit and characteristic style, which becomes particularly obvious toward the middle and the end of the game. Naturally, those who have played the same opponent can detect these characteristics better and react to them better. However, nature too has its favorite "moves." The most powerful among them is drought, which it uses most frequently in a number of variations. Using science and the experience of the best masters, the modern farmer can engage in most complex maneuvers and tactical methods and thus avoid the strikes of the elements or soften their blow. As a rule only the most skillful masters of the land, wisened by life, experience and knowledge, can win.

Confidence in one's own strength is also a weapon. However, it must be used skillfully and cautiously, without resting on accomplishments. Our mother earth has great reserves but we only use those which lie on the surface, indiscriminately. We must admit to this with our bolshevik directness and frankness, without fearing that it may diminish our victories. The objective critical assessment of our own efforts and accomplishments is a mark of strength. It includes the incentive to go forth, the desire to create, and

readiness to advance despite difficulties and obstacles. It is precisely such a task that the party has assigned to us, the grain growers, and to all party members engaged in agricultural production, in connection with the long-term scientific food program which is being currently drafted.

A great objective triggers a corresponding great energy among the masses. I am deeply convinced that the planned levels will not only be reached but surpassed. Unquestionably, substantial difficulties will be encountered and tremendous work lies ahead for the radical reorganization of agricultural technology and the way of thinking of the agricultural scientists and specialists directly involved in production.

The process of development of the agroindustrial complex has already been extended to the basic kolkhoz and sovkhoz production sectors. An essentially new organism is being created, an entirely new phenomenon all aspects of which, the philosophical included, will have to be interpreted. The problem is as follows: we need a profound theory of modern farming and agriculture in general and a precise methodology applicable to individual and interrelated natural and social phenomena, for they touch on a great many problems.

2

In general, the interrelationship and interaction between the grain grower and the soil and nature must be profoundly logical, not only from the economic and strictly practical but the theoretical viewpoint as well. Obviously, we do not have yet a precise scientific idea of the principal production tool in our society -- the land. A great many features in our farming are amateurish, accidental, unplanned and intuitive. Every single action taken in the field must be thoroughly planned and comprehensively motivated on the basis of both permanent and temporary factors.

I am not a philosopher but have long maintained friendly relations with the philosophical sciences. My life has been such that, unfortunately, I was unable to go to primary and secondary school, not to mention a VUZ. I am, as they used to say, self-taught. However, my desire to learn has always been tremendous and is still with me.

I developed a serious liking for philosophy in my mature years. This was not due at all to the desire to become a specialist philosopher but so that I could think more accurately and gain a better understanding of natural phenomena and circumstances as they applied to my chosen field -- agriculture. As we know, the founders of Marxism-Leninism left an extremely rich legacy to mankind -- their theory, which they considered not a dogma but a manual for action. The problem of "man and soil" runs through the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, who have left their legacy to latter generations of thinkers who are tirelessly studying nature and its laws in order to use both more consciously in their practical and, particularly, theoretical work, relying on the knowledge they have gained and the skill to use it in order to help the people to increase their material resources infinitely and to contribute to the development of scientific and technical progress.

Our knowledge of nature increases with every passing year. It is not excluded to think that we are living on the threshold of the greatest discoveries in farming, for the eternal problem of "man and soil" has retained its significance and is becoming increasingly more relevant. At the present stage new features have been detected in it, which require thorough study and, naturally, interpretation. That is why the main forces and the best minds must be focused on this topic, as they say in scientific circles. I may be wrong, but it seems to me that the philosophers and their closest colleagues -- the sociologists -- as well as the economists owe a great deal to the rural workers, for the time has long come for our society to have its profound scientific theory of farming and, in general, of public agriculture in the period of developed socialism. This would make us stronger, wiser and more perspicacious.

Understandably, this is a complex and difficult project, the implementation of which will require the combined efforts of scientists in many fields of knowledge, philosophy, economy and agronomy in particular. I believe that we must seriously consider L. I. Brezhnev's words in the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress, addressed to the philosophers. He said that "philosophers frequently prefer to prove what has been proved rather than to interpret the new phenomena in life."

I admit to having tried to reach the core of this problem. I expressed the result of long years of observations and thoughts in an article which had the unusual heading of "Philosophy of Agriculture" (IZVESTIYA, 6 October 1961). The article generated a great deal of talk among philosophers and agrarian scientists. It covered virtually all problems of domestic farming, which were considered through the lense of dialecticts, but were not in step with generally accepted concepts and views.

The arguments included in the article were difficult to refute and they were not refuted but simply ignored. Therefore, there was virtually no discussion. I received a few letters, which were more of a private nature, and there were a few nonrepresentative articles in specialized journals.

Last April, however, at a "round table discussion" at the Institute of Philosophy, the discussion turned once again to the essentially same topic -- the need for a profound philosophical interpretation of the age-old problem of "man and soil" -- on the basis of contemporary circumstances and the latest practical experience in socialist faming. The problem is now topical and, once again, many of its aspects are most closely related to the elaboration of a comprehensive food program.

Year after year bread -- the staple in the people's food -- must be produced in increasingly greater amounts, whereas the farmland from which it must come is not expanding but is even being reduced as a result of public and industrial construction and the extraction of minerals. It is true that the country still has vast dry steppes and swamps which could be turned into farmland, although this would be both expensive and difficult. However, we have no way of knowing the impact which excessive large-scale draining may have (and is bound to have!) on the overall natural balance. In my view, therefore, the most reliable method for increasing the amount of food

resources is that of systematically increasing soil fertility and upgrading crop yields on already developed farmlands. This requires serious thought as to how best to increase the productive capacity of every bit of land. Specifically, this means that a small quantity of the organic substances contained in the crops must be converted into productive capital, to use the language of economics, for soil fertility, thus creating an additional reserve of organic matter in the soil for the benefit of future harvests.

The concept of "soil fertility" exists in both science and production, for the composition of the soil varies. Sometimes it is rich in nutritive substances and fertile. Sometimes it is less fertile or is exhausted. The very idea of fertility has more than one meaning. However it is based on a pivotal concept determined by the existence of organic compounds in the soil, which are quantitatively and qualitatively different.

The condition of the organic substances in the soil may vary according to circumstances. However, it is essentially organic. The presence of biologically active agents, the amount of which increases under natural or man-made conditions, is the main yardstick of soil fertility. Everyone knows that if a field which has been cultivated for some time is left to lie fallow its fertility will be noticeably increased. At the same time, the cultivated virgin lands become weaker in the course of time... This was the reason for which some economists in the past reached the wrong conclusion that the land gradually loses the fertility given to it from up high and that man is unable to change this. This led to the formulation of the "law of diminishing soil fertility." We should not be astonished by the fact that at that time this law was not countered by the real one of steadily increasing fertility, for many scientists at that time were unfamiliar with the laws of dialectics. What is astonishing is that today's economists, philosophers and agrarian scientists, who put the "law of diminishing soil fertility" in parentheses do not counter it with a law without parentheses -- the law of increasing fertility, for it is only that which is created can be destroyed.

Yes, all life processes follow the pattern of creation and destruction: something is always being simultaneously destroyed and synthesized and created. This occurs in the vegetal and animal worlds. It also takes place in the soil, where something breaks down and is reformed. Such is the dialectics of life. It acquires its specific features, cyclical nature and reaction within the soil. However, the construction-destruction pattern is a single process caused by the familiar dialectical law of unity and struggle of opposites. It is quite important to mankind to know when and under what circumstances or conditions creation or destruction becomes the dominant function. The dominance of either one is a mandatory prerequisite for the dynamics of matter. The knowledge of the circumstances and conditions which determine the dominance of either function is of tremendous practical and scientific importance.

Willy-nilly man disturbs natural conditions with his industrial activities. The soil is no exception, for it is the most complex product of general evolutionary development and of the laws of life. Let us look once again at its "history." No such laws existed before there was life on our planet. Therefore, there was no vegetal cover and no soil on which plants could grow.

Such is the cycle of life! Its motive force is manifested in the laws of nature. There are many such laws, not all of which we know. Mankind has been able to identify some of them, but many remain unknown, and mankind sometimes does not even suspect their existence, although it keeps making use of their "services." Some natural laws are eternal, while others are historical. Some have existed and will always exist. Others have appeared as a result of specific circumstances.

The natural laws are created by nature itself. However, with the appearance of civilization, man has participated in the creation of the various circumstances, for he too is a particle of the material world. His power of influence over the rest of the world (and over its laws) increases with the development of production forces, needs and capabilities.

Therefore, the organic matter in the soil is the most important element in soil fertility. It appears and accumulates in the course of evolution, but with the mandatory condition that the living organisms, mainly those of vegetal origin, leave after their death an organic mass in the soil, slightly greater than the products of its decomposition they have extracted from it as nourishment. This forms the the decomposed product which, in the final account, is the main substance in soil formation. Had the plants been deprived of this feature there could have been no soil as such. Naturally, without organic matter soil fertility as we understand it could not exist.

It seems to me that this property of living vegetal matter should be given the status of natural law. This process may have different, stronger or weaker, manifestations based on prevailing conditions. Under natural conditions this process takes place involuntarily and slowly. It is uncontrolled and unguided by any sort of will (intelligence). Farming the land, man introduces into it innumerable deviations and corrections, stimulating or hindering the development of the various processes.

Most frequently, the illogical actions of the farmer and his scientific instructors are the result of incomplete understanding of the nature of the problems. My own generation believed that only perennials could create conditions for soil fertility, whereas seasonal crops destroyed it, although as we know, man grows essentially seasonal crops which, according to that concept, could not enrich the soil properly with their organic remains. Consequently, the farmer willy-nilly inevitably wastes the existing fertility stock in the course of his work and risks the gradual loss of soil fertility unless he plants the optimal quantity of perennial grasses which restore the soil's fertility.

Practical experience gained in our kolkhoz fields led us to believe that it was not merely a question of whether seasonal or perennial plants were being cultivated and that it was by far more important to create the conditions under which they could influence soil fertility more. Unquestionably, the knowledge and application of the laws of nature in this matter will give us greater confidence and awareness that we are the masters of the land and will make us more willing to work it.

Actually, what is the main task? Leaving details aside, we realize its utter simplicity: being in full control of the situation in our fields and assuming a civic responsibility not only toward our contemporaries but toward future generations as well, carry out our work in such a way that the creative function predominate to a certain extent in the creation-destruction process.

Under natural conditions, the fertility stock accumulates on the surface of the soil in the form of sod. It is a strip of intertwined roots and stems of different age and degree of withering away and decay. Unless man destroys it, this stratum gradually thickens and turns into humus.

It would be no exaggeration to describe the sod as a soil-generating laboratory in which the dialectical process of construction and destruction of the organic mass is continually taking place, i.e., a process of most complex physical and chemical change in which soil microorganisms, aerobic in particular, play a decisive role. They destroy the dead organisms, converting them into digestible plant food. Although it may seem that fertility may be lost wherever the destructive process is the most active, in reality it is the reverse that happens: wherever the destruction is the highest the creation is the highest as well, and the quantity of organic matter grows from the remainders of new plant generations. Therefore, the following conclusion may be drawn from the action of natural factors: wherever the constructive process dominates the process of destruction organic matter, which is the principal fertility element, gradually accumulates.

If the land is farmed without violating the laws of soil formation the results of soil cultivation can be positive, constructive. Therefore, based on the knowledge of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, agronomy can focus its efforts on the study of these principles governing our interaction with nature.

3

We are all both witnesses of and participants in the tremendous accomplishments in agriculture and related areas. Scientific and technical progress changes the peasant's work, making it more productive and attractive. We are justified in believing that new and more efficient means of cultivation and essentially new crop growing technologies will appear in the immediate future. We must be prepared for this organizationally and psychologically. Above all, we must actively encourage scientific and technical progress to the extent of our forces and individual ability.

However, we may expect along this way not only victories but difficulties and obstacles which we must be ready to overcome. This demands, first of all, solid knowledge and, secondly, suitable moral qualities, the most important among which may be the ability to think critically, i.e., to draw logical conclusions from past errors and successes.

In their time, our farmers had to work hard to surmount the agronomical routine, which had become widespread over a long period of time. Ignorance of the laws of dialectics and their nonobservance in scientific research are not without consequences and do not help specialists and rank and file workers to gain practical experience and to work creatively.

I recall how frequently we were criticized for experimenting in our farm in order to determine the optimal and the flexible times for spring sowing and development of crop strains in order to have stabler and higher yields.

Some comrades objected to such experiments. This may seem strange today, but this situation for quite a while. Special steps had to be taken to protect us from the lack of understanding shown by many oblast and rayon administrators. Our experiments and practical steps aimed at the elimination of weeds and preserving soil moisture were frequently misinterpreted and questioned in short-sighted skeptical circles, for the accepted method at that time was to let the land lay fallow. We considered this approach economically inexpedient. Through further scientific and practical research we developed the idea of the mouldboard-free soil cultivation. We were helped by knowledge of the laws of dialectical materialism.

To be fair, let us point out that this technology did not originate in our okrug or time. Isolated elements of the system had been part of popular agrotechnology and used by farmers in Siberia. The developers of the grass rotation system showed some interest in it and eventually realized that the grain cultivation technology they were promoting lacked an important link, without which the practical task of increasing soil fertility could not be implemented. It became clear eventually that the missing link was none other than the seasonal plants... Is this not similar to the familiar parable of the cornerstone? The author of the grass rotation system himself, Academician Vasilii Robertovich Vil'yams, believed that seasonal plants were one of the destructive factors in soil fertility, whereas in fact they are one of the most important elements of the system. However, they had to be placed in their proper place, just like a cornerstone!

After many years of experimentation we were able to "rehabilitate" the innocent plants and to encourage them to do a good deed together with the perennials -- to improve soil fertility. It is true that this required special conditions and mouldboard-free cultivation. Today even amateurs can understand the purpose of this method, which is to make seasonal grasses to work like perennials, whose life span is long, for which reason they require no reploughing. But what to do in such cases with the spring grasses, the vegetation period of which is quite short, some 100 days?

It was the dialectical approach to the study of nature that helped me to unravel the problem and to reach the only correct decision possible. Materialistic philosophy is irreplaceable in resolving not only strictly scientific and general political but economic problems as well. I believe that any specialist, including those working with the land, must have the instincts of scientific philosophers. This must be the rule rather than the exception. We must learn to accept nature as an entity, as something whole all the parts of which are in a state of complex dialectical interdependence. This makes the understanding of its relations and laws easier.

The creative process is always complex and contradictory. It may turn out that an entirely productive and accurate idea may seem illogical and paradoxical until its grain of rationality has been found.

In the course of my detailed study of the results of the experimentation I reached the seemingly absurd conclusion that the fields should not be plowed up but kept for a few years in a state of relative repose. I admit that this discovery amazed even me. Let us recall that at that time everyone firmly believed in the need for deep plowing with a disk skim-coulter. This was even mentioned in a number of books and motion pictures. Furthermore, all cultivation equipment sent to the countryside -- down to the latest prototypes being tested -- were constructed so as to turn the soil over completely, reaching all the way down to the rock. Yes, it was neither easy nor simple to oppose the general view and the various scientific arguments on this matter, although we had quite convincing arguments and proof to this effect. The point was that if we were to treat seasonal plants somewhat like perennials, sow without plowing, not turn the soil inside out but instead limit ourselves to surface cultivation, we would create a soil laboratory similar to the one operated by nature, which would result in the formation of the miraculous sod. Naturally, the development of exactly such a layer would be hardly possible, but even something similar would not be bad.

Here an important circumstance must be taken into consideration. I engaged in such experimentation not only for the purpose of reaching scientific conclusions but with a practical objective in mind? The experimental fields -- several hundred hectares which the kolkhoz members had entrusted to me -- had to feed those who worked them and their families and supply more grain to the country. I did everything I could to justify the trust of my fellow-villagers. However, I had to think hard before undertaking an experiment. The only thing that troubled me was the fact that I may be damaging the reputation of my teacher with my experiments. I would have liked very much to be able to explain them to V. R. Vil'yamson, but he was no longer alive.

Seeing that not only seasonal crops, wheat in particular, but perennials as well grew well on our land (the livestock farms were supplied all the feed they needed), the kolkhoz members passed the following resolution: "The system suggested by Mal'tsev suits us and we shall retain it."

This armed me with resolve. Let me point out that the experiments continued during the Great Patriotic War as well, for at that time bread was as valuable to the country as arms.

After the war, in 1948, once again I had the opportunity to visit Moscow and the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition, where Zavety Lenina, our kolkhoz, had four pavilions. I approached I. A. Benediktov, the then minister of agriculture, full of impressions and thoughts. As we know, he was a man of quick decisions. Literally on the following day he gathered a representative group of scientists in a ministry office. I reported to them on the results we had achieved and shared my thoughts on the development of grain growing in the USSR. Admittedly, the reaction of the audience was somewhat unexpected. Some comrades listened to me attentively, with open interest and a receptive frame of mind. Others were skeptical and grinning, as though we were discussing something too primitive.

However, I believed that I was right. Back home, I wrote an article for the oblast newspaper KRASNYY KURGAN in which I expressed my views, observations,

and argument (the article was published in the 10 March 1949 issue). To my amazement, 25 years later, in 1974, the newspaper SOVETSKOYE ZAVURAL'YE reprinted the article with suitable comments. Let me say that I was not ashamed to reread something written a quarter of a century before that, for the conclusions expressed in the article had not become dated but instead provided food for further thoughts. Nor do I feel any guilt toward Academician V. R. Vil'yams. I was guided by good intentions when I dared to suggest a different solution to the problem he posed. It was during the celebrations of the centennial of Vasiliy Robertovich Vil'yams that the scientific council of the Timiryazev Agricultural Academy awarded me the first prize and an honorary diploma...for the development of his theory. However, I am still not entirely convinced that the project has been completed entirely.

4

Nature has its rules, which are not always familiar to us, and which have many exceptions... In the case of the crops, those who grow them take into consideration not only the universally known rules but likely exceptions too. This is the essence of grain cultivation skills. Still, no one is entirely protected from accidents and errors. The question is their frequency. Most frequently, a good farmer is one who remembers the past well and knows how to rely on his own experience. However, one should not ignore moral factors, such as arrogance, boastfulness, bragging, superficiality and conceit, which harm our cause as much as droughts and dry winds.

As long as the people have not learned how to control the weather they cannot predict even roughly what kind of summer and other times of year they will have. Farming is done under open skies the year round and is subject to the effects of all possible elements. However, farming results vary. Therefore, it is quite possible to grow a good crop even under very difficult weather conditions. Nature does not cater to those who are stubborn and who follow a direct line. The art of maneuvering is useful to both the soldier and the grain grower. That is why each kolkhoz and sovkhoz must constantly experiment. This teaches the grain growers how to make optimal decisions or, in other words, how to adapt the crops to the best possible use of the weather. This offers a broad scope for creative agronomical work on the part of rank-and-file workers and farm specialists! It forces them to act strictly according to the laws and phenomena in nature. How sad it is to hear it said under ordinary circumstances or from lofty rostrums that "good harvests are possible regardless of weather conditions," followed by impressive or at least unusual statistical data. However, regardless of other indicators, good crops can and must be raised whatever the weather conditions may be, but not regardless of them. What are weather conditions? They are the environment in which the plants, the crops grow and develop. How can we isolate the crops from the weather conditions, which are their immediate environment? Disparities in labor results are mainly due to the fact that some farms were able to grow their crops under better weather conditions (as chess players would say, make the only accurate move under extremely adverse conditions), whereas others were unable to achieve this due to subjective reasons.

The wisdom of the grain grower consists not only of regularly harvesting the planned volume of crops but of being able to explain his actions to himself

and to those around him at all times. In other words, the farmer must be fully aware of why he acted in a specific way on any given occasion. The valuable bits of practical experience are the core of the farmer's knowledge. At the same time, however, such data must be thoroughly and conscientiously studied by the scientific institutions, entirely objectively and without any preconception, and returned to the practical workers in the form of summed-up recommendations. Experience must enrich knowledge and vice-versa.

Since the age of eight I have spent my entire conscious life farming the land and I know nothing more attractive and interesting. At every step we face errors but also discoveries and achievements. I believe that the feelings of the rural worker after a difficult but rich harvest are unique... There is great happiness in the countryside in autumn in recalling the various happenstances of the struggle for grain, down to the smallest detail. The difficulties and troubles, which do not spare those involved in the harvest -- the sowers, combine operators, thrashing workers and drivers, and the concerns of agronomists and farm managers fade in the bright halo of rich results. The harvested crop neutralizes past hardships and what is left is a good, bright and clean feeling. One feels like singing, and that is why the best songs are heard in the villages in the autumn.

What if the harvest is poor, which also happens? Usually, behind the Urals a poor harvest is ascribed to drought, although not everyone remains idle in the face of it. Frankly speaking, however, it does spoil the results of the work of the good farmer.

The weather statistics in our area show that some years there is a clear lack of moisture during the first half of the summer, whereas it is quite abundant during the second half. As a rule, there is less precipitation in June than in July. Sometimes, there is no precipitation at all. Some years the drought may last 2 or more consecutive months. Thus, in 1958, during the entire vegetation period, only 9 mm of rain fell on our kolkhoz' entire area, literally in drops. The crops were essentially left without any rain. Still we harvested an average of 10 quintals per hectare, and wheat planted on fallow land averaged 18-20 quintals.

Severe trials awaited us in 1975 as well. Under conditions similar to those of 1958, this time we harvested an average of 16-17 quintals of wheat per hectare, while the average on fallow lands ranged from 20 to 26 quintals.

As we know, the kolkhoz is the full owner of the land given to it for indefinite use. However, this right is frequently violated by authoritative organizations and occasional irresponsible individuals. Sometimes, a new official will come to the village and begin to instruct the kolkhoz members, as though they had never plowed or sowed before his arrival.

This thought was quite accurately expressed by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at the November 1981 CC CPSU Plenum: "The kolkhozes and sovkhoses must have the final say as to what to plant and when to undertake one operation or another. We must provide circumstances which can stimulate agricultural production growth and intensiveness, and encourage the initiative of kolkhozes and sovkhoses and all other units of the agroindustrial complex more actively..."

Unquestionably, this kind of approach would enhance the initiative, zeal and conscientiousness of all practical workers. I have been a crop grower ever since the kolkhoz was founded. I was in fact an agronomist without an office desk. I was in the fields from dawn to dusk, as it was there that my main job was. It would be desirable that today too the agronomy desk of production technologists be in the fields. I do not deny that today's agricultural specialists face difficult problems further complicated by contemporary conditions and technology. Nevertheless, they find the necessary time to deal with paper work. Some of them seem to have entirely forgotten how the grain is grown and have "specialized" in drafting reports and orders. The specialists must be freed from paper work. The objection to this is that documents are necessary. I agree, but there must be a limit! Agronomists must not be separated from the main work, from the land which feeds us, so that they may love it more and defend it with greater courage.

If we are involved with the land we must always study the climatic characteristics of our area and the patterns of droughts, rains and frosts. We must become interested in the history of agriculture and the development of agronomical thinking. That is how the individual thinking standards, which determine the style of specialist activities and tactics are formulated, the more so since the task of the agronomical service is exceptionally complex -- to reduce the destructive effect of the elements to a minimum.

Even adverse natural factors can help the harvest if a sensible crop growing system is used. Let me cite a specific example. As I already mentioned, the first half of the summer beyond the Urals is characterized by excess heat in the air. However, if the agronomists can stock optimal amounts of moisture in the soil, prevent its premature loss and use it efficiently, this excess June heat will help rather than harm the crops. This conclusion was proved some time ago at the Zavety Lenina Kolkhoz. Our grain crop yields have been growing steadily. We averaged 13.3 quintals per hectare in the Ninth and 24.8 quintal per hectare in the Tenth Five-Year Plan. Last year as well, despite rather difficult weather conditions, we averaged 26.5 quintals of grain per hectare. Therefore, in the final account, the June drought, which had become an age-old adverse factor, a thing within itself, as the philosophers say, became a thing for us, working for the crop.

In mouldboard-free farming as well fallows are a most important element. They help the farmer in his fights against weeds and become reservoirs of large quantities of moisture. Actually, the fallow land is an insurance factor. During good years, and with the use of nonlodging wheat strains, it can yield 40, 50 or more quintals per hectare. Last year, less than half the usual amount of rain fell on our area, thus creating a difficult situation. Nevertheless, the wheat planted on fallow land yielded up to 47 quintals of rich grain per hectare.

Discussions on the proper use of fallow land have been ongoing for quite some time. Officially, there seems to be no disagreement on the fact that there must be fallow land, and plans drawn up in winter even demand it. However, motivated by short-term advantages (which are, as a rule, imaginary, illusory), short-sighted managers force the agronomists "just one more time" to sacrifice these insurance areas for the sake of circumstantial advantages.

This violates crop rotation and the sequence of land utilization, lowers gross grain harvests, worsens their quality and allows the weeds to grow.

What are the arguments cited by the opponents of fallows? The fact is that they are based on chance and on random rather than permanent factors. Naturally, some years the entire arable land under crops may enjoy good spring and summer weather conditions, at which point a good crop is raised on the suitably fertilized areas. On this basis the short-sighted comrades draw the following conclusion: "had we left part of the land to lay fallow, the gross grain harvest would have been lower by so many tons." However, this is not a scientific approach! It is true that we do not suffer from drought every year, but we never know when it may occur. Therefore, we must always be prepared for it, so that the grain growers will not be caught unawares and find themselves in trouble. In this case, we must be guided by the principle of hoping for the best while preparing for the worst and by a long-term view. Unquestionably, the idea of harvesting a rich crop is tempting, particularly over large areas. This is possible with adequate precipitation. However, everyone suffers when the drought hits the grain fields. The grain harvest drops significantly, thus inflicting economic difficulties to the individual farm and the country at large. Socrates, the ancient Greek philosopher, wisely said that "...It is by far preferable to ...have a sufficient amount of bread every year rather than either too much or too little." That is why it is more sensible to let some of the land lay fallow regardless of the circumstances rather than violate the grain production system.

A certain pattern also develops in the sense that good harvest years disorient short-sighted agronomists and economists, planning workers in particular, who seriously begin to believe that it is possible to farm successfully and profitably even without fallows, so that there is no need to leave part of the land unused. Such carelessness is harmful. It affects not the direct culprits but the entire society.

Any argument in favor of one agrotechnical method or another must be viewed on the basis of specific conditions and actual circumstances. It may be possible to do without fallow land in some areas or individual farms, or to have as much of it as is deemed necessary. Wherever such land is required, it should be included in the plans and the entire set of agrotechnical measures should be applied. Practical experience has shown that the size of the fallow land is determined by the condition of the arable land, i.e., by the general farming standard. In any case, 20 percent is the optimal agronomical norm for the steppe and forest-steppe areas of Siberia, the Urals, the Altay and Northern Kazakhstan. Exceptionally, the size of the fallow land may be increased or decreased as determined by the specialists on the spot.

5

As in nature, in the course of farming the land soil fertility must not decline but rather increase steadily, albeit in small doses. This task is not strictly economic but, to some extent, sociopolitical too, which means that it affects literally one and all. This does not necessarily apply only to those who plow and cultivate the land or take part in the harvest, but also to those who are involved in growing the grain by operating a machine

tool, or working in a mine, an oil field, a construction site or a railroad track, or simply in an office... Everyone of us has the duty to preserve and increase the natural resources of the homeland. In a word, farming standards must be as high as the economy is economical.

A feeling of profound attachment for the animate world must become deeply ingrained in the soul of every citizen of the USSR. The rest, including the skill to farm the land, will follow, as the saying goes.

I recall the words of Mikhail Privshin, our wise writer, who said that "...To protect nature means to protect the homeland."

Naturally, love for nature must be specific and active and, to some extent, even sacrificial. Otherwise what kind of love would it be? In general, I believe, man must exercise self-restraint. This teaches us how to control our desires, so that neither egotism nor various whims could gain the upper hand.

The adolescent who enters life must learn the natural sciences not only in the classroom, according to the curriculum, but literally everywhere, particularly in the fields. Nevertheless, the main lessons must come from the family and the school. Respect for the work of the grain grower and love of nature, in the broad meaning of the term, cannot be mental and contemplative but as tangible as possible and really useful. This is particularly important in the case of urban children, who frequently develop an abstract concept of nature. Therefore, it would be difficult to overestimate the current social trend of encouraging the broad masses to engage in the cultivation of private plots, naturally within sensible limits. Truck gardening and livestock breeding under domestic circumstances offer exceptionally favorable opportunities for the labor education of the growing generation. In engaging in something active, which is also useful to the family, the children soon learn how to value their work. They become aware of natural phenomena and treat the fruits of nature with consideration.

"Those who farm the land," Kliment Arkad'yevich Timiryazev used to say, "may not be aware of the fact that they are the life support of the entire nation, for it is they and no one else who create, in the strictest meaning of the term, the conditions without which the nation's hands and minds would be unable to function. They not only feed and clothe it today but are concerned with the preservation of the entire arable land in a state of constant suitability to meet future greater requirements..."

This thought remains relevant. Increasing the fertility of the land is the overall strategy in farming. It is closely related to the specific task of increasing the fertility of the fields and of each farm crop in particular. All of us, as citizens of our country, are involved in this process to one extent or another. This is what makes us good, concerned and practical managers!

The grain grower's time flies, despite the fact that grain growing technology is considered a slow process which takes several months. This time is filled

with a deep inner drama. However, the hardships and difficulties which are part of the farmer's toil, are redeemed by happy and unique moments of triumph and deep creative satisfaction.

I am approaching the 87th year of my life. I am neither sated with life nor am I tired. Furthermore, I nurse in my heart a permanent feeling of unfinished work. It always seems to me that I have failed to do something, that I have missed something. This gives me new strength and I keep learning from nature and from wise books.

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HIGH RESPONSIBILITY TO THE GRAIN FIELD

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[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor O. Kuanyshev, first secretary of the Kokchetavskiy Obkom, Communist Party of Kazakhstan]

[Text] Each nation has its own kind of respectful and responsible attitude toward grain. "Barley and wheat are food; gold and silver are rocks," is the Kazakh popular wisdom. This gives grain its proper due. It is placed higher than any other wealth and it is the only one respected by man. This centuries-old tradition is still alive.

One cannot remain indifferent at the sight of endless fields. What a great joy it is looking at a sea of golden wheat! Whenever I look at it I admire and am proud of the wisdom and foresight of the communist party and the accomplishments of those who, obeying the party's will and appeal, the call of their own hearts and their civic duty, undertook the development of the new lands in the previously desert grassy steppe.

1

One must look at the map of the Order of Lenin Kokchetavskaya Oblast to realize the truly tremendous changes which have taken place in Kokshetau, a land frequently found in the songs of poets and writers, during no more than a quarter of a century.

"The ancient steppe proved to be rich. Transformed through human toil, it gave stability to our entire agriculture and guaranteed the production of the necessary amount of grain," Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev wrote in his outstanding book "Tselina" [Virgin Land], which became a guide not only for every party worker but for all the people in the virgin lands.

Let us particularly note that the development of the virgin lands opened tremendous opportunities in the Kokchetav area. Until the beginning of the virgin land epic, the oblast delivered to the state an average of no more than 10-12 million poods of grain annually. Today the average annual grain procurements here have increased by a factor of 10-11. Following the February-March 1954 CC CPSU Plenum, about 3 million hectares of virgin and fallow lands were developed within a short time.

A tremendous amount of work was accomplished thanks to the tremendous help which our state gave to the new farms. Currently the oblast has more than 300 agricultural enterprises with powerful modern equipment averaging more than 100 tractors, 60 combines and 40 trucks per farm.

During the past 15 years many graduate specialists have joined the sovkhoses and kolkhozes. Currently there are no less than 30 people with higher and secondary specialized training per farm.

It has never been easy to grow grain. One must struggle for it persistently, with dedication, adamantly and purposefully, during good seasons and difficult drought periods. The farmer has always cared for grain. The grain grown on the virgin lands, in the zone of so-called risk agriculture, is 3 times as precious. The virgin land farmers dedicate their entire talent and skill to the fields, to the land-benefactress.

In his address at the November 1981 CC CPSU Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that "until we have learned how to control the weather, agricultural work must be adapted more skillfully to weather difficulties." Leonid Il'ich gave very valuable advice in this connection. The farmers in our oblast try to follow it in their practical work.

The party organizations supervise and direct the activities of agricultural organs, encouraging the intelligent and thrifty management of the land.

As we know, agricultural specialists from different climatic zones in our country took part in the development of the virgin lands. This was the reason for the different sowing and cultivation agrotechnologies which were noted initially. The only unanimous agreement was that the crops had to be sown as early as possible. However, the weather characteristics of Northern Kazakhstan neither were nor could have been taken into consideration immediately. Major errors were made, which soon afterwards resulted in the development of wind erosion and other undesirable phenomena which sharply lowered grain and other crop yields.

It was obvious that the old measures were unsuitable in the further development of the virgin lands, not only in terms of scale but farming methods. The party organizations were faced with a rather difficult problem. The entire farming system had to be reorganized within a short time. The people had to be taught new soil cultivation methods and made to understand that they should not be in a hurry but should sow during the optimal season, i.e., that they should begin sowing the main crop--wheat--not before the middle of May. However, millions of hectares had to be sowed in no more than 7 to 10 days. The sowing was to be completed by 25 May and in no case be extended. This is extremely important, for this gives the plants the opportunity to make maximal use of the spring moisture. A delay of no more than 2 or 3 days may expose the wheat to early autumn frosts, which are a frequent phenomena in the virgin lands.

The party committees and organizations and the soviet and agricultural organs encouraged the close cooperation between agricultural science and practice.

The scientists from the All-Union Scientific Research Grain Farming Institute in Shortanda, headed by the famous scientist and Hero of Socialist Labor A. I. Barayev, made a considerable contribution in this respect. The new soil protection farming system suggested by the institute was firmly adopted throughout the virgin lands after it had been practically tested.

Currently all farms cultivate the soil with mouldboards and deep plows. Special sowing machines are used. The stripe crop system is used and great attention is being paid to the fallows, which act as storage areas for moisture and as fighters in the struggle against the weeds. Windbreak summer crops are planted on the fallows which (together with the remaining stubble) prevent the soil from being blown off and help retain the snow on the fields. We know that the moisture accumulated during the winter plays a decisive role in growing grain and other crops, enabling them to withstand the June drought until the beginning of the rains in July.

New most efficient crop rotation systems had to be introduced and high-yield and drought resistant strains of grain and leguminous crops, vegetables and potatoes had to be adopted.

Work on the virgin lands means a steady search for ways to increase grain production. Whereas in the past increased grain production was based on extensive factors, today, strictly speaking, there is no more free land which could be developed. Priority is now given to intensive grain farming and above all to increasing yields per hectare of farmland.

The daily purposeful activities of the party organizations and soviet and agricultural organs and farm managers and specialists, kolkhoz members and sovkhos workers resulted in considerable crop-growing and animal husbandry successes. During the 10th Five-Year Plan grain production increased by 20 percent; potatoes by almost 50 percent, milk by 10.5 percent, meat by 2.2 percent, wool by 17.4 percent and eggs by 40 percent. This entire increase in agricultural output was the result of higher labor productivity and the implementation of measures for concentration and specialization on the basis of agroindustrial integration.

Unquestionably, all of these factors played a decisive role in increasing grain sales to the state. During the 10th Five-Year Plan we supplied the country with 664 million poods of high-quality grain. In 1980 alone we delivered 165.7 million poods. For the first time in the entire history of the oblast, the gross grain harvest reached 4.2 million tons! Naturally, this was an unparalleled success. It proves that the virgin lands are far from having exhausted their potential. Many unused reserves remain. Their utilization, as the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress stipulate, is one of the most militant and urgent tasks.

Positive changes have taken place in animal husbandry as well. In recent years, cattle, hog, poultry and sheep herds have increased. Livestock productivity has improved and so has the quality of the goods marketed. We can assume with full justification that the plans will be successfully fulfilled in this area as well.

However, the major and difficult problems which face sovkhoz and kolkhoz livestock breeders cannot be resolved without a firm and stable feed base. Taking this into consideration, the party obkom and the oblast executive committee formulated a comprehensive program for supplying the cattle with varied and balanced feeds.

Let us point out that over the past 2 years we have procured more than 1 million tons of hay and haylage. Never before had the oblast reached this quantity.

The oblast party organization is persistently and purposefully working on the solution of the feed problem, seeing to it that all delivered feeds are processed and enriched with a variety of micro-additives. The task is to develop highly productive feed shops in all farms.

The movement for high farming standards is yielding tangible results in the struggle for high grain production. Dozens of sovkhozes and kolkhozes, departments and tractor-crop growing brigades have earned the honorific title of "High Farming Standards Collective." Their number is increasing with every passing year.

In the struggle for high farming standards, particular attention is being paid to quality. Berlikskiy Sovkhoz, which was awarded the Order of the Friendship Among the Peoples, launched the outstanding initiative "Each Field Must Have Its Emblem of Quality!" This initiative, following its approval by the oblast party committee, was taken up by all the farms and is yielding good results. The oblast party committee is doing everything possible to support the initiative of those who farm the land and grow the grain.

Party member and Hero of Socialist Labor Turlubek Abil'peisov has headed a comprehensive brigade at the Lavrovskiy Sovkhoz for more than 20 years. He is a mechanizer who can handle many machines and mechanisms. However, he is also quite familiar with work at the livestock farm. For many years each hectare cultivated by his brigade has yielded no less than 18 quintals of grain. It is precisely this collective, which has shown a high feeling of responsibility, that launched the outstanding initiative "Your Neighbor's Field Is Like Your Own." The party committees encouraged the dissemination of this initiative among all farms. The movement of sponsorship of lagging farms became quite popular and developed into a stabilizing factor for high yields.

The experience of past crop-growing masters and their advice are always handy. That is why it has already become a tradition that each spring, before the sowing, experienced brigade leaders gather at the party obkom. Views are exchanged and an appeal to all mechanizers is adopted and published in the local press and on the radio. The leaders of frontranking collectives advise on how to carry out spring field operations better and describe the obligations assumed in the area of grain growing.

Let us take as an example the noted grain grower in our oblast, leader of a tractor-crop growing brigade at the Chervonnyy Sovkhoz, delegate to the

26th CPSU Congress and Hero of Socialist Labor V. Ye. Kirichko. His brigade has long exceeded the 20-quintal average. No element can prevent him from harvesting a good crop. That is why there is always something to learn from Vasiliy Yegorovich. Let us also mention Hero of Socialist Labor Sertay Bekturganov, brigade leader at Razdol'nyy Sovkhoz. He too, year after year, harvests stable crops, for which reason, understandably, his word is valued and listened to.

2

The year 1981, which had exceptionally bad weather and which tested our potential for countering natural disasters, played a special role in the development of grain growing in Kokchetavskaya Oblast.

During the first oblast party committee plenum after the 26th CPSU Congress, we discussed the problem of the further upsurge in grain growing in sovkhozes and kolkhozes. We were as yet unaware of the difficulties we were about to face. Subsequent events, however, proved that the principled and businesslike discussion held at the plenum, the decree which was passed and the steps taken to increase grain and feed production all played a major role in the battle for the harvest. During that season the farmers clearly proved that, on the basis of progressive agricultural science and long experience in grain growing, and by tirelessly improving farming standards, despite adverse weather conditions large grain crops could be raised.

In the spring, when it became clear that the struggle for grain would be difficult, we tried to focus the attention of the farmers on the need to take all the necessary steps to preserve the moisture, each drop of which, as they say in the virgin lands, was more precious than diamonds. The great organizational and mobilizing force of the party's influence was clearly manifested under these difficult circumstances. The party members ensured the successful work in the key sectors. The party organizations did a tremendous amount of work. Priority was given to the quality of the plowing, sowing and care for the crops. The problem was to ensure the exceptionally conscientious implementation of all technological requirements.

Now, when all of this concern is behind us, we can sum up and boldly say that the people proved to be stronger than the winds of nature. The summer was particularly hot. Not a single drop of rain fell in a number of rayons throughout the vegetation period. Strong dry winds began blowing during the period of the filling of the grain. Despite such extreme conditions, the Kokchetav virgin land grain growers, inspired by the historic decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and guided by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's valuable instructions and advice, won one more labor victory.

The crop was harvested in an organized way within an incredibly short time. In this case, the skillful use of a variety of harvesting methods played a considerable role. Each individual field had its specific technology. Harvesting-transportation complexes proved their usefulness. The large-group harvest organization method was extensively used. It enabled us to use the equipment in a far better manner, to upgrade its productivity and to improve the quality of the work and, as a whole, to reduce thrashing time. All of this helped us to avoid harvesting losses.

Therefore, despite the exceptionally droughty summer, the oblast working people honorably fulfilled their high socialist pledges for grain deliveries to the state. The homeland received 2,212,000 tons of grain, or 102,000 tons more than the planned figure. A total of 1,733,000 tons of the main food crop--the famous virgin land wheat was sold. Strong, hard and valuable strains accounted for more than 85 percent of the total.

We were also pleased by the high quality of the grain, which accounted for the more than 38 million rubles in additional profit earned by the sovkhoses and kolkhoses. This was a substantial addition! We are also pleased by the fact that all farms ensured their full supply with seeds for the 1982 sowing campaign. Our investigation proved that the quality of the seeds was good and essentially met the high sowing standards.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's congratulations for the great victory--the delivery of 135 million poods of grain to the state--caused tremendous happiness and a new labor and political upsurge. His words, sincere gratitude for the selfless work done for the good of the great homeland and wishes for new successes in the building of communism, were deeply felt by the party members and all working people in the oblast. They will spare not effort and work to achieve even better results in raising grain and other crops.

Good successes were achieved by the sovkhoses and kolkhoses of Chkalovskiy Rayon. For the past several years they have harvested rich crops. Even in a droughty year the rayon averaged 13.5 quintals per hectare under grain crops. More than 220,000 tons of grain were sold to the state. This is the best result in the oblast in terms of the volume of procurements. Chkalovskiy Rayon overfulfilled its socialist pledges.

The farm workers of Shchuchinskiy Rayon scored good achievements as well. They overfulfilled their plan by 50 percent by growing the highest crop in the oblast. Like Chkalovskiy Rayon, the Shchuchinskiy Rayon grain growers have substantially enhanced farming standards in recent years. They have begun to use each hectare of land more responsibly and thriftily. The working people of Kokchetavskiy, Enbekshil'derskiy, Kellerovskiy, Leningradskiy and Zerendinskiy rayons substantially overfulfilled their grain delivery economic plans as well.

The successes of Krasnoarmeyskiy Rayon, whose farms had been worked rather unevenly in recent years, were more pleasing, to a certain extent, than the achievements of others. There was a time when the rayon grew rich crops and overfulfilled its plans and obligations. This was followed by a period of complacency, however, and a number of collectives began to work unenthusiastically. After a study of the crop-growing situation in the rayon, the obkom reached the disturbing conclusion that the rayon party committee had weakened its leadership in this important economic sector. It was resolved that a report on the work of the rayon party committee to upgrade economic effectiveness in agricultural production and its profitability in the light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum was to be submitted to the obkom bureau.

These events took place toward the end of 1978. Let us give the rayon its due. It made a thorough study of shortcomings, determined the reasons, identified unused reserves and drew proper conclusions from the party obkom decree. As early as 1979 the farmers surmounted their lagging and fulfilled their grain sales plan, as a result of which Krasnoarmeyskiy Rayon fulfilled its five-year plan for grain. It achieved successes also during the hard year of 1981.

More than 100 sovkhoses and kolkhozes overfulfilled their plans for grain sales to the state. The Berlikskiy, Urozhaynyy and Lomonosovskiy sovkhoses shipped to the state granaries 1.5 million poods of grain each. Twenty-six farms shipped a million poods each, including the Sovkhoses imeni XXIII S'yezda KPSS, Razdol'nyy, Bostandykskiy, Zerendinskiy, Volodarskiy and Chistopol'skiy and the Kolkhozes imeni Kalinin, Svezda Kommuny and others.

The yields reached during the same droughty year were indicative; 27 farms averaged 15 or more quintals of grain per hectare; the Krasnaya Zvezda Kolkhoz averaged 18.8; Kotyrkol'skiy Sovkhoz-Technical School averaged 20.4; the Stepnoishimskaya Experimental Station averaged 20.7; and Zlatopol'skiy Sovkhoz averaged 21.1 quintals of grain per hectare. The Chervonnyy, Prirechenskiy, Krasnoyarskiy, Zerendinskiy and Shchuchinskiy rayon specialized associations, the Kokchetav Horse-Breeding Farm and the Zvezda Kommuny, Serp i Molot, 14-y God Oktyabrya, Krasnoye Znamya and others averaged 100 or more poods.

Even higher yields were reached by many tractor-crop growing brigades. Thus, an average of 21.3 quintals per hectare was achieved in the fields cultivated by the initiators of the oblast socialist competition among mechanizers, a brigade at the Sovkhoz imeni XXII S'yezda KPSS, headed by K. Smagulov. The brigade headed by R. O. Gints at the Stepnoishimskaya Experimental Station averaged 22.3 quintals of grain on an area of 2,007 hectares. The mechanizers led by A. Ya. Garder, a famous grain grower in the oblast, at the Zlatopol'skiy Sovkhoz averaged 25 quintals per hectare over 3,300 hectares of farmland.

The steady increase per hectare is one of the most powerful proofs of the maturity and high skill achieved by the grain growers.

How was such a major grain-growing success achieved during a difficult season of severe drought? Naturally, the substantial amount of grain grown in 1981 was not caused by accident or luck. It took a great deal of work, ability and experience to grow such a harvest. The major labor victory achieved in Kokchetav is the result of the persistent and consistent implementation of Leninist agrarian policy, the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the 15th Communist Party of Kazakhstan Congress and the 20th oblast party conference, and the tremendous assistance given by the CC CPSU and the Soviet government, the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee and the republic's government.

The rayon party committees proved themselves as real party headquarters during the harvest period and true combat organizers of the masses in the struggle for grain. Comrade D. A. Kunayev, CC CPSU Politburo member and Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee Secretary, was referring specifically

to them when he said that "they have most convincingly proved their high ability to act effectively and very usefully in most difficult and sometimes one would say incredible circumstances." This is a just and deserved assessment. During the battle for the grain bureau members and secretaries and senior party committee workers could be found where the situation was particularly difficult. Together with the economic managers, they organized the work and the handling of the equipment, raised the labor and political moods of the people and gave them confidence in their ultimate success.

The party organizations paid great attention to the proper deployment of forces in the most crucial harvest sectors. More than 7,000 party members worked directly in brigades, thrashing floors and grain reception enterprises. They were combined in 798 party and 260 party-Komsomol groups. The party members acted as able organizers, pioneers in high labor activeness and initiators in the socialist competition. Many of them displayed true labor heroism. The most characteristic features of the last harvest were the mass overfulfillment of norms and day and night work along the entire grain conveyor: field-thrashing floor-elevator.

As in previous years, leading combine operators once again distinguished themselves. Party members and Heroes of Socialist Labor A. Kuandykov, from the Zvezda Kommuny Kolkhoz, and I. Sibiryak, from Chistopol'skiy Sovkhoz, mechanizers P. Petrovskiy, from Chkalovskiy Sovkhoz, T. Karatayev, from the Sovkhoz imeni XXII S'yezda KPSS, and I. Drayling, from the Kolkhoz imeni Kuybyshev and many others (more than 200 people) each thrashed 10,000 or more quintals of grain.

Not a single person, directly or indirectly involved in grain growing in the countryside, failed to care for gathering the harvest on time and without losses. The participation of entire families in the harvest has developed as a good tradition. In the 1981 campaign, there were 125 family teams and crews. Thus, for example, the brothers Sazonov did shockwork at the Put' k Kommunizmu Kolkhoz. One of them, Ivan Fedorovich, is a hero of socialist labor. The three Rybalko brothers, mechanizers at the Menzhinskiy Sovkhoz, deserve their great reputation. Gaziz Ospanov with his two sons, who showed the same skill as their father, tirelessly harvested the grain at the 40 Let Kazakhskoy SSR Sovkhoz.

We can only admire the industriousness and zeal of combine operator Hero of Socialist Labor L. P. Sums kaya at Zharkul'skiy Sovkhoz. She works together with her husband and son. This team proved its excellent qualities!

Let us particularly note the contribution which our great working women are making to the struggle for grain. They drive combines, tractors and trucks. They work at the thrashing floors and elevators, prepare food for the mechanizers and are in charge of the grain growers' cultural and living amenities.

The automotive transportation workers, whose work greatly determines the duration and quality of the harvest and grain procurements, showed their high skills during the harvest season. We see to it that they work efficiently. To this effect, for several years progressive grain transportation methods have been applied and truck trailers have been used extensively. During the

first year of the new five year plan, more than 200 brigades applied the combined trailer method. Sixty-one brigades tested the so-called portional method of shipping grain directly from the combines. Both methods are progressive and save a great deal of time, increase combine productivity and release a great number of vehicles for other purposes, which is particularly important during the farm season. The grain was delivered at reception enterprises on the basis of an hourly schedule drafted with the help of a computer at the information-computer center of the oblast freight trucking administration. Substantial savings were achieved also thanks to the use of large trucks and road trains with two or more truck trailers. During the last harvest 1,115 such road trains were in operation, including 20 40-ton and 6 100-ton trailer trucks.

Nikolay Pavlovich Plyasunov, Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet deputy and delegate to the 26th CPSU Congress, displayed exceptional skills as the leader of the Shchuchinsk truck train, as he had in previous years. His heavy-duty truck train hauled about 10,000 tons of grain. The other initiators of the oblast competition, truckdrivers Ye. Tyulemisov, from the Volodarsk Automotive Vehicles Combine, Yu. F. Novokreshchenov, from the Zerendinskiy Automotive Vehicles Combine, V. P. Zalevskiy, from Chkalov Automotive Vehicles Enterprise, and other other drivers fulfilled their obligations as well.

Everyone is affected by the fate of the grain. As in the past, the labor collectives of industrial enterprises, transportation and construction organizations and schools in Kokchetav and Shchuchinsk, the rayon centers and workers settlements, the mechanizers in the Russian Federation and the Ukraine and military drivers were of tremendous help in harvesting the crop in the droughty 1981.

Everyone well realized that autumn in the virgin lands provides little time for the harvest. One must hurry, save time and harvest the crop before the bad and the cold weather. Thanks to active help, we completed the harvest and grain deliveries within a short time, in no more than 20-25 days.

The high stress and extent of the socialist competition in all harvesting sectors were supported by the well-planned ideological and mass political work of the party organizations. Particular emphasis was put on the effectiveness and quality of this major, difficult, but very necessary work.

Operational headquarters in charge of organizing the harvest were set up by the oblast and rayon party committees and primary party organizations. Press centers and groups were set up to provide daily information on events in the fields to the participants in the harvest operation. Our newspapers and radio covered the harvest efficiently. Special bulletins on the battled for grain were issued regularly in mass editions. The results of the socialist competition among rayons and farms were summed up by the oblast staff every 5 days. The labor glory star was lit on V. I. Lenin Square in the oblast center. Every day the beautifully lit panel informed of the course of grain deliveries to the state on a daily basis. The information system in the rayon centers and the farms was organized on the same basis.

The party's appeal could be heard every day in field camps, thrashing floors, elevators and grain reception enterprises. It was taken to the masses by thousands of agitators and political informants and by our entire party aktiv. Combat "flashes" were issued on a regular basis. Satirical leaflets were also published criticizing wastemakers and discipline violators.

Amateur performers frequently visited the fields. The militant and ardent songs, chastushki and dances enhanced the mood of the people and armed them with new spirit.

The oblast party committee saw to it that all the known ways and means of ideological influence were used during the harvest. Particular attention was paid to the proper use and combination of moral and material incentives. We were able to surmount the inertia of some managers who believed that money was the most important incentive for accelerating the pace of the work. However, it is worth looking at the way the people react when they hear a word of praise, receive a letter of congratulations or are awarded challenge pennants. How much stronger and energetic man becomes in such a case, and how proudly his eyes shine! It was worth seeing the gratitude with which the great harvesting workers read the warm congratulations of cosmonauts G. T. Beregovoy, V. A. Shatalov, A. G. Nikolayev and V. F. Bykovskiy. These greetings increased the enthusiasm of the people.

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Unquestionably, such achievements are pleasing. We speak of them and are proud of them. However, we must work even harder in the future to implement the tasks formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress. We see shortcomings and bottlenecks and try to eliminate them and to achieve better results. The oblast party committee directs the cadres toward the use of intensive farming methods in order to ensure the steady growth of production efficiency.

We base our daily work on Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions to the effect that we must increase grain crop yields to 20 quintals per hectare in the immediate future. The experience of leading farms and brigades confirms that this is an entirely realistic and soluble problem.

What must we do to resolve it?

Above all, we must enhance farming standards and reach a level of ideal cultivation of and care for each hectare of farmland, strictly in accordance with agronomical requirements. We must promote the selection and utilization of higher yielding and promising strains of wheat, barley and other grain crops. Chemical fertilizers must be used far more extensively than at present. In the past it was believed that in droughty areas their usefulness is low. Fortunately, practical experience has refuted the skeptics. Today the grain growers are demanding ever more persistently higher deliveries of chemical fertilizers which properly increase the crops in the virgin lands. Obviously, other organizational and technical measures are needed as well. Improving agricultural production management, which was discussed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the November 1981 CC CPSU Plenum, was of major importance.

The virgin lands have hardly exhausted their possibilities. It is only now that we are undertaking the more profound study of their potential. The efforts of the Kokchetav grain growers are focused precisely on the thrifty and sensible utilization of the land and the steady increase in yields per hectare. We have many more reserves at our disposal. One of them is the fuller utilization of the advantages of the soil protection farming system. A number of farms are still not comprehensively applying progressive agrotechnology. This is explained mainly with the shortage of necessary highly productive machines and tools. This, too, was discussed at the November 1981 CC CPSU Plenum.

The time has come to create new crop growing machines. The technology of field work in the virgin lands requires labor tools substantially different from the soil cultivation and harvesting equipment used in other areas. Grain farming in our virgin land zone, in which grain is grown over tremendous areas, requires harvesting combines with increased operational speed and superperiod handling capacity. We also need fast wide windrowers which would take 10 or 12 rather than 20-25 days. This is quite important in virgin land farming, in which every single day is precious.

The new forms of labor organization in harvesting and the use of bigger truck trains in hauling the grain have raised additional problems. The need for trailers for K-700 and K-701 tractors has become acute. Rotary loaders, which save a great deal of time and speed up transportation turnover, are needed for the fast loading of big trucks. However, it is precisely such machinery that is particularly scarce on the sovkhoz thrashing floors.

Extensive work has been done to mechanize the assembly line postharvest grain processing. A farm needs on an average no less than four mechanized highly productive grain treatment centers, almost 900 of which operate in the oblast. However, currently we are facing a number of unexpected difficulties. No spare parts at all are being delivered for the equipment operating at such centers. Meanwhile, pocket-type grain cleaning blocks, bucket chains and sieve boots are beginning to break down, and there is nothing which can replace them. As a result, mechanized thrashing has to stop at the very peak of the work. Willy-nilly, the farms are forced to build additional conventional thrashing floors.

Recent experience has proved that the urgent problems of strengthening the repair-technical facilities in agriculture must be resolved. We must openly say that the Goskomsel'khoshtekhnika enterprises, not to mention the sovkhoz and kolkhoz workshops, are unable to ensure the high-level technical readiness of the machine-tractor fleet today. This leads to extensive idling during the intensive period of field work and to additional outlays of labor, means and time for making repairs under field conditions. Meanwhile, a considerable percentage of the equipment remains totally unused. Unfortunately, the cost of all this is a smaller crop and lower grain quality.

The virgin land workers are expecting new high-yield spring crop strains which are most suitable to conditions in our area. The zoned Saratovskaya-29, Bezenchukskaya-98 and Khar'kovskaya-46 strains, which were developed for the virgin lands a long time ago, have served their time. Their yields can no

longer satisfy the farmers. The selection workers must supply the virgin land farmers with new strains as rapidly as possible.

The oblast party organization faces broad and complex assignments in the new 11th Five-Year Plan.

The implementation of radical measures to ensure further increases in grain production was and remains a matter of prime importance and a shock sector in the implementation of the food program drafted by the party. All efforts are focused on raising grain production in the oblast to 4 million tons per year. Average annual potato production in the public sector must reach 95,000-100,000 tons and the production of vegetables, 25,000 tons.

New levels must be reached in animal husbandry upsurge. Production must reach 100,000-110,000 tons of meat in live weight, 280,000-300,000 tons of milk and 3,000-3,1000 tons of wool per year. We must also increase the cattle herds and their productivity.

During the five-year plan the oblast's industrial potential will increase as well. New production capacities will be installed and new enterprises will be commissioned. The capital construction sector must use large investments.

...The first virgin land springs are now part of the past. The Kokchetav land has been transformed into one of the greatest granaries in the country. A new generation of virgin land farmers is honorably continuing the work of its fathers and grandfathers. Looking at the past with pride, and looking at the future from the level reached today, we see this future as being even more beautiful.

However difficult it may be to grow grain in the virgin lands, it proves again and again the farsightedness of our party's agrarian policy. The virgin land is becoming even more beautiful and its endless fields and livestock farms are becoming richer. Above all, the civic-mindedness and patriotism of the people who live here and are continuing the great project of the pioneers are becoming even greater. These are the people who are trying to fulfill the historic decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress honorably.

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BREAD AND PEOPLE

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[Article by V. Arkhipenko]

[Text] A Little History

Ages ago the people learned how to mill and grind the grain, and to cook and bake it through various methods, eventually learning how to make bread, which became the constant companion and guarantor of human life itself. Bread not only made human existence possible but became one of the cornerstones of civilization in general. It has essentially remained the same for thousands of years despite its changing aspects.

Fresh flat cakes are one of the oldest types of bread on earth. They were baked on open fires by nomad shepherds. The Armenian lavash may be traced to these flat cakes. The first to learn to bake bread from leavened dough were the people of ancient Egypt. For many centuries bread remained the staple food of the European peoples, who spread it among other continents.

Bread was also long familiar to the Slavic tribes which subsequently formed the Russian state. Grain seeds have been found in digs of 6th-8th-century settlements near Minsk and Smolensk. In the southern part of Kiev Russia the bread was essentially baked from wheat. In the northern principalities and subsequently in Muscovy, rye bread predominated.

The daily life of the Russians, their ancient traditions and their centuries-old ceremonies of baptism, marriage and wakes, their feasts and funeral meals, always involved bread, whether in the form of sheaves, grain or loaves. Bread was present on the table of the peasant and the king.

Whether it was the quality of the grain, the perfect Russian baking ovens, the skill, the leaven or perhaps everything combined, the Russian loaf was appetizing, with its unique coloring and taste. The great majority of people in Muscovy were familiar with the various types of "bread products"--as everything made of grain was called. Ivan Zabelin, the prerevolutionary scientist and famous expert in the field of Russian antiquity, found in Moscow's archives a list of meals served on the patriarch's table. The list contained innumerable meals made of wheat and rye! Basman, bratskiy, paposhnik and

polbenny were varieties of bread. Bread loaves were described as stavlennyye, tel'nyye or yatskiye. There were collar-shaped and quarter loaves of white bread. There were rings, dumplings, croutons, fritters, all kinds of baked pastry goods and innumerable quantities of round, long, slanted, open-topped and curled pies; according to the dough used, they were sour, fancy and fresh; they could be baked in the hearth or fried; the varieties of stuffings were innumerable.

To this day a description of patriarchal tables (not only regarding bread but their splendid fish-roe meals) makes some lovers of antiquity sigh: "Our ancestors certainly knew how to set a table and take their meals seriously...."

This moving sigh brings to light the old cursed matter of who lived well and happily in Rus'. The difference between the table set by the nobility or clergy and the poor peasant table is forgotten. Alas, for centuries on end Rus' was aware of the unavoidable truth that "hunger is no lady." That same patriarchal table was set in the 17th century, during which there were 32 hungry years....

The primitive level of farming, in which the wooden plow was the main tool in the cultivation of the soil and the sickle was the main harvesting tool, when the concept of "fertilizer" had not made its appearance, caused the small quantity of harvested grain rigidly to restrict the population's size.

Nature corrected the estimates of the farmers. The Soviet scientists V. Pasetkiy and Ye. Borisenkov, who have thoroughly studied from Russian chronicles the number of cases of extreme weather conditions which occurred from the 11th to the 17th centuries (droughts, excessive precipitation, early frosts, locust invasions), have given us a strikingly clear picture of the people's life on the territory which today's farming specialists describe as the "risky farming zone," risky because the weather can suddenly reduce to naught the labor of the farmers at any time.

The computation based on chronicles is startling: in the course of 7 centuries Rus' was afflicted by more than 200 hungry years! Let us add to this the mean role played by the "wild gentry" who took from the farmer the little he could raise. It is a pity that we do not sometimes draw the attention of our children to the bitter pages in Radishchev's and Nekrasov's works....

The victorious wars waged against the Ottoman Empire, the fertile land of the Northern Caucasus, the Black Sea coast and Bessarabia, which was added to the Russian state, and capitalist farming methods created a type of situation unknown before Peter the Great: Russia began to sell grain abroad....

This was despite the fact that the majority of the population was short of bread, there was chronic hunger in many guberniyas and sporadic hunger prevailed in some areas such as on the other side of the Volga. At the beginning of the 1880's, nearly 5 million tons of grain were being exported to other countries; about 14 million tons were exported in 1911. Exports increased, but hunger did not diminish. The very nature of the grain trade on the foreign markets was another proof of Russia's semicolonial dependence on the Western countries. Grain was exported during the most unfavorable

period (immediately after the harvest) and sold at low prices. Wheat grown on the fields of Russia became Italian spaghetti, French batons, Austrian strudels and English puddings. Meanwhile, as before, the people were swollen from hunger in the Penza, Archangel and Saratov countryside. During the first 12 years of the 20th century the Russian countryside had 7 hungry years....

There had been innumerable rebellions in the course of Russia's stormy history. There were uprisings against arbitrariness, feudal requisitions and coercions, church oppression and indebtedness to usurers. The most frequent reason for such uprisings was hunger. According to the chronicles, the first known uprising of this kind was that of 1024, mounted by the communal Smerdy in the Suzdal' land, brought to a state of desperation from hunger. Mutinies broke out in one principality or another, frequently shaking Russia to its foundations. The struggle for freedom and bread reached its peak in the peasant wars waged by Razin and Pugachev.

Later, in capitalist Russia, the despair of millions of people deprived of a piece of bread was clearly manifested among the reasons for the class battles. The overthrow of autocracy in February 1917 began with disturbances in bread lines. Bread was frequently the prime reason for the fiercest battles in the civil war, assuming priority over all other reasons for the fight. Lenin immediately realized this feature: "It may appear that this is only a struggle for bread. In fact, it is a struggle for socialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 449).

We have no right to forget that hunger has frequently been (and remains!) a weapon in the hands of the counterrevolution. Let us recall the infinitely cynical words of Ryabushinskiy, the Russian moneybags, on the skeletal hand of hunger, which he said was handily strangling the revolution. Let us recall the frequent bans and restrictions imposed by the makers of imperialist policy on shipping grain to our country. Let us consider once again the meaning of the current policy of the Reagan administration, which has banned food exports to the People's Republic of Poland. In the course of decades, shipments or the refusal to ship food products have been used by the ruling U.S. circles as a tool of pressure and blackmail toward many nations fighting for social and national liberation.

From the very first years of the Soviet system, as it introduced the requisitioning of farm produce, which was replaced by tax in kind, and the institution of governmental monopoly on grain trade, the Leninist party gradually created conditions which would eliminate not only acute hunger but malnutrition. It tried to see to it that every citizen of the land of the soviets had as much bread as was necessary for the normal development of the body and so that there would always be bread on the table regardless of weather conditions.

However, fierce trials awaited our people along this way! The hardest of them was the hungry year of 1921, when drought burned the crops over tremendous areas and entire villages, uyezds and guberniyas found themselves on the brink of death. However, even under those incredibly difficult conditions, the possibilities of the new, still young social system, which did not allow private owners to become rich at the expense of their compatriots in trouble, were displayed in full. By introducing strict control over the

distribution of each pound of bread, the Soviet system rescued hundreds of thousands of people from hungry death.

This was the last hunger which struck the entire country. Subsequently, there were lean and difficult years, but an end was put once and for all to death caused by lack of bread. The very concept of lean years disappeared. True, we had to undergo the trials of the Patriotic War. We have no right to, nor will we ever, forget the hard war years. However, does everyone still remember the generous hand of our people's state, which always provided bread to every single one of us? This was done regardless of the circumstances or lean harvest years....

One of the episodes in "Most Precious of All," a historical-journalistic motion picture television epic, described the postwar village. Mercilessly, the documentary shows to us the horrifying picture of the drought of 1946, when not only streams but even rivers ran dry. However, even then the people's state did not permit hunger to spread throughout the land. A struggle was waged for the preservation of each blade and grain. Strictest possible control was established over the distribution of each handful of flour. Drastic but necessary measures were taken against wasters. Hundreds of thousands of lives were saved.

The weather during the first year of the current five-year plan imposed severe hardships on agriculture. The heat and the drought did not allow the wheat to ripen over tremendous areas in the Ukraine, along the Volga and in the Altay. In a different social system all of this would have meant the ruin and hunger of a large number of people. From the very first years of its existence, our system erected a firm barrier on the path of these evils, for which reason even during droughts no one fears that the shelves in our bakeries will remain empty.

The young generations, who are unfamiliar with malnutrition but quite well acquainted with problems of overindulgence, view the word "hunger" only in medical terms. Many members of these generations are making a careful study of a book written by physicians bearing the intriguing title of "Being Hungry for the Sake of Health."

During the past decade bread production in our country has remained almost unchanged--35 million tons per year. Of this amount, 20 million go to the state bread-baking industry and 12 million are baked by the enterprises of Tsentrosoyuz. This is more than sufficient to meet population demand.

Bread plays a rather modest role in today's nutrition of the urban resident. A somewhat greater quantity of bread is consumed in the countryside but, in terms of rural conditions as well, it can no longer be said that it is "the staple food of man" (that is how the importance of bread was described in the first edition of the Unabridged Soviet Encyclopedia). Today's dictionaries mainly emphasize the biological value of bread, which contains virtually all nutritive substances needed by man and irreplaceable amino acids, vitamins and mineral substances. That is why bread remains a vital necessity.

Russian bread has long been famous for its excellent taste. However, its fame began to decline with the development of industrial bread baking and the sharp increase in the number of urban bakeries. In prerevolutionary times, along with owners of enterprises who, like the famous Filippov, watched over their reputation, masses of small entrepreneurs delivered to the canteens in working districts bread made of spoiled flour, frequently raw and sticky. The wheat flour was mixed with ground oats, peas and potatoes and nongrain seeds. Occasionally even gypsum, chalk and alum were added.

The use of pure natural raw materials is a characteristic feature of the Soviet bread baking industry. In many Western countries, flour is bleached and bromium is added to it in order to give the bread a "commercial appearance." Chemicals and dry yeasts are used to accelerate the baking process. The bread is white, soft and porous like a sponge, but its taste is greatly inferior to that of ours. In our country the leaven used gives the loaves, sticks and buns a unique taste and aroma. Furthermore, the baking technology used in our country fully preserves the natural elements of the grain.

Our baking industry justifiably has the right to be proud. During the very first five-year plans, plants were built which are considered to this day by Western specialists functionally unsurpassable. What is very important is that with their help a most important social problem was resolved by radically changing the working conditions of the prerevolutionary bakers, which were so vividly described by Maksim Gor'kiy.

However, we must admit that the light and food industries fell behind the headlong development of heavy industry, particularly the part related to the country's defense.

Hero of Socialist Labor Gennadiy Sergeyevich Strammov, director of Moscow Baking Plant No 22, recalls with a slightly ironic and sad smile his beginnings as a baker.

This happened in the last year of the war. The hungry adolescent was attracted to the bakery by the unique smell of the bread. At that time, it was no easy matter to find a job in food-making enterprises. However, the boy was simply lucky--there was an opening. To tell the truth, he had been drawn to the bakery by hunger. However, gradually Gennadiy became interested in the work and the time came when he was unwilling to leave it.

The first assignment of the future baking expert was to rescue the logs from the frozen waters of Yuzhnyy Port. At that time baking plants and bakeries used wood as fuel. The wood was subsequently replaced by coal and, since the mid-1950's, natural gas.

The machinery changed and the technology improved. Today's baking plant (including Strammov's plant) is saturated with automatic equipment. From the bins the flour passes through various instruments and meters which measure the portions precisely, is poured into vats in which it is mixed with water and leaven, and the fermented dough is divided into lumps and shaped, after which it goes to the conveyor belt, passes through the flaming furnace and come out already changed into fragrant hot bread.

One might say that in the postwar period the bread-baking industry was born again, for baking enterprises were reconstructed everywhere. New combines have appeared of late, one of which is the Cheremushkino--the champion in a series of giants. New baking plants were built and the old ones were reconstructed. Modern dough mixing and separating machines, conveyor belts and furnaces with automatic controls are merely one side of the matter. I remember a talk at the USSR Ministry of Food Industry. Deputy Minister R. B. Usmanov proudly described the achievements of the domestic bread baking sector. His pride was entirely natural, for he had begun work in that sector 30 years ago, as a young engineer, and was thoroughly familiar with its problems.

One of the most important achievements is the conversion of the entire sector to the transportation of the flour in bulk. The tightly packed bags have been replaced by the bright yellow containers of flour carriers. Manual labor has been eliminated and flour is being saved (it has been estimated that even after the most conscientious shaking as much as 40 grams of flour remain in the bag--dozens of thousands of tons have been saved as a result of bulk deliveries).

According to R. B. Usmanov, one innovation has played a truly revolutionary role in domestic bread baking. Today's bakers, breaking with the age-old tradition of mixing the flour with water, have begun to use milk whey, which adds to the bread priceless amino acids and microelements. Today more than half of the baked products produced by the USSR Ministry of Food Industry involve the use of protein additives. The bread is digested more actively, takes a longer time to become stale and acquires a better taste and fragrance. Furthermore, the existence of dry substances in the whey makes it possible to save 40 kg of flour per ton used. The use of progressive technology in manufacturing the dough reduces fermentation time and saves as much as 75,000 tons of flour annually.

The Bread Baking Industry Scientific-Production Association has played an important role in all such innovations. It was here that they were developed and given the green light. The plans for the future are even more exciting: a search is under way for new types of bread with healing properties, new means of processing which will slow down staleness, new baking methods using high-frequency current, and other new technologies.

The achievements of the Soviet bakers are substantial. They can easily be described in terms of figures and summarized. This new period has also led to new consumer requirements, the requirements of millions of people who cannot do without bread for breakfast, lunch and dinner. It appears that they have numerous claims.

From One Problem to Another...

One of them is a problem each one of us faces almost daily: staleness. After the stick or bun has left the furnace, the biochemical processes within it go on. The metaphorical expression of the specialists is that the bread has a full "life" of 5 to 6 hours, after which it gets "bogged down"--the aroma disappears, the taste worsens and the softness is lost.

Since the optimal time for storing bread is known, the work of the bread conveyor could be organized in such a way that the loaves which reach the dining table are always fresh. However, this does not happen very frequently. The population often complains that the bakeries are always selling stale bread. The personnel in the trade even have a special term for stale bread....

The distance traveled by the bread from the oven to our table is far too long. Who is to be blamed for this? Investigations have indicated that the equipment at baking plants does not always operate rhythmically, the bread vans must frequently wait a long time before they are loaded, and an unjustifiably long time is spent on making the invoices (sometimes more than it takes to deliver the load).

The stores also make their "contribution" to the staleness of the bread. Frequently the bakeries do not ensure the prompt unloading of the trucks, particularly at night. Many of them are not equipped to handle containers, which have replaced the trays. The weakest spot in bread trade, however, is the poor conditions under which the bread is stored. It is a well-known fact that staleness is the first enemy of baked goods, which must be kept in special areas or at least in containers or trays covered with plastic. All this is elementary and simple. However, only a few bakeries have all the necessary conditions for storing the bread. Stale bread may be found even in the special premises in Moscow stores.

However, it is the transportation workers who occupy the leading and far from honorable position in the "staleness conveyor belt." Criticism of their poor work and the constant violation of delivery schedules is ubiquitous. Naturally, objective difficulties do exist but the main reason for the poor work of the transportation system is the equally poor organization of the work. The notorious ton/km system has become the stumbling block. Both the enterprise and the driver find it more profitable to haul furniture or beer rather than bread.

Therefore, quite frequently the bread loses its quality before it has even reached our threshold. But even when we bring home a fresh loaf we cannot always preserve its softness longer.

The radio and television and the press recommend keeping the bread in polyethylene or cloth bags, in covered saucepans or wrapped in paper. The best way to preserve its freshness is to keep it in breadboxes, the latest models of which are exhibited at the Bread Baking Industry Scientific-Production Association. They have separate partitions for rye and wheat bread, with saucers and ventilation vents. However, this item is simply not to be found in the stores, for industry has not taken up its production. Nor do we find wooden breadboxes in which the loaf would last even longer than in metal ones.

Many booklets, leaflets and pamphlets with recipes for various dishes which can be made of stale bread have been published lately. From time to time, the tasting of such dishes is sponsored by big stores, and the reaction to them has been most positive. However, this too has its stumbling block. A Moskhlebtorg worker, whose job directly involves the publication of such leaflets with recipes, was asked if she applied these recommendations at home.

She raised her hands: "Where can I find the time? Almost all such recipes require a lot of work...."

Stale bread could be used better if automatic electric toasters were available (operating on the same principle as self-regulating irons). Slice the bread, put it in the toaster 5 minutes before the meal, and put on the table hot and crusty slices which both adults and children like so much. This would be good...if such an electrical appliance were available!

For quite some time specialists have tried to develop methods which would delay or entirely prevent biochemical processes in baked bread. Various types of packaging have been tried, such as parchment paper, waterproof paper, and even storing the bread in tin cans. A special method is used to preserve the bread consumed by winterers, geologists and sailors, by fortifying it. Thus treated, the bread does not become stale for months on end, but its taste is far inferior to that of fresh bread.

Loaves wrapped in heat-preserving cloth keep fresh for several days. This is particularly convenient for travellers and should be made available to all passengers in trains and airplanes. However, the chemical industry is unable to supply the baking plants with the necessary quantities of such cloth.

We do not know at present when a sufficiently effective and inexpensive method for keeping the bread fresh over long periods of time will be developed. For the time being, we should see to it that ordinary bread is delivered to the stores more quickly, is stored better and is bought by the millions of customers while still fresh. This problem can be resolved without any particular effort or major capital investments. All that is needed is for the local party, soviet and economic organs to pay greater attention to the daily operation of the "bread conveyor belt."

The question of the freshness of the bread is only one of many. A variety of problems of varying urgency and importance exist, resolved in a variety of ways. Sometimes, day after day, bread delivery breakdowns occur in timber farms, remote villages or towns which have grown along the tracks of a new railroad. Judging by letters to the editor, sometimes bread is not delivered to a store for an entire week. This must be treated as a grave event.

Although such situations are extremely infrequent, the reasons for them can be easily eliminated, as a rule by introducing even a most basic order. The culprits are quite easily identifiable. It is not difficult to find the person who did not secure gasoline for the truck, who closed the store ahead of time or failed to show up for work at the bakery "by permission of the administration." Interruptions caused by slackness, a scatterbrained attitude or mismanagement on the part of individuals must be eliminated quickly and the culprits punished immediately.

Some problems are far more complex and cannot be resolved quickly. According to the USSR Committee on People's Control, alarming symptoms revealing the low quality of the bread baked in many republics and oblasts have appeared.

The bakeries are receiving burned, misshapen, cracked and incompletely baked loaves. In 24 of 48 investigations conducted last year in Irkutskaya Oblast enterprises, goods had to be rejected and the entire output of five baking plants proved to be substandard. A similar situation prevailed in Gor'kovskaya Oblast, where 38 claims for the production of substandard goods were filed against bread-baking plants. In Semipalatinsk on 58 occasions the stores returned to the enterprises substandard bakery goods. Cases of substandard production of bread and other bakery products were found elsewhere as well.

In 1981 the RSFSR State Goods Quality and Trade Inspectorate rejected 2.6 percent of the goods investigated at bread-baking enterprises under the jurisdiction of the various systems and departments in the Russian federation (almost 7 percent of the goods surveyed at the plants and bakeries of Rospotrebsoyuz were rejected!).

There are different reasons for the production of such faulty goods. The quality of the bread is frequently affected by violations of the technological system for making dough and its baking. The bread-baking industry managers must put in order their own "homes" more firmly and strictly. However, they also have justifiable claims against departments which determine the success of their work to a great extent.

Sometimes the grain shipped to the mills and elevators of the USSR Ministry of Procurement is unwashed and flour is shipped to the plants without proper seasoning. Relations between bakers and suppliers are further worsened by the fact that there are no state quality standards for the flour.

Frankly stated, this is a strange situation. There are state standards for pins and buttons, electric locomotives and motorcars, shoes and overcoats. However, no scientific criteria have been set to determine the baking quality of the flour and the ratio of the components within it. Although this problem has been with us for decades, the date at which Gosstandart intends to resolve it remains unknown.

The question that the food industry is unjustifiably reducing the variety of baked and pastry goods was raised at the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum. The practical resolution of this problem was demanded. Since then, however, nothing has changed. Representatives of the trading system unanimously claim that although the overall volume of output is sufficient to meet population requirements fully, the problem of variety remains grave. According to the USSR Ministry of Trade no more than 50 to 60 percent of consumer demand for buns, biscuits, rolls, white loaves and other small baked goods can be met. Borodino, Riga and other varieties of rye bread are becoming increasingly difficult to find.

Year after year the amount of rye flour shipped to the baking industry is declining, for the size of areas planted in rye is being reduced steadily. A total of 13.6 million hectares were planted under rye in 1966 and only 8.6 million in 1980. In recent years, rye flour delivered to the country's bread-baking industry is less than half the amount it needs. This has made pure rye bread scarce. To replace it, the bakers are forced to use wheat flour.

Such flour accounts for 85 percent of the content of the Slavyanskiy bread variety. The bread-baking industry managers have estimated that if the areas planted in rye continue to be reduced, by the year 2000 the people will know about Borodino, Riga, fine rye and boiled varieties only from books.

Let us hope that this will not happen. The example of Belorussia is encouraging. Last year it overfulfilled its rye procurement plan by 211,000 tons. It is to be hoped that more rye will be planted in the reorganized Nonchernozem zone as well.

Another major concern of the baking industry is the fact that in recent years the flour received from many areas contains a smaller amount of gluten which, as the bakers say, is the frame of the bread. It determines the number of calories, taste and porosity of the bread and the duration of its freshness. For example, more than 60 percent of the flour supplied to the Moldavian bakeries in 1981 had lower baking qualities.

Agrarian journalists have already raised the alarm in the press on the subject of the reduced content of gluten in the grain grown in the Ukraine and Rostovskaya Oblast. So far, however, the solution to this situation remains foggy and, in any case, no turn for the better is expected in the immediate future.

The baking plants have serious complaints about other procurers as well, particularly the enterprises of the Ministry of Light and Food Industry, which are not supplying them with a variety of needed machines such as dough-mixing, dividing and shaping machines. Nor are the bakers pleased with the ovens.

Many questions arise in connection with the utilization of the bread, particularly regarding the amount of waste and its sensible use. The purpose of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on the more economical use of bakery goods is not to reduce the amount of bread on our tables but to exclude production losses and lower waste at home and in cafeterias and, to the extent to which such waste still exists, show concern for its efficient utilization.

Currently, many bread-baking plants are converting to the production of lighter weight items in accordance with the decree. Round rye loaves now weigh 920 grams instead of 1,330. The 1-kg wheat bread now weighs 830 grams, while the weight of a (palyanitsa) has been reduced by 100 grams. Other bread varieties have been made lighter as well (with correspondingly lowered prices). Goods weighing less than half a kilogram are becoming increasingly popular. During this 5-year period their output will be increased by 255,000 tons.

The results of the reduced weight of bread varieties are already apparent. Bread consumption and production in January-February 1982 (compared with the same period in 1981) declined by 1,158 tons in Khar'kov, 1,077 tons in Sverdlovsk, 758 tons in Novosibirsk and 431 tons in Karaganda. The total decline in the country's cities and industrial centers amounted to 19,000 tons.

Our periodicals have actively joined in the bread saving campaign. However, the same remarks keep showing up in newspaper after newspaper, such as cleaning forks and spoons with bread in cafeterias, youngsters using a round loaf in playing ice hockey, a grandmother with a grandson feeding pigeons by crumbling an entire loaf rather than small bits.

Naturally, it is unsuitable to use a loaf of bread instead of a puck or to throw out bread which is barely stale. Does this mean that "surplus" bread is being baked?

In a PRAVDA article, economist D. Valova reported that year after year the planning authorities are stubbornly increasing bread production, although its consumption has remained steady for quite some time. This inevitably leads to waste. Why are we concerned with grandmothers and grandchildren feeding pigeons when it is a question of hundreds of thousands of tons of bread! During the 10th Five-Year Plan, for example, the Gosplan planned the increased production of bread by the USSR Ministry of Food Industry enterprises by 1,461,000 tons. The actual need, however, did not exceed 953,000 tons. Such a planning trend may be seen in the assignments for the 11th and 12th Five-Year Plans.

Therefore, the problems are numerous. A great deal is being said and written about them, sometimes quite sharply. A political journalist who hurls his anger at those guilty of disorganization and disorder, in his polemic zeal, hopes that, although unable to hit specific individuals, his critical arrows may cause some sparks to fly on the bureaucratic wall made of granite. Frequently, however, these arrows do not pierce the target but sink into a piece of dough without triggering even the slightest response.

The Moskhlebtrans association, which is a very important organization in the capital, could be considered with full justification the main culprit for the fact that stale bread frequently appears on store shelves. This, in any case, is the conviction of the personnel of bread-baking plants and selling booths, which back their collective opinion with unquestionable proofs of numerous violations of schedules for bread deliveries to the stores. Moskhlebtrans was criticized for this by MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA. KROKODIL also tried its satirical teeth against it. Meanwhile, for many years no improvements have been made in the work of this transportation organization. True, last January encouraging changes were made: S. Stepanenkov, the head of the association, was relieved of his position on the suggestion of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee. New rates were established for the drivers and new vans were supplied. The number of complaints against transportation workers declined but are still being received. According to Moskhlebtorg documents, there were 11,492 cases of delayed bread transportation (totaling 40,000 hours!) in March 1982; in 459 cases, no bread was delivered at all. Therefore, the problem of the efficient work of the transportation system is far from resolved. One may even develop the impression that it cannot be resolved....But no! The experience of the transportation workers in Leningrad proves that it can be resolved successfully and that the fulfillment of bread delivery schedules can become the regular daily norm. Why does Moskhlebtrans not make use of this actual experience?

We would like to hear from the personnel of the food industry section of the USSR Gosplan, headed by V. M. Govor, the reason for which the planned amount of bread production will exceed consumption. We would also like to find out the view of V. D. Kolesnikov, head of the Soyuzpishchemash All-Union Industrial Association, on the reasons for the shortage of machines and mechanisms which are so greatly needed by the bakers. Finally, V. G. Kulak, head of the USSR Ministry of Procurement Main Administration of the Flour Milling and Cereal Industry, could tell us what will be done to improve the quality of the flour.

It is true that in a conversation which took place while this article was being written the head of this main administration firmly stated that the complaints of the food workers concerning the quality of the flour are groundless. However, other consumers and members of the inspectorate and the people's control agree with the baking industry workers. Therefore, the discussion regarding quality must be continued....

Bread Prices

Many monuments to soldiers and civilians whose lives were lost in the flames of the war unleashed by the Hitlerite fascists have been erected in the Bryansk area. However, on one September day in 1981, the population of Klintsey paid its respects to the memory of those who had died at a different time. The town residents had come to honor the memory of their fellow citizens who, on one dark morning of 1919, left Klintsey for the distant Ufimskaya Guberniya to seek bread for the people. Their 706th Military Supply Detachment consisted of 24 volunteers, all of them young. Five of them were party members. They gave the following oath: "...We solemnly pledge to use all our forces, knowledge and experience to provide food for the invincible Red Army and for our fellow men in Piter and Moscow..." They had strength and energy but were seriously short of knowledge and experience and were unable to avoid a kulak ambush. The enemy dropped their unrecognizably disfigured bodies under the ice of the Kichuy River.

To this day the number of food detachment personnel who died in the civil war remains uncounted....Yet, decades later, their compatriots in the Bryansk area decided to determine the fate of the boys, and found documents, recollections and photographs. And one more monument arose on the blood-soaked Bryansk land--a visible testimony of a human exploit for the sake of rescuing the gains of the revolution. Many more such reminders could be erected throughout our huge country! For long after the civil war had ended, party and Komsomol members, who fearlessly duelled with those who let bread rot in pits rather than give it to the people, died from the bullets of the kulaks. The kulaks sought their revenge with refined cruelty. In 1929, in the Kuban', they ripped open the stomach of Komsomol member Dmitriy Khriplivyy and stuffed it with grain; they burned alive in a barn 11-year-old student Vanya Glushchenko....

Quite frequently the bread needed by the revolution and during the first years of the Soviet system was paid for at the cost of one's life. However, even much later bread became the measure for testing the human spirit and its limits. The book has not as yet been written about the greatest exploit of Leningrad's scientists who, under the conditions of the military blockade, saved for

future generation a collection of grain crop seeds from all parts of the globe, put together by N. I. Vavilov, the outstanding geneticist. These people stood guard around the clock by the metal drums in which the collection was stored. They fainted from exhaustion but not one of them took even a single grain for himself. Thirty members of the institute died from hunger. It is thus that the priceless wealth of the "genetic bank" was saved for the future generations. To this day it is used by Soviet selection workers as material for the development of new wheat strains.

Should the heroic exploit of the partisans, who were able to acquire behind German lines and run through the front line an entire train of grain to feed hungry Leningrad, not be worthy of eternal remembrance? What about the bread baked during the blockade? Few people remember today that it was made of rye mixed with the dust beaten out of flour bags, grass, bran, cottonseed cake and sawdust....The small daily piece remains priceless to our generation, for it is also mixed with the lives of the drivers on the "road to life" run across Lake Ladoga, the blood of the bakers hit by bomb fragments, the tears of orphaned children, the aching maternal hearts and the infinite courage of those who defended Leningrad.

Today all of this is history. However, no one among us has the right to forget it, for the hard and priceless bread of the revolution and the war enabled the people to whom we owe our own lives to survive, to endure and to fulfill their duty to the homeland.

But even the bread of today, which we pickily select from the shelves of bakeries, has its special price. Do all of us bear in mind the tremendous amount of work invested in a loaf? The famous Robinson Crusoe, who discovered this truth through personal experience, exclaimed that "it is amazing that hardly anyone thinks of the large amount of small operations which are required to preserve, make and bake an ordinary piece of bread." Today, when technology has come to the aid of man, the baker must still work hard. Based on the existing division of labor, each piece of bread represents the efforts of those who developed new strains of grain, produced chemical fertilizers and herbicides, made agricultural machines, drained swamps and dug canals, those who plowed and sowed, those who harvested, dried the grain and ground it into flour, those who drove the trucks and the trains, who mixed the dough and who baked the loaves....That is why a considerate attitude toward the bread means not simply economy but respect for the human toil and for the memory of people who died for it.

The retail price of bread has remained unchanged in our country over the decades and, compared with the cost of bread in many countries, is simply negligible. Today the price of a loaf is considered more in terms of its moral aspect than in terms of cash, for as Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev writes in "Tselina" [Virgin Land], bread "has always been the most important product, the yardstick of all values."

But it is no secret that this meaning of the bread has not as yet been fully realized and that its low cost leads some people to adopt a rather disrespectful attitude toward it--why worry about throwing a piece of bread

away if it is worth only a kopek....Following the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on the more economical use of baked goods, a mass campaign was mounted throughout the country to explain the importance of bread and to develop a conservative attitude toward it.

The problem is discussed in lectures, reports, talks, pamphlets and newspaper articles. The united political day on the topic of "Bread Is the Wealth of the People," which was held in Minskaya Oblast with the participation of party and soviet workers and the economic aktiv, met with a great response. The dramatized ceremony "Praise to Bread," held in Armavir, was well received by the population. In several cities similar topic evenings were successfully held in schools and vocational-technical schools.

The press is doing a tremendous deal of work. Interviews in which problems of bread conservation were sharply posed, conducted by NEDELYA, met with the broad response of the readership. KURGAN-TYUBINSKAYA PRAVDA organized surprise investigations of cafeterias, which made it possible to determine the reasons for and amount of wasted bread. VECHERNIY TBILISI initiated a campaign for reducing waste. SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA recreated many exciting historical events related to bread. The press in Kazakh SSR is actively engaged in a bread conservation campaign.

Correspondents of the Tula newspaper KOMMUNAR traced the entire bread chain in Novomoskovskiy Rayon. They showed what causes blade losses in the fields during harvest and the end result of such losses. They then studied the reasons for losses in the transportation, thrashing and elevator storage. They analyzed losses at a baking plant, a plant cafeteria and a family kitchen. The result was an exceptionally convincing conversation with the readers, based on precise facts. Not only were the reasons for the losses exposed but also the way to eliminate them.

Unfortunately, such specific analytical articles are quite rare. In many newspapers materials on bread are published only sporadically.

Using funds provided by the Ministries of Agriculture, Procurement and Food Industry and Trade, the Soyuztorgreklama Association launched a nationwide advertising-propaganda campaign to educate the people in treating the bread thriftily. It commissioned the studio for documentary films to provide agitation materials. Radio and television workers wrote appropriate shows. Advertising sections are regularly added to newspapers. Booklets and leaflets with recipes for the use of stale bread are published.

Still, this entire campaign looks ephemeral and its very quality makes us think. Posters which appeal to the population's civic feelings to conserve bread frequently look both pompous and dull and their versified content ("do not forget--bread," "waste not, want not") is depressing with its simplistic edifying content.

Nor can we consider satisfactory the general "abstract" nature of appeals. There is no need to agitate in favor of saving bread among people who have experienced the war or are involved in making the bread today. The young

generation is a different matter. It frequently considers bread only part of its nutrition, unaware of its tremendous meaning, which does not have to be proved to older people.

I recall a seminar in which an elderly propagandist--a retired military person--described something which struck him. He was listening to a report on the Leningrad blockade when suddenly he heard a girl whisper "well, 125 grams, I do not eat more bread than that per day!" The former officer was overwhelmed. He asked his colleagues how it was possible that no one had ever explained to the 10th graders that this small piece of bread was the only daily ration. The case described by the propagandist clearly explained the unavoidable truth that anyone who spreads the party's word among the masses must be clearly aware of the audience, the knowledge and experience of the students, and the spiritual ground on which such grains of knowledge fall. Since the attitude toward the bread and respect for it are moral categories, this must be asserted from a most tender age, when the moral feature of the future citizen is only beginning to take shape. Letters to the editors express the common thought that children must be taught respect for bread in the family and the kindergarten and at school. Unfortunately, most children who live in cities do not know how the daily bread is produced and are unaware of its real worth.

Nevertheless, this problem must be resolved. Perhaps the initial step along this way could be taken by teaching a mandatory "bread class," like classes taught at Moscow School No 128. Noted bakers and Hero of Socialist Labor Leonid Mikhaylovich Kartauzov, the famous Virgin Land personality, visited the school. Obviously, not every school has the possibility of inviting a nationally famous grain grower. However, virtually all school students can listen to his story and see him on film. The USSR Ministry of Education should be concerned with the creation of method aids for teachers and the publication of visual aids. In a word, it should make possible the teaching of this subject on a high level. Such lessons should be vivid and memorable, showing to the students the real value of bread and its great importance in human life.

The main "strategic" objective in developing a concerned attitude toward bread is to help the people to rise to the level of the moral criteria guiding those who create the bread. Such criteria were expressed amazingly graphically and vividly by Mikhail Ivanovich Klepikov, the famous Kuban' grain grower: "How should disrespect for bread be described? I spent a long time looking for a suitable word. Waste? Negligence? Essentially, yes, but these words did not imply a moral, a spiritual assessment. I remembered the ancient word sacrilege! That was the proper word. To me the word 'bread' is the equivalent of eternal and incomparably meaningful words such as 'homeland,' 'mother' and 'peace'...."

If such an attitude were to be adopted toward bread, the need for posters and appeals to conserve it would be eliminated entirely.

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ROUTINE DAY AT THE OBKOM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 82 pp 101-113

[Chapter from Part 2 of the novel "Gryadushchemu Veku" [To the Next Century] by Georgiy Markov. The full novel will be published in the journal ZNAMYA]

[Text] "What strange things our friend Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy has done! So much that I am sick and tired of hearing about them. He doesn't have any Pavel Ivanych Polosukhin getting after him. Well, he would have chafed him to the bone," Kochkin said upon entering Sobolev's office. In his hand he held a folder with some papers which he was carrying in a slightly aloof fashion, and a little carefully, just like an experienced helper should, who doesn't lose anything and at the same reprehensibly and even a little bit squeamishly, since the contents of the papers censured him.

Nikolay Ivanovich Kochkin had already worked more than 10 years as the assistant to the first secretary of the Sinegorskiy Obkom. He was long past 60 but Polosukhin valued him for his experienced editorial work, accuracy, good memory, and did not force him to retire. "Stay just a year more, Nikolay, it's not so simple to replace you. Here at the obkom you have become our little Sinegorsk encyclopedia," Polosukhin said with a smile, figuring that the big Sinegorsk encyclopedia was he himself. And this was right.

Sobolev did have certain reasons to doubt Kochkin's knowledge but immediately to change personnel established by Polosukhin himself, he did not consider possible for himself.

"What do you want, Nikolay Ivanych," asked Sobolev, tearing himself away from examining a summary of the chemical treatment of potatoes.

"Well, our scribbler friend, Dem'yan Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy has piled up a regular manifest! Well, you know, it's come through! To your name, Anton Vasil'ich. He accuses the obkom of a hundred sins: underestimating the local enlighteners of the 19th century; of breaking away from real life; bureaucratism and even personal bias. You do not appreciate talent...etc, and it goes on in the same vein."

"I remember his novel 'The Flood.' It was about the civil war in Siberia. Admittedly, it wasn't badly written. In our youth we really went in for reading, we even organized readers' conferences. 'The Flood' was considered the standard

work on this theme. Now is he making up something?" asked Sobolev as he raised his eyes toward Kochkin.

A rather emaciated-looking short fellow with his gray hair cut in a crewcut, wearing brass-rimmed glasses, Kochkin wrinkled up his sharp nose and said in a spiteful voice, "he sure is!"

"Show me Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy's letter, Nikolay Ivanych."

"Seventeen typewritten pages, Anton Vasil'ich. Should I perhaps summarize the most essential points? There's no reason to read the whole thing. It turns your stomach like an emetic."

"Nevertheless, I will try."

"In that case, here it is. This is the letter, Anton Vasil'ich."

"Leave it."

Kochkin showed Sobolev a few more papers from the current mail which had come during the last few days to the name of the first secretary of the raykom. And having received instructions to whom to send them, he left.

Sobolev took Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy's letter, leafed through the crackly pages, removed the paper clip from the corner and set the letter down in front of him.

From the very first page Sobolev understood that the writer had composed his letter in a state of extreme irritation. Strong statements, underlined in green ink, adorned with exclamation points and question marks, did not simply cry out but howled at the top of the voice: "The committee underestimates," "the committee is overburdened with paperwork," "the committee does not know the real state of affairs." In no less categorical expressions but only in a different tone the writer had evaluated himself and his work: "I am the author of 5 novels and 10 tales; even the great Leo Tolstoy wrote only three large novels," "ignoramuses and boys with diplomas who sit in high places both on the editorial board and on the obkom try to teach me how to write;" and all of this they do to a man who has given his talent to the people and for 35 years dedicated himself to literature!" "PRAVDA, the organ of the Central Committee, has repeatedly written about my novels!"

At the end of his letter Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy requested that Sobolev personally read the manuscript of his novel "The Bells of Sinegor'ye" and remove from it the accusations of political carelessness, ambiguity and professional weakness.

"It's not as easy as it seemed to Kochkin. To remove only the shavings means to accomplish nothing, and the writer is offended to the utmost when he is affected by someone's injustice," thought Sobolev, placing Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy's letter into a folder with papers which demanded immediate action.

Sobolev dialed the number of Pugachev, the manager of the obkom cultural division.

"Kim Viktorych. What do you know about the novel 'The Bells of Sinegor'ye' by Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy?" asked Sobolev, hearing Pugachev's voice.

"It's a long story, Anton Vasil'ich."

"This is already distressing."

"Yes, but you should know of this guy! He won't take any reasons into account. For him authority doesn't exist. He abuses the obkom. He would do away with the editorial board. And his manuscript has been evaluated not only by us but has been sent to Moscow, and it has been read on "Siberian Fires."

"And this did not convince the writer?"

"Not in the least!"

"Did you personally read the manuscript?"

"I examined it."

"Well?"

"I agree with our conclusions and those of the Moscow evaluators. In the manuscript there are many serious mistakes, reservations, all of which leads to a negative assessment of the questions of party leadership of economic activity. He says that the interference of party workers only undermines the initiative of executives and in general that it is rather dull and ideologically speaking is, to say the least, lackluster."

"What further steps should we take, Kim Viktorych?"

"We just keep chipping away, Anton Vasil'ich. Everyone doesn't have to get into print. Even experienced writers have their failures."

"Of course they do!" You're right. There are few instances of writers themselves refusing publication! But you have to convince the writer himself of this. Will you be able to do this?"

"Frankly speaking, Anton Vasil'ich, I'm not going to touch this business. Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy is conducting himself intolerably."

"But nevertheless it is our duty to help him."

"We are not nannies, Anton Vasil'ich. If he is going to air his caprices, then we...."

"We are more than nannies, Kim Viktorych. We are educators...."

"I don't know, frankly speaking, I don't know."

"Well, Kim Viktorych, let's try to do something together. Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy is one of our people. Front-line veteran, scout, Gorkom deputy. He cannot fail to understand that. Do you have the manuscript? Send it over to me right away."

In a week Sobolev had finished reading the novel and again telephoned Pugachev.

"I agree with your evaluation of the novel, Kim Viktorych. But in addition I did read many wonderful pages. It's rich, authentic writing. Talent is talent! You will remember in the first part how penetratingly, I simply can't find another word, the life of the old intelligentsia is depicted so close to the people. They see the need, injustice, the irreparable nature of the situation, and they don't see a way out. They suffer and torment themselves. But it's all in vain. And in the part dedicated to modern life there are good scenes and images. Just remember what a strong character the kolkhoz chairman is. He's a real peasant, a plowman, an expert in matters of the soil. I wonder if Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy didn't copy this character from Romashinskiy, the chairman of the Sorokin farm."

"And in your opinion, Anton Vasil'ich, how are the party workers depicted?" Pugachev interrupted with a rather insidious note in his voice.

"Here he is completely unsuccessful. It is both prejudiced and caricatured...."

"It's slander!" exclaimed Pugachev.

"I'm not convinced that it's slander. But the material is really poorly collected and one-sided. There's a lot that Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy doesn't understand."

"Is it just that he doesn't understand?"

"We are going to have to work very seriously with Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy. I am ready to meet with him."

"Should I have him come to see you? At what time, Anton Vasil'ich?"

"It's not necessary to call him, Kim Viktorych. I'll call him myself and invite him for 9 o'clock tomorrow morning."

"Aren't you honoring Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy too much? The first secretary himself calls him, bows to him....What if he still refuses!"

"Well, you've already dealt with him too harshly," amiably laughed Sobolev. "Irritation should not be answered with irritation, Kim Viktorych. That won't lead to anything good. And I don't see any humiliation in the fact that I myself will call a well-known writer. No matter what we want, Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy's name is already inscribed in the history of the culture of our region, and as for us, it's difficult to say what will happen."

Pugachev unwillingly mumbled into the receiver, restraining his displeasure, and said in a hollow voice, "you see more clearly, Anton Vasil'ich."

Sobolev came to headquarters at 8 o'clock in the morning and for a whole hour before his meeting with the writer leafed through the manuscript of the novel, again examining certain pages and making notes on a separate sheet.

Exactly at 9 o'clock Vika entered, as always, efficient, serious, simply but neatly dressed with a notebook in her hand.

"Good morning, Anton Vasil'ich. Comrade Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy has arrived," she said, gazing intently at the secretary and secretly admiring his strict but still youthful rosy complexion, the blinding white of his shirt and his stylish striped tie knotted in a triangular, immaculately precise manner.

"Invite him in, Vika."

Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy was about 60 years old. He was tall, and rather bony looking, but was straightforward and appeared to be rather long armed. Rather fierce-looking gray hair spilled over onto his deeply wrinkled brow. From beneath his shaggy brows his lively and demanding eyes, black as anthracite, looked out upon the world. In their rather disturbed expression there was something despairing, like those of a man who had decided to undertake something unusual immediately, at the present moment. "He has the eyes of a fighter in the People's Freedom Party," flashed across Sobolev's mind. But his high-cheekboned, swarthy but slightly emaciated face was obviously not in harmony with his eyes. It was tired and exhausted looking either because of pain or through excessive concern and torment.

"I'm glad to get to know you better, Dem'yan Yermolaich. I've known you through your books since I was a youth. I remember your novel 'The Flood' especially well. At one of those readers' conferences I even gave a talk, 'The Character of Commissar Poluboyarov in the Novel 'The Flood.''"

Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy did not respond to these words. At a glance Sobolev realized that the writer was extremely on the alert and very agitated.

When Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy had sat down, having placed his wounded left hand on the table because it was difficult for him to hold it up, Sobolev decided to get immediately to the discussion at hand, namely the novel "The Bells of Sinegor'ye." He perceived that at the moment nothing else interested the writer.

"Dem'yan Yermolaich, I have read your novels with interest and enthusiasm. At times I forgot that I was reading critically."

"Th-th-thank you," Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy muttered, stammering slightly.

"Nevertheless, I want to stipulate that I am not a professional man of letters, not a critic but a reader, just a reader more or less equipped with a knowledge of the material that you write about. I fully admit that in my judgments there will be both preferences of taste and my own evaluations of certain events."

"Th-th-that's unavoidable," agreed Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy.

"Nevertheless, I will present them for your perusal. First I want to take a look at the work as a whole. Is it necessary? Will the modern reader find in it the echo of his thoughts and feelings? I think that this is unquestionable. This is a fundamental question. After all, if not, why make such a fuss in the first place? In this fashion I shall depart from my conviction. Indeed, there is something to make a fuss about.

"Your novel attracted me first of all by its fundamental idea, by linking various times into a single chain and following a succession of generations and ideas, in order to show how the capital of the past has worked on modern life, enriched it and become the structural material of our times, how life has been moved forward. It seems to me that this is your chief idea, isn't that true?" Sobolev asked, interrupting himself.

"T-t-true," Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy nodded.

"The construction of the novel I understood to be like this," continued Sobolev, attentively observing the writer's face, "history and modern life in uninterrupted unity. History helps one to understand contemporary life, but also modern life helps one to understand history."

"Th-th-that's right," said Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy, already in a more lively fashion, and his face softened just a little. "That's just what my opponents on the editorial board don't want to understand, and your comrades on the obkom don't seem to understand either."

"But this principle demands very strict and precise selection of heroes, Dem'yan Yermolaich. If the hero embodies in himself features of his time in their most significant, that is their primary, fashion, then this hero naturally will find a just successor in another time. Time, that is concrete historical conditions, of course, will transform him. In a certain sense he will not resemble his precursor, even though certain generic traits will be preserved in him.

"And as far as this point is concerned, not everything in your novel corresponds to historical truth. Social revolution was not able to grow from the movement of Siberian provincials. Provincial opposition to autocracy was limited and touched only a few aspects of czarist policy in relation to the outlying areas of the empire. The provincials were unable to arouse the movement of the masses without which any sort of revolution would have been unthinkable. Certainly you know that small groups of intelligentsia and local merchants participated in this movement. They did not have any sort of significant social support in the lower masses, and they couldn't have any. The working class was still in its embryonic form when the peasantry in Siberia was enduring the process of swift class stratification. As you remember, resettling aided this process. It quickened the growth of the very poor village strata, but greatly aided the growth of the kulaks. Their numbers grew with each year. Don't you agree?" asked Sobolev, and looked at the writer. Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy listened tensely, his wrinkled brow having broken out in sweat, his sunken cheeks reddening.

"Not exactly."

"What is it that you disagree with? I would like to understand your point of view, Dem'yan Yermolaich." The one thing that Sobolev feared now was the categorical nature of his judgments. Therefore, everything that he said, he said softly as if in his very tone of voice to invite his conversant to a debate.

"Anton Vasil'ich, in the first place you underestimate the educative role of the provincials, and in the second place there simply was an attempt on the part of the provincials to give Siberia rapid economic development which it just so happens emphasizes the proximity of their views to the ideas of the bolsheviks. This all follows according to simple logic. Economic development caused the growth of the working class and the working class potentially carried the revolution with it. Is that not so, Anto Vasil'ich?"

Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy gradually took on the role of a debater. His former constraint disappeared, as did his tendency to stutter. He sat up straight, looked intently at Sobolev, and even smiled ironically with repressed superiority which flashed like a mischievous beacon in his despairing eyes.

"It's not so, Dem'yan Yermolaich. The ideas of the bolsheviks and the ideas of the provincials did not coincide. They directly contradicted each other. All the more so now that the passing of time has given rise to new historical epochs, although the number of years between them is really not very significant. I want to say something about one of the main points of the provincials, namely the separation of Siberia from Russia. This was a wrong idea. This would have happened (it's impossible to believe it, since czarism, which possessed strong machinery of a policy of centripetal force, would not have allowed it even at a price of bloodshed), Siberia would inevitably have fallen into the hands of foreign capital. What would Siberia have won from all this? Nothing! It would have ceased to be a part of Russia! What would all of this have led to? To the weakening of the country. To the dissipation of the power of the working class. Really, could the bolsheviks have supported such a view? Never! After all this how could the diffuse and naive ideas of the provincials coincide with the ideas of the bolsheviks? Is it not so, Dem'yan Yermolaich?"

Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy lowered his head and fell silent. Honestly speaking, he was not a highly educated man. There were great gaps in his studies and he had just barely made it into the correspondence school of Sinegorsk Teachers College after the war, and more for the sake of the diploma than anything else. Possessing unusual capabilities, a quick mind and glib pen, he was even a little afraid of education, of "booklearning," supposing that it might be harmful to his natural gift. And Sobolev understood this well as he read Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy's manuscript.

"After all, Dem'yan Yermolaich, if you want to depict something similar to our bolshevik revolution," continued Sobolev, just as softly, "then search for this line in Siberia in other events. You know well that still in 1842 in the gold mines of the Yenisey region, strikes were attempted against

the very difficult living and working conditions? The owners of the mines were presented with demands dictated by the collective will of the slave laborers of the taiga. All of this is reported in quite some detail in the works of the historian Semevskiy. And you will recall the novel "Step by Step" by Innokentiy Fedorov-Omulevskiy, which described the first workers strike in a Siberian porcelain factory. It seems to me that all of this is a little closer to bolshevism than the arguments of your heroes at a meeting where the provincials discuss the independent path of Siberia."

"Anton Vasil'ich, our enlighteners should not be written off the deck of history in such a simple fashion. After all, they contributed to the progress of the region!"

"It's not necessary! I agree with you! It just so happens, Dem'yan Yermolaich, that at the beginning of this week the obkom bureau discussed the question of how best to render their just deserts to the cultural figures of the past."

"You know they even charged that Potakin, a pillar of provincial society, was a reactionary. And this about a great traveler, one who enriched the science of the fatherland. How could this be?"

"Again I say, such treatment of figures of the past cannot be allowed. If we are not yet rid of it we are ridding ourselves of it at least. But now let's talk about something else, about the forerunners of our revolutionary thought, about the first steps of the social liberation movement. And here there was little enlightenment. The bourgeoisie, as is well known, did not shun enlightenment and, moreover, made great steps in this direction. But you know, this was not dictated simply by concern for the enlightenment of the masses but primarily because of interest in the development of capitalism itself. This is what should not be forgotten!"

"Nevertheless, then there were also quite a few righteous people, Anton Vasil'ich!" exclaimed Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy, feeling that he could not bring forth any serious arguments against Sobolev.

"And just who is going to quarrel with this? Many of these people sympathized with the revolutionaries, in one way or another helped them, and one can't help but value this. Let me remind you, Dem'yan Yermolaich, of the name Makushin. You of course are acquainted with this figure. A great merchant, the organizer of the book trade in Siberia, who exerted great efforts and means in the construction of schools in the villages, the one who built a house of science in Tomsk, whose motto was 'not a single illiterate.' The first Marxist books came to Siberia through Makushin. I'll grant you that this merchant educator knew that in bringing these books into Siberia he would risk a lot. Really, is it possible not to value this? And it wasn't by accident that the Soviet power did not repudiate him. To the end of his life he worked in the field of book dissemination, and when he died the central newspapers, not to mention the local papers, printed a very emotional obituary of him, as of a cultural figure."

"So there, Anton Vasil'ich, you yourself were just talking about the very same thing," Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy interrupted Sobolev with a certain air of triumph in his voice.

"Not exactly about the same thing, Dem'yan Yermolaich, that was just in passing. But the same thing is something else again. Just what was the basic strength moving the revolution? That's what we are talking about. It was neither the provincials nor Makushin and those like him. This power was the working class, which in your work is relegated to a third-class position. We are not talking just about the fact that this shift must be corrected. As an artist, you may not take into account facts of history. But these are the facts: During the revolution of 1905 in Siberia there were created two workers soviets, two republics—in Krasnoyarsk and in Chita. Is it really possible to pass over these events? I don't want to bind you to any decisions. I am not a writer. This is beyond me. But, to express my views, to direct your attention to omissions in your composition, is my comradely duty. It seems to me that you have the strength to turn again to your novel. You will find new material, and in your hands new opportunities will be realized."

"Kubyshkin attracted me. Kubyshkin...." Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy said in a hollow voice. Alarmed by Sobolev's condemnations, his mind began to hew sparks of imagination and to draw scenes and episodes.

"Kubyshkin, in my opinion, you have drawn wonderfully. This high school teacher holds together a whole novel. And it feels like you love him beyond all measure."

"Right you are! My father stands behind this character," acknowledged Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy, and Sobolev noticed that the writer's eyes moistened. "Ah, we all remain the children of our parents, even to old age," a maxim that Sobolev had read somewhere flashed through his mind.

"So, Dem'yan Yermolaich, these are my thoughts on the first part of the novel. As far as the second part is concerned, the part depicting life today, I want to talk about it in a little more detail. You're not tired, are you? Would you like to have something to drink, coffee or tea? I'll have them bring us something. And some jam, too. I really like bilberry jam. How about you?"

"I'll ha-ha-have some tea," said Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy, stuttering again, and glancing at the gloomy face of the writer, Sobolev thought, "our conversation is not easy for him. You know all of this has passed through his heart and his brain. But what can you do? What is there to do?" Such is my fate."

Suddenly the office resounded with a lengthy sharp ring. Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy trembled in surprise, and Sobolev hurriedly grabbed the receiver.

"Excuse me, Dem'yan Yermolaich, somebody from the rayon needs me."

"Of course, of course, go ahead and answer!"

A lengthy squeaking, gurgling similar to the sound of falling water and a strumming sound could be heard from the receiver.

"Sobolev here. Who am I speaking with? Hello, Comrade Sidorov, why are you breathing so hard, Akim Pavlant'ich? What happened? Something terrible?!

Some emergency? Report, I'm listening." Sobolev put his hand on the receiver. He glanced at Ugryumov-V'yuchnyy and explained, "it's Sidorov, the director of the Zaovrazhnoye forest enterprise. An urgent matter." And again he said into the receiver "yes....yes.... what volume of water? Three and a half meters! Where did such a volume come from? Why weren't any countermeasures taken? Really, didn't you know that precisely at this time of year on the Yula subsoil waters let go?! Ah, pouring rains in addition! Seven hours without a break? There she is, Mother Siberia How much timber has been raised because of these floating barricades? Approximately 150,000 cubic meters! Yes....to be more precise, Akim Pavlant'ich, all 200,000....What measures have you taken? Everyone has been mobilized to a man. This is good. That's right. And what is your intention? Yes. Intercept at Krasnyye Yary. Yes, send it toward Shchuch'ya, block it off. Don't let the timber get out onto the river at large. Yes, yes, there the timber will be scattered all over the sand and it will be difficult to gather it up. What do you want from the obkom, Akim Pavlant'ich? Yes. A pontoon bridge. Firm. Stable. At anchor in order to withstand the impact of the logs. How much time do we have? Three-four hours. Yes. That's clear. Have you informed the combine. You called me first? Thanks for your confidence, but call Cherepanov right away. Let him know. We'll discuss the question of how to help you and let you know right away. When to call back? Wait about 15-20 minutes for a call from us."

Sobolev hung up the receiver and immediately pressed a button on the phone. One after another masculine voices were heard: "Hello, Anton Vasil'ich."
"Anton Vasil'ich here."

Sobolev briefly related his talk with the director of the Zaovrazhnoye Timber Combine to Tomilin, the obkom's second secretary, and then to the oblast executive committee chairman, Karpov.

"I'm going to get in contact with the military, Feliks Eduardovich. You try to raise the forest firefighters. Take the enterprise under control. Have all of the units together with technical support land in the Zaovrazhnoye area and begin work on saving the timber. There, they are under the threat of a second logjam. Stepan Stepanych. You go to the airport and fly to Zaovrazhnoe. The raykom must rise to the head of this affair. If necessary, mobilize all party and Komsomol members from the raykom. We must save the timber."

And again masculine voices rang out over the telephone: "I understood everything, Anton Vasil'ich." "I'll go to the airport at once, Anton Vasil'ich."

Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy tensely followed Sobolev's negotiations. He understood that the secretary was not up to talking with him right now, and he was about to get up, leaning on the edge of the table.

"I'm probably bothering, Anton Vasil'ich," said the writer in embarrassment."

"Not at all. Sit down, sit down! Please, Dem'yan Yermolaich," Sobolev asked him and began to dial a long number, this time on a third telephone--a red one.

"Is the commander in?" asked Sobolev, having heard a clear voice in the telephone receiver, "Lieutenant Colonel Spiridonov here." "Connect me, please. This is Sobolev from the party obkom."

"Yes sir, comrade member of the district military council," rang through the office.

Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy unwillingly thrust out his neck. "Member of the district military council" rang in his ears. He did not know what was well known to the entire aktiv: With Sobolev's selection as first secretary of the obkom by a special decree he was named a member of the military council of the district.

"This was done correctly. The army was always a child of the party. Also in order to coordinate efforts to repulse the enemy," approvingly thought Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy, an old front-line soldier, and past commander of reconnaissance forces, and he enthusiastically listened to Sobolev's conversation with the commander.

"Hello, Ivan Petrovich. How do you feel? How did you survive yesterday's storm? Yesterday here at the obkom three workers, wounded in the war, were brought to the hospital on an emergency basis. You got along OK? Very good. Ivan Petrovich, I'm calling you because of an emergency. There's been some trouble at Zaovrazhnoye." Sobolev told about everything that had happened at the forest enterprise. "And so I decided to ask you for help, Ivan Petrovich. Would it be possible for the field engineers from the Turchinskiy military camps to put a high-durability pontoon bridge across the Yula? From there to the river it's just 3 km. If we succeeded in blocking the path of the timber before it reached the river at large, we would minimize our losses and we could return the timber to the enterprise. Otherwise, we will lose millions, Ivan Petrovich."

"We will help you, Anton Vasil'ich. Don't hang up. I'll connect you with the head of the engineering corps," the voice of the district commander was heard, and a 2-minute pause ensued. Sobolev glanced distrustfully at Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy, and the writer also took a furtive glance at the committee secretary. They were both swallowed up in the same question: Could humankind successfully oppose the elements? Would they be able in such a short time to muster their forces and means to battle readiness?

"Listen, Anton Vasil'ich," the voice of the district commander rang out. "Now I have ordered that one of the engineering corps units be called out from the Turchinsk camps and that it be flown by helicopter together with a pontoon bridge to Zaovrazhnoye. Please make arrangements for our local comrades to meet them as they land and show them the place where they are to work. In 40 minutes the engineers and the bridge will already be airborne."

"Thank you, Ivan Petrovich. Your help is invaluable."

"I wish you luck, Anton Vasil'ich."

Sobolev called Zaovrazhnoye. They were already waiting for his call there, and they answered without the slightest hesitation.

"Who's speaking? Sidorov? I didn't recognize you. What's the matter with your voice? Why are you hoarse? From excitement? Listen, Akim Pavlant'evich, listen carefully. In half an hour the military are coming to help you. The commander has called up one of the subunits of engineers from the Turchinsk military camps. Helicopters are coming together with a bridge. Prepare to receive them. Do you have enough trucks? Hurry and get your people and equipment to the place where the bridge is to be set up. Do this first of all. Secondly, Stepan Stepanych Tomilin is flying out to see you. Does the raykom know about your troubles? Oh, they are with you! Just who exactly? Almost the entire bureau? So many? Won't they bother each other? Let me talk to Sadovskiy. Greetings, Andrey Andreich. It's good that you are already on the spot. I recommend that you form a committee of three to liquidate the problem. You've already done it? I approve. Who's on the committee? You from the raykom, Berezhnoy--the oblast executive committee chairman, and Sidorov. In my opinion that's correct. Ask Tomilin to get in touch with me right away. What about a second timber barricade? Is it holding? Fortify it with additional barriers. Do everything that you can to keep it from breaking. Do you think that you should prop it up with some more rafts? That would be good! But where will you get them? Bring them out from backwater areas? Do it, Andrey Andreich, without delay. Well, good luck to you."

Sobolev was calm on the outside but Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy's writer's eye noted that his fingers holding the telephone receiver trembled and that the veins of his temples alongside his light brown locks of hair twitched.

"Boy!" Sobolev gave a protracted sigh, threw himself against the back of his chair, smoothed his hair with the palm of his hand and, glancing at the writer with a smile, said:

"Now, Dem'yan Yermolaich, we can have some tea." He pressed a button, intending to call Vika and ask her for some tea, but she had anticipated his call. She entered the room herself, carrying in her hand a paper with a red label.

"It's a radiogram, Anton Vasil'ich. There's a note, to give it to you personally immediately. Here it is." She placed a sheet of paper on the table.

"Thanks, Vika, Dem'yan Yermolaich and I would like some tea. With jam, of course."

"I'll tell them right away." And Vika left.

Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy drew in his head toward his shoulders and lowered his eyes. "A radiogram....Deliver immediately....Maybe it's something secret....And here I am standing out at a time like this," he thought, and he stood up.

"Excuse me, Anton Vasil'ich, is it really worth going back to our conversation?"

"What's the matter?! Why not?"

"But you have urgent matters to attend to."

"No, no, Dem'yan Yermolaich. Your novel is important too, no less important than other matters," energetically protested Sobolev, and he lightly touched Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy's arm. "Sit down, please, sit down," this touch seemed to imply. Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy lowered his shoulders, and again extended his legs, which he had picked up under the table.

"Let's have a look and see what's here." Sobolev bent over the radiogram, quickly ran through it with his eyes and, his face brightening up, he read aloud: "Urgent and personal for the oblast party committee first secretary, Comrade Sobolev. I hasten to inform you that approximately 150 km from Beloyarsk at quadrant G 320-171 under visual observation of the locality our group has come upon an old winter cabin. Upon dismantling the rotting hut a coal box was found. Several other objects were also found: a rowboat, a metal bucket and barrels with petrified bottoms. Rock washing equipment and animal traps were also picked up. There is reason to suppose that the place was inhabited by prospectors. We are subjecting the quadrant to study, since we have encountered phenomena of a mysterious nature reminiscent of the outcrop of a salt dome. We will inform you of our findings. Signed, the group leader Sofronnikov."

"Well, good going, Sofronnikov! Oh, what a good guy! How could there be prospectors there? Strange! Parties from the resettlement agency never went there." Sobolev was quite surprised and only the presence of the writer restrained him from undertaking an immediate clarification of all the circumstances indicated in the radiogram.

"Do you know Sofronnikov?" asked Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy.

"This is the first time I've heard that name, Dem'yan Yermolaich. Judging by all that we know, he is from the Northern Geophysical Expedition. Once I had to visit them at the base in Beloyarsk. Well, I gave a talk and spoke about the complexities of doing research on our area. I asked them to be both inquisitive and attentive. Now that it's spring, many young specialists have come. Maybe he is one of them."

"I remember your request, Anton Vasil'ich! And look, it intrigues you! 'Phenomena of a mysterious nature have been encountered.' Interesting! Very interesting!" Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy flared up.

"Dem'yan Yermolaich, I am convinced that there will be a lot more of such phenomena on earth. For our time that's enough. Thank god! Well, if you don't object, let's return to the theme of our discussion. Well, I see they've managed to get us some tea."

A waitress in a white apron with a tray in her hands in no particular hurry set out glasses, little saucers of jam, some cookies on a saucer and some sugar. In just such a measured fashion, with an inner feeling of accomplishment, she left the office, having wished the conversants a pleasant teatime.

"I'm l-l-listening, Anton Vasil'ich," Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy was again on his guard and began nervously clicking his spoon against a glass as he stirred his tea.

"I'll begin here, having rendered all of my sympathies to the characterization of Kubyshkin in the first part of the novel. In the second part you became much scantier in the revelation of human feelings. At least it seemed so to me," Sovolev began. "I thought that everything should have occurred the other way around. The heroes of the second part are your contemporaries. You are their co-conspirator in this business. Your knowledge here is richer, broader--this is undoubtedly so. But you know what often happens with writers. In the area of material concerning the past they are both careful and demanding, and as soon as they arrive at contemporary life their level of criticism falls. The setting is drawn more simply. People are shallow. Words lose their luster. I could give you some examples if you want. It's possible that my impression is particularly subjective, but on the whole it does possess a certain basis. Professional criticism also has concerned itself with this theme many times. Perhaps it would be worth it to you from this point of view to take a look, for example, at the character of the secretary of the raykom Kuvshinov. We have in the country, in our party, thousands of party workers. For many people this isn't just a job, a position, but also a profession, moreover, a mission, a command of the soul and heart."

"They are d-d-different....raykom secretaries...."

"I agree. They are different. But of all these different people, in your place I would take the very best of them...."

"Why the best, Anton Vasil'ich?"

"Because you are characterizing not only a person, but the image of an age, to put it more precisely--the image of an epoch. And you yourself are not only a son of this epoch but its creator, moreover, a conscientious and convincing creator. You must not simply register events and ways of living, you are a partial chronicler of your day. And so all of the best aspects of your time are embodied in the very best people, in your contemporaries. Isn't that true?"

"I took the average. Not the worst and not the best, the average, Anton Vasil'ich!"

"It is here that you are losing effectiveness as a thinker and an artist. Having taken the average, you have unwillingly simplified your artistic problem. During the entire second part of the book you dwell only on one thing, how to balance the bad and the good, the positive and the negative. Kuvshinov, as they say, is neither the one nor the other!"

"Otherwise he wouldn't be true to life! The reader would not believe any aspect of my work if I presented only good."

"Excuse me, Dem'yan Yermolaich, but your idea of truth I dare to call primitive. All of the images created by the pen of the great masters are the embodiments

of the living characteristics of the men of their times. Not one such characterization may be subjected to an arithmetic breakdown into the good and the bad. The personality of the hero is always dialectically unified. Having taken for this image the average person, you are already rendering a serious blow to the truth which you seem to care so much for. This business of aiming for the average has taken hold of you and is dragging you back. Confess, do you want this or not? In this case, you are consciously closing your eyes to that which we call progressive."

"But what should I do? Should I not depict that which is bad?"

"That's a destructive conclusion, Dem'yan Yermolaich! I don't think that a single critic or reader would advise you to do that. First of all, the idea of the work must germinate. This is the core of truth. Why, for what reason, are you writing?"

At the very height of the argument Vika entered the office, repressing with difficulty a happy smile on her lips.

"Oh, Anton Vasil'ich, there's been quite an event in Podlomnoye! Krasil'nikov is asking for you on the phone. He says that he must report to your personally."

"What kind of event happened there, Vika? Did they have a deluge like in Zaobrazhnoye?" Sobolev said, picking up the receiver and continuing to look questioningly and strictly at Vika.

"No, no, quite the opposite, and unexpected," Vika laughed, hoping that the obkom secretary would soon forget his alarming suppositions.

"Hello, Vilen Ivanych. What has happened? Something delightful?! Well, well, be glad! It just so happens that we need that today. I am listening! Talk just a little louder. Somewhere, apparently, they're having a storm. Interference is coming across the line. Yes. On Krasnyy Partisan Kolkhoz, Yevdokiya Yepifanova has given birth to triplets. Two sons and a daughter. The woman is a milking machine operator, and her husband is a machine operator. They are both excellent workers. He is 28 years old and she is 26. They already have two children. Don't be surprised, Vilen Ivanych, that I am repeating you word for word. I have sitting here with me Dem'yan Yermolaich Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy, and I want him to know about your joyful event. I will give him your greetings. You're an avid reader of his books. Yes. You especially like the novel 'The Flood.' He thanks you, Vilen Ivanych. Well, how have you decided to celebrate this event? Good. Good. On an occasion like this one shouldn't be stingy with the presents. May we help you select names for the children? What....Help....But not very zealously. This is a matter for the parents to decide. I say, it's up to the parents to decide. And what about the housing situation? That's a big problem. Why is it such a problem? It's a problem there! The houses are not ready. Just one is ready. Who has it been given to? To the chairman. Do you think that the bureau of the raykom should make a resolution of withdrawal and transfer of the house to the Yepifanovs? They still haven't moved in. Yes. Ask the advice. I understand. How many children does the chairman have? Three!

That's also quite a few. What are their ages? They're in school. I understand. Vilin Ivanych, this is my advice. It's not worth bringing this question before the bureau of the raykom. It would be better if the chairman would give up the house voluntarily to the larger family. Aha! The wife is vacillating. She doesn't want to. They say she had so many hopes. Talk it over! I am convinced that she will agree to wait a little longer. After all, she too is a wife and mother. She will understand. Five children. And she has three, all of whom are already on their feet. And how noble that would be on the part of the chairman's family! And in addition, the rest of the houses will probably be ready soon. Do you understand the situation? Well, good. Be sure to congratulate the parents on behalf of the obkom and the oblast executive committee. And we'll worry about the presents. Please give them my personal congratulations. Of course, Vilin Ivanych! Are you going to visit the newborns?! Today? Maybe tomorrow would be better. Well, you'll see for yourself. According to how the mother feels. That's right! And still according to the doctor's advice. I shake their hands, Vilen Ivanych!" Sobolev hung up the receiver and with a smile looked at Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy and with enthusiasm in his voice asked, "well, Dem'yan Yermolaich, what do you think about this event in Podlommoye? Isn't that something to be happy about?!"

"And how, Anton Vasil'ich! Three new citizens all at once! And you gave wise advice to the raykom secretary, not to let the bureau decide the issue of the house but conscience. Sensible! Very sensible!" Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy for the first time had cheered up, and in the despairing eyes of this warrior from the "People's Will" party amiable beams of light shone.

"Vika, take a telegram for the Yepifanovs," Sobolev turned to his secretary, who was instantly armed with a notebook and pencil.

Having dictated a short telegram of congratulations to the Yepifanovs, Sobolev anxiously wiped his forehead with the palm of his hand and with concern asked, "are these words upsetting, Dem'yan Yermolaich? It's such a great event! Somehow the text should be more from the heart, but I can't find the words. I comes out sounding too bureaucratic. I'm an engineer and not a philologist." This was said so simply and sincerely that Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy attempted to dissuade Sobolev.

"In my opinion it came out very well. Honestly, Anton Vasil'ich. And the phrase, 'the heroic deeds of a mother who gives birth and raises children are the basis for all other human heroic feats on earth,' that's a great thought in itself!"

"Well, Vika, for once the master approves. Send it!" Sobolev was glad, and Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy did not sense in these words of the oblast party committee secretary any sort of pretense.

"I'm on my way, Anton Vasil'ich," Vika jumped up and clicked her high heels against the polished parquet floor.

"I would like to go on, Dem'yan Yermolaich, and touch upon still another problem presented in your novel," Sobolev continued their interrupted conversation. "Only go ahead and drink your tea, please, or has it already cooled off."

"I'm l-l-listening, Anton Vasil'ich," Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy was again tense as he picked up his teacup.

"Dem'yan Yermolaich, it seems to me that somehow you have not correctly depicted the interrelationship between economics and party work. Perhaps, to put it more precisely, a linear depiction doesn't possess enough volume."

"I understand, maybe you were offended by the conduct of Kuvshinov, who, believing in the infallibility of his first secretary, gives the chairman of the kolkhoz incorrect instructions on the introduction of corn," Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy interrupted, in a rather caustic tone of voice.

"No, Dem'yan Yermolaich, I think that this part of the novel is successful and should be preserved. Even though it is sharply critical, it is conclusive, even instructive, and you have written in such a rich style that the passage immediately stays in one's memory. Believe me, this is not what bothers me. It's for nothing that you suspect me of preconceived notions. I know they say that Sobolev defends the honor of party workers' uniforms."

"But why is this so? I don't suspect anybody of anything. I try to get at the truth."

"This is just what I'm thinking about--about the truth."

"How do you see a digression from the truth here?"

"Here's the situation: Almost in all cases you have depicted the interference of party leaders in economic life as a substitution of economic executives. You will recall that it is the same Kuvshinov who kept the rayon executive committee from mobilizing motorized equipment for the harvest and he himself began to do this."

"Really, doesn't this happen? Just wait for the harvest and I am convinced that you will get on the same horse yourself."

"It happens! And, unfortunately, more often than we would like."

"Then what indeed is the matter?"

"This is the problem: Even in those instances when the party committees for one reason or another and for all practical purposes support the economic executives or, what's even worse, they themselves assume their function, they are not doing anything criminal. This occurs most often because of weak organization, or because of an inability to lead people named for this. All of these are tactical errors. The basic idea of all this is that the party has an economic policy, a great strategic goal, and it takes responsibility for economics squarely on its own shoulders. The party is obligated to occupy itself with economics. This was one of Lenin's principles."

"Is it not so in my book?"

"It's not so. You will recall the rayon party conference. This is written in a lively fashion. Here even Kuvshinov gets some character from somewhere. But...his comrades criticize him unjustly. All in a single voice censure the raykom for getting too involved in economic affairs. They stubbornly wish to tie the party down to an educative function. One delegate says it straightforwardly, like this: 'Don't get into economic affairs. Occupy yourselves with palaces of culture, lectures, visual propaganda materials. Business executives understand economics better than you do.' And no one disputes this thesis. Frankly speaking, the conference even applauds this demagoguery. The author also does not consider it necessary to correct either the speaker or the conference itself. Do you remember this place?"

"H-h-how could I forget it?! I wrote it with my own hand. It seems to me that there was much truth in this," Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy attempted to persist in his own opinion.

"You are straying from the path, Dem'yan Yermolaich! The ideological and the educational work of the party and its economic work are intertwined. To separate them into independent spheres means to destroy both economics and ideology. On the contrary, we must strive for still greater union, still more interdependence of these spheres of party work. And there's still another oversight here."

"J-j-just what exactly?"

"It's just this: the economic policy of the party dictates its relationship to technological progress, to science. You will recall how many decisions the Central Committee made seemingly on purely scientific or technological problems; for example, concerning feed production machines, the introduction of robots, the development of agricultural chemistry, etc."

"But after all, I have a novel here, and not an economics textbook. You're demanding something quite different of me," Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy laughed.

"I'm not asking you to write about this. Not at all! But as a reader I am within my rights to assume that the fundamentals of technology which occur in the novel will be elucidated, that is, put into proper focus. Nonetheless, the reader must know if the heroes of the novel live in an era of carriages or during the time of supersonic plane travel. Is that true?"

"That's true," Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy fell silent and agreed, but at this point he jerked up his head and began an attack on his opponent. "Hemingway, during his time, noted that a literary work is like an iceberg. The most significant part is below the water, but the visible part is supported by this invisible part."

"I remember this statement, Dem'yan Yermolaich. And in my view it supports the very thing that I am talking about. The economics textbook in the novel may not be visible, but as an underwater part it is simply indispensable."

"I can't say that you are wrong. Our writer's craft would be for naught if we didn't know at least two or three times more than what we have written about." Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy clutched his teacup tightly and noisily drank everything that was left in it.

"That's just the point! And in addition to what Hemingway said I can remind you of a famous Russian novel, one that is deeply psychological, and very dramatic. It's called 'Anna Karenina.' It's noteworthy that Tolstoy exhausts the theme of 'Anna Karenina,' yet he continues the novel itself. He is in no hurry to finish, since it is his desire to engross the reader in the concerns of the living. And here the writer dedicates page after page to the newest theories of land utilization, Levin's troubles, problems, as we have just now said, of the landowners' relationships with one another and with the peasants. And no one throws down the novel unfinished. All of this is of burning interest, and is important for one's own time and for one's understanding of our era! I don't know because I am not a literary expert, but in my opinion great lessons are contained in the experience of this classic."

"You yourself don't write, do you, Anton Vasil'ich?" asked Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy, struck by the critical judgment of the raykom secretary.

"I write and quite often," Sobolev laughed, "but my compositions are of a special nature; speeches, resolutions, short articles which appear from time to time without a signature in the provincial newspapers; then, if it is necessary to comment on summaries of current economics issues, to emphasize certain facts and tendencies or others."

"I confess that I have a weakness for reading all sorts of statistical data. Compendiums of statistics from the Central Statistical Administration I usually read with a pencil in hand. Incidentally, in prerevolutionary Russian journals, sizable economic reviews were often printed. These old publicists knew how to deal with figures quite well!

"I could feel this in your novel. Economics is not foreign to you, no, not foreign at all. In short, I want to tell you my opinion of certain separate characters. You're not tired, are you, Dem'yan Yermolaich?"

But Sobolev did not manage to voice his opinion of these characters. The white telephone began to ring in short, melodic chimes.

"Well, even Moscow has awakened," Sobolev said, casting a glance at a clock which was on the corner of his desk, and he reached for the telephone.

"Now it's time to leave," thought Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy, and he stood up. But Sobolev energetically waved his hand, signaling to the writer, "sit down, please, sit down." And once more Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy lowered himself into place. "Well, if this is so, I will listen and find out why Moscow deigns to call Sinegorsk," he thought. Frankly speaking, Sobolev's conversation with Moscow very much interested Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy. Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy was already convinced that to this office questions of oblast life flowed in a continuous torrent, but something coming from the center assumed another scale. What could there have been about life in the remote Sinegorskaya Oblast that could have interested Moscow at this hour?

Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy made himself more comfortable, extended his wounded arm along the table, pricked up his ears, and his coal-black eyes shone with burning fire.

"Good morning, Konstantin Andreyich," Sobolev said quietly and, foreseeing that the conversation would take a serious turn, hurriedly took a red and blue pencil and opened up a notebook with a wine-colored cover. His face became focused, and his brows knitted and his eyes came to a standstill at some certain point.

Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy noted Sobolev's tendency in a single instant to disconnect himself from everything that just happened here in the office and with his whole being to reconnect himself to something new, unexpected and unanticipated which might arise.

"The decision of your obkom on the 'Green Cape' matter puts us in a difficult position," rose clearly from the receiver. "We are violating the terms. The government is holding both you and us responsible. I don't understand what is holding you up. Any oblast would happily grab the chance for the opportunity to have such an enterprise--a marvel of the newest technology. Again, let me remind you that your precursor, Pavel Ivanych Polosukhin, promised this area to us without hesitation. He and I personally flew over this territory. It is convenient and satisfies all of our needs. We simply couldn't find anything better. Please, Anton Vasil'ich, rid yourself of your objections, and in 2 weeks the Council of Ministers will confirm the project and we will set to the formulation of construction units as soon as possible. Understand, Anton Vasil'ich, we're talking about carrying out the decision of the party congress. I simply don't understand your position! You're dragging. This will not go unpunished."

Judging by the heavy, resounding baritone and the demanding, categorical intonation of the one speaking on the phone from Moscow, he was not only a willful, insistent person but also must hold a high position. "Minister! No other than a minister. Well, he sure is putting on the pressure! It won't be easy for Sobolev! Will he hold his ground? Or won't he really be able to resist?" thought Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy, furtively casting fleeting glances at Sobolev and secretly wishing that he would hold firm.

When the voice on the phone from Moscow had calmed down somewhat, Sobolev began to speak. Even now he did not appear externally to be upset, but apparently he gave that impression with difficulty. He pronounced his words firmly and confidently as if he had cast them first in a furnace.

"We are not being obstinate, Konstantin Andreyich. It's your ministry. I repeat again, we cannot give up 'the Green Cape.' It is precisely here that the air quality of our city is formulated. This has been proved. Neither the current nor future generations would forgive us for this. We will give you another area. As far as the enterprise is concerned, it has many advantages over the former. Why delay your examination? Send out your examining committee at once. The obkom and the oblast executive committee as well as our institutes will help you with all the data. You will go to the Politburo with a note? Go ahead, that's your business. I am convinced that you will gain nothing from this except delay. So that's how it is. And references to Pavel Ivanych Polosukhin don't bother me in the least. I respected him greatly, but on this matter he was mistaken. It's not by accident that the obkom and the executive committee took no action on this issue. Good-bye, Konstantin Andreyich."

Sobolev leaned against the back of his chair and closed his eyes for a few seconds. Without opening them he made an anticipated move with his finger and punched a button on the telephone. A strange voice rang out through the entire office:

"Yes sir, Anton Vasil'ich."

"Prepare a telegram to the Politburo concerning the 'Green Cape' affair. Konstantin Andreyich has called. He is going to them with a note questioning our conclusions and insisting on his own. Judging by all of this, we're going to have to cross swords with him on a very high level. Do you understand me? Yes, don't forget to use the new data from the university laboratory concerning the wind flow over Sinegorsk."

"Understood, Anton Vasil'ich."

"At the close of the day drop by with your proposed telegram."

"Yes, that's clear."

Sobolev again leaned against the back of his chair and moved the notebook, the pencil, and the empty teacup with a spoon to the edge of the table. All of this he accomplished smoothly, without hurrying. "He's giving himself a breather," thought Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy.

Having witnessed the obkom secretary's conversation with the ministry, Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy felt the desire to speak out on behalf of the oblast committee's position. People had called the "Green Cape" a miracle of nature. It began just beyond Sinegorsk and extended for 60 km to the southwest, occupying a general area not less than 40,000 square km grown over with choice conifers and mixed forests. Every summer the residents of Sinegorsk come here to gather berries, mushrooms, cedar nuts and curative resins and herbs. Along the Tulym banks on the north and the shores of the Simya River which runs into the Tulym on the south and noisily flows into the great river, one always can see tents and huts of vacationers and the city dwellers suffering from all sorts of ailments. Many times poets sang praises to the "Green Cape," calling it first the lungs and then the heart of Sinegor'ye, likening it to a magic granary with precious contents. During his youth Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy also applied his hand to this theme. His book "The Wonders of the 'Green Cape'" had been reprinted not fewer than five times with rich illustrations and color reproductions of the works of Sinegorsk artists. And now a threat hangs over the "Green Cape."

Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy was ready to pound his fist on the table and say, "this must not happen!" He would call on all of the writers and journalists, and they would raise a hue and cry over the whole country. They would ring the bell and hit the road for this cause. But at the last moment Dem'yan Yermolaich recalled his letters to the obkom and he remembered his very last letter to First Secretary Sobolev and he clenched his teeth. He had used so many vicious words in his letters in an attempt to show that the obkom members were a bunch of brainless fools. Meanwhile, the obkom was on the job, and he himself....

"I seem to recall that you wrote a book about the 'Green Cape,' Dem'yan Yermolaich. I encountered it somewhere in a bookstore. Or didn't they want to republish it?" Sobolev said, breaking the lengthy silence.

"There was! It was reprinted. And for some reason or other I had forgotten about it. Somehow it didn't come to my attention and no one except you has reminded me of it." Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy hung his head, experiencing pangs of conscience for his lack of restraint in letters to the obkom.

"Ah, too bad! Now it would be very apropos. Did you hear how they are putting the question?"

"I heard, Anton Vasil'ich. And I promise that I will not stand on the sidelines."

Sobolev did not respond to this readiness on Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy's part. It's quite possible that something distressing came to him from the writer's letters. So at least it seemed to Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy.

Leafing through the notes he had made while reading Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy's manuscript, Sobolev, somehow indecisively overcoming certain inner doubts, said:

"I still want to express myself on one more issue, Dem'yan Yermolaich, but I am afraid that this is a subjective perception. Maybe I am wrong. Yes, yes. After all, I am not an artist. I am oversimplifying something."

"Nevertheless, why not go ahead and say it anyway? It often happens that the writer is blind and does not recognize what is obvious from the side." Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy was beginning to exercise a little cunning. It is not easy to hear criticism and he was already tired of Sobolev's critical judgment, but he did not want to confess this to him. He sat up straight, inclined his head, and gave the impression of extreme attentiveness to his conversation partner as if to say, "go ahead and speak, speak. I am waiting."

"The hero of a work, in my opinion, is most precious to the writer and reveals his innermost thoughts," Sobolev began to speak. "I often reread 'War and Peace.' I've read it once a year for 3 years now, and I am always amazed at Tolstoy's love for his heroes. Whomever it is that he loves, he loves in a very real sense, with all of the inner trembling of ecstasy. But what is remarkable is that in this connection he is restrained, tactful, wise. It's not that kind of love from which there comes any sort of pretense. In this sense there are some really wonderful books by Soviet writers. Not long ago I reread 'And Quiet Flows the Don.' Aksin'ya, Grigoriy, Natal'ya, the Cossacks. How they are sketched! Sholokhov loves them. He knows. He sees them, it seems, right down to the last blood vessel. The surroundings are simple. The way of life is somewhat rough, and work is hard, but people are people. Here, Sholokhov, frankly speaking, is similar to Tolstoy. Both Tolstoy and Sholokhov find something unusual in the most ordinary people. Princess Mary is not beautiful, but her surprisingly lustrous eyes make her irresistibly attractive. And you will remember the short lip of Princess Liza. And the corpulence of Pierre Bezukhov. His shyness. His large, clumsy hands. All of this is nothing special, but what an impression it makes!"

"In my opinion, the writer has one big advantage over real people--the right to choose. Here I have underlined lightly in pencil something that I didn't like very much. Here is Kuvshinov with short legs...short arms...a round head on a short neck...a sunken face with weak-sighted eyes. I wouldn't say that this is fitting for a hero who passes through the entire novel. There really isn't anything attractive about him!"

"You haven't by any chance been an editor, have you?" Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy asked and gave Sobolev an amazed look.

"Never."

"You analyzed my manuscript more carefully than editorial board editors. You have a gift!"

"What kind of gift? I read carefully. I read and I tried to imagine, to see," the writer's praise embarrassed Sobolev.

"The right of choice! That is the heart of the matter, all right! Here lies the mystery of talent. One simply has it, and another does not. One wonders why distortions occur in literary works. Precisely from the fact that we do not know how to select, and we heap everything into a pile. The classics--yes, they knew how and they were able!" Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy wanted to say a lot on this subject. He had spent much of his creative life and effort in order to adopt this enigmatic art of sketching human character. But again the phones started ringing, three of them at once. Sobolev called Vika for help. Vika picked up two receivers, pressed them to her ears and said at the same time into both of them:

"Just a minute, please. Anton Vasil'ich is talking to Moscow."

Sobolev himself again picked up the receiver from that same white telephone. They were calling from the party Central Committee. According to the plan of international contacts, a delegation was coming to the country from Cuba. They would spend 3 days in Sinegorskaya Oblast. The delegation was studying the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the leadership of industry. It was necessary to welcome them, to render the necessary hospitality. To acquaint the comrades with the life of the workers of the machine building plant, to acquaint them with the work of the party committee, to have a discussion with them at the obkom. Everything had to be instructive, useful, completely to the liking of the friends from abroad who were building socialism right beside the United States.

"We'll do everything! Don't worry, we'll do everything!" Sobolev said, and he hung up the receiver while Vika offered him the other telephone. Sergey Sergeyevich Nikandrov was calling from Academic City and was inviting him to a laboratory. A very interesting experiment was to be conducted on powdered metallurgy. It's true that the time of the experiment was rather inconvenient, from 1 until 5:30 am.

"I'll be there, Sergey Sergeyich! The time is not the most convenient, but it's not exactly an ordinary event, either. I shake your hand! So long until the meeting!" Sobolev gave Vika one receiver and took the other from her.

Professor Bayanov, the university rector, was reminding Sobolev about a conference of the council of rectors, at which Sobolev had promised to speak on the theme of certain urgent question of the study of the oblast's productive forces, the development of a scientific concept and the role of scientists of the institutes of higher learning in solving these problems.

"I remember, Leonard Emil'yevich, I remember. I will come for sure. You see, I'm just finishing a conversation with Dem'yan Yermolaich Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy. Yes. Yes. He wrote the new novel. Yes. Yes. A very promising novel. And please be in your office a little bit later, Leonard Emil'yevich. I would like to have a preliminary discussion of something with you," Sobolev returned the telephone to Vika and stood up. "I'm sorry that I am forced to hurry, Dem'yan Yermolaich. I would like to say more, but this isn't our last meeting. Either give me a call or drop me a line, whichever is more convenient for you. Don't be angry at me if I have damaged your pride in some way. I have the very best feelings for you and I believe in your success with all my heart."

Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy stood up and shook Sobolev's hand firmly. He experienced a moment of terrible embarrassment. From the discussion he understood that the secretary saw that his novel "The Bells of Sinegor'ye" was still not a novel but only a broad outline in which there was still not clarity of thought, nor were the characterizations artistically complete. "It's handiwork, just old woman's handiwork. That's his opinion of my writing," Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy thought with bitterness. But in addition to Sobolev's irrefutably logical judgments, his simple faith in Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy's creative powers, his benevolent strictness and the words "a promising novel" resounded in the writer's mind like jolts of unbearable light which were calling him back to the writing table as soon as possible, to open up his manuscript and shred it without mercy, to seek new turns of thought, new ideas and new words for sketching his heroes.

Sobolev felt the writer's embarrassment. He saw the coal-black eyes of the warrior from the "People's Freedom" party burning like a hot fire. He saw his wounded hand tremble and his sunken cheeks turn crimson. In his voice there resounded a note of real sympathy:

"Goodbye, Dem'yan Yermolaich! Goodbye! Good health and the best of luck to you!"

It was as if someone had grasped Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy by the tongue. He fell silent, severely and shamelessly silent. Only when he was at the door, angry at himself, he muttered, repeating over and over again the same words:

"Forgive me for my deficiencies! I've taken up so much of your time! So much time!"

When Ugryumov-V'yuzhnyy had left the office, Sobolev said to Vika:

"Now I'm alone, Vika. Take all of my phone calls. In 40 minutes I have to be at the university. Have a car pick me up at the entrance in a half hour. I'll be back at the obkom at 3:30."

"Yes, I understand, Anton Vasil'ich," said Vika, and she carefully closed the door.

Sobolev went up to the table and took from the drawer the outline of his speech for the rectors' council meeting. Tiring of leafing through the pages filled with typescript, he set them aside and suddenly, as if remembering something, he hurriedly picked up his notebook and began writing with a flourish:

"The Northern Geophysical Expedition. To Kanatchikov. Radio Sofronnikov at quadrant G 320/171 that his message concerning the prospectors' camp has been received with great interest and hope at the obkom. Please inform us regularly concerning the progress of your study of the territory. We wish your group success in its work. Sobolev."

Having read through his telegram, Sobolev picked up the radiogram with the red seal which was still lying on the table, and with the palm of his hand he carefully smoothed out its creases. In a short time today many different regional affairs had passed through his office, but he had an especially warm feeling for this radiogram and for its unknown author, a certain Sofronnikov. He envisioned this Sofronnikov and thought to himself, "fear not, old faithful geologist, hapless traveler, ardent dreamer, bachelor, since there is no time either for love or for a wedding, bearded fellow...in spite of his young years."

For a few minutes Sobolev sat silently with a smile on his lips, and with his eyes screwed up, in which there shone a hidden tenderness.

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PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND THE NEW POLITICAL SITUATION IN GREECE

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[Article by Dimitris Sarlis, candidate member, Communist Party of Greece
Central Committee Politburo]

[Text] Parliamentary elections were held in Greece on 18 October 1981. The results of the elections and the new situation which developed in the country are important not only to Greece but internationally as well. That is precisely why the description of this situation and the prospects of its development and the determination of the political meaning of the manifestation of the will of the Greek people and, above all, the results of the electoral struggle waged by the Communist Party of Greece (CPG) and its policy should begin with a consideration of the complex international circumstances in which the elections were held.

The International Circumstances

The international circumstances influenced the results of the election in two ways. From the viewpoint of the progressive forces, the attempts made by imperialism, American in particular, to return to the Cold War and, generally speaking, its aggressive intentions in areas bordering Greece, had a negative influence. This influence intensified the country's dependence on American imperialism and NATO. Provocations directed at our country and people intensified. One military exercise followed another. Things went so far that without the permission of the Greek authorities, American warriors organized demonstrations in the main squares of provincial cities. They attacked CPG premises, took down Greek national flags and provoked skirmishes in public places.

Encouraged by the support of international imperialism, and motivated by the desire to apply pressure on the electorate, the local monopolistic oligarchy promoted two versions of the alleged "threat" hanging over the country. The first, which was intensively encouraged by the right wing, was the assertion that the Americans would allow no changes in Greece, and if a change were to be made, the United States would intervene and put an end to it. The second variant of the "threat" was the following: In no case would the Americans tolerate the coming into power of a coalition government consisting of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement Party (PASOK) and the CPG. Therefore, if you want change, vote for PASOK, which the Americans would tolerate, but not for

the CPG. The purpose of this was to give electoral support to PASOK in the hope of retaining the imperialist yoke around Greece's neck.

The idea was also promoted that, after forming a cabinet, PASOK would become some sort of a step on the way to giving the power to the CPG.

Another circumstance which had a negative influence on electoral results was a turn to the right in the political life of some imperialist countries. Let us add to this the increased speculation on events in Afghanistan and particularly in Poland, which the reaction presented in a most distorted fashion, in an effort to use them extensively in its attacks on the communist and popular movement in our country.

The French parliamentary elections exerted a complex influence as well. On the one hand, they contributed to removing the right wing from power. On the other, they were actively used by the opposition bourgeois press to apply pressure on the voters in favor of PASOK and against the CPG.

The forward development of the Soviet Union and the other countries of real socialism, their peaceful policy and the successes of anti-imperialist forces throughout the world, particularly in our area, were among the positive international factors.

The interview granted by L. I. Brezhnev to the newspaper TA NEA, in which he declared that the Soviet Union will never use nuclear weapons against Greece unless such weapons are deployed on its territory, played an important positive role.

As a whole, the policy of the socialist states and their desire to develop economic and other cooperation with Greece are seriously undermining the myth disseminated by the reaction to the effect that our country is threatened with danger from the north. At the same time, they contribute to strengthening the positions of progressive forces which call for pursuing a peaceful and independent foreign policy in the interest of the people.

The Internal Conditions in the Electoral Struggle

Essentially, the recent elections indeed offered the real possibility of removing the right wing from power and opening the path to truly democratic changes in the country's life. This is explained essentially by the fact that the New Democracy Party, the main stooge of the local monopolistic oligarchy, had compromised itself in the eyes of the people with its Atlantic policy and notorious "economy," which was pursued one-sidedly to the detriment of national and popular interests. Greece joined the EEC and rejoined NATO. While that party was in power, a number of antidemocratic laws were passed and the burden of the economic crisis was shifted entirely onto the shoulders of the working people.

The people felt the results of this policy particularly strongly in connection with the unparalleled growth of unemployment, unrestrained inflation (approximately 25 percent annually) and, as of 1979, absolute drop in the real income of the working people. Monopoly profits, however, continued their steady improvement.

The elections were held on the basis of the extremely unfair electoral law passed by the New Democracy Party. According to that law, a party which participated in the second round and garnered less than 17 percent of the vote lost a considerable number of seats legitimately belonging to it and which were distributed among other parties which were above that threshold. Thus, having garnered 9.36 percent of the vote in the 1977 elections, the CPG should have been assigned 28 of the 300 seats; instead, it received 11; it should have received 33 seats in 1981 but received 13. It is through such tricks that New Democracy, although in the minority, was able to secure for itself the majority of parliamentary seats and become the ruling party. In the 1977 elections it won 42 percent of the votes but received some 60 percent of deputy mandates.

On the basis of this electoral law, in the last elections the monopoly oligarchy tried to reach its strategic objective--to isolate the CPG and to create in the country a two-party system under which, despite their differences, the New Democracy and PASOK parties would operate within the framework of the existing system.

It was precisely to this effect that the bourgeois press, including the government-owned mass information media, presented the electoral campaign as a struggle between these two parties and called upon the working people to choose between the two, insinuating that any vote cast for the CPG was a "lost vote." In order to undermine the positions of the CPG, television and radio made themselves accessible to any party calling itself "communist": the right-wing revisionist group known as the "CPG (internal)" as well as three leftist Maoist and Trotskyite groups. The oligarchic government hoped that their ideas would hurt the CPG. Furthermore, it tried to create the impression that the communists are divided and that consequently it was unrealistic to hope that "any one of the communist parties," i.e., the CPG, could play any substantial role whatsoever in the country's political life.

We must admit that the government's hopes were justified in the sense that the leaders of the "internal" CPG and the Maoist and Trotskyite groups indeed engaged essentially in slandering the CPG and the countries of real socialism, the USSR above all.

The Parties' Electoral Tactics

In the period of its rule New Democracy had done nothing for the people, for which reason it based its electoral tactics on anti-Marxism, anticommunism, demagogy and fear. It made generous demagogic promises, as though forgetting that during the many years it had been in power it could have implemented them had it truly wished to do so. It did everything possible to convince the voters that should it lose, national culture, economic life, democracy and the entire country would be facing a deadly threat.

PASOK, whose ideology and politics are a mixture of petit bourgeois socialism, nationalistic trends, some anti-imperialist and antimonopoly positions and a tendency to fluctuate and retreat, entered the election as the strongest opposition party and as the pretender to victory. In its electoral campaign it raised antimonopoly and anti-imperialist slogans, which had been formulated

and proclaimed by the CPG many years before that, and described itself as the only bearer of change. It refused to cooperate with the other democratic forces which favored change, and set as its objective to garner the absolute majority of votes, promising to ease the situation of the "unprivileged," by which it meant members of all classes and strata in Greek society with the exception of the monopolies. It was supported by the powerful bourgeois press trusts which essentially favored changes which would not be painful to the oligarchy, which they demanded of PASOK when they launched into political orbit concepts favoring this party, such as the claim that a vote for the CPG was a "lost vote," the idea of "let us remove the right wing from power now and look at what happens afterwards," etc.

Three centrist parties and one monarcho-fascist party took part in the elections. The "internalists" and the other right-wing and "left-wing" opportunistic groups which described themselves as "communist" had as their sole concern, as I pointed out, the taking away from the CPG of as many votes as possible.

As early as July 1980 the CPG entered the electoral struggle, after a tactical line of behavior had been established at a Central Committee plenum, and began to work among the popular masses.

The July plenum stipulated that the removal of the right wing from power was insufficient. It was necessary to achieve truly democratic changes, which would promote the national independence of the country, the democratization of political life and the independent development of the economy for the good of the people. The program adopted at the plenum called for putting an end to monopoly arbitrariness as a prerequisite for improving the life of the people, withdrawal from NATO and the EEC, closing down the American and NATO bases on the country's territory as a necessary prerequisite for the exercise of a Greek policy of peace and friendship with all peoples, and independent economic development. The CPG Central Committee plenum noted that these objectives could be implemented only through the cooperation of all political forces which favored change, and the establishment of a government based on a mass popular movement. This would have enabled the government effectively to counteract the pressure of local and international reaction.

The plenum issued the party the assignment to participate in the second round of the elections and to work for the elimination of the 17 percent barrier as stipulated in the electoral law. This could be achieved by defeating New Democracy and, which was particularly important, the creation of prerequisites for change.

The party tactics were a worthy answer to the strategic plan of the monopoly oligarchy, which was aimed at isolating the CPG and creating a system of two opposing parties--PASOK and New Democracy.

The participation of the CPG in the second round was a difficult but realistic task. The entire party realized its importance and set to work with dedication and enthusiasm.

Electoral Results

The electoral campaign ended with a major defeat of the right wing and the victory of democratic forces. New Democracy received 35.86 percent of the vote and became an opposition party. PASOK garnered the majority of the vote (48.06 percent, but thanks to the electoral law, 57.6 percent of the deputy seats). The centrist parties, the monarcho-fascist party and the "internal" revisionists, who had held the parliamentary seats in the past, were unable to elect a single deputy. The number of votes cast for the CPG increased from 9.3 percent in 1977 to 10.92 percent in 1981.

Therefore, only three parties--PASOK, New Democracy and the CPG--are represented in the new parliament.

The CPG described the outcome of the electoral battle as a victory of democratic forces and as a significant communist success. Many people, even its enemies, agree with this assessment.

The first thing which must be particularly noted in analyzing the electoral results is the failure of the plans of the ruling class aimed at isolating the communist party. Even those who fought for the implementation of the plans of the oligarchy are forced to acknowledge this fact. Suffice it to cite one such admission, which is quite typical despite slanders and distortion of facts. The editorial of the press organ of the big bourgeois newspaper trust, which discussed the new structure of the parliament, expressed its frank regret that represented in it is a "rather strong and united if dogmatic communist party, which will do everything possible to profit from the almost inevitable decline in prestige and the disappointment which the assumption of power by a party inevitably triggers." The two-party (or almost two-party) system, the article went on to say, in countries such as the United States, Britain or the FRG, is a reliable protection from the "presence in parliament of communist parties with a definite philosophy. Even sadder is the fact that...the one in our country is among the dogmatic ones. Unfortunately, few are the Greek communists with a true perception of democracy, as the dramatic defeat of the 'CPG (internal)' proved once again" (IKONOMIKOS TACHYDROMOS, No 44, 1981, p 5).

Naturally, by "dogmatic" the author means our party's consistency and loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. As to "communists with a truly democratic perception," whose defeat he regrets, these are the "Eurocommunists" in our country.

Another characteristic feature of the party's success is the fact that it increased its share of the vote despite an exceptionally powerful movement in support of PASOK, which was so strong that it swept away all opposition parties other than the CPG. Unquestionably, this proves the strength of the CPG and its ability not only to endure in such a difficult competition but to strengthen its positions. Even a journal such as ANTI, which is obviously unsympathetic to the CPG, wrote in its 23 October 1981 issue that "the CPG has developed into a 'major party' precisely because it not only retained its old but gained new positions in the political competition."

Let us reemphasize the fact that the strengthening of CPG positions was accompanied by a severe defeat of the opportunistic forces. In fact, whereas in the 1977 elections the "Eurocommunists" ("internalists") and the left-wingers accounted for 3.5 percent of the total vote, compared with 9.36 percent cast for the CPG, in the 1981 elections they accounted for only 1.6 percent, whereas the CPG garnered slightly less than 11 percent. In other words, the ratio of forces between them had changed from 3:1 to 7:1 in favor of the CPG. "The elections proved," noted in this connection the newspaper of the "internalists," "that the dogmatic (meaning Marxist-Leninist--the author) CPG has gained the sympathy of almost all communist left-wing forces" (AVGI, 1 November 1981).

In this connection, let us note the statement which A. (Occhetto), member of the Italian Communist Party leadership, made at the January plenum of the Communist Party of Italy Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission. In defending the "critical" but actually nihilistic theses in E. Berlinguer's speech, directed against the USSR and the other countries of real socialism, he said among other things that "the facts prove that the communist parties which have adopted uncritical positions (toward the USSR and real socialism--the author) are not strengthening their ties with the masses." Here it is a question of the familiar "Eurocommunist" concept, according to which the further along a communist party in a capitalist country advances its polemics against real socialism and its rejection of "dogmatism" (meaning rejection of Marxism-Leninism), the more it gains the recognition of the masses.

The first and main thing to be said on this subject, based on the experience of our party and the results of the last elections, is the fact that essentially this road leads to an increasing dependence of the party on bourgeois ideology and politics. Consequently, even should it be able to win over the masses in this manner, the communist party would find itself unable to fulfill its mission and lead these masses in the decisive struggle for the victory of socialism.

Furthermore, the events in our country--and abroad--proved that it is entirely possible to gain the trust of the masses by holding consistent Marxist-Leninist and truly internationalist positions toward the USSR and the other countries of real socialism. Naturally, this is a hard road which is not praised by the bourgeoisie but is, conversely, the target of fierce attacks. However, it is the only proper road, for it leads to winning over the masses firmly and to a victory of socialism. I repeat that the experience of our party refutes the "Eurocommunist" concept I mentioned. That is why we are puzzled by A. (Occhetto's) attempt "to substantiate this concept by referring to some facts."

Another aspect of the party's success is precisely that of establishing the broadest possible ties with the people. For the first time in the postwar period the CPG has been able to develop such broad contacts with the popular masses and to explain to them its policy. This not only yielded direct results in the elections but, which is particularly important, promises even greater successes in the future, for new prerequisites have been created for even more efficient communist work among the masses. From the viewpoint of the movement's future, this aspect of the party's electoral success is as important as the failure of the plan to isolate it.

Naturally, it is also a fact that despite its efforts the CPG was unable to participate in the second round of the elections. This is explained by errors committed in the course of the electoral struggle centrally and locally. The main reason, however, is the failure effectively to change the minds of the people who supported the idea of "let us now remove the right wing and then see." A certain number of voters, although sharing the programmatic objectives of the CPG, decided not to vote for it, guided precisely by this concept. We also know that the number of such voters was sufficient to ensure the participation of the CPG in the second round.

Actually, the more profound study of this problem revealed that the popular movement had not as yet reached the required level of ideological and political maturity. Since this is above all the communists' work, the conclusion to be drawn is that the party's ideological and political work among the masses, although intensified, remains insufficient. It is poorly related to mass work at plants, among the trade unions, in the countryside, in the peasant municipalities and in the mass organizations. Let us also bear in mind that it is far more difficult for the working people to convert from a bourgeois or petit bourgeois party to a communist party than it is to switch from one bourgeois or petit bourgeois party to another, for this presumes a total break with ideological and political convictions. It is clear, therefore, that in order to achieve definite success in terms of firmly winning the masses over, we must relate ideological-political to professional and mass work more skillfully.

Finally, let us point that the slogan on the participation of the CPG in the second round of allocation of the vote, although not carried out, was correct and helpful. Both friends and enemies acknowledged that without raising this slogan the CPG would hardly have been able not only to increase but even to retain the percentage of votes it received in 1977.

The Situation After the Elections

A complex and conflicting situation developed following the victory of the democratic forces in the Greek elections.

On the one hand, possibilities for the country's development leading to real change opened. These possibilities are related to the following factors:

The major defeat of the right wing in the elections and the existence of a considerable parliamentary majority which favors a certain amount of change;

The forming of a PASOK cabinet, which implemented some measures aimed at the democratization of the country's political life and which promises to follow in this direction;

The strengthened positions of the CPG among the people and in parliament;

The abatement of measures of fear and terror;

The existence of more favorable prerequisites for the development of the mass movement.

However, we must not forget that major obstacles stand in the way of democratic change, erected by domestic and foreign enemies. The difficulties include also the inconsistency and hesitations within the government itself. In any case, the postelectoral course of events proved once again that the implementation of real changes will demand a comprehensive and hard struggle, the successful outcome of which would be inconceivable without communist participation.

The Opponents of Change

Imperialism uses levers at its disposal such as NATO, the EEC, Greece's economic and scientific and technical dependence and its agents in the country in order to continue to interfere in our domestic affairs. It is increasing its pressure on the government in an effort to force it to pursue a foreign policy within the Atlantic framework. Imperialism violently opposes any progressive measure, and when the government retreats more pressure is applied on it.

The local monopolistic oligarchy has retained its economic positions and is acting arbitrarily. Its objective is to restrain the policy of the PASOK government within the state-monopoly framework. It expects of the government steps aimed at updating Greek capitalism, freeing it from anachronistic structures, in order to expand even further its markets in the Middle East and strengthen its positions vis-a-vis the Common Market.

The monopoly press, which supports the government, encourages it to take a course safe for the monopolies in the economic area and to create conditions leading to the establishment of a two-party system in the political area. In practice this would simply mean the alternating of parties and individuals in power and a preservation of monopoly rule.

The press trusts hastened to provide a theoretical ground for this course. Thus, today they are preaching the idea of separating domestic from foreign policy problems. Allegedly, changes should apply to domestic affairs only. Greece, they go on to say, should not participate in the confrontation between the two blocs. Naturally, however, they fail to mention the fact that by remaining in NATO and the EEC, Greece has no choice other than to follow the American-NATO line. They also fail to mention that membership in NATO and the EEC makes real changes in domestic policy as well absolutely impossible, for the problems of systematic democratization and economic development of the country for the good of the people are inseparably related to the problem of national independence.

It is self-evident that the country's ruling class and American-NATO imperialism have not abandoned their antidemocratic plans, which they will try to implement should their hopes fail. Currently there is no immediate danger of their implementation. However, the progressive forces in the country do not exclude such a possibility.

As to the New Democracy Party, it is currently in the throes of a deep crisis, which was the result of the total bankruptcy of its policy and electoral defeat. A clear manifestation of this crisis was the change of party leader: Rallis was replaced by Averoff, which proves its even greater swing to the right.

Nevertheless, New Democracy retains strong positions in parliament. It enjoys the support of the financial oligarchy and imperialism and has many supporters in the state apparatus. It has undertaken the reorganization of its forces in an effort to surmount the crisis and convert to a counterattack in order to discredit the government and to create prerequisites for a return to power.

Quite characteristic in this respect is the fact that it is making demagogic use among the people of the problems and difficulties which its own policies created while it was in power.

The Policy of the PASOK Government

What the PASOK government says about itself is of interest. Thus, it has proclaimed itself the government of all Greeks, claiming among other things that "the changes it is making apply to all Greeks," and that today "PASOK forms the government but the people are in power;"

It claims that the governmental program will bring "great changes" to the people which, by following the "third way" will culminate in socialism, etc.

However, such statements have very little in common with reality. Here is why.

Naturally, from the legal viewpoint the PASOK government is the government of all the Greeks. However, from the viewpoint of its policy, it is not, nor could it be, since it cannot represent the interests of all classes in a society divided into classes with conflicting interests. If changes are in the interest of the monopolies they are not in the interest of the people but work to its detriment. Furthermore, the Greek people, naturally, are not in power. PASOK's claim is erroneous not only from the class viewpoint, for the monopolies continue to rule the country, but from the formal-political viewpoint as well, for ever since PASOK came to power there has been no case in which the people and the mass organizations representing them have been involved in the formulation of governmental policy.

But let us return to the claim that PASOK intends to achieve socialism by following the "third way." Let us note above all that this is a way unfamiliar to Marxism-Leninism. In this case, therefore, it is not a question of socialism or even of the approaches to socialism. Let us cite in support of this conclusion that according to PASOK itself, its "socialism" does not stipulate the leadership of the working class or its assumption of power together with the other working people. Yet it is precisely they who have been called upon to build and to defend socialism from its enemies. The type of "socialism" to which the "third way" leads is for the benefit of "all underprivileged," i.e., including the petite and middle bourgeoisie. In other words, even in its "ideal" aspect it is capitalism without monopolies.

So far, the main feature of the government's policy is the continuing retreat not only from PASOK's pre-election promises but its programmatic statements in parliament. Another characteristic feature of this policy is its contradictoriness and vagueness in the main areas, a vagueness which may be quite deliberate.

Naturally, the importance of the positive measures taken by the government in one area or another should not be belittled. As a whole, however, its changes--so far at least--are inconsistent with existing possibilities and requirements. It is in the field of international relations that the government's policy is the vaguest, even when compared with its policies in any other area. On the one hand, the government's reservations regarding economic "sanctions" against the USSR and the People's Republic of Poland, imposed by the United States and NATO, and its declarations of peace regarding a nuclear free zone on the Balkans and the desire expressed by the government to develop trade and economic cooperation with the socialist countries are unquestionably positive. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that such positive statements can lead to the complete breaking of the imperialist chains binding the country. The facts are the following: The government has violated the previous promises made by PASOK to take the country out of NATO. It is now letting it be understood that Greece will remain a member of the bloc provided that NATO "guarantees" the safety of its border with Turkey. The value of such guarantees is quite questionable. Another example: The government no longer intends to break with the EEC but is merely trying to achieve a "special status" for Greece.

In the field of economics the government promised to satisfy partially some demands of the working people, such as raising pensions and wages, making them more consistent with prices, particularly for low paid categories, reducing the work week by 1 hour, etc. This is obviously insufficient. Above all, however, the government is not touching private property and nothing is being undertaken to curb monopoly arbitrariness. The "socialization" program which it announced before the elections, which called for the nationalization of a number of monopolies, has now been reduced to the mere institution of "control councils," whose task is to provide public control over monopoly enterprises and to coordinate their activities in accordance with the government's economic development program. What this means is that nationalization has been forgotten and, as stated by the minister of coordination, the "control councils" will not have the right to interfere in "current production activities and investment policy" or deal with the "present enterprise structure and management system." Typically, the government is continuing to grant facilities to the monopolies. All of this threatens a return to the regimen of "economy" at the expense of the working people.

Let us now consider the problem of democratization of social life. The government has issued a declaration on recognizing the national resistance movement and the repatriation of political exiles. It also decided to remove right-wing officials from key positions in the governmental apparatus. Unquestionably, all of this is positive. However, the government has forgotten its election promise of appointing to governmental positions people guided by "governmental criteria;" the criteria which are being applied in practice could be described as being purely of the PASOK type, discriminating against the communists. Furthermore, the decision regarding the democratization of the state apparatus, the armed forces in particular, is being dangerously delayed. Briefly stated, this declaration has not as yet been translated into specific action.

As to the mass movements in the country, here again PASOK is trying to impose its firm control, ignoring the real ratio of forces and unwilling to pursue

a policy of action. Its sole objective is to use the mass movement in the interest of the government's policy. Here is a characteristic example: the ESAK-S trade union--the most influential one which is systematically following a class line of action--was given 4 out of 45 seats in the leadership of the Panhellenic Trade Unions, which was appointed after the elections, whereas PASKE--PASOK's trade union wing, whose positions in the trade union movement are substantially weaker, was given 30. Naturally, the thus developed one-party leadership of the Panhellenic Trade Unions is actively supporting the government's policy in matters pertaining to the working class.

The overall conclusion is that PASOK's policy is mainly directed not toward truly democratic changes in the country or the creation of prerequisites for leading the country to socialism; within the framework of the old dependence on imperialism, the government is obviously trying to achieve more favorable conditions for such a dependence, on the one hand, and to implement limited reforms, which do not affect monopoly rule, on the other.

The PASOK government is justifying its policy by citing the difficulties it is encountering. Such difficulties indeed exist, as any unprejudiced person realizes. The new government inherited a difficult legacy from the long years of right-wing rule. Many PASOK governmental leaders lack the necessary experience. All kinds of obstacles are being erected by domestic and foreign enemies. Some of the problems are quite difficult and their solution requires preparatory work and time.

Nevertheless, the difficulties should not be considered a sufficient justification for the policy so far pursued by the government and its dangerous slowness and increasing withdrawal from anti-imperialist and antimonopoly objectives. It is increasingly causing concern, disappointment and even indignation among the broad toiling strata. The danger is that this discontent may be used by the right wing in its efforts to be restored to power. This would harm not only PASOK but the working people and all progressive forces which favor change and change itself.

The Policy of the CPG

The CPG proceeds from the fact that the problems facing the people and the country can be radically resolved through a united revolutionary process consisting of two interrelated stages of revolutionary change: anti-imperialist, antimonopoly-democratic, on the one hand, and socialist, on the other. The immediate strategic objective of the CPG is to implement the revolutionary changes of the first stage. The current party tactics are entirely subordinated to this strategic objective.

The policy of truly democratic change must lead not only to the solution of individual anti-imperialist and antimonopoly problems. Given certain problems, this could lead to revolutionary change. The party is convinced that today such a course could ease the situation of the people and create the most favorable conditions for making the masses understand the need to wage a decisive struggle for this objective. That is why today the CPG is focusing all its efforts on promoting democratic change which, as the elections indicated, the people demand.

The monopolies and the right wing are the main domestic enemies of change. The party does not forget this even for one minute. It defines its position toward specific steps taken by the government on the basis of the requirements of the struggle for change: it supports government actions consistent with such requirements, criticizes insufficient measures and opposes anything which conflicts with them.

The CPG believes that the true interests of the working people and all progressive forces and, not the least, of PASOK itself demand of the government to abandon its hesitations and retreats and take the path of change with the support of the popular movement.

However, it is becoming increasingly clear that the question of real change will depend mainly on the upsurge of the organized labor and overall popular movement and on whether or not the anti-imperialist and antimonopoly problems will be resolved. That is why the CPG deems it its primary duty to increase its work among the masses and to help them realize and carry out their role as the main lever in the struggle for change.

The Polish Events and the Class Struggle in Greece

The Polish events are one of the elements of the class struggle in Greece. From the very beginning, not only the world's but Greek reaction as well saw in them above all a convenient occasion for discrediting the ideals of socialism, striking a new blow at the progressive forces, heating up anticommunism, preventing the development of popular unity and blocking the road to change.

The various left-wing groups are actively participating in this campaign--Maoists, Trotskyites, anarchists, "autonomists" and others. Characteristically, all of them voiced their "indignation" at the events in Poland, which they expressed through acts of vandalism against CPG bookstores, the Aeroflot office, and others. However, the leaders of the "internalists" play the role of shock troops in this hysteria. They are pressuring the government, asking it to join a kind of campaign against the socialist countries. They claim the existence of some kind of "bankruptcy" of real socialism. They were the first to express their solidarity with the Polish counterrevolution, presenting their actions as allegedly contributing to the cause of peace and the struggle for social progress.

From the very beginning, the CPG expressed its solidarity with the Polish communists. It organized hundreds of mass meetings in support of socialist Poland and, together with other democratic leaders, did everything possible to tell the people the truth about the "Polish events." At the same time, the party emphasized that, regardless of differences in views on the situation in Poland, the progressive forces in the country must soberly assess the situation and rebuff the antisocialist hysteria encouraged by imperialism and local reaction. We can say now that this position held by the CPG met with a broad response among the country's working people. The reactionary attempts to create a broad movement in support of the Polish counterrevolutionaries, with the help of various left wingers and "renovators," failed.

The party firmly rejected the "Eurocommunist" concept according to which the Great October Socialist Revolution has allegedly lost its motive power. The communists in our country consider the USSR and the other countries of real socialism the main force in the anti-imperialist struggle. The more powerful the socialist comity becomes the more favorable become the international conditions of the struggle waged by revolutionary and progressive movements in the other countries throughout the world.

That is why the CPG calls upon the Greek working people to take the side of socialist Poland and the entire socialist comity, emphasizing that their support is not only a contribution to peace but, in the final account, a help in their own struggle for national independence, democracy and socialism.

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SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 82 pp 125-128

[Text] Irene Komyat. "Istoriya 'Inprekorra'" [History of the Inprecorr], bulletin of the world communist movement. Progress, Moscow, 1981, 191 pp. Reviewed by I. Lippay and N. Rakovskaya.

"What was 'Inprecorr?'" Today only a few specialists would be able to answer this question," we read in the introduction to this book, which was recently published in Russian by Izdatel'stvo Progress. Not so long ago only a few people were aware of the existence of this bulletin of the world communist movement, possibly because, Russian was not one of the nine languages in which it had been published in its time.

The book by Iren Kom'yat (the accurate Russian spelling of her full name), a former contributor to the bulletin, describes the journal's nearly 20 years of publication (from September 1921 to the beginning of World War II) under exceptionally hard conditions of persecution and clandestinity. As a work of political journalism, which combines strictly accurate historical data with live recollections, the book recreates the situation which prevailed at that time and is extremely interesting.

As we know, the international communist conference, which opened in Moscow's Kremlin on 2 March 1919, continued its proceedings as the Comintern congress as of 4 March. At that time the world communist movement did not have as yet its own printed organs, printing presses and correspondent networks. Meanwhile, the publication of V. I. Lenin's "The Infant Left-Wing Disease of Communism," which came out in 1920, the subsequent Comintern congress resolutions on surmounting left-wing sectarianism in the young communist parties, the united front and winning the majority of working people over on the side of the proletariat, and the slogan "To the Masses," raised at the Third Comintern Congress, persistently demanded the creation of a party press. Therefore, in 1921, on Lenin's suggestion the Comintern Executive Committee decided to organize the publication of a journal in Berlin. The journal's name was INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE, which was abbreviated to "Inprecorr." D'yula Al'pari (the Russian spelling of his full name) became its editor in chief. Lenin had known him since 1910, when Al'pari, who headed the left wing of the social democratic movement in Hungary had been expelled from the party by the reformists. During the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic he was deputy people's commissar of foreign affairs. After its suppression, while

in exile, he actively participated in the recreation of the Hungarian Communist Party. D'yula Al'pari attended all Comintern congresses since 1921.

As the head of "Inprecorr," this educated Marxist and staunch communist found correspondents in the various countries. In 1926 more than 1,000 correspondents were already contributing to the bulletin. The most noted progressive leaders and fighters kept in close touch with the editors -- Marcel Cachin, Jacques Duclos, Maurice Thorez, Jose Diaz and Dolores Ibarruri. The journal published Georgi Dimitrov's articles.

Mikhail Kol'tsov, Ilya Erenburg, Gabrielle Perry, Egon Ervin Kisch, Georges Soriat, Juan Berlioz and Paul Vaillant-Couturier were regular contributors.

The world situation was steadily worsening. Fascism was rearing its head. The danger of a second world war was increasing. "Inprecorr" helped to interpret the events through the quarterly reviews by Eugene Varga, who wrote on the world's economy. The Italian Guiseppe di Victorio usually covered the trade union movement. The journalist Lajos Magyar, who was then in China, described the hardships of the Chinese revolution. In its broad depiction of the face of the enemy, in the section "Characters of a Dying Epoch," the journal presented the political profiles of Rockefeller, Pope Pius XI, Krupp, and Thiessen.

Initially published in German, English and French, "Inprecorr" eventually came out in nine languages. Printed on fine paper, without covers, in a small size, it could pass cross all police and customs barriers. The journal's staff worked under circumstances of constant police persecution, moving from one city to another. The bulletin's main editorial office was established in Paris in 1935.

Bloody battles were being fought against fascism in Spain, followed by the outbreak of World War II. The Hitlerites crossed into France. Some of "Inprecorr's" communist contributors were able to escape detention. Others were sent to an internment camp. Al'pari, who changed addresses in Paris, joined the clandestine French Communist Party while waiting for decisions. However, the Gestapo was on his tracks. He was arrested and sent to Sachsenhausen in 1940. His wife was also arrested and sent to Ravensbruck.

The Hitlerites tortured Al'pari. They promised to set him free if he recanted his convictions publicly. Sick and blind, he wrote a statement declaring his faith in the inevitable victory of communism. The fascist executed him on 17 July 1944. His wife shared his fate....

Thirty years later few among those who knew Al'pari personally were still alive and only Iren Kom'yat survived among his former "Inprecorr" associates. Although a lot has been written about Al'pari, whose name is inscribed on the Column of Heroes in Budapest, and documents on his revolutionary activities have been preserved in the Party Museum, "Inprecorr," his life's work, remained largely unknown.

Iren Kom'yat, deputy chairman of the Union of Hungarian Journalists, member of the editorial board of the journal TARSADALMI SEMLE and author of numerous

books and articles, undertook the writing of this book in 1974. Although 80 years old, she traced "Inprecorr" from Berlin to Prague, Paris and Zurich and located the libraries which had complete sets of the bulletin. Collecting the materials took one year, and the writing of the book 3 more. Now, after its publication in her homeland and its translation into other languages, we would be fully justified in saying that no one but Iren Kom'yat, who had known Al'pari in his youth and had worked with him in editing the bulletin, could have been able to recreate the history of "Inprecorr."

Iren Kom'yat's story is closely documented and written with publicistic passion. Her political views, journalistic skill and personal recollections have enabled her to share with the reader the excitement of the courageous struggle which was waged during those unforgettable years.

In 1981 the Secretariat of the Board of the USSR Union of Journalists awarded Iren Kom'yat the V. V. Vorovskiy Prize for best work in the field of international journalism for her publicistic works on the dissemination of the ideas of peace, socialism and communism, and friendship among the peoples.

Valentin Shteyberg. "Charlz Skott is Latvii" [Charles Scott From Latvia]. Zinatne, Riga, 1981, 314 pp. Reviewed by V. Zakharov.

The real name of the hero of the story is Karl Yanson. He was born to the Yanson family in Kurzema, in western Latvia, on 12 January 1882.

First as a ship's boy and then as a seaman, Karl worked on sailing vessels, which tempered him physically and later proved to be quite useful in his hard life. He graduated from the Libava navigation school in 1904. He joined the Latvian social democratic party the same year and engaged in smuggling clandestine Marxist literature, proclamations and weapons from Western European European ports. It was thus that the first officer became not only a professional seaman but a professional revolutionary as well.

The path of struggle he had chosen for himself forced him not only to leave the homeland but to change his real name for a long period of time. We know of 25 illegal names, nicknames and pseudonyms of his, such as Kazhis, Seaman, Captain, Avenida, Kleyer, K. Rosenthal, Ch. Johnson, Charley, Charles Scott, Charley Chan, K. Yamadzaki, Karl Stein, etc. The sadness and suffering of the people he met abroad sharpened his perception of reality, strengthened his feeling of sharing the objectives of the working class and all oppressed people and helped him to make loyal friends and gain associates in the joint struggle in many different countries and continents.

As Ch. Johnson he took an active part in the socialist movement in the United States, becoming John Reed's brother-in-arms and, after some left-wing socialists announced the creation of the American Communist Party at their Chicago congress in 1919, as member of its central executive committee. When the ACP and the American Communist Labor Party merged into the UACP, Ch. Johnson was elected member of the United American Communist Party Central Executive Committee and appointed delegate to the Second Comintern Congress. Not much time remained before the congress, which was being held thousands of

miles away, for which reason he missed it by two weeks. In Moscow Karl Yanson took the name of Charles Scott, and several days later he left for the First Congress of the Peoples of the Orient, which was to take place in Baku, as member of the Comintern Executive Committee delegation.

A constituent congress was held in Guelph, Ontario on 1 June 1921, at which the Communist Party of Canada was founded and a decision was passed to join the Comintern with the status of section. At the beginning of September of that year, Charles Scott brought to the Canadian communists the Comintern's positive answer. He remained at work in Canada to help organize a mass legal party. In a letter to the book's author William Kashtan, secretary general of the Communist Party of Canada, refers gratefully to Charles Scott as an "outstanding personality, a Marxist revolutionary and a true internationalist" who "did a great deal to bring clarity into the minds of the men and women workers who deemed the creation of the communist party necessary. He played a truly active role in the party's organizational period."

In June and July 1923, again under the name of Ch. Johnson, he spoke at the meeting of the Trade Union International Executive Committee and the expanded plenum of the Comintern Executive Committee. He was elected secretary general of the Trade Union International and later representative of the U. S. and Canadian Communist Parties to the journal RED INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNIONS, the organ of the Trade Union International.

Ch. Johnson, secretary general of the Trade Union International, was a guard of honor at V. I. Lenin's casket on Red Square at noon on 27 January 1924...

Karl Yanson joined the Russian Communist Party (bolsheviks) in 1924, but his party seniority went back to 1904. In 1925 he was a member of the USSR political mission to Japan, which he left to attend the 7th Expanded Plenum of the Comintern Executive Committee in Moscow, where he participated in the anti-Trotskyite struggle and helped the delegation of the Communist Party of Canada to take a firm stand and then to have it adopted by the entire party. He also worked on the materials of the Japanese Trade Union International commission, which was working together with a similar Comintern commission, discussed at length with Sen Katayama the situation of the Japanese trade union movement and completed the Trade Union International theses on the Japanese question based on the Comintern Executive Committee resolution.

After the counterrevolutionary Chiang Kai-shek coup in China, Charles Scott worked for the Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (TOS) in Shanghai, which was actually operating as a clandestine organization, organized aid to the Chinese revolutionary trade unions and was in touch with the communists. As TOS secretary general he visited India and held secret meetings with Calcutta and Bombay trade union activists.

The danger of war increased rapidly starting with the 1930s. The Trade Union International tried to rally the efforts of all those who were aware of it and to combine the workers class actions against capitalism with the struggle against fascism and for the defense of democracy. Karl Stein left for Western Europe to help in the intensification of the struggle against the threat of war at the end of February 1932...

It is hardly necessary to list everything bolshevik Karl Yanson was able to accomplish and the trials out which he invariably came out with honor, since all of this is beautifully described in this book, which makes us feel proud of the fiery fighters for the great communist cause and which also makes us think of how much remains to be done if no single hero of the revolutionary struggle is to be forgotten, for these heroes are with us for as long as they continue to live in our memories, hearts and actions.

"Charles Scott from Latvia" was a loyal soldier of the revolution to which he dedicated his entire life. Thanks to many years of creative research by author V. A. Shteyberg, member of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, the reader now has the opportunity to become familiar with the dedicated activities of Karl Ernestovich Yanson, a professional revolutionary-internationalist, a personality as real as legendary like his own time.

E. Korbash. "Teoriya i Praktika Ekonomicheskogo Stroitel'stva v KNR" [The Theory and Practice of Economic Construction in the PRC]. Nauka, Moscow, 1981, 279 pp. Reviewed by Candidate of Economic Sciences I. Korkunov, head of sector at the USSR Academy of Sciences Far East Institute.

The monograph is a study of the economic policy of the Chinese leadership during the 30-year existence of the PRC. The profound and comprehensive study of its nature and results is important not only in order to understand the complex and contradictory Chinese reality and to clarify the reasons for and logic of PRC behavior in the international arena, but is also of great importance in assessing that country's future socioeconomic development.

The author covers a broad range of problems. What was the nature of the "proper path" in building the new society based, according to the Chinese leadership, on "China's specific circumstances rather than bookish formulas," as a result of the "combination of the universal Marxist-Leninist truth with the specific practices of the revolution in China?" To what extent did it combine the general laws of the building of socialism with the specific circumstances of China's realities? Finally, what were the means and methods used by China's leadership in building the new society and what were their practical consequences? The various chapters in the work provide argued answers to these and other questions.

The structure of the book, which could be divided into three parts, is based on these problems. The first part (chapter 1) traces the evolution in PRC views during the socialist construction stage. The second part (chapter 2) analyses the approach of the Chinese leadership to the formulation of objectives. The third part (chapters 3-6) describes the means chosen by the PRC to achieve them. The idea of the existence of specific general laws governing the building of socialism, without which it cannot exist, runs throughout the book. The author reminds us that as early as 1918, in discussing the ways of transition to socialism, V. I. Lenin emphasized that the "specific" conditions and forms of this transition inevitably are and must be varied, depending on the circumstances in which the movement aimed at the establishment of socialism begins... The greater the variety -- naturally providing that it does not become an act -- the more accurately and quickly we shall be

able to achieve democratic centralism and to develop a socialist economy" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 152).

The unquestionable theoretical value of the study is that it proves convincingly that in the first years after the founding of the PRC the country's planned economic development was made possible by obeying the general laws of the building of socialism and by using the experience of the members of the socialist comity. The harm which the voluntaristic "act," which was put on in economic policy, caused the country's national economy is confirmed just as convincingly.

The author points out that despite its condemnation of some voluntaristic methods of economic management the Chinese leadership continues to hinder the practical elimination of the country's economic backwardness with its claims to global hegemony. Economic construction in the PRC is also hindered by objective hardships and no solution which ignores them could be successful. However, the extent to which any such solution could be consistent with the true interests of the working people greatly depends not only on the accurate understanding of objective laws and the proper identification of the motive forces of progress but the ability to eliminate the subjectivistic hindrances which turn into substantial material and spiritual losses to the Chinese people (see pp 259-260).

The author's conclusions are substantiated by the use and analysis of a large number of official and prime documents, many of which have never been used before.

E. Korbash monograph, which exposes the scientific groundlessness and practical harm of subjectivistic pragmatic concepts in the development of the Chinese economy, is a useful contribution to the struggle against the misrepresentation of the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

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