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EDITORIAL--GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT OF CONTEMPORARY MARXIST-LENINIST THOUGHT.  
ARTICLE 2

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[Text] What are the prospects for the further historical development of socialism? What kind of socioeconomic aspect, position and influence will it have in the world in the approaching end of the second millennium? These are focal problems of our crucial time, convincingly answered by the 27th CPSU Congress, which thus makes a new creative contribution of the party's collective mind to Marxist-Leninist theory, which is the greatest achievement of Marxist-Leninist thinking. The importance of this contribution is determined by the fact that both current and long-term problems of development of socialism are not only of domestic, but of tremendous international significance. Today they excite the minds and hearts of the overwhelming majority of people on earth, who justifiably see in socialism the yeast of the world's revolutionary process, the main guarantor of international security and the flag bearer and booster of mankind's social progress. Problems of the development of socialism on the threshold of the 21st century are also drawing the attention of our class foe and are increasingly becoming the topic of a variety of pseudoscientific forecasting-futurological studies in contemporary bourgeois sociology which is trying to make capitalism part of the third millennium and is calling for a global development of the scientific and technical revolution, which would thus lead to the "erosion" and "disappearance" of the basic differences between the two socioeconomic systems and their diametrical and opposite historical confrontation.

The answer which the 27th CPSU Congress gave to these questions became the most important starting point in the elaboration of comprehensive theoretical substantiations for a strategic program for practical action, organically combining innovation with continuity, the greatness of objectives with the realism of possibilities, and the plans of society with the expectations of the individual.

The political report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, presented by M.S. Gorbachev, the new edition of the CPSU program, the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000, the report submitted by N.I. Ryzhkov on this topic and other congress documents are models of truly scientific

substantiation of actions and predictions of paths of social development. Forecasting is an inseparable function of Marxist-Leninist social science, the purpose of which is not only to interpret the world but to become a most powerful factor in the revolutionary transformation of reality.

The Marxist-Leninist methodology in predicting the future is based on the fact that theory sums up not only practical but historical experience and historical social practice. History cannot be reduced at all to a set of empirical facts removed from their causal determination by previous objective trends of social progress. This precisely is the line separating scientific from unscientific and utopian predictions. In the latter case, a prediction is a purely arbitrary and speculative assumption; in the former it is based on the knowledge of the objective laws of social development.

Applied to a specific historical situation, such knowledge, focused within dialectical materialism and its general sociological refraction--historical materialism (which, in its entirety, constitutes the content of overall Marxist-Leninist theory)--illuminates the real picture of the future. That is precisely what V.I. Lenin particularly emphasized, pointing out that Marx's entire theory "is the application of the theory of development, in its most systematic, complete, thought-out form, rich in content, to contemporary capitalism. Naturally, in the case of Marx it was a question of applying this theory to the forthcoming collapse of capitalism and the future development of communism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 33, p 84). The main result of this application was the discovery and description of the two phases, the two levels of maturity of the single communist system: socialism and full communism.

Directing the course of development of real socialist society toward a communist future and achieving the final objective--communism--represents the continuity of the basic theoretical and political concepts formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress. "The party," the new edition of the CPSU program emphasizes, "continuingly correlates with the communist future its policy, economic and social strategy and organizational and ideological work." Such correlation with the parameters of the higher phase of communism, its material and technical foundations and social relations, characterized in the program, is the starting point and first stage in the scientific forecasting provided by the Party Congress of the landmark which will be reached by real socialism at the end of the second millennium.

The second and more specific stage of this forecasting is related to the essential enrichment of the party's theoretical stipulations. They include, above all, the basic significance of the idea of socialism as a dynamically developing integral organism, which presumes qualitative changes in all realms of society and the crossing of a number of consecutive stages of maturity in the process of growing into communism.

The most important result of the innovative theoretical development of these methodological ideas is the comprehensive development by the 27th Party Congress of the concept formulated at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum of accelerating socioeconomic development and, on this basis, achieving a qualitatively new status within society, under conditions in which, as M.S.

Gorbachev emphasized, "The advantages of the socialist system will be revealed most fully and the problems inherited from previous stages will be solved." The party's clear and substantiated definition of the basic features of this new qualitative status of socialist society, free from unnecessary details, formulated in a state of organic unity with the features of the acceleration itself, its prerequisites, factors and components, is precisely a true scientific forecasting of the socioeconomic aspect of socialism by the turn of the 21st century.

#### New Qualitative Status of Society Through Acceleration of Socioeconomic Progress

The political report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress identified with extreme clarity the reasons on the basis of which the party formulated the concept and strategy of acceleration and the substance of an essentially new approach to crucial problems, as well as the pace of their solution under contemporary conditions and until the year 2000 and beyond it.

Whereas the theses of developed socialism appeared as a reaction to the erroneous concept of shifting the tasks of developed building of communism to the level of immediate practical actions, and whereas these theses became widespread in our country as a reaction to simplistic concepts of the means and time span needed for solving the problems of attaining the higher phase of communism, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized, subsequently the emphasis in the interpretation of developed socialism gradually changed. Frequently, matters were reduced merely to noting successes, while many vital problems related to shifting the economy to the track of intensification, growth of labor productivity, improving population food supplies, and surmounting negative phenomena were left unattended. Individual authors, who ignored the dialectics of our development, interpreted developed socialism as being comprehensively developed. This was inconsistent with reality and willy-nilly was used as a way of justifying sluggishness in solving crucial problems, stagnation and reduced growth rates.

What made the unacceptability of this approach even more obvious was that the party's conclusions about the complexity and historical scale of the problems of the socialist phase in the development of communism which are being solved by our society, and about its relative extent, were at times falsely interpreted in sociological literature as being separate from the entire course of the advancement of real socialism toward a communist future. This was manifested, among others, in efforts to ignore or openly deny the general communist principles of socialism, concealed behind appeals for "sobriety and realism," and various variations in "substantiating the postponement of building communism to an indefinite future and the reanimation of the concept of socialism as a separate system, distinct from communism, which was straightforwardly qualified as erroneous at the October 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. "We are firmly following a course toward communism," M.S. Gorbachev said, in describing at the plenum the new edition of the CPSU program, "based on the fact that no sharp demarcation exists or could exist between the two stages of the single communist system. One cannot, bypassing socialism, directly shift to the higher communist phase; it is equally erroneous to present socialism as an autonomous system. The growth of



socialism into communism is determined by the objective laws of social development. Any attempt at anticipation and the introduction of communist principles regardless of the level of material and spiritual maturity of society, as experience indicates, is doomed to fail. Equally inadmissible, however, is slowness in making the changes whose time has come, and in solving new problems."

The objective conditions which developed urgently called for directing theoretical and political thinking not toward noting achievements but on substantiating ways and means of accelerating socioeconomic progress, related to qualitative changes in various realms of life, criticizing sluggishness in resolving crucial problems, mobilizing our entire forces, and showing party concern, creative restlessness and the aspiration to go forward. The concept of acceleration is based on nearly 70 years of experience in building and strengthening real socialism, on the summation of its unparalleled historical gains and the objective and scrupulous analysis of the difficulties which appeared at the beginning of the 1980s and of the entire set of adverse trends which were noted in the economy and the sociospiritual area.

Furthermore, the concept of acceleration is not the exclusively a reaction to such phenomena or something circumstantial and transitional. Acceleration is an objective feature of socialist society which, as M.S. Gorbachev noted in his answers to the journal REVOLUTION AFRIQUAINE, "can by its very nature engage in steady renovation and perfection." This situation directly corresponds to Engels' thesis to the effect that the socialist revolution creates a "process of development of the masses under conditions which contribute to its acceleration" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 36, p 49). It is also consistent with Lenin's views of socialism. He wrote that "No one among us would believe in the fantastic speed of any change; however, we believe in true speed, compared to the speed achieved at any other time in history; we believe in such a speed if the movement is guided by a truly revolutionary party; we believe in it and we shall achieve such a speed at all cost" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, p 247).

Acceleration, as the Central Committee political report to the congress emphasized, is the key to all our problems, both immediate and long-range, economic, social, political, ideological, internal and external. The main thing which must ensure its success is the live creativity of the toiling masses and the fuller and more consistent utilization of the tremendous potential of socialism, compared with the past. "A great deal now and, essentially, everything," M.S. Gorbachev said at the congress, "will depend on the extent to which we are actually able to make use of the advantages and opportunities of the socialist system, its economic power and social potential, update obsolete social forms and work styles and methods, and make them consistent with changed circumstances. Only thus shall we be able to multiply the power of our country, to raise to a new level the material and spiritual life of the Soviet people and to increase the constructive influence of socialism, as a social system, on world progress."

This concept is basic in resolving the main problems of our progress. It is a question not merely of upgrading economic growth or the growth rates of the national economy as a whole, although, naturally, such is, above all, the

purpose. The question is raised in much broader terms: it is one of an essentially new quality of growth, of new approaches to our development. The essence of acceleration, as the congress emphasized, is the all-round intensification of production on the basis of scientific and technical progress, the structural reorganization of the economy and finding efficient forms of labor management, organization, and incentive, based on objective production relations and on implementing the objective economic laws of socialism.

Furthermore, it is a question not only of the economy but also of society as a whole in all its areas in their dialectical correlation and interaction. "The course of acceleration is not reduced to changes in the economic area," the congress noted. "It stipulates pursuit of an active social policy, the systematic assertion of the principle of social justice. The strategy of acceleration presumes the advancement of social relations, the renovation of the ways and means of work of political and ideological institutions, the intensification of socialist democracy and the decisive surmounting of inertia, stagnation and conservatism--all that hinders social progress."

In enriching the description of the objective orientation of our development toward a communist future, the 27th CPSU Congress proceeds from the fact that "there is no sharp borderline dividing socialism from communism: the development of socialism, the increasing identification and utilization of its possibilities and advantages, and the strengthening of its inherent general communist principles indeed represent the true progress of society toward communism." The general communist principles within the system of socialist social relations, specifically analyzed in the congress' documents, such as the ownership of means of production by the whole nation and the planned economic management system, the aiming of the latter toward achieving total well-being and the free all-round development of all members of the association of the whole people, full and efficient employment, collectivism, self-management, universal socioeconomic equality and many others are what determine the role of socialism as a phase, as a historical stage in the communist production method. It is precisely these principles that are the basic advantages of socialism, which is a level of human progress superior to capitalism.

In the economic area, the new qualitative status of the socialist society means the enhancement of the national economy to an essentially new scientific and technical and organizational-economic standard, its conversion to the track of intensive development, achieving the highest world level in social labor productivity, production quality and production efficiency, ensuring the optimal structure and balancing the unified national economic complex of the country, significantly upgrading the level of labor and production socialization, and the convergence of kolkhoz-cooperative ownership with ownership by the whole people, leading to their future blending.

In the social area, this means ensuring a qualitatively new standard of people's well-being with the systematic implementation of the socialist principle of distribution according to labor; the creation of an essentially classless social structure and the elimination of major socioeconomic and cultural disparities between town and country; the increasingly organic

combination of physical with mental labor in production activities; the further unification of the Soviet people as a social and international community; and high-level mass creative energy and initiative.

In the political area, this means developing the people's socialist self-management through the increasing involvement by the citizens in the administration of governmental and social affairs, perfecting the electoral system, improving the activities of elective bodies of the people's system, enhancing the role of trade unions, the Komsomol and the other mass organizations of working people, and efficiently using all forms of representative and direct democracy.

In the area of spiritual life this means the further strengthening of socialist ideology in the minds of the Soviet people; total assertion of the moral principles of socialism and spirit of collectivism and comradely mutual aid; exposing the broad population masses to the achievements of science and to cultural values; and molding a comprehensively developed person.

In its integral complex, all of this, developed on the basis of previous accomplishments and in a state of continuity with them, outlines the features of socialism at the end of the millennium, a socialism which is steadily improving as it converts into communism.

#### Party Economic Strategy and New Problems of the Theory of Political Economy

Strictly in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the strategy of acceleration stems from the decisive role of economics in the advancement of our society toward a new qualitative condition. The latter, the congress materials emphasize, presumes above all the all-round development of production forces and mature socialist relations, and an organized economic mechanism. This projection of the qualitative status of said three areas of economic life of socialist society, organically combined with the characterization with the ways and means of progress, developed in the Central Committee political report and the new edition of the CPSU program, is the foundation of the economic strategy formulated by the party.

The specifics and basic novelty of this characteristic lie in its specific political-economic coloring: the development not only of the economic mechanism but also of production forces is considered in the congress documents not as something separate, taking place by itself. Production forces and their trends are analyzed through the lens of the objective needs of the dynamics of socialist production relations, from the viewpoint consistent with the socioeconomic "requirements" of equipment, technology and production organization. It is precisely within the context of the creation of a firm material foundation for substantially upgrading the maturity of socialist production relations and resolving the strategic socioeconomic problems that the programmatic stipulation is formulated: that of the radical, the revolutionary reorganization of all elements of existing production forces.

It is precisely within this political and economic context that the party defined the radical trends and components of revolutionary changes in the

technological aspect of our production process. The sharp acceleration of scientific and technical progress, as the main lever for comprehensive intensification, the new reconstruction of the national economy on the basis of the renovation of assets and introduction of a set of advanced basic technologies, the substantial structural reorganization of our public production and the optimizing of its deployment, the enhanced level of labor socialization, reaching and exceeding worldwide parameters of efficiency and quality, are all, in the dry language of political economy, material facilities for intensifying the effect of the basic law of socialism, and mandatory conditions for the enrichment of its content. This enrichment is achieved both by raising the well-being of the Soviet people to a qualitatively new level, which presumes rational standards and a rational individual consumption structure, as well as through the increasing transformation of labor in public production into the main human activity, into a direct manifestation and growth of a variety of physical and spiritual forces and capabilities of the workers, and into the prime vital need of every member of society. It is precisely this process in the dynamics of the content of said law that lays an objective socioeconomic foundation to the humanistic vector in the development of the material and technical base, as stipulated by the party.

The revolutionary changes in production forces earmarked by the 27th Party Congress are not only a vital need but a real possibility at the present stage in the development of socialism. This possibility, once again, is based on socialist production relations, our planning system and its corresponding methods of nationwide economic management, an economic management on the scale of the entire society, in the name of society and for society. It is precisely such methods that enable us to ensure the priority of the social objectives of economic development (including the development of equipment and technology), to concentrate available resources along advanced trends of scientific and technical progress, ensure comprehensive planning and pursue a unified technical policy.

Therefore, considering socialist production relations and their foundations, based on ownership by the whole people, as basic, collectivistic and general-communist in nature (above all planned production management and its aim of ensuring the all-round development of one and all) and as an active and effective social form of dynamics of production forces, the congress documents thereby creatively enrich the formula of combining the latest stage in the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism, raising to a new level of political and economic analysis the dialectics of production forces and production relations. The new edition of the CPSU program emphasizes as necessary prerequisites "the steady advancement of production relations, maintaining their stable correlation with dynamically developing production forces, and the prompt identification and resolution of known antagonistic contradictions arising between them."

This concept, which enriches the theory of contradictions as the motive force of development of socialist society, directs political economy towards decisively surmounting dogmatic views, which have proved their theoretical and practical groundlessness under contemporary conditions. Some theoreticians, who analyze production relations as separate from the real condition of

production forces, occasionally offer a speculative image of such relations as inflexible and remote from reality. This approach has its opposite side in the concept according to which the consistency between production relations and production forces is ensured on an almost automatic basis. The reason for which this view is unacceptable is that in this case the problem of perfecting production relations is actually ignored.

Naturally, the system of socialist production relations and the system of relations which historically and logically operates during the first form of the communist system (i.e., relations based on a single ownership by the whole people, which is uniform under the communist production method, and other general communist bases which make it possible), provides scope for the development of production forces and of their social nature. However, this is possible only with a steady, systematic and purposeful work aimed at perfecting the entire socialist economic system. It is particularly important to take this into consideration during periods of profound qualitative changes in the development of the national economy.

In applying the key methodological concept to the specific economic situation which prevailed at the turn of the 1980s, the party drew the basic conclusion that the slowdown during that period of economic growth was due to a decisive extent to the fact that the need for changing some aspects of production relations was not detected and acted upon in time.

This is, above all, a question of the surface "strata," of the forms of manifestation of said relations, which are the most important aspect of the content of the economic management system. The existing forms and the current economic mechanism, which were essentially shaped under the conditions of extensive economic development, are obsolete and have begun not only to lose their stimulating role but, as the new edition of the program emphasizes, to hinder the increasing utilization of the possibilities and advantages of the socialist system and to restrain progress. That is why the party today particularly sets to economic theory and economic practice the task of changing the trend of the economic mechanism, eliminate its cost-oriented nature and aim it at upgrading quality and efficiency and accelerating scientific and technical progress. The CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress stipulates that this is "the main feature which will actually mark the further advancement of socialist production relations and provide new scope for the development of production forces."

This is the first time that the Central Committee political report and the new edition of the program provide such an expanded characterization of the structural elements of the system of socialist production relations and the general trends aimed at its improvement. These trends are related, above all, to improving the forms of economic realization of socialist ownership by the whole people and its advantages and opportunities: as the level of the planned organization of all public production is enhanced on the strong material base of its increased socialization, and with the increasingly organic combination, on this basis, of the direct producer with production needs and with the strength and objective channeling of public production toward ensuring the total well-being and free and all-round development of all members of society. However, said relations, which are the basic foundations

of the socialist system of production relations, do not account for the entire economic content of ownership. The Central Committee political report to the congress formulates the basic stipulation that socialist ownership "has a rich content and includes a comprehensive system of relations among people, collectives, sectors and regions in the use of production means and results and an entire range of economic interests." This thesis, which is entirely consistent with the classical methodological concepts of Marxist political economy, to the effect that the development of the specific historical form of ownership presumes a "critical analysis" of the sum total of production relations within which it is economically implemented (see K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 4, p 318; vol 16, p 26), is of exceptional theoretical and practical importance.

It is a question, above all, of the profound scientific interpretation of the entire dynamics of this set of relations and interests and, on this basis, taking steps to develop a truly proprietary attitude on the part of labor collectives and individual workers toward socialist property, and of the further intensification of socialist economic self-management. It is also a matter of the unquestionable priority of national over sectorial and regional interests and of a new approach to the convergence and future merger between national and cooperative ownership, aimed against scholasticism and simplification. This is an approach which demands an expanded study of the unity and differences among all production relations which determine the functioning of state and kolkhoz-cooperative enterprises. It is only such an analysis that can provide a specific answer to the question of the reserves and possibilities of the kolkhoz-cooperative economic sector, which have by no means always been accurately interpreted in political-economic publications.

The description of distribution relations, which are the specific features of the first phase of communism and which have a tremendous impact on the growth of collective and individual interest in the development of public production, has been enriched in the new edition of the program and the other congress documents with a study of the problem of social justice. The most important task of political science in this context is to identify the close ties between the economic content of the criteria of justice and the effect of the specific socialist law of distribution according to labor with its general communist foundations and prerequisites, such as ownership by the whole people, planning, universality of labor, etc.

Commodity-monetary relations which, the congress documents emphasize, must be used more fully with a view to upgrading production efficiency and perfecting distribution, trade and consumption, are directly related to the problem of social justice. "...The healthy functioning of commodity-monetary relations on a socialist basis," M.S. Gorbachev pointed out, "can develop the type of situation and economic management conditions under which its results will be fully based on the work quality of the collective and the skill and initiative of managers." That is why the congress condemned scholastic and sterile debates, which had gone on for years and decades, on problems of commodity-monetary relations under socialism, and the enduring prejudices and biases, and the underestimating of the effect of the law of value within the system of the other economic laws of socialism.

The study of the new content of commodity-monetary relations under socialism; the socioeconomic characteristics of their subjects (i.e., the commodity producers), such as state and cooperative enterprises and individual members of society engaged in private labor activities; the objective limits of the extent and depth of the regulatory effect of said relations and of the law of value in the national economy; the creative utilization of the Leninist ideas of tax in kind, as applicable under contemporary conditions, and many other related problems is not self-seeking but a means of the formulation of reliable recommendations for the practical development of forms for the application of value categories and levers, which is an essentially important trend in converting economic theory into a reliable base for the planned radical reform of the economic mechanism, is an essentially important trend demanded by the 27th CPSU Congress.

The purpose of this reform is to develop a system of economic management, flexible and varied means and methods of management reflecting the current specific condition of subjective systems of economic relations and laws, and the real subordination and development trends of its component structural groups. Only in such a case will the economic mechanism be consistent with changing conditions of economic development and with the nature of problems to be resolved, and ensure the radical acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the energizing of the human factor. The program emphasizes that improvements in management must be based on the more profound and comprehensive utilization of the advantages and possibilities of the socialist planned system of economic management and all economic laws. This programmatic stipulation has two consequences of utmost importance to theory and practice.

First, it calls for the comprehensive strengthening of centralized national economic planning. Stemming from the basic economic law of socialism, which governs ownership by the whole people--the law of planned development of all public production--such planning acts as the determining link within the economic mechanism and the main lever for the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development, all-round intensification, ensuring the overall balancing of the economy and the priority status of national interests. As was said at the 27th CPSU Congress, the main line of our activities "is, while relying on the fundamental principles of democratic centralism, to strengthen and perfect centralized planned management of the economy--the great achievement and radical advantage of socialism. In this matter as well, it is obvious that we have "not justified" and will never justify the hopes of bourgeois ideologues for a retreat on our part from this fundamental principle." The party's view is extremely clear: planned changes in the economy will take place within the framework of scientific socialism, without any deviations toward "market socialism," anarcho-syndicalism and private enterprise, as our opponents hope.

The second is the objective need to study and to comprehensively take into consideration and utilize in planned management the set of distribution and commodity-monetary relations and the laws governing them. That is why in addition to strengthening the centralized principle, the party has clearly charted a course toward drastically upgrading the significance of the basic production unit--associations and enterprises--and broadening the boundaries

of their autonomy and increasing their responsibility for end results, a course of comprehensive utilization of true cost accounting and of primarily economic management methods, and upgrading the role of labor collectives in planning and making economic decisions.

Undertaking the daring and immediate solution of these and other specific problems of reorganization of the economic mechanism brought forth by the 27th CPSU Congress (including problems of the optimal correlation among territorial, sectorial and target-program planning, perfecting the organizational structure of management on the basis of democratic centralism, and improving planned price setting), is the main task of socialist political economy and the main trend leading to its conversion into a firm scientific foundation for the successful implementation of the party's economic strategy.

Having stipulated in the Central Committee political report and the new edition of the program the levels to be reached in the qualitative status of the Soviet socialist society, which will be attained on the basis of substantial acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development, the 27th CPSU Congress translated our strategic objectives and means for attaining them into the language of specific planned assignments. This was embodied in the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000, which were adopted by the congress. The prospects of socialism are thus formulated on realistic practical grounds. Consequently, this is no longer a simple theoretical prediction and scientific forecasting of the future but also planning for it.

It is thus that we have come closer to the year 2000, making the plans a topical matter for the present generation, plans which, in Marx's words, "must be implemented today." The Basic Directions precisely formulate the tasks of the present, which are aimed at the future. Above all, in the next 15 years we shall resolve problems of material well-being and spiritual development of the people, which are of particular importance to all members of society.

During the 12th 5-Year Plan, the successful implementation of the USSR Food Program will enable us to increase the consumption of basic food products. The systematic implementation of this plan will help us reach rational nutrition norms for the entire population of the country over the next 15 years. A task of tremendous social significance must be completed by the year 2000: provide virtually every single Soviet family with private housing, an apartment or a house. Within the same period we plan to ensure the full satisfaction of increasing demand by a solvent population for high quality of various commodities and services.

Let us emphasize that the upsurge in the material well-being of the people in the next 15 years (during which real per capita income will increase by a factor of 1.6-1.8) will affect every single Soviet person, on the basis of the systematic assertion of the principle of social justice. The social consumption funds, the amount of which will approximately double in the next 15 years, will have an effective influence on the practical implementation of this principle.



Changes in the labor area will be of prime significance. Within that period the share of manual labor will be reduced by one-half and more than 20 million people will be freed from unskilled work, making their labor activeness intellectually meaningful, interesting and creative, and able to develop their physical and mental capabilities.

The substantial enhancement of economic growth rates is a necessary prerequisite for the implementation of social assignments. Hence the growing dynamics of the growth rates of national income by 5-year periods, from 3.1-5 percent, which will increase its output by a total of 12 trillion rubles in 15 years. The growth rates, scale and quality of output will be achieved on the basis of comprehensive production intensification. The principal means here is scientific and technical progress, which must lead to an increase in labor productivity by a factor of 2.3-2.5 (which will become a major landmark on the way to higher productivity) and systematic reduction of power- and material-intensiveness.

In clarifying the closest possible link of continuity of the basic documents of the 27th Congress and drawing attention to the fact that the new edition of the CPSU program is consistent with the Leninist requirements of maximal realism in the depiction of the future and in the formulation of assignments, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that establishing chronological deadlines for achieving programmed levels is unjustified. "The errors of the past," the CPSU Central Committee general secretary noted, "are a lesson to us. All that we can clearly say today is that the implementation of this program will take longer than this century.

"The problems which must be solved over the next 15 years can be defined more concretely and are presented in the new edition of the program and, in greater detail, in the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the Country Until the Year 2000. Naturally, the 12th 5-Year Plan will assume an important place in the implementation of programmatic objectives. It will be a major step in shifting the national economy to the track of intensive development on the basis of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress."

In more specific terms, the main task of the 12th 5-Year Plan was defined at the congress as follows: upgrading the pace and efficiency of economic development on the basis of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, technical retooling and reconstruction of production facilities, intensive utilization of the developed production potential, perfecting the system of management of the economic mechanism and, on this basis, achieving a further upsurge in the well-being of the Soviet people. The 12th 5-Year Plan must become a turning point in all respects: from the viewpoint of growth rates, efficiency and organization of planned implementation. It is precisely this 5-year plan, which has energetically entered our lives through the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress and their initiated implementation, that is called upon to enhance the Soviet economy to a higher track--the track of acceleration.

Naturally, this already applies to the practical aspect of the matter. However, it also contains important theoretical aspects, the interpretation of

which is a most important task. It is a question, above all, of the principle of unity between theory and practice and between words and actions. Marx's statement to the effect that "Each step in actual motion is more important than a dozen programs" has become an aphorism (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 19, p 12), and so is Lenin's view according to which "practice stands above (theoretical) knowledge..." (op. cit., vol 29, p 195). This traditionally Marxist-Leninist approach has become drastically updated today, when the general congress stipulations must be specifically refracted into a radical improvement in the activities of each enterprise, shop, sector, brigade and work place. It is precisely in this, in actions, that the real rather than formal nature of all participants in our production process, from the worker to the minister, must be manifested.

Many accurate theories on crucial problems of the country's economic development had been suggested in the past as well, and a number of them had been adopted. Unfortunately, the good economic decisions based on them were not systematically put to practical use. The implementation of theoretical concepts, combined by the 27th Congress in an overall acceleration concept, and not drawn live work in words but fight, literally fight for the implementation of each line of the adopted decisions is the party's main requirement which we must implement. We simply have no other way or choice.

#### Strengthening Cooperation

The party closely links the solution of internal problems in accelerating the development of socialism on the threshold of the 21st century with the dynamism of the economic and political development of the global socialist system as a whole. The 27th CPSU Congress theoretically analyzed the trends of this development and identified the tremendous potential of socialism in resolving the most difficult problems of the progress of civilization.

More than one-third of mankind, many countries and nations, are following the path of socialism and building a communist civilization. They started from different positions and under different conditions. In some cases, their advance was not smooth or simple and errors were not avoided. Despite the variety in this new world, as Marx had predicted, and the infinite variations and gradations of specific manifestations of the same foundation, as noted by the 27th CPSU Congress, there have been, there are and there will be guiding landmarks of permanent significance in this area: the common laws of socialism.

Today as well, at a crucial time for the socialist world, when the fraternal countries are pressed by history to use the basic advantages of the new, the collectivistic social system more completely and on a higher qualitative level, the further increased knowledge of such laws and features of their manifestation under specific conditions is a prerequisite for the correct solution of arising problems and surmounting difficulties, and a base for confident progress toward the 21st century.

The uniformity of socioeconomic and political systems and unity of outlook, class solidarity and commonality of objectives predetermine the essential unanimity of the answer provided by the socialist countries to the challenge

of our time: taking a sharp turn toward intensification of public production and the acceleration of scientific and technical, economic and social progress.

The most recent congresses of the ruling parties in the fraternal countries provided a clear picture of this unity, despite the variety in its specific manifestations. The congresses which the BCP, SED and CPCZ held after the 27th CPSU Congress reflected in their resolutions the requirements of the present sharp historical turn; they comprehensively analyzed and indicated ways of solving urgent and acute problems of development of the socialist society and defined the trends of radical changes in its economy, politics, culture, management and all other areas of life.

These congresses emphasized that the key problem of our time is the acceleration of socioeconomic development on the basis of scientific and technical progress. In drafting the time tables for solving this problem, the fraternal parties noted the exceptional importance of reciprocal rich and fruitful relations, the powerful potential of collective thinking and possibilities of cooperation and interaction.

The organic interconnection between national and international development factors is visibly manifested in the international division of labor and socialist economic integration. The supertask of the present stage in economic cooperation was collectively defined by the leaderships of the fraternal parties and states. This includes scientific and technical progress and production cooperation (in machine building above all). The systematic combination of efforts along key directions in production intensification making a revolutionary leap in this area and reaching the highest standards in the world are the targets of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress of CEMA Countries Until the Year 2000. In responding to the challenge of the time--the technological upturn experienced by the world--this collective program leads to a new qualitative interaction among fraternal countries. They must convert their scientific and technical cooperation into technological integration and advance on the basis of a coordinated or unified scientific and technical policy. This innovative approach was theoretically substantiated in the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress.

By harnessing its basic advantages, socialism can solve even the most difficult problems, including those in areas the accelerated development of which is a determining factor in the intensification of the entire economy and in making the greatest possible progress along the entire front of scientific and technical advance, and in entering the new technological era of the 21st century.

The solution of the basic problems formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress and at the regular congresses of fraternal parties is closely related to the further advancement of the mechanism itself of cooperation among socialist countries. The need for acceleration is clearly felt in this area as well. Our party believes that energy, practicality and initiative must be extended also to the entire system of relations among fraternal countries. That is why we must engage in daring experimentation and eliminate bureaucratic and departmental

barriers, obsolete mental stereotypes and the underestimating shown by some economic managers of the importance and efficiency of cooperation.

More efficient, daring and flexible methods are needed today in all areas of interaction. The old customary methods, which were established during the period of extensive development, can no longer ensure a dynamic growth of cooperation. In his address to the 11th SED Congress, M.S. Gorbachev said: "I believe that all of us feel that the socialist countries are today entering a period in which cooperation among them must be raised to a higher level. This applies not to one or two areas but, as the mathematicians say, to the entire series."

Essentially, it is a question of a new economic mechanism. As we develop it, we must look for nontraditional ways, including a more decisive direct interaction among enterprises and sectors, developing direct economic relations and setting up joint associations, design bureaus and laboratories. The beginning of this has been laid: a number of joint scientific-production associations have been set up. These, as the 27th CPSU Congress noted, are merely the shoots of new forms of integration to which, however, belongs the future.

Perfecting international economic interaction goes together with restructuring the system of management and economic mechanisms, currently underway in most members of the community. Basically, it follows the same direction and is characterized by the search for an optimal correlation between centralized management and autonomy of enterprises (associations), which presumes their enhanced responsibility for results.

In this matter it is unquestionably necessary to rely on Marxist-Leninist political economy. Exceptionally important in this respect and applicable to the international economic mechanism is the demand formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress of taking a new look at some theoretical concepts and views.

Theoretical open-mindedness, elimination of inertia and of the dogmatic aspiration to consider virtually any change in the economic mechanism as almost a violation of socialist principles are important, the fraternal parties believe, in the implementation of many crucial changes in the system of interaction among socialist countries. In particular, this applies to upgrading the efficiency of the integration headquarters--CEMA--which presumes the need to relieve this organization from extraneous current functions and to concentrate its attention on the strategic problems of economic integration.

The objective process of comprehensive production and labor socialization, the development of which is presently characterized by increasingly intensive development beyond the limits of national boundaries, is the strongest base for perfecting economic interaction among fraternal countries. The scientific and technical revolution, particularly the vanguard areas of contemporary technological change, substantially accelerate this legitimate process of internationalization of economic life and ascribe it a truly global scale. The further development of socialist internationalization is related both to the development of socialization within national confines, aimed at reaching increasingly higher forms in its development, as well as systematically

shifting it to the area of intergovernmental economic relations. Advancing the study of the forms and trends of real international production socialization, made at the 27th CPSU Congress, is a major task in the area of economic theory.

As the new draft of the CPSU program emphasized, "While fully observing the principles of equality and reciprocal respect of national interest, the socialist countries will increasingly develop reciprocal understanding and rapprochement. The party will help this historically progressive process." The course of the competition between socialism and capitalism and the future of world civilization depend on the successes achieved in the constructive activities of each socialist country and the unity, power and influence of the socialist community as a whole.

In implementing the dialectical unity between innovation and continuity in the development of the theory of socialism and its political-economic foundations and inseparable link between theory and practice, and embodying Leninism in action, the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress have clearly shown to the entire world that the communists in the land of the soviets are in the front ranks of the struggle for lofty humanistic objectives and values and for meeting the vital needs of the toiling person. This is also clearly manifested in the social policy drafted by the congress and the formulation of strategic trends and specific solutions of political problems of accelerating the progress of socialism as a system. In terms of said areas of life of socialist society as well, proceeding from Leninist scientific methodology, the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress formulate essentially new approaches and ideas which must be analyzed and interpreted. This topic will be discussed in our next article.

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## STRATEGY OF ACCELERATION: THEORY AND PRACTICE

### LIVE CREATIVITY OF THE MASSES -- A DECISIVE FORCE OF THE ACCELERATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 86 (signed to press 29 Apr 86) pp 18-22

[Text] Such was the determining slogan of the present, as formulated by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech at the 11th SED Congress. This was not simply an apt formulation, consistent with the crucial period experienced by our country. No, it was a conclusion thoroughly tested through socialist theory and practice, which enriches and advances our development.

The force of the Leninist Party rests on its dialectical-materialistic vision and assessment of the global historical process, its ability to strictly scientifically analyze the specific situation at each stage of social development and, on this basis, to formulate tactical slogans which can be understood and accepted by the people as their own, and felt and interpreted through the people's own experience.

The party has always proceeded from the Marxist concept that the people themselves make a revolution and build a new society. It has always conceived the meaning of its own activities and historical purpose as upgrading the awareness of the working class and the working people as a whole, i.e., of the entire people and their organization. The Marxist-Leninist party has never considered the working people a kind of faceless mass. It has distinguished not only among individual classes and social strata but, which is particularly important, among people and individuals of which they are composed.

What inspired the bolsheviks to commit the revolutionary exploit of the October Revolution and to engage in unparalleled gigantic work to build a new society, a work which yielded truly triumphant results, was the belief in the possibility of awakening the creative forces of the people, which had been suppressed by the oppressors, and not only leading the progressive class, above all its conscientious part, but also inspiring the very "lowest strata" of the people.

Today as well, when the 27th CPSU Congress has called for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, the scale of which will outstrip anything familiar to the nearly 70-year old history of the Soviet state, the party turns to the inexhaustible source of people's creativity, which it considers a tremendous reserve as yet to be activated in the interest of all Soviet people.

In other words, the slogan of the party program--"Everything for Man"--is being implemented by the very same people for whose benefit the party is planning to provide the best possible conditions for all-round development of their physical and spiritual needs and the increasing satisfaction of their sensible material and cultural requirements.

This is a question of the imperishable bolshevik traditions of converting the party's ideas into the thoughts and convictions of all working people, for without their conscious and active participation, any, even fully theoretically planned and materially supported plans would hang in the air and remain nothing but plans. It is a question of intensifying the role of the human factor, mobilizing the creative forces of the people and energizing their social activeness.

At different stages the party has raised slogans which were understood by, and were obvious and accessible to the broadest possible masses, thus leading them to the successful solution of the increasingly difficult problems raised by life and the practice of social development. In his appeal "to the population," immediately after the victory of the October Revolution, V.I. Lenin wrote: "Remember that now it is you yourselves who are managing the state. No one will help you when you unite and take over all problems of the state. Your soviets are henceforth bodies of state power, representative decision-making bodies" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 66).

It is precisely by observing this Leninist approach that during the first 5-year periods, the purpose of which was to rebuild the entire national economy, that the party consecutively raised the slogans "Technology Decides Everything!" and "Cadres Decide Everything!" These slogans were not fabricated. Like the slogan of the Great Patriotic War "Everything for the Front and Everything for Victory," they were dictated by harsh necessity. Awareness of this necessity triggered mass labor heroism. Today as well the party is observing these great bolshevik traditions.

At the 27th CPSU Congress and in subsequent addresses by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, our party explained with extreme clarity the need for accelerating socioeconomic development and for a drastic change in the frame of mind and work style and for a decisive struggle against routine, inertia, bureaucratic and departmental obstructions and all kinds of ostentation, verbiage and scrawling, which hinder our progress. The party most seriously warned the lovers of beautiful speeches and calm life that their time was past. If managers, whatever their rank, are interested in preserving their good reputation, they must begin to think and act actually in accordance with the requirements of the time. These requirements are that we now face the need to make use of all the advantages offered by the new social system in order to accelerate scientific and technical, economic and social progress, attain a higher quality status in Soviet society and enrich the socialist way of life with new facets. This determines the quality of life of Soviet people and the entire socialist world, the attractiveness of socialism and the strengthening of its positions in the international arena. This is also demanded by the urgent task of curbing the nuclear threat to the very

existence of mankind and reliably blocking aggressive imperialist aspirations. At the 27th CPSU Congress, M.S. Gorbachev expressed the confidence that "unquestionably, the implementation of the congress' decisions will bring about new manifestations of popular initiative and new forms of sociopolitical creativity by the masses." Generally, and as a whole this has already been confirmed by the results of the first quarter of the first year of the 12th 5-Year Plan, the assignments of which were met in all industrial sectors other than petroleum extraction. It is pleasing that a noticeable change has taken place in the agroindustrial complex as well.

However, by no means has such a change taken place or been noted everywhere, in each labor collective and rayon. Here and there, based on the old bureaucratic method, the strict requirements formulated at the congress were converted into high-sounding and seemingly approving yet meaningless and unverifiable decisions and instructions.

The Central Committee is persistently working to improve economic planning and management and the work style of management bodies and party committees on all levels. In the Leninist tradition, the party ascribes to the conscious support of this course by all labor collectives without exception, and by all honest and decent Soviet people a decisive significance in the actual and persistent acceleration of the pace of our development. Explaining the meaning and the spirit of the congress' resolutions is insufficient in ensuring such support. Such work is being done everywhere. In order to accomplish this all obstructions on the path of the live creativity of the masses must be removed. This cannot be achieved by words alone.

The CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo consider practical actions and specific results in the implementation of national economic plans and socialist obligations the main and determining factor in the activities of party and all state and economic bodies. Having clearly established the key aspects of the work, the party organizations must also support and develop promptly the creative initiative of the working people and ensure the efficient solution of all problems they pose, which determine improvements in production efficiency; they must efficiently organize the follow-up of critical remarks and suggestions expressed at plenums and party meetings.

The party demands of the party committees to focus their efforts on organizing the work directly at labor collectives, persistently to eliminate formalism and paper shuffling and to give priority to the solution of social problems. This obligation particularly applies to planning bodies, ministries and departments. This should be the focal point in the work of the primary party organizations, which are the party's foundations and the political nuclei of labor collectives. The solution of such problems particularly applies to the party organizations in ministries and departments. Thus, as was reported at its latest plenum, the Moscow City CPSU Committee directed letters on this subject to 42 ministries and by the time of the plenum had received answers from 30 of them.

Is this what working in a new way means! Why, the question is, does the party committee have to write to a ministry at all, calling upon it to fulfill the plan for the social development of its labor collective and prevent a lowering



of production plans and plans for the technical updating of productive capital? And what would the Krasnoyarsk city party committee do, for example, if a minister is not a members of a Krasnoyarsk rayon party committees and is in no hurry to answer its letters?

Any worker, department or public organization, trade union and Komsomol organization above all, must consider the resolutions of the party congress, the stipulations of the USSR Constitution and the requirements of life not in terms of reports and resolutions but of daily work, based on the interests of the state, and provide maximum autonomy to labor collectives in resolving problems affecting them and maximal opportunities for the truly creative work not of the "toiling masses," but of every specific individual. The only way to accomplish this is for managers on all levels to meet with the working people not only at meetings or assemblies but at their work places, in daily life, etc. They must meet not only with frontrankers and highly skilled workers operating the latest machines, but also with people engaged in simple ordinary manual labor. In industry this applies to about 40 percent of all working people. This too is a human factor, a toiling mass which has something to say and give advice to those who know how to listen.

Furthermore, the supreme law of social justice during the first phase in the development in the communist system is the strictest possible observance of the principle "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his labor." Anyone who works understands that one can distribute only that which has been produced, naturally after withholdings for accumulation, social consumption and other funds. However, even that which is distributed, be it wages, bonuses, free or discounted passes for sanitariums and rest homes, allocation of comfortable premises and other material goods, as well as moral incentives and social recognition expressed as a citation and a good word said at a meeting and in the press and the presentation of state awards, must be entirely directed at encouraging high-quality intensive work. It is important here to block any opportunity for bypassing this principle and seeking back alleys and doors for obtaining unearned benefits. This is a matter for public control and the law enforcement bodies and, above all, the labor collective and its party organization.

The new tasks cannot be resolved with old methods. This is a self-evident truth. However, means and methods which, under the new conditions, could gain a second wind, could also be found in the arsenal of the past. Let us consider the counterplans of the first 5-year plans, which have once again become widespread, or competition among enterprises either producing the same type of items or linked within a single technological chain. The initiative of the VAZ collective, which was approved by the CPSU Central Committee and taken up at the Cherepovets Metallurgical Combine, the Sumy Machine Building Scientific-Production Association imeni M.V. Frunze, Uralmash, the Ivanovo Cotton Fabrics Combine and many other labor collectives is, naturally, different from the initiative of the first Stakhanovites, the way the "Worker Relay," initiated by the construction workers at the Nurek GES is different from the competition between Magnitka and the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Combine of half a century ago. The essence, however, remains the same: manifestation of initiative and creativity on a high level, and a feeling of responsibility not only for one's own collective but also one's homeland and for socialism as

a whole. Without such initiatives, which must be promoted comprehensively through propaganda and without taking administrative steps against those tending toward Oblomovism, we shall not be able successfully to advance and carry out the party's assignments. The meeting between the CPSU Central Committee and veterans of the Stakhanov movement and those who are continuing their great traditions, in September 1985, was not merely a gesture of respect for the heroic labor of the past. It was a practical consultation by the party's leadership with the flower of the working class and its most gifted representatives, prior to strategic decision-making.

Now, when these historical decisions aimed at the future have been brought forth, and when the party relates their implementation to the individual, energetic and interested participation of millions and millions of workers and employees and the maximal utilization of their extremely rich experience and knowledge, no single suggestion made by a working person should be left without close consideration and be shunted from one departmental back alley to another. Nor should it end up by being entered in the rationalization record or even by awarding it a patent. It absolutely must be put to practical use and if it is not, the working person must be given a sensible answer explaining why a given suggestion is inapplicable.

In recalling the great names of Stakhanov, Busygan, the Vinogradov sisters and other founders of the Stakhanovite movement, and the slogans under which they toiled with dedication in the 1930s, we think of their profound spiritual connection with V.S. Chicherov, A.V. Gitalov, N.A. Zlobin, M.P. Chikh, V.N. Pletneva, N.V. Gellert, A.M. Korolev, A.S. Sukhanov and dozens of other labor heroes, innovators and pioneers, known to the entire country. It is always more difficult for such people than it is for others. That is why it is so necessary for their experience to be described by all propaganda and information media, so that such people can be honored by the entire country the way their predecessors were honored and known throughout the land of the soviets and so that their accomplishments are not merely a page of their great biography but a page of the labor accomplishments of our entire homeland. Progressive experience is the property of the whole nation. To make it truly national is the duty and obligation of all party, state and public organizations.

To achieve this, we must act actively and aggressively and not linger. The time has come, as was said at the meeting between the CPSU Central Committee and production veterans and frontrankers, which was held on the eve of the October 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, to display all organizational capabilities and skill, as Lenin believed, "to promote competition and initiative among the masses, so that they may immediately take up the project" (op. cit., vol 52, p 39). The people will take up such work the more willingly the more clearly they realize that success is the result of the energy, mind, heart, conscience and honor of every working person. This feeling in every individual working person can be developed best above all by the primary party organization and the individual's collective.

"Marx's doctrine..." Lenin wrote, "is summed-up experience, illumined by a profound philosophical outlook and rich knowledge of history" (op. cit., vol 33, p 29).

The profound meaning of this Leninist formulation is presented in a new light as we read M.S. Gorbachev's speech in the capital of the GDR. "The members of the senior generations," he said, "remember our battle slogans of the 1930s: 'Technology Decides Everything!' and 'Cadres Decide Everything!' They helped the people to understand more clearly the nature of the tasks of building socialism at that time and mobilized them for their implementation. Today our entire experience indicates the adoption of a broader formula, which synthesizes both approaches: 'The live creativity of the masses is the decisive force of acceleration!'" This precisely means the creative summation of experience and of the extremely rich experience gained by our party and socialist state in the implementation of Lenin's ideas on the decisive participation of the broadest possible toiling masses in building the new society and solving the increasingly difficult problems which arise along that way.

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## RAISING THE QUALITY OF THE LABOR POTENTIAL

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[Article V. Dobrik, first secretary of the Ukrainian CP Lvov Obkom]

[Text] The documents of the 27th CPSU Congress and the delegates' speeches emphasized that success in implementing the party's strategic course of accelerating our socioeconomic development depends on the people, on their active and conscious labor efforts. "The successful solution of the planned task," notes the new draft of the party program, "is related by the party to upgrading the role of the human factor. Socialist society cannot efficiently function without finding new ways of developing the creative activities of the masses in all realms of life." Man is the basic element of production forces, the creator of the social wealth and the main motive force of scientific and technical progress.

The need to stimulate the human factor raises two interrelated groups of problems for the party organizations. The first applies to restructuring the mentality and strengthening the initiative and responsibility for the implementation of planned assignments and official duties at each work place and strengthening discipline and organization. The second is the quantitative and qualitative improvement of the labor potential of the country as a whole, of individual areas and labor collectives and of every working person.

The entire organizational and political efforts of the party committees are aimed at the successful solution of the consequent tasks of mobilizing the communists and all working people for the fulfillment of long-term and current plans for social and economic development. As was noted at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, in order to obtain relatively fast results we must see to it that everyone in his job work consciously and with total dedication. The Lvov Oblast party organization has adopted this as its guide. Strengthening discipline and organization, upgrading responsibility for assignments and control and verification of execution are items now regularly considered at plenums and meeting of party committee bureaus, and primary party organization meetings. The submission of reports and communications by party members on the implementation of their statutory requirements, party assignments and official obligations has become a firm part of the practical work of party groups, shop and primary party organizations and party gorkoms and raykoms.

In order to stimulate the human factor, the party organizations make extensive use of Marxist-Leninist training, the press, radio and television, and all ways and means of verbal propaganda and agitation. While ascribing great importance to agitation-propaganda measures among the masses, we are structuring ideological and educational work in such a way as to be closely linked with practical affairs and rely on the resolutions and the stipulations of the 27th CPSU Congress. The party organizations have been directed toward restructuring all ideological institutions. This work, however, is considered not as the breakdown of the existing system of ideological influence but as a new way of achieving higher quality ideological education.

We subordinate ideological influence on the individual to developing in every working person the ability and need to see, metaphorically speaking, beyond his own machine tool, field or livestock farm, i.e., to think in terms of the general interests of the state. The innovators and production frontrunners are setting the example of purposeful and conscientious attitude toward the work. The best of them took part in the 27th CPSU Congress and the 27th Congress of the CP of the Ukraine. They are characterized by their active life stance, intolerance of shortcomings, and readiness and ability to formulate important and useful initiatives and assume responsibility.

The USSR Law on Labor Collectives, and the latter's enhanced role in enterprise, establishment and organization management, offers new opportunities for increased production and social activeness by every Soviet person. Labor collectives were granted extensive rights in developing and atmosphere of intolerance of violators of labor and production discipline. However, so far such rights are being insufficiently used and occasionally are simply forgotten.

Let us particularly mention responsibility for the quality of output. We have become accustomed to demand this of shop and enterprise managers. However, rejects are created at individual work places and substandard goods are made by careless people. This means wasting raw materials, complementing items, energy, fuel and lubricants, and the wearing of machine tools and instruments. All of this is a loss. Yet it is somehow "not accepted" to demand of the specific culprit to compensate in full for material damages caused by producing faulty goods, and it is virtually impossible to demote a waste-maker. Meanwhile, practical experience indicates that the main reasons for defective goods are violations of technological discipline and pursuit of quantity, which essentially determines the size of earnings. Therefore, we must see to it that defective goods become economically unprofitable to the designer, engineer and worker. We hope that, among others, this problem will be solved with a special law on production quality, the need for which was mentioned in the political report to the 27th CPSU Congress.

The article mentions no more than a few trends and forms of work in mobilizing the working people for the implementation of the party's new tasks and stipulations. Our experience proves that more than ever before today cooperation between party committees and scientists would be expedient in this matter. The formulation of the comprehensive target program "Upgrading the Quality of the Labor Potential," in our oblast, is an example of the fruitfulness of such interaction. A significant contribution to the drafting

of this document, which was approved at the end of 1985 by obkom party decree, was made by specialists from the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research and the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics, Lvov Branch.

Why did we create these programs? The quantitative reduction in the growth of manpower and the practical exhaustion of labor reserves made it necessary for us, first of all, to conserve such resources and, secondly, to increase returns by improving their qualitative characteristics.

We have already acquired positive experience in such developments. Thus, for the past two 5-year periods we have successfully implemented the "Trud" comprehensive scientific and technical target program for improving the efficient utilization of manpower. However, the program deals mainly with solving problems of manpower conservation and reallocation. It includes only scientific and technical steps for the mechanization and automation of production processes, reducing the amount of manual labor and applying progressive labor organization forms and organizational measures aimed at the hiring of old-age pensioners, assigning workers on the basis of organized recruitment, hiring the temporarily unemployed and some others. This yielded significant economic results. Naturally, we have no intention of abandoning the further implementation of this program. However, we must not fail to take into consideration that the Labor Program does not call for upgrading the quality of the labor potential through social measures.

Having studied this problem, the party obkom concluded that a special program which would reflect more fully the content of contemporary CPSU social policy was needed. We believe that the concept of labor potential should include the entire able-bodied population, combined with technical, economic, social, organizational and ideological-political factors of the reproduction process. The quality of the labor potential, the growth of which directly determines the energizing of the human factor, should be characterized by features such as physical and intellectual suitability for work, moral will and motivation to work, professionalism and skill. The level of development of each of these features, in turn, is based on ideological-moral, scientific and technical, socioeconomic, demographic, ecological, psychological and other factors which influence man in all his activities.

The need for quality improvements in the labor potential is dictated above all by the development of scientific and technical progress. Social production intensification is impossible without knowledgeable, interested, initiative-minded and creatively thinking workers. Scientific and technical progress has stricter requirements concerning the general education standard and professional training of the working people and their ability and readiness to engage in qualitatively new types of labor.

However, scientific and technical progress does not merely create prerequisites for the molding of a high-quality overall worker but also adversely affects some quality indicators in labor resources. This takes place whenever the entire set of consequences of changes in the nature and conditions of labor activities is not taken into consideration in the application of the achievements of science and technology. This is confirmed

by the increase in the frequency of some diseases, including mental, the increased death rate in some categories of the active population and the occurrence of industrial accidents. Furthermore, hypodynamia, disturbances in the nutritional regime, are risk factors which increase the likelihood of cardiovascular and other diseases and are a consequence not only of changed conditions, content and intensiveness of labor but also of education shortcomings. Reduced work capacity and increased morbidity, furthermore, are the result of harmful habits, such as smoking and alcohol consumption, the spreading of which depends above all on educational shortcomings at home and in school and poor ideological education work in labor collectives.

The quality features of labor resources also depend on the demographic situation and population reproduction patterns. Here as well (in Lvov Oblast) negative trends are apparent. The "age pyramid" of the population has become significantly misshaped: we note a gradual population aging. Thus, in the period between censuses (1970-1979) the number of individuals under 14 declined by 11.5 percent and in the 34-39-year age group by 18.3 percent. Meanwhile the number of individuals 60 and older increased by 11 percent. The number of women in the most active childbirth age declined. Other factors which influence the reduced birth rate included high-level female employment in public production (in 1979 88.6 percent of all women of active age).

As we can see, the existing demographic situation will not improve in the foreseeable future, unless prompt measures are taken. An optimal management of socioeconomic processes is needed in order to achieve an internal coordination between the high pace of development of the socialist economy and the practical use of scientific and technical progress and its proper support with quality manpower.

The Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000 call for pursuing a demographic policy which would take more fully into consideration the specific features of the different parts of the country and comprehensively contribute to extending the life span and labor activeness of the population, strengthening the family and improving the health of the Soviet people. It is exceptionally important, therefore, to study and determine the regional characteristics of demographic processes and the health of the citizens and consider and develop an accurate scientific system and program of steps to improve the demographic situation and to organize their implementation.

The successful implementation of this requirement depends on the profound understanding of the reasons for the existing situation and the efficiency of the steps taken to eliminate shortcomings. According to scientific data, reducing morbidity and mortality, and improving the population's health depend to a considerably greater extent on the way of life, working conditions and the state of the environment than on specific medical functions (treatment and prevention). Consequently, in the implementation of steps aimed at strengthening the health of the people, greater attention must be paid to the socioeconomic aspects which define the population's way of life (housing conditions, moral concepts, recreational environment, and physical culture), labor conditions, the state of the environment, etc. It was in this connection that the target of the program was formulated as one of perfecting

the quality of manpower as a result of the comprehensive influence of ideological-educational, socioeconomic, medical-biological, demographic, recreational and other factors, based on regional features.

The targets included in the program defined its structure. The most important role was assigned to the study of the demographic situation which has developed in recent years in Lvov Oblast. As we pointed out, it is characterized by a relative drop in the birthrate, which leads to population aging--the reduced share of children and adolescents and individuals in their active age group, with an increased share of people in the senior age groups. According to our computations, this trend will continue until the year 2000. In this connection, steps have been planned which include improving the working and living conditions and recreation of employed mothers, expanding the network of preschool children's institutions and medical consultation offices for adolescents, concern for young families, better protection of motherhood and childhood, etc.

The qualities of the labor potential are developed also with the growth of the educational, cultural and skill standards of the working people and the improved training of young people for labor activities. The program includes a forecast on the assignment of students in general education, vocational-technical and secondary specialized schools, and a stable number of students in higher educational institutions.

The automation, mechanization and robotization of production, the application of advanced technology and flexible automated production facilities and other achievements of scientific and technical progress require the steady enhancement of the skill and professional standards of the workers. In this connection, the training of skilled workers will be expanded within the vocational training system and in general-education schools as well as directly in production. In accordance with the stipulations of the reform of general education and vocational schools, the number of training shops and sectors will be substantially increased at enterprises, organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Their capacity will be increased by a factor of nine; this will include a 3.2 factorial increase in facilities for productive work by school students. Let us note that involving school student in socially useful labor frequently meets with the opposition....of parents, who do not always observe their obligations in accordance with the basic trends of the school reform in terms of the labor education of children in the family, trying to protect them from labor functions they can accomplish and to "prolong their childhood." That is why steps are planned to ensure the universal training of parents, to explain to them the purposes of labor education and vocational guidance and to upgrade the role of labor collectives and courses for the more energetic education of the educators.

One of the most important tasks in upgrading the quality of labor potential is improving the population's health. The program calls for scientific steps aimed at preventing and reducing morbidity in the oblast's population, developing the material and technical base for health care and increasing the strength of the medical personnel, including those at the places of work. In particular, the structure of hospital-bed facilities will be expanded and improved by opening cardiological wards in city and rayon hospitals,



developing the outpatient treatment of people suffering from cardiovascular diseases with the help of computers, and applying at large industrial enterprises systems for the automatic identification of people suffering from oncological diseases. Steps are being taken to strengthen material facilities in medical institutions treating drug addictions.

Studies have indicated that perfecting medical services and improving the population's health reduce working time losses due to illness by 17 percent in industry and 18 percent in construction.

The recreation policy (organization of recreation and improving the health of working people), and the development of physical culture and sports have a most direct influence on the population's health and the recovery of its strength and ability to work and, consequently, on the quality of the labor potential. In this connection, we are planning to improve the organization of recreation and tourism and to establish a system of recreational measures which will include daily, weekly and annual rest, more sports in preschool institutions, general education, vocational-technical, secondary specialized and higher educational institutions, labor collectives and residential areas and increasing the efforts for sanatorium-resort recovery of the health of the working people. To this purpose, new sanatoriums and boarding houses, prevention-sanatoriums, rest bases, tourist bases, experimental recreation-sports facilities and suitably equipped areas for recreation and health parks will be created or expanded.

The measures included in the program are aimed at extensively involving the population in physical culture. The plans call for increasing the number of people practicing physical culture, organized in health sections and groups. The number of hikers during days off will be doubled. The network of sports stadiums, sports halls and swimming pools will be expanded and the use of their facilities improved in order to develop mass physical culture.

Improving the health of the working people and preserving and enhancing their ability to work are most closely related to the further development of labor safety at industrial enterprises and organizations. To this effect theoretical and methodical foundations for a labor safety control system (SUOT) have been drafted. The implementation of the planned measures during the 12th 5-Year Plan will ensure a further reduction in the level of job-related accidents.

The state of the environment is a most important factor affecting the health and work ability of the population. The program includes steps to reduce the harmful influence of industrial, agricultural and ore-mining production and transportation on the environment. Their implementation will enable us to double the volume of treated water and to increase by 15 percent the amount of harmful substances tapped and treated at stationary pollution sources.

The quality of the labor potential is also determined by the standards and features of the person's ideological, social and cultural maturity. That is why the program includes measures to improve ideological education, ensure the socializing function of the family, school and labor collective, and develop a network of cultural and educational institutions. The work of museums,

atheism offices, agitation trains, agitation areas, agitation-cultural brigades, permanent agitation centers, red corners in residential housing and amateur artistic collectives will be energized. The attention of agitators and political reporters will be concentrated on upgrading the quality of individual work with people.

The implementation of these measures, combined with increased exigency toward cadres and their responsibility will unquestionably result in the significant strengthening of labor discipline and upgrading the stability of labor collectives. The purpose is to reach an optimal cadre turnover level of 6.5 percent in industry and 7.2 percent in construction.

The comprehensive program will be financed essentially from withholdings from enterprises, budget appropriations and internal reserves. Naturally, however, such a major project cannot be carried out without the help of ministries and departments. Funds are needed to strengthen the material base of health care, particularly hospitals for children; medical equipment is needed for the outpatient treatment of the population. Even the largest industrial associations in Lvov still have no medical sections with outpatient clinics. Only one association has a polyclinic with automated data processing for outpatients, based on computer use.

In solving problems of sociocultural construction, today the local authorities make extensive use of the facilities of industrial enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, ministries and departments. The scale of use of such facilities is confirmed by the fact that during the 11th 5-Year Plan the oblast opened courses for 43,700 students, compared with only 22,400 planned on the basis of state capital investments. The remaining funds were "extracted" from ministries and departments, and the cost of this is universally known. Unfortunately, here as well the "residual" principle of allocating funds for sociocultural projects is being felt.

A number of problems await their solution. One of the basic trends in perfecting the economic mechanism is upgrading the efficient economic autonomy of enterprises and associations. This presumes, in particular, that they will make full use of their own funds for development of production and sociocultural measures. Will that limit the possibilities of the local authorities in collecting an amassing funds? Currently, as we know, funds for the construction of sociocultural projects are planned by ministries and departments in charge of the construction and development of enterprises in accordance with the growth of production capacities and the number of people they employ. The standards for ensuring the population with hospital beds, for example, are set by another ministry--the Ministry of Health. The actual needs, based on urban and rayon standards, are determined by the executive committees of the local soviets. Since the need for the construction of medical institutions does not always coincide with the possibility of finding funds for this purpose, it sometimes becomes necessary to build not where such facilities are needed but where it becomes possible to obtain the "contribution" of the ministries building production facilities.

The question which arises in this connection is the following: Would it not be better for all investments in the construction of sociocultural projects to

be planned by the ministries of health care, culture and education and the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports? In that case planning could be based on the extent to which the required availability of such facilities for the population of specific settlements has been attained. Such a formulation of the question is topical also because the need to intensify the production process requires a reduction of new construction and the reconstruction and technical retooling of enterprises. Consequently, the planned increase in the number of workers and employees at such enterprises will be reduced, thus reducing the amount of funds needed for the construction of sociocultural projects and housing.

Here is another problem. Strengthening the centralized management of the national economy presumes upgrading the role of the state plans. Therefore, should we not restrict the current practice of passing decrees on individual problems relative to the development of education, health care and culture, requiring significant capital investments, but improve the formulation of such problems in drafting the 5-year plan? Each such decree demands a reorientation of priorities and a regrouping of forces and funds. A large number of such decrees virtually eliminates flexible handling.

An important feature of the program is that while it was being formulated some of its stipulations were already being carried out and implemented. Some positive results have already been achieved. Losses and unproductive use of working time in the oblast were reduced by one-half in 1985, compared with 1981, per average worker, and cadre turnover in construction declined by a factor of 2.1 within the same period. Morbidity and industrial accidents declined. The most essential positive changes were achieved in the social development of kolkhozes and sovkhoses and the reorganization of rural settlements. For a number of reasons, at the beginning of the 1970s the migration of the rural population to the city had worsened the demographic situation in the villages. Manpower shortages in agricultural production were being increasingly felt. The seasonal help of 14,000-15,000 workers, employees and students did not yield suitable results. It became obvious that the land needed not a temporary assistant but a permanent concerned master.

With the help of scientists from the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Western Scientific Center, managers, and specialists the oblast party committee studied the adverse trends and the reasons for their appearance, and earmarked measures to correct the situation. In particular, great improvements were made in rural working conditions with the accelerated mechanization of farm work and in ensuring the full satisfaction of the sociocultural and consumer needs of the population. The rayon party committees and primary party organizations headed the organizational and political work to implement the respective plans of rayons, farms and settlements.

In the last 3 years alone, basic fixed capital in the oblast's agriculture increased by 15 percent and power-labor intensiveness by 20 percent. The oblast now has 14,300 tractors, 5,400 grain-harvesting and other combines, 9,700 trucks and a great deal of other equipment. The available technical facilities enabled us totally to mechanize soil cultivation and grow grain and feed crops, sugar beets, potatoes and flax in particular.

Work in animal husbandry has become much easier and more attractive. The total mechanization of watering of livestock and poultry, manure collection and cow milking has been completed in virtually all farms. Red corners, recreation rooms, cafeterias, trade booths, shower rooms, saunas, medical prevention centers, laundromats, comprehensive reception centers for consumer services, beauty shops and class rooms have been opened at livestock farms. Most rural schools have organized teams of young livestock breeders, who undergo production training directly at livestock farms.

Engineering-technical complexes have been created for the oblast mechanizers, which include standard workshops for current equipment repairs, technical servicing centers, garages, sheds, and paved areas for storing tuning machines and mechanisms, petroleum product warehouses and other projects. The installation of all amenities and health projects which ensure normal working and recreation conditions was made mandatory.

The practice of organizing seminars and training courses for the personnel of party and soviet bodies and economic managers and specialists, on the basis of the best rayons and farms, which have achieved specific successes in the social reorganization of the countryside, have proved their usefulness. During last 5-year period the positive example of the Sokalskiy and Stryyskiy party raykoms in improving the sociocultural and living conditions of the rural population was summed up by the obkom bureau and its use by all party raykoms was recommended.

In our view, the formulation of a comprehensive approach to the development of settlements is a major accomplishment of the oblast party organization. In the past as well substantial funds were appropriated for the construction of residential and sociocultural projects. However, the system on which this development was based was inefficient. Frequently the result was that although a village had its club, school and good house buildings, its overall appearance was dull.

The obkom and the oblast executive committee directed the joint efforts of design organizations and architectural and economic bodies into finding the most efficient solutions for the development of settlements. All oblast areas undertook the creation of comprehensive urbanized sociocultural village centers. As a rule, they include within the same area administrative, communal, consumer, trade and medical buildings, schools and children's preschool establishments. At the same time, rural streets and squares are being improved, and parks and squares are being laid out. Sixteen sociocultural centers have already been built in Stryyskiy Rayon and another nine will be completed by 1990. The creation of such centers in Sokalskiy, Radekhovskiy, Kamensko-Bugskiy and other rayon villages is nearing completion.

Road building is being energetically carried out. Currently, 93 percent of all villages are interconnected with paved roads. In recent years more work has been done for the gasification of rural settlements; today 20 percent of them have running natural gas.

The material and technical base of medical institutions is being broadened with a view to improving population medical services. In the past 3 years

alone 36 hospitals, outpatient clinics and feldsher-midwife centers have been opened in rural areas; 138 medical prevention centers, equipped with physical therapy devices, operate at livestock farms. Preventive measures for general and vocational illnesses of rural workers are being implemented. Every year more than 12,000 kolkhoz members and sovkhos workers spend their paid leave in trade union health homes and interkolkhoz boarding houses have been opened in the Truskavets, Morshin and Nemirov resorts.

The creation of suitable working and living conditions in the villages has yielded tangible results. Working time losses caused by temporary disability of workers in the oblast agroindustrial complex have declined noticeably. Compared with the average republic level, in 1985 they were 29 percent lower in the kolkhozes. The demographic situation in the countryside is improving. Young people are no longer leaving. Over the past 5 years more than 18,000 people have returned from the city to engage in agricultural production. The question of the availability of mechanizer and animal husbandry cadres for the oblast's kolkhozes and sovkhos has been virtually solved.

The work of the party organizations and soviet and economic bodies to improve the working and living conditions of the rural workers and for the sociocultural reorganization of the countryside was positively rated by the Ukrainian CP Central Committee. We hope that the experience acquired in the socioeconomic reorganization of the countryside will help us to implement a broader program for upgrading the quality of the labor potential. Funds appropriated for such purposes will be quickly recovered above all thanks to the higher rates of labor productivity. Scientists have estimated that the share of increased labor productivity exclusively as a result of factors included in the program will double by the year 2000. Furthermore, other results are being obtained, which cannot be assessed exclusively in terms of labor productivity indicators, for it is a question of the health of the people, who are the main value of our society.

The implementation of the "Upgrading the Quality of the Labor Potential" program, combined with already available experience and achievements in socioeconomic planning and the corresponding material and organizational support of the planned measures, will enable us significantly to enhance the quality of the labor potential and strengthen the role of the human factor in accelerating the socioeconomic development of the oblast and increasing its contribution to the country's progress.

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## BASIC RESEARCH PREDETERMINES TECHNICAL PROGRESS

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[Article by Academician M. Markov, USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium member, Department of Nuclear Physics academician-secretary]

[Text] Today, when the CPSU is engaged in solving the problem of intensification of the entire national economy on the basis of the latest scientific and technical achievements, the question of the contribution of academic institutions to social progress has become urgent.

This is not a new problem. However, its gravity is particularly great under current circumstances, when resources for the extensive development of the economy have been essentially exhausted. This was heatedly and thoroughly discussed at the general meetings of the USSR Academy of Sciences, both on the eve of and immediately after the 27th CPSU Congress. The Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000 indicate the need to enhance the role of the USSR Academy of Sciences as a coordinator of scientific research in the country and to increase its responsibility for laying the theoretical foundations for essentially new types of equipment and technology.

"Priority must be given to the development of basic science, which predetermines the enhancement of public production to a qualitatively higher level," the document stipulates.

In considering the numerous statements made on the importance of basic scientific research in terms of technical progress and intensification of the national economy, we sometimes reach the conclusion that, to a certain extent, the clarity of the adjective ordinarily applied to said projects, has become somewhat obscured. In my view, this applies to the essential aspects and laws of matter in a very profound meaning of this term. This includes highly-organized matter (animate substance) and its higher--social--form, such as basic economic relations in the social area. Usually, basic research does not promise immediate practical application. Furthermore, it frequently appears problematical. In this connection, a not entirely apt phrase has become popular: "This is of purely academic interest...." However, the history of science proves that, in the final account, the results of basic research not

simply find a practical application but exert a radical influence on technical progress and revolutionize production.

Suffice it to remember the development of nuclear physics. Initially, even within the academy itself, skeptical voices and suggestions were heard, which called for ending the study of the atom nucleus as "not topical." Judging by the experience of the history of the natural sciences, the practical outcome of many basic discoveries remains, as a rule, unpredictable. A clear example of this is the most extensive use of lasers in many areas of science, technology and medicine. The study of the discovered effect on which lasers are based was not stimulated by anticipated tremendous practical possibilities, but by interest in strictly "pure" knowledge of the profound characteristics of matter. Only later did it become clear that the new physical phenomenon allows us to make radical changes in equipment and technology in a number of important practical areas.

It is sometimes asked if the Academy of Sciences is not losing its leadership in the development of laser physics? It is also asked what should be done to maintain and strengthen this leadership? Naturally, it is not a question of departmental "jealousy" (we are pleased by successes in sectorial science) but of concern for this area of research which, by virtue of its very topic, has a certain primacy. These questions apply not only to laser physics (in which everything may be in order), but to promising basic research in general.

Unlike sectorial, academic science is characterized by the scope of its research and development, which frequently extend to interdisciplinary areas, which lift departmental barriers erected through the limited or relatively limited range of sectorial projects. Let us add to this the major conceptual and methodological significance of a number of achievements in basic research. Finally, the academic institutes must set the prospects of such research and the possibility of putting it to practical use. Here great wisdom and caution may be needed sometimes, to avoid acting like a bull in a china shop.

The CPSU raised at the proper time the question of the interaction between academic and sectorial scientific research. Their coordination presumes not only the assignment of obligations but resources as well. Possibly, the USSR Academy of Sciences should take the initiative in this area, by studying the activities of sectorial institutes. This too is a matter for the academy presidium and its sections and numerous scientific councils. A review of sectorial science could benefit academic science as well.

As far as the tradition of maintaining close links between the two and between them and industry, our country can draw on excellent examples of the way in which the broad solution of scientific and technical problems of vital importance to society has yielded results. I am referring to the nuclear power industry and the study of outer space. Obviously, in the final account problems related to the information industry, computers and automation can be resolved the same way.

Equally possible are a variety of "small forms" of comprehensive activities, in which the joint efforts of academic and sectorial institutions are limited to a relatively narrow topic, such as "Friction" in machine studies or "X-ray

Lithography" in the use of synchrotron radiation or "Extreme Characteristics of Ceramic Materials." Such problems demand a systematic approach which goes beyond the narrow confines of sectorial institutes. Thus, the study of friction involves the general topic of the work of mechanisms and the special topic of the extensive study of the role and structure of rubbing surfaces. This requires extensive theoretical and experimental studies of the nature of the surface phenomena of friction. The successes achieved in x-ray lithography became the base for the creation of later computer generations. The development of ceramic construction materials is promising a revolutionary change in machine building.

We should thoroughly consider and find suitable organizational forms for resolving such problems. Currently, the USSR Academy of Sciences Department of Nuclear Physics is summing up specific experience acquired on the topic of "X-ray Lithography."

The Basic Directions recommend the development of elementary particle physics. In this area, in the study of space radiation in particular, significant successes have been achieved by Soviet scientists. Unique scientific systems were built, such as for example the Baksan Neutrino Observatory, which is deep underground, of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Nuclear Research, high-energy elementary particles accelerators (in Serpukhov, Dubna) and others. Unfortunately, however, our physics experimentation equipment is frequently substantially behind foreign models. In his meeting with the working people of Togliatti, M.S. Gorbachev justifiably emphasized the inadmissibility of Soviet equipment falling behind foreign equipment, for the assertion of the advantages of socialism must be manifested in technological progress and the production of high-quality items. "The orientation toward outstripping global accomplishments," he said, "should, as the saying goes, become part of the flesh and blood of all labor collectives and economic bodies. It must become a principle governing our work and one of the most important objectives of socialist competition."

The USSR Academy of Sciences Nuclear Physics Department drafted a program for the development of high-energy physics and acceleration equipment in our country for the period until the year 2000. The document, which was discussed and approved by the Nuclear Physics Commission, sums up global experience and earmarks steps to surmount the existing lag. The implementation of these steps will enable us to make decisive progress in understanding the unity of forces acting in nature. We hope that subsequent generation accelerators will contribute to proving the unity between electromagnetic and nuclear forces. In this connection, I deem it necessary to emphasize that the building of large technical installations, to be used for research, is taking place, as a rule, inadmissibly slowly. This is our main trouble. I believe that the latest designs, which promise us a leading position in world science, must be given priority in terms of the pace of construction, completion and overall material and technical support.

The planned construction of unique scientific facilities presumes the formulation of plans which will take into consideration decades of future development. Without this, quite expensive systems could turn out inefficient quite rapidly. As research becomes increasingly complex and as it penetrates



deep within matter, the amount of investments in science increases. Consequently, so does the responsibility of scientists to society.

At the present time, the Academy of Sciences Institute of Nuclear Research is nearing the completion of a new powerful proton accelerator--the so-called meson factory, which is analogous to a similar "factory" in the United States. This system should become the experimental base for all natural science departments of the USSR Academy of Sciences. A proposal has been formulated on the further significant development of the system after its completion, which could take place in the course of its operation.

The Leningrad Nuclear Physics Institute will soon complete a reactor for scientific research. In terms of its parameters it will be superior to the most advanced French reactor currently operating in Grenoble. This system could become the national center for neutron physics. Such centers would provide new opportunities not only for academic institutions but also for all interested scientific organizations, particularly the higher schools, helping them to realize their tremendous creative resources.

Each unique and expensive system must be used by more than a single collective of an institute. That is why we must make it possible for any valuable experimental idea, regardless of the institute where it originated, to be implemented with the help of that facility. Naturally, this will require a corresponding mechanism of scientific expert evaluation, which will ensure the objective nature of the decision and will contribute to creating most favorable conditions for the implementation of any efficient suggestion.

A qualitative "leap" in the development of superpowerful accelerators, in which major scientific and practical hopes are invested, is anticipated for the immediate future. International scientific forces will be concentrated on such unique systems (such as, for example, the CERN accelerator) (European Center for Nuclear Research, located in Switzerland--editor). This gives a political aspect to their activities. This too must be considered.

In the development of unique systems for modern experimentation in physics, even before they have been assembled or, rather, in the course of their assembling or the mounting of individual units, the need for auxiliary studies appears, which spontaneously lead to technical and instrumental innovations of use to the national economy long before the unique apparatus has been completed. Available experience indicates that, as a rule, such results are unpredictable but also that their practical value is unquestionable.

Quite frequently, "spin-offs" useful in other scientific sectors and, above all, in practical work and the intensification of various technological and medical sectors accompany the development of basic research. The subject most familiar to me is the physics of elementary particles, in which research has repeatedly stimulated the development of many areas of the national economy. The substantial capital outlays which are required are, metaphorically speaking, "borrowing on future interests." Such expenditures do not always yield quick economic results. In some cases, a considerable percentage of such "loans" is repaid through the results of ancillary research long before the building of the planned system has been undertaken. Thus, in the course

of the development of the experimental base at the High-Energy Physics Institute (IFVE) a number of complex scientific and technical problems related to the exceptionally strict requirements concerning instruments and systems for processing experimental data, had to be solved. These requirements considerably outstripped the level reached in industry. Therefore, the implementation of programmatic basic research in physics unwittingly included intensive research for the development of new methods and technological means and nonstandard solutions, based on the most advanced scientific and technical achievements, many of which still unpublished.

In turn, new solutions, finds and inventions are an additional source of general scientific and technical progress. An example in this case is the developments in that same institute, achieved in its measuring-computer complex, which is one of the biggest in the world. Today they are being successfully used in solving important scientific and economic problems. Original unique developments are entirely consistent with the requirements of series production. They are protected by 40 authorship certificates for inventions. More than 30 types of new equipment and systems were also created, and most of them submitted to six union ministries for series production. Some of these new instruments have been awarded the state Emblem of Quality and presented with medals and diplomas of the VDNKh. Their application ranges from television to myocardial diagnosis and detection of concealed diseases.

Practical experience indicates that the development of new equipment, which accompanies basic research, opens quite extensive and sometimes inordinate opportunities in improving medical equipment. Generally speaking, academic science can drastically revolutionize the level of medical technology. However, this requires new and more efficient organizational forms of interaction between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the medical industry and the health care system.

In the course of the discussion of the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress at the USSR Academy of Sciences Nuclear Physics Department, the attention of the scientists was drawn to one of the LIYaF inventions, which clearly proved the tremendous importance of technological findings which accompany basic research. Members of the institute, who were studying the possible use of holography in scientific research, suggested a new method for the production of so-called diffraction grids, currently imported from foreign countries. They are needed in ensuring the precise and highly efficient operation of tens of thousands of machine tools. Our specialists were thus able to receive grids which were more advanced than foreign ones and which made it possible to attain a higher (first as against fourth) degree of precision. It has been estimated that the economic benefits of the extensive use of this innovation will total billions of rubles. Furthermore, let us add that the utilization of this invention will directly affect the intensification of machine building, the leading role of which in scientific and technical progress was emphasized in the documents of the party congress.

The development of a technical project, known as the IFVE Acceleration-Storage Complex for an energy of  $3 \times 10^{12}$  electronvolts is nearing completion, and the the installation of its first part--of energy accelerator for 400-600 billion

electronvolts has been started. The developers of the complex must solve a number of most difficult scientific and technical problems. This will not only make possible the construction and reliable operation of the system but will also stimulate the development of a number of economic sectors. The side results of the designing and modeling of this complex are already being put to practical use.

Its most important task will be the creation of reliable superconductive magnets. Until recently our industry lacked the necessary superconductive cables and the machine tools for their production. Now the IFVE has developed and is successfully using an original automated machine for the application of an experimental program for making superconductive magnets. On the basis of its results, the manufacturing of a series of industrial cable machines has been suggested. This will enable us to eliminate imports of such machines from abroad and save millions of rubles.

Another instructive example is that of nuclear physics developments at the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department. This includes linear accelerators with counter-electron-positron beams, which enabled us to achieve a record-setting acceleration of electrons while substantially reducing the dimensions of the system. It would be difficult to overestimate the practical value of such achievements and the utilization of their possibilities in various types of newly developed instruments.

Going back to the question of the application of practical suggestions, let us note that the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium has drawn up a list of innovation suggestions and information concerning their development. Naturally, the information is incomplete. It would be desirable for the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium to discuss systematically, in detail and efficiently the following: a. Which of the valuable suggestions have been accepted and what degree of implementation have they reached; b. Which of them were rejected and why; c. Does the presidium agree with the latter.

It is very important to have information on all of this as well as an overall picture of the scientific and technical facilities available in all our sectors (as well as objective data on scientific and technical facilities in this area abroad). On this basis, I believe that the GKNT must not only sum up such information but also have the real possibility and the right to formulate corresponding requirements of ministries and departments and control their implementation.

In hearing and rereading M.S. Gorbachev's speeches and studying the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress, we unwittingly realize that it is a question not merely of the intensification of the national economy but of the development of all aspects of our society and the increasing assertion of the vital values of socialism, a communist attitude toward labor, public property and each-other, etc. Vestiges of petit bourgeois concepts, the influence of an ideology alien to us, and recurrences of petit-bourgeois and Philistine mentality in the people hinder our progress. Although they can be surmounted, we should not neglect them, for nothing can be accomplished by itself and everything demands some effort. Legal regulations are called upon to strengthen the ethical standards of society.

The party has charted a course of upgrading socialist labor discipline. Slovenliness, disorder, negligence and an irresponsible attitude toward obligations are incompatible with the principles of socialism and communism.

This has a direct bearing on scientific activities. Smartness, accuracy, efficient organization and discipline are mandatory prerequisites for the creative success of scientific collectives as a whole as well as individual scientists. In addition to perfecting moral and ethical relations, suitable legal regulations are needed in this area, in which an impressive social structure has been quite successfully developing in recent decades. Why should legal responsibility be avoided by those through whose fault improvements, inventions and suggestions, the great efficiency of which has been acknowledged by authoritative experts, are not utilized? This is an area of work for legal experts.

I would like to mention yet another important problem, in my view. We see in the young an inexhaustible reserve for reinforcements. We must develop in their minds an attitude of involvement with productive labor and a taste for the solution of difficult problems and surmounting obstacles.

Socialism has covered a long and difficult path and achieved a great deal. We have no unemployment or homeless people begging on the streets. The development of public education and culture, thanks to the purposeful efforts of the CPSU, has brought about a society which is not simply literate but also the best educated in the world, a society which can accept and successfully implement the great constructive program of its political vanguard.

Our social system itself includes the principles of social justice and a guarantee of true human rights, one of which is the right to create. This right must be exercised in full and anything which prevents this should be eliminated. Otherwise the human factor in science will suffer, the factor which constitutes one of the advantages of socialism in the competition between the two socioeconomic systems. The happiness of creative toil is the true benefit of life.

The congress documents speak of creative and initiative-minded labor. It is precisely such labor that is the highest form of human activity and we consider it the greatest of what we know as human values. Achieving positive results in this case offers incomparably moral and intellectual satisfaction and at such times we feel that this precisely is the purpose of life.

Creative toil is universal in the sense that it is possible in any area of human activity, from the work of the common laborer to the minister.

After graduating from secondary school, as a 17-year old boy, I became a trainee at the machine shop at a small plant in Moscow. I was given an easy job, to watch the machine saw which was cutting a long inch-thick iron bar into 10-centimeter long pieces which were needed by the workers in the casting shop. At one point the casting shop had to stop work because of the lack of a sufficient number of such parts. I then decided to have the saw cut not one but two rods simultaneously. The shop foreman, who was passing by, shook his head reproachfully, "Forget it, boy, some inventor that you are," he said and

left. Indeed, the two rods, which were held together by two pressure plates set along the line of their cut, slid toward each other and the cutting blade broke up in pieces. The foreman, who came running, cursed me soundly. Replacing the blade, I decided to do something desperate: I put not one but five rods in the system, held with a simple attachment which kept them together. Noticing from a distance the cluster of rods, the foreman threw a fit. Seeing that the saw was working reliably, however, he heartily approved: "Good boy! This is five time more!..." The great happiness I felt at that moment will never be forgotten.

Initiative-minded and creative work must earn proper moral and material reward and be backed by suitable conditions.

In this case problems of improving the working and living conditions of scientific workers are not the least important. Concern with the condition of housing construction in academic institutions was expressed at the meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences Nuclear Physics Department. Thus, at the Leningrad Institute some 500 people are waiting their turn for housing. However, in order to meet their demand, at the current construction rate, no less than 10 years will be necessary. A similar situation is that of the USSR Academy of Sciences Nuclear Research Institute (in Troitsk) and the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department Nuclear Physics Institute. G.K. Skryabin, USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium chief scientific secretary, who submitted the accountability report at the annual general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences, described this problem in very critical terms.

The situation with providing proper health care and recreation conditions is no better. The construction of the Uzkoye Sanatorium has been dragging for a number of years and that of the academic sanatorium in the Crimea has been dragging for more than 10 years. Existing possibilities of expanding the House of Science in Liyelupe (LaSSR) remain unused. The decision to build a new sanatorium in the Baltic area is also dragging. A number of such problems are beyond the framework of existing possibilities of the USSR Academy of Sciences. However, there also are problems which must be resolved more energetically by the academic institutes themselves. We expect significantly greater efforts by the corresponding departments of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, the activities of which have long been the subject of a great deal of justified blame.

All creative work has, as we know, a strong and treacherous enemy: bureaucratism. Bureaucratism means above all callousness and formalism. A bureaucrat can turn any live project into an annoying and totally useless carrion. The bureaucratizing of a most important support of economic intensification, such as socialist competition, could be particularly harmful. Bureaucratism is a dangerous distortion of one of the essential advantages of the socialist system. Bureaucratism has the features, if one may say so, of "administrative alcoholism," in which unnecessary paperwork poisons the social organism to the same extent that alcohol poisons the human body. The struggle against bureaucratism is as important as that against drunkenness.

The purpose of basic scientific research is to intensify the overall progress of the various economic sectors. The counterflow of creativity plays a

tremendous role in the efficient practical utilization of the results of such studies: rationalizations, inventions and worker cunning, which deserve all possible encouragement. Ensuring the active interaction between science and production is a guarantee for the successful implementation of the party program which defines the development strategy of our society.

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## NEW WAY OF THINKING AND WORKING

### PERFECTING THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIALIST COMPETITION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 86 (signed to press 29 Apr 86) pp 40-45

[Article by L. Gruzdilovich, deputy party committee secretary, Kovrov Machine Plant]

[Text] In considering the reasons for shortcomings in our work and the appearance of many problems, the inevitable conclusion is that the most important among them is the efficient labor incentives, which lower discipline and organization and the wish to express oneself through action. Of late we have been able to make a change for the better in this respect. But how efficient are our efforts? What steps yielded maximal returns? How to surmount the inertia which hinders our development? These and other difficult questions are yet to be answered.

At every step of the way we are made to realize that the socialist competition is one of the most efficient factors in accelerating production and developing a healthy social climate in the labor collective. As emphasized in the CPSU program, "This is the most important area of development of the creativity of the working people and one of the basic means of self-assertion and the social recognition of the individual."

The party organization, which is concerned with the growth of the people's labor activeness, is directing the efforts of the entire collective on upgrading the quality of labor, making it creative, developing inventions, involving the working people in active participation in production management and upgrading the latter's standards. In creating the necessary conditions for socially useful labor increasingly to become the prime need of the individual, the party committee tries to encourage it through the entire range of human interests, persistently seeing to it, above all, that shock workers are treated with the greatest respect in the collective.

The system for the organization of socialist competition, which has been applied in our plant since 1982, plays a special role in upgrading the labor activeness of the people. It includes quite a wide range of measures which define the respective obligations and rights of the administration and trade union bodies of the plant and its subdivisions, the procedure for formulating and maintaining socialist obligations and deadlines, and procedures for summing up competition results. The quantity and quality of labor are the

main evaluation criteria. Past experience proves that this system is quite efficiently influencing the production and social life of the plant's collective. The most noticeable results were those achieved on the shop and brigade levels. However, we well realize that the efforts of every working person must be efficiently stimulated. One of the important prerequisites to this effect is substantially to increase the amount of bonuses which today account for slightly more than 1 percent of the wage fund. This amount is obviously insufficient in energizing the struggle for labor discipline, rhythmical production work, quality, conservation of materials and improving other equally important indicators which characterize the content of the socialist competition.

The study of long practical experience has led to the conclusion that in order to stimulate the participants in the competition the material incentive fund should be increased. Furthermore, bonuses should not be fragmented. They must be assessed not according to the level of individual indicators reached by the competitors but on the basis of the rating of the worker (brigade, shop) established through the study of all stipulated indicators, naturally taking into consideration the work results of the entire enterprise. Every participant in the competition must be interested not only in winning a personal victory but also in the high end results of collective labor.

The number of qualifying ratings and bonus amounts are determined in our plant on the basis of set standards. This eliminates all willingness of some participants in the competition to earn a bonus based on various objective reasons which, allegedly, prevented them from gaining a top rating and motivates all competitors without exception to make an honest fight for victory. The accuracy of their achievements is guaranteed by an interested and extremely strict control provided by their rivals. Our experience also proves that differences in the amount of bonuses awarded for first, second and subsequent places must mandatorily be significant and that fines should be levied for being among the last in the competition, particularly when the work results of the entire collective have been unsatisfactory. Today as a rule no sanctions are imposed on the laggards or those at the tail end of the socialist competition. This substantially lowers the intensiveness of labor rivalry. Is this not why occasionally the gap between the results of the work of leaders, of the bulk of the competitors and the laggards is so tangible?

The current incentive system for production organizers is particularly inefficient. Yet the good indicators of a sector (shop, plant, rayon) are largely the results of the efforts of the manager and his assistants, who were able to develop a united combat-capable collective. It would be only fair properly to encourage (and not only with a bonus) this worker category. Let us point out that our plant party committee has been able to achieve a partial revision of the system of incentives for heads of competing collectives, thanks to which such incentives have become more differentiated.

What matters is not only the amount of the bonus but also the way it is presented: straight from the cash register, as an ordinary event, or under ceremonious circumstances, when the winner is personally thanked by the manager and congratulated by his fellow-workers. In the latter case the stimulating effect of the bonus increases sharply. The type of incentives



used currently should be substantially revised as well. For example, greater use should be made of the practice of giving priority for housing to competition winners. To this day in frequent cases labor front-runners and idlers enjoy virtually equal opportunities for paid leave. Many of the problems related to competition incentive await their satisfactory solution. Traditional methods of moral incentive, such as mass presentation of certificates, diplomas, etc., are ineffective under contemporary conditions, particularly if frequently used.

Publicity in the competition, which should be considered one of the types of incentive, plays a great role. However, essentially it is based on old methods. Acquiring an electronic board or special panels providing current information on the competition and its winners is a very complex matter. The specific mechanism through which publicity and other forms of moral incentive encourage the individual has been insufficiently studied; no efficient recommendations have been formulated on how to achieve an optimal correlation between material and moral incentives. Occasionally, we come across exaggerated faith "to the point of blindness," in the stimulating role of money. Yet it is becoming increasingly obvious that in the course of the country's socioeconomic progress and with the increased well-being of the people, the role of moral incentives for highly productive and creative toil has increased perceptively.

We know (as confirmed by our enterprise's experience) that the socialist competition is more efficient the more objective its results are and the more the rating of its participants is consistent with the real quantity and quality of their labor for society. Otherwise the participants in the competition may develop the opinion that winners have been chosen improperly and on unsuitable grounds.

It is entirely necessary, in accordance with the Law on Labor Collectives, for the results of the competition to be summed up on the broadest possible democratic basis. Only thus can we develop an objective assessment of the results and a decision thus made will be considered authoritative and entirely trustworthy. The traditional voting by a show of hands, although the simplest, is by no means the most reliable method for determining the actual view of the collective on problems under discussion. Secret voting and the processing of resulting data with the help of special computers, which would ensure the quantitative and, therefore, the more objective comparison among results based on several indicators, is much more acceptable. The use of computers is particularly efficient in comparing achievements among large collectives.

How are the work results of competing shops in our plant determined? Their successes in economic and educational activities are rated with points, based on 16 indicators. The most important among them today are the implementation of the variety plan, labor productivity, state of labor and performing discipline, and economical and thrifty utilization of material and power resources. In assessing each indicator, the computer issues a number of points, after which, based on their total number, the competing collectives are rated, from first to last. The tables issued to the shops show the results of the work of each collective, clearly indicating not only its rating

in general but the reasons for which it was given precisely such a rating and the possibilities it has, the extent to which they were used and the reason for and frequency of penalty (negative) points given to the shop.

For example, the collective of Shop No 5 was awarded the basic 50 points for fulfilling its variety plan in March. It was given five points each for high production standards, good labor discipline, active efforts to use new equipment, efficient rationalization work and one win in the daily summation of competition results. The collective was given two more points each for overfulfilling the plan for production volume, low production costs and economical utilization of the wage fund. The successful implementation of other indicators gave the shop another 19 points. As a result, in the month of March the collective totaled 100 points and assumed a leading position in its group of shops. It was awarded the red challenge banner and a cash bonus.

Shop No 2 also fulfilled its March plan for the volume of output. However, its failure to fulfill the variety plan cost it 100 points. We must point out that however successfully a given shop may work it cannot be awarded more than 100 points. A rating place in the competition is awarded to a collective if the sum total of points it has accumulated is higher than zero. First place can be awarded only with more than 50 points. Therefore, the second shop lost in this case the possibility of even placing, regardless of how well it had overfulfilled the other indicators. It lost another 43 points for failure to implement the plan for the installation of new equipment, as a result of which, taking into consideration the other indicators, the shop ended with a total of -389 points, which put it in last place.

The experience we acquired convinced us that the comparative values of computer-calculated indicators enables us to determine quite objectively the results of the labor activities of competing collectives. Errors in this assessment can appear only in the case of mistaken accountability data. Therefore, a real opportunity has appeared of influencing not only leading collectives (through incentive measures) but also lagging ones (who are punished); stricter accuracy of accountability data is demanded.

The 4-year old experience in the use of our system for summing up competition results proved its efficiency. This system has yet another essential advantage: flexibility in controlling the course of the competition. With a view to the efficient reorientation of collectives toward the solution of the most topical problems, the system calls for an annual (or, if necessary, even more frequent) "reassessment" of indicators used. This enables us, if necessary, quickly to react to changes in economic and other assignments which face the collective and its subunits. For example, after the promulgation of the CPSU Central Committee decrees and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium ukases on intensifying the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism, by demand of the party committee the value of the "labor discipline" indicator was increased tenfold, which helped to intensify the struggle waged by labor collectives against lovers of the "green dragon."

Obviously, such a system for assessing work results can significantly improve the efficiency of cost accounting, by freeing it from complex additional controls of enterprise profits and, if necessary, immediately correcting any

deviation of interests of individual collectives from those of the state with the help of competition incentives.

In his Togliatti speech, M.S. Gorbachev gave the labor collectives the task of exceeding global accomplishments. This must become the principle of our work and one of the most important targets of the socialist competition. Naturally, this will call for amending some of the indicators which determine the contribution of each subunit to the production process.

In my view, the traditional procedure for summing up competition results and formulating tasks from the bottom to the top--from the brigade to the shop and so on--creates a number of problems. Quite frequently, for example, the question is asked: How frequently should a worker be rewarded if he was named the best in his brigade, after the brigade has won the shop competition and the shop, in turn, the plant competition; finally, what if the plant is placed among the winners in the sector? Or else, let us assume, what to do if the interests of the sector orient its workers primarily to meet some indicators, whereas the interests of related enterprises sometimes demand of the shop the opposite decision and if what is most beneficial to the plant turns out to be a third choice?

Our experience indicates that such disparity of interests can be avoided if the tasks are assigned to the people and results of their activities are estimated downwards: from the enterprise as a whole to the individual work place, determining the share of participation of the individual in the end result. The use of computers enables us substantially to reduce the amount of time needed in preparatory work in summing up the competition results for the plant. Three years ago, as a rule, they were announced on the 20th of the following month, whereas now, they are announced on the third day. We believe that the use of this system and sequence in summing up results on the sectorial or higher level would improve the organization and order and the balancing of plans.

In studying the number of systems for organizing the competition at different enterprises on a "nonprofessional" basis, we inevitably reached a conclusion of the expediency of centralizing (naturally, within sensible limits) this entire work. Applying the "downward" system in all cases without exception cannot be satisfactory. This requires centralized "blocks" of a competition control system, uniform recommendations, norming documents, and corresponding standards, if you wish. "What kind of standards are needed here?" one may object. "The competition is the live creativity of the masses!" This is true! Equally true, however, is the fact that even the most creative work of a painter is done with the help of ordinary brushes and paints and canvas. I am convinced that the methodically knowledgeable approach, based on scientific recommendations, to solving standard problems which arise in the course of organizing the competition could give even greater scope to mass creativity.

The system used in assessing results of competing labor collectives, adapted to the conditions of a rayon, city, oblast, sector or individual enterprise, similar to the one applied in our plant, would simplify control over the course of the production process by the superior authorities. This is my profound conviction. The use of indicators which would assess the work more

realistically, on the basis of the national viewpoint, and the extensive publicity given to results, would enable us to reduce control over the situation in a plant or a city to a selective detailed investigation of the objective nature of assessing the level of organization of the labor and education process in one or two subunits, conducted by the local party (soviet, economic) bodies, and the study of a consolidated table. Such a procedure, as we have seen from our own experience, would result not in paper shuffling and creating "dust" but in the efficient improvement in the work. The precise knowledge of the various types of failures would simplify the study of their reasons and their prevention, while a clear and objective evaluation of the achievements of the most successfully working collectives would enable us to improve the choice, study and dissemination of frontranking experience.

As in all matters, cadres are of decisive importance in the successful organization of the competition. Currently the organization of the competition at our enterprise is almost entirely the duty of elected activists and shop trade union committee chairmen. Sixty percent of these workers have, as a rule, higher technical training. Naturally, most of them periodically attend seminars for the trade union aktiv of the plant and some activists participate in seminars conducted on the city or oblast scale. Naturally, all of them read the respective popular science pamphlets. Meanwhile, a good quality textbook on the organization of the socialist competition, which would thoroughly describe the basic principles and forms of this work, has still not been written; nor are there specialists with higher training to deal with this problem on the professional level.

The management of social processes and people requires particularly extensive training and great general culture. Would it not be expedient, in this connection, to assign the organization of the competition to line managers, naturally, after giving them some training, and then include this work as one of their primary official obligations? In accordance with the Law on Labor Collectives, the results of the competition should be summed up by the trade union committees with the direct and most extensive participation of the working people themselves.

Practical experience has convinced us that higher end production results, including the more efficient utilization of the new progressive equipment, may be achieved as a result of the extensive use of the brigade form of labor organization and wages. More than 70 percent of our association workers work in brigades. The party committee has assigned more than 200 party organizers to strengthen the work of brigades applying the collective contract. However, the new form of labor organization does not always yield expected results and is occasionally difficult to apply to the present, quite imperfect, economic management mechanism. The party committee is directing today the plant services to the formulation of technological processes and plans for the deployment of equipment in accordance with the extensive utilization of collective labor methods, optimal sizes of contract brigades and possibilities of organizing the competition both within and among such brigades. Here as well, however, scientific recommendations and standards are needed.

V.I. Lenin's statement which he made at the dawn of the Soviet system remains sharply topical: "Socialism not only does not dampen the competition but, conversely, for the first time offers the possibility of using it truly extensively, effectively and on a mass scale, involving the true majority of working people in such work, where they can prove themselves, develop their capabilities and find talents which are an untouched source among the people..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Completed Collected Works], vol 35, p 195). Improving labor organization and incentive, the purpose of which is drastically to upgrade its productivity and strengthen new and progressive features, is an essential factor in our further development. The socialist competition can and must play an exceptionally important role in its acceleration.

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From Letters to the Editor -- In My Opinion...

#### INITIATIVE AND RESPONSIBILITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 86 (signed to press 29 Apr 86) pp 46-48

[Letter to the editors by V. Moskvitin, Zhidachov Cellulose-Cardboard Plant imeni 50-Letiya Velikoy Oktyabrskoy Sotsialisticheskoy Revolyutsii, Lvov Oblast legal department chief]

[Text] In my opinion, initiative and responsibility must be developed further. Through personal experience I have realized that the strict observance of firm legal standards and stipulations in economic relations and their accurate implementation help to strengthen socialist legality and state and labor discipline, without hindering initiative.

Let me illustrate this with the example of the Zhidachov Cellulose-Cardboard Plant imeni 50-Letiya Velikoy Oktyabrskoy Sotsialisticheskoy Revolyutsii. The legal service, which was set up here 7 years ago, set itself the special purpose of maximally lowering nonproduction costs, which usually come from penalties for the idling of transportation facilities, fines for the violation or nonfulfillment of contractual obligations and losses from shortages and spoiling of materials and finished products.

One of the major items of nonproduction expenditures is fines for above-norm idling of freight cars. Each such case is closely studied (information on received and dispatched cars is submitted to the legal department each 10 days). Even before the enterprise has paid a fine for idling, the personnel are already studying the reason. Speed is very important in this case, for determining the happenstances in the immediate aftermath of the event and determining which shops and, therefore, individual personnel, are the culprits for the fine, becomes more accurate. Here is an example: because of the low level of labor discipline and poor organization of loading and unloading operations, during some shifts of the timber exchange and transportation shop above-norm freight car idling occurred. The plant clearly established the individual responsibility of the corresponding officials and all the fines for freight car idling (based on one-third of wages) were charged to the specific culprits (shift foremen mainly). Today this system of material liability operates strictly and without allowances.

Our plant is the main owner of the siding and, naturally, bears full material liability to the railroad for freight car idling. However, in studying the

reasons for losses, the jurists determined that frequently the culprits are enterprises and organizations whose sidings merge with ours. The absence of accurate records led to the fact they were no longer concerned with promptly processing their freight cars. After the proper accountability was organized by the legal service, these enterprises and organizations were forced to compensate the plant for all expenditures incurred by their fault. This forced our partners to pull themselves together.

Furthermore, the legal counsel are focusing their efforts on applying legal pressure on unconscientious suppliers and ensuring their accurate and strict observance of economic contracts. They see to it that any stipulations unfair to the plant are deleted from such contracts. For example, the majority of suppliers try to include in the contract quarterly (and sometimes semi-annual and even annual) delivery deadlines. Today, the so-called protocols of differences, drafted by the lawyers, include the type of raw materials which must be evenly supplied on a monthly basis and which must reach the plant on a 10-day basis in order to maintain its production rhythm. The regulation on the delivery of items for industrial-technical use stipulates that if the enterprises have not submitted such deadlines to the arbitration authorities within a period of 20 days, they become law. A total of 426 claims were filed against violators of state discipline in 1978, and 871 in 1979; in 1985 the number dropped to 309. Why? After exigency has become systematic and fines are inevitable and efficiently levied, the partners begin to take this as the principle-minded position of the collective; resentments usually disappear and shortcomings are promptly eliminated.

It is true, however, that we also have suppliers who delay deliveries of coniferous timber during some quarter and do not meet their obligations until the end of the year. For this they pay fines occasionally amounting to 30 percent of the value of the goods to be delivered. Therefore, fines do not always meet their main purpose, which is to ensure the conscientious implementation of contracts. However, I cannot agree with those who suggest that they be abandoned entirely. In order to make penalties more effective, the enterprises related to ours must strictly observe the existing stipulation that the fine paid by an enterprise must be partially or entirely (depending on the amount) mandatorily paid by the specific individuals responsible for the losses.

The political report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress stipulated the following: "It is the direct task of the USSR Gosplan actively to assist in establishing direct long-term relations between producers and consumers on a contractual basis and to strengthen procurement discipline." In my view, it would be expedient to change some stipulations in the economic legislation which, essentially, undermine such relations. For example, a fine of 8 percent is paid for underprocurements of commodities to enterprises, while the fine for underprocurements to bases within the Gosplan system, which shipped the goods down the line, is 12 percent. Naturally, any supplier will try, above all, to fulfill his obligations to the procurement-marketing organizations, which is precisely what undermines direct long-term relations.

The work of the material and technical supply bodies suffers from many shortcomings and most gross errors which can be described only as cases of

irresponsibility. Thus, for a number of years the Ukrglavlesbum, which is engaged in planning deliveries of timber in the UkSSR, has issued to us plans for timber deliveries without planning for available freight cars. This results in the breakdown of supplies from some areas. Although our lawyers have addressed themselves to various organizations, including the arbitration authorities of several oblasts, no one has been held liable for this materially, disciplinarily or morally, for current economic legislation does not call for any fines at all for similar infractions. A planning and distribution authority, which has been slow in issuing an order for the delivery of an item or has not issued it at all can be fined no more than 500 rubles, which does not begin to compensate for the resulting losses. Furthermore, it cannot be held liable even if it has issued a totally unrealistic order.

Obviously, a more flexible, efficient and differentiated system of penalties is necessary, which would enhance the responsibility of USSR Gosnab bodies for realistic planning and ensuring the supply of material and technical resources to enterprises on time.

Speakers at the 27th Party Congress spoke on unfinished projects and errors in planning, "confusing" ministry functions and restricting enterprise rights. Let me cite a specific example: by the end of 1982 our plant undertook the experimental-industrial use of a domestically manufactured paper making machine--a first, experimental-industrial prototype. No other such machine existed in our country. Major structural errors had been made in its manufacturing by the fault of the Lenbummash Scientific Production Association and its related enterprises, which hindered the machine's output. The machine was not accepted by the USSR Gosplan Interdepartmental Commission, and no one undertook to determine its capacity. Nevertheless, the USSR Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry hastily issued a state plan for the machine: 22,000 tons of newsprint to be produced in 1983. Unfortunately, the plant's management failed to display the necessary principle-mindedness and accepted the arbitrary decision of the superior organization. This meant that essentially fictitious orders were issued and a delivery contract signed. The structural shortcomings of the machine were eliminated slowly, although within that time 13 technical conferences had been held on various levels and even a joint order had been issued by two ministers. As a result, during the 11th 5-Year Plan the plant fell short of supplying the national economy with 57,000 tons of newsprint (wrapping paper was produced instead). The present economic legislation does not relieve the supplier from responsibility in such cases. This is probably right: in our practice there should be no such planning at all. However, the plant which failed to supply goods to the customer paid the due fines. The 4,000-strong collective thus suffered without being at fault. It would have been proper to have the ministry pay the fine. Unfortunately, no such regulation exists. Is this fair? Is it not time to pass laws on ministries and departments stipulating their functions, rights, relations and responsibility for this kind of decisions, which entailed negative consequences to the enterprise?

Recent experience indicates that breakdowns of contractual obligations by the fault of transport organizations are the rule rather than the exception. Nevertheless, it is the manufacturer who is considered guilty for failure to



ship the commodities. In this case the transportation workers bear a limited material responsibility. For example, based on 1985 results, by the fault of the Lvov railroad, our plant was unable to ship out 280 freight cars with finished goods (various types of paper and cardboard). The goods remained in the warehouse and did not reach the consumer on time. The collective had to pay a fine of 39,180 rubles while the railroad paid only 1,306 rubles (according to current legislation, its fine is 1 ruble per ton). Similar cases have frequently occurred in the past. This is hardly a case of equal responsibility borne by industrial enterprises and railroads. A similar situation exists involving other units in the transportation system.

The lawyers have also some demands concerning the scientists. So far, the latter have failed economically to substantiate the amount of fines. They have not formulated methods for determining losses caused by underfulfillment of contractual obligations and rules on compensating for damages caused. For example, an enterprise may lose some of its wage fund as a result of violations of procurement discipline (paying its workers for equipment idling; additional expenditures related to overtime, etc.), as well as incentive funds. Such losses are not subject to compensation whatsoever, although they affect their victims quite substantially.

Effective labor standards (which would stipulate also effective material penalties, which would affect "like a reflected wave" the specific individuals causing the various work breakdowns), granted to the economic manager, would enable him to become more independent and be protected from bureaucratism and the element of arbitrary decisions. Such standards are one of the mandatory prerequisites for the strategy of acceleration.

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## INCREASING THE SPECIALIST'S EFFICIENCY

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[Letter to the editors by A. Navodnyy, director of the Induktor Plant in Novozybkov]

[Text] In my opinion, the most important thing today is to develop the creative initiative of the people and to find and harness internal production reserves. One of the basic reserves, in my view, is to upgrade the efficiency of specialists. As was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress, in recent years the increased number of graduating specialists has not been paralleled by the necessary improvements in the quality of their training. Quite frequently, finding themselves in a plant, young engineers unwillingly go to work in a shop. Instead, they try to find a job in various administrative services. Why? Because the production engineer bears much greater responsibility. He is responsible for the implementation of the plan, the organization of the work, material and technical supplies, labor discipline and many others, for which the young specialist has not been trained.

We need highly skilled cadres, who have mastered the new automated labor facilities and who can rapidly make use of ideas and thoughts. But what does actually happen? In frequent cases this is the first time in their life that VUZ graduates see a machine tool with a ChPU or a robot-driven complex in our enterprise. Such specialists have already fallen behind. They must be retrained, for their training is already obsolete.

Delegates to the congress spoke of changing the interrelationship between VUZs and technical schools, on the one hand, and national economic sectors, on the other, and intensifying their reciprocal interest in upgrading the level of cadre training and retraining. The idea expressed at the congress of training specialists on the basis of requirements of the various economic sectors is quite important to us, economic managers.

We believe that we must teach above all our own workers, those who have proven themselves, and in whom the collective has confidence. They must not be trained in any old VUZ or technical school. In my view, the time has come for the enterprise and, say, the institute to draft a contract for training boys and girls. The plant needs a specific type of engineer for a specific type of work such as, for example, for the position of chief of shop or head of

laboratory in tuning up electronic systems used at the enterprise. We would choose our own applicants for training. We would also agree to assume some of the training costs.

Naturally, in such cases the selection should be particularly thorough. We already have a reserve of independent thinking people who would like to study and work.

The modern production process is steadily being saturated with the latest equipment and requires the use of increasingly progressive technologies. Unless a specialist is retrained he rapidly falls behind. That is why we see to it that our people always informed about specialized publications. We assign workers to similar enterprises in which new production developments are used and to specialized exhibits and competitions. However, the retraining system must be centralized. Furthermore, workers as well must learn alongside engineering and technical personnel. Otherwise they would be unable to master the use of the new equipment and technologies. I believe that we must more rapidly implement the congress' stipulation of restructuring the state system for retraining and continuing professional growth of cadres.

Our plant is steadily developing. It faces important tasks in the production of the most advanced automated electric welding equipment. The collective is inspired to fulfill the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress worthily and successfully to complete the first year of the 12th 5-Year Plan. A tremendous amount of work lies ahead. We have started it by improving the training and retraining of cadres and increasing their responsibility for assignments.

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## NO ALLOWANCE FOR THE WEATHER

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 86 (signed to press 29 Apr 86) p 49

[Letter to the editors by V. Parfenov, Krasnyy Oktyabr Kolkhoz chairman, Kolyvanskiy Rayon, Novosibirsk Oblast]

[Text] In my opinion as, in fact, the opinion of many Siberian farmers, even under our harsh conditions stable crops can be grown despite the climate. Yes, the weather is not always kind to us: droughts may be followed by torrential rains. However, that is precisely why we live in the countryside: regardless of the weather, to raise high crops, and to increase milk production and increased cattle weight.

The 27th Party Congress called for substantially improving population food supplies during the 12th 5-Year Plan. This calls for more than doubling the growth rates of agricultural production. The results of the work of our collective clearly prove that such an increase is entirely attainable by the rural workers. Since 1979 we have increased milk production per cow between 22 and 30 percent and our grain crops from 14 to 21.5 quintals per hectare.

The key to success, as was pointed out at the congress, lies in the extensive application of intensive technologies. Some experience in this matter has been acquired by our kolkhoz as well. Last year we began to apply an intensive technology in the growing of spring wheat. We put 2,500 hectares of our best land under this crop and averaged four quintal of grain per hectare more than in the other fields. But even this is rather little. Had we been able to do everything properly, our crop could have been higher by no less than 10 quintals.

However, not everything depends on us. The main difficulty is the lack of equipment for the application of an intensive technology. We apply the fertilizer with grain sowing machines. Naturally, this way we can achieve neither the proper pace nor quality. We were given several machines for the application of fertilizer with deep grain sowing. The machines are good but they are too few. We have no machines for loading the fertilizer, taking it to the field and loading it into the sowing machines.

A great deal was said at the congress on perfecting the work of the APK. In our view, the personnel of Selkhozkhimiya have still not found their place

within the agroindustrial complex. Today they consider their task merely as that of supplying the farms with fertilizer. However, even that they perform poorly. They deliver hundreds of tons to us not throughout the year, as they should, but in a few days. We are short of manpower and equipment to haul it away. In some farms valuable fertilizer is left in pits, washed away by the rain, losing its qualities under the sun and, worst of all, polluting the environment. Soil maps are absolutely necessary in order properly to "feed" the land. Soil studies must be made every autumn and for each field. The agrochemical service is always behind. This too harms the crops.

Seeds are the main problem of the Siberians. Our Novosibirsk scientists have developed a good wheat strain--Novosibirskaya-67. It yields higher crops than others and contains more gluten. The trouble is that it has a long vegetation period, which is entirely undesirable given the short Siberian summer.

Nor are there new strains for winter rye. Yet we must increase this crop so that it may account for no less than 25 percent of the grain. Rye grows well in Siberia. Equally important is the fact that it can be harvested earlier.

We, rural workers, are doing everything possible to fulfill the tasks set by the party. However, our success greatly depends on the conditions which will be provided for the use of intensive technologies.

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## EVERYTHING WITHIN MAN--EVERYTHING FOR MAN

### MAN AND THE HUMAN FACTOR: NEW APPROACHES AND SOLUTIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 86 (signed to press 29 Apr 86) pp 50-59

[Text] The distinguishing feature of the documents of the 27th Party Congress is the fact that they are addressed to the person. All tasks and plans in the economic, social and spiritual areas are directly related to the person, to the human factor. The party draws prime attention to the human aspects of social activities and it is precisely on this basis that contemporary CPSU policy priorities are set.

This approach is based above all on the very nature of our system and the main value orientation of socialist society. "Everything in the name of man and for the good of man," the party program proclaims, thus emphasizing its continuity with the humanistic objectives and loyalty to the basic principle, to the very spirit of Marxism. Communists have always considered the entire variety of problems of the improvement of man as the most important prerequisite for social development and its aim. Material production, social relations, and culture in socialist society are oriented toward lofty humane objectives.

Under present circumstances, when time itself harshly faces us with the need for radical changes and the drastic acceleration of socioeconomic development, socialist society considers the active involvement of people in scientific and technical progress one of the main means of acceleration. In this case, the party rejects the utilitarian approach and opposes technocratic concepts of belittling the active role of man in contemporary production and his subordination to increasingly advanced technology, independent of humans. The congress most clearly emphasized that with a qualitatively new level of economic, technological and scientific development, the role and responsibility of the individual increase immeasurably, as does the importance of his actions, ideals and values.

Such is the way the question is formulated today. How is it refracted in practical terms?

The party considers that the concern for each collective and every Soviet person one of its most important tasks. How is this being achieved? "The party will persistently develop in the labor collectives and the individual workers the feeling of ownership of public property," the congress' documents

stipulate. They emphasize that it would be naive to imagine that this feeling can be developed through words. Unquestionably, a great deal of words were said to this effect. However, if we come across cases in which people do not feel themselves as owners--which appears unnatural under the conditions of the public ownership of the means of production--the reason is also clear: the imperfect nature of existing production relations which lead to such a situation. "...Circumstances creates people to the exact extent to which people create circumstances," the Marxist classics pointed out (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 3, p 37). In calling for asserting in the individual a feeling of proprietary interest, the party formulates a system of efficient measures which are a reliable material foundation for the implementation of this objective. This is both a realistic approach to the problem and a great mobilizing force.

The restructuring of the economic mechanism, centered on the enterprise and the labor collective, will strengthen interest in the common project, for in order to care for the general good it is important, above all, to feel oneself as the master of one's specific work sector. The reorganization should provide conditions for the efficient activities of labor collectives and their initiative and enterprise. It is a question of profitability and self-financing of all enterprises, proper utilization of commodity-monetary relations and encouragement of socialist enterprise. Work must be developed on the principles of total cost accounting, with resulting benefits and responsibility for the losses incurred by each enterprise and every working person. These principles must be applied to all primary labor cells, to every person. This will enable us to take steps to perfect the management system from above, with the development of collective forms of labor organization and incentive from below. This means that society, the collective and the individual will act in the common interest.

The idea of socialist self-management, which calls for broadening the rights of labor collectives and of the democratic principles in their activities--electiveness, publicity, and participation of all workers in the discussion and solution of vital problems--developed in the new draft of the party program, will contribute to the growth of proprietary feelings. The actual conditions under which a person works and his possibility of influencing production organization, distribution and utilization of labor results are what shapes the attitude toward ownership and public property, the congress emphasized, in formulating the task of continuing to intensify economic socialist self-management.

The idea of social justice, which was profoundly substantiated at the congress, is called upon to develop public interest and to enhance the person's labor activeness. A certain underestimating of this most important aspect of social relations in recent years led to a situation in which some people had removed themselves from the implementation of social objectives and the emphasis in the assertion of standards, such as responsibility, an economic attitude toward the work and labor dignity, had shifted. We frequently speak of respect for the person. However, sometimes we tend to replace this concept with something resembling rules of good behavior, applying it only to daily life. However, all of us live with the cause to

which we devote our time, knowledge and moral strength. The highest measure of respect for the person is the social recognition of his labor.

Formulating a specific program for better implementation of the principle of social justice in all areas of social relations means creation the type of material conditions and moral climate and organizing the work and distribution of goods in each collective in such a way that the skilled and conscientious worker would feel better and live better and the laws and principles of socialist community life would be scrupulously observed, so that every person would firmly believe in our ideals and values. That is how the congress formulated the task.

The strong social policy developed by the party assumes an essentially new significance at the acceleration stage, for it is precisely here that the humanistic nature of the socialist system is manifested extensively and clearly. It is no secret that it is precisely the lack of attention to the social aspect of production, culture, way of life and recreation that was one of the main reasons for shortcomings in economic development, weakening of discipline and adopting a passive attitude. The social policy adopted by the congress covers the entire range of labor conditions and human activities and the entire variety of their relations. This is the only approach which can provide, on the one hand, the necessary conditions for the development of the initiative of the Soviet person, as the master of the country, worker and citizen, and, on the other, make possible a substantial progress in the implementation of our programmatic objective: attaining the total well-being and free and all-round development of all members of society.

The party earmarks the specific ways for the gradual conversion of labor into a prime vital need for every person: intensifying the creative content and collective nature of labor, upgrading its standards, significantly reducing manual labor and eliminating (in the future) monotonous, hard physical and unskilled labor; implementing a set of scientific and technical, economic and social steps leading to the full and efficient employment of the population and offering everyone the possibility of working in his chosen area.

The understanding of the problem of social homogeneity and unity of society and the development of the individual, refined and developed by the congress, is of exceptional importance. Homogeneity does not mean grayness, monotony or equalization of people and thoughts, as the foes of communism have charged ever since these ideas emerged. The party tries, on the basis of equalizing the most general conditions for the functioning of our system, to promote comprehensive manifestations of individuality in labor, inventiveness and creativity. It actively supports the activities of social organizations which express the variety of interests, needs and capabilities of the people. It pursues a conscious policy aimed at encouraging initiative and competition among minds and talents, without which the socialist way of life and progress would be inconceivable. At the present stage the question is formulated as follows: If we are unable to reach a new, incomparably higher level of production and economic competition, and competition in science and artistic creativity, we shall be unable to solve the problem of accelerating the country's socioeconomic progress.



A tremendous restructuring program has been formulated. It begins with man himself. Is man ready for this?

In their time sociologists in Novosibirsk made a study in rural rayons and determined that the overwhelming majority of people (90 percent of managers and 84 percent of rank-and-file workers) consider that they could work much more productively given different economic and organizational conditions. This is natural. As a rule, the individual would like to obtain maximal satisfaction from his work. It is not a matter of indifference to him the way in which his knowledge and skill are displayed where he works; he needs the confidence that his work is needed, that his labor has not be wasted because of someone's inefficiency.

Today conditions are changing, and so are returns, as confirmed by the experience of associations and enterprises where the principles on the basis of which the current restructuring is taking place, were experimentally tested. This experience, however, also proves how difficult it is occasionally to turn to the new, and the great deal of strength, new knowledge, skill, patience and, above all, willingness that are demanded of the person working under acceleration conditions. We find at each enterprise and in every project people who are skilled and energetic and who are striving for total self-realization in labor. There also are those who tend to consider acceleration only as labor intensification, who fear increased obligations and stricter requirements, the need to retrain and to change their style. However, reorganization is our common project, and will affects everyone.

In emphasizing the increased role of man in the development of the production process, we note with legitimate pride that the social type of worker in the socialist economy has changed. The level of his education, culture, information and social and legal self-awareness has risen. It is becoming particularly obvious today how much more remains to be done to ensure the social, professional and spiritual development of the working people.

Many people will have to refresh their knowledge, to review old traditions and attitudes toward the work. The combination of electronics with technology and work processes will shape tomorrow's machine building. Already now increasingly refined means of control are being applied in machines, which will require a qualitatively new standard of training of the person who will interact with such machines. The workers themselves say that "a different mind" is needed for handling such equipment. However, interest in further training varies: it is clearly stronger among those who are better trained and educated.

The question of the significant growth and broadening of the range of professional training also faces those who are still not on the cutting edge of progress. Plans for the future presume a quick change of the set of knowledge and skills and a steady orientation toward the new and its mastery. Obviously, systematic work to upgrade training and skills must outstrip in its pace the use of new equipment and technology. This will provide additional incentive in the growth of scientific and technical progress. As was noted at the congress, the task of setting up a unified system for continuing education

has been put on the agenda. This will enable us to meet these requirements more fully. A streamlined system for the economic education of workers and engineers will have to be formulated, so that everyone can approach knowledgeable and skillfully the economic assessment of technical solutions. It is important for the person himself to realize the need for such training.

The new generation of workers and specialist will start the accelerated pace with new knowledge, which will include thorough theoretical knowledge, practical skills and computer literacy. Education, however, is not as mastery. The style of work which the young will choose and the level toward which they will orient themselves are important.

Unfortunately, in recent years there was too much reliance on mediocrity, and grayness, making the individual to be "like the others," and, frequently, as a result, losing his talent. On the social level this turns into tangible losses in the development of science, production and culture. Recently one of our noted motion picture directors pointed out in an article the terrible evil which "the slouching middle," the struggle against which is complex but necessary, is becoming in film making.

We realize the relevance of the problem of unskilled labor and are doing a great deal to eliminate it faster. Now, at the acceleration stage, the problem of highly skilled labor is no less urgent. We could adopt as the slogan for such work Lenin's statement: "Mandatorily go forth, mandatorily achieve more, mandatorily move from easier to more difficult tasks" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Completed Collected Works], vol 37, p 196).

The party calls upon the Soviet people more daringly to assume responsibility, exercising in full their right to independently solving many problems, thinking more broadly, not fearing to assume a risk, and abandoning the "philosophy of imitation," and shaping the face of socioeconomic and spiritual progress through their toil and their minds.

However, it is becoming particularly obvious today how important it is not to lose that which, by virtue of one reason or another, had been given second priority in the past but which has always been inherent in the true working person and in our way of life.

In thinking of the human factor, in one of his articles, Hero of Socialist Labor N. Chikirev, general director of the Stankostroitelnyy Zavod Production Association imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze, defined it quite simply. He quoted from a letter which he had received from the front line as a young apprentice turner at the same plant. Its author was a soldier who had lost his entire family and who now turned to the only person he considered close, although he had never met him--the person who worked at his own machine tool. In those terrible times, in the middle of the war, the soldier wrote: "Our machine tool is old. It needs special care. Pay attention to the clutch. As you know, it is weak, for which reason do not engage it sharply.... I know that things are quite difficult with you now. Try to do without fitters. Do your own fitting. Today one must do the work of two..." I do not know whether words are needed in this case, noted the director in quoting this letter.

This attitude towards one's plant and work and this type of understanding of duty to the country and to oneself is the highest manifestation of the human factor.

It is difficult to take into consideration such qualities, which are one of the decisive advantages of our system. They do not come with education alone. In order to live and work as required, one must above all develop as a person. In the course of acceleration, production does not eliminate the importance of the individual. According to the communists, the scientific and technical revolution will be accompanied by the assertion and enhancement of man. That is why the problem of educating, of molding the individual is so urgent today.

It is hardly necessary to prove that even the most efficient scientific ideas and advanced technologies will not yield proper results without a culturally and morally developed, socially active and politically conscious person. However, the simple understanding of this truth is insufficient. Today it is backed by a sharp increase of investments in culture, education, medicine and consumer services and particular attention is being paid to their efficient use. However, it is important to back such investments with others, such as consistent and efficient and comprehensive work aimed at the social orientation of the individual and his spiritual standards.

It is mainly a question of developing the active nature of man as against passive contemplation, which is alien to our social ideals. "In the same way that society molds man as such, man molds society," Marx wrote (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 42, p 118). "...History consists precisely of the actions of active individuals," Lenin noted in turn (op. cit., vol 1, p 159).

Such a development of the personality becomes a universal accomplishment under socialist conditions. The problems which are being solved at the present stage emphasize the significance of this ideal and give it a new meaning and practical direction. It is particularly important for young people to realize this, when they are beginning to solve the problems of self-determination and self-assertion. In our time the possibility of choice and the role of motivating incentives and the grounds for personal decisions increase, and it is very important to channel them into objectives consistent with the needs of society and which develop an interest in labor. Developing from childhood an attitude toward labor as civic duty, vital need and most important means of development of society and of the individual is of tremendous importance.

It is common for the people, to aspire to fulfill their dreams and make significant accomplishments, for which reason their dreams must not be destroyed. In this sense, we should remember A.S. Makarenko's theory, the essence of which is the following: to educate the person means to develop his feeling of perspective. "A person who bases his behavior on the most immediate perspective," he wrote, "is a very weak person. If he is satisfied with his own perspective, although distant, he may seem strong but does not trigger in us a feeling of the beauty of personality and of its true value. The broader the collective, the prospects of which are adopted by the individual as his own, the more beautiful and superior a person becomes" (A.S. Makarenko, "Soch." [Works], vol V, Moscow, 1958, p 74).

This approach is particularly topical today, when all processes are related to the free-flowing current of social life, when honesty in statements is being asserted, and when worker meetings and initiatives assume a new tonality and a new importance, and when the very status of the person in the production process inspires him to reach beyond the limited world of professional interest and enter the broad social world. The enhancement of skills, mastery of new equipment and new types of labor are all means for the implementation of the social problems which are formulated today by society with a view to man's development. An individual becomes spiritually richer the more extensive his social relations are. Tremendous possibilities appear in this area: the party considers the systematic development of socialist self-management by the people the center of the further advancement of democracy. This makes even more important the task of shaping in every citizen--in the young above all--the need to participate in the administration of social and government affairs.

However, this is only one aspect of the problem. Our objective is the upbringing of a socially active and harmoniously developed individual. Only yesterday we could be more tolerant of the "strictly-production" view concerning the human factor and the inability to understand the "human dimension" of scientific and technical progress and its ties with the spiritual world. The time has come now to abandon mental stereotypes based on false priorities and values, to look more closely at the person, show greater respect for his interest and inclinations and skillfully develop and educate his needs.

We are entering not only the world of computers, electronics, robots, information and biotechnology, but also the world of the maximal development of what is human in man: his mind and humaneness and the uniqueness and variety of his personality manifestations in the spiritual area. Unquestionably, robots will do a great deal of work faster and better for their masters. The main question, however, is who will control the new technology? Our society is doing everything possible to keep it in the hands of humane and educated people.

Hence the tremendous role of education, and culture in shaping the individual. Unfortunately, for the time being we come across those who, in the course of the training of the individual, gain little from the viewpoint of cultural and moral upbringing and, in the upbringing process, gain little in improving their education. Many specialists, after graduating from a school or institute, expose themselves to artistic culture only sporadically and not always profoundly. Yet the general cultural foundation of the individual develops when a person is able to understand life and its meaning and creatively to participate in it extensively and personally.

The party considers as the main task of its cultural policy to provide the broadest possible scope for the manifestation of the capabilities of people and to make their life spiritually rich and comprehensive. It structures its entire cultural and educational work in order better to satisfy the spiritual demands of the people and anticipate their interest.

The more efficient utilization of the leisure time, as a time for cultural development, is a major social and humanistic problem. The appearance of advanced television and video equipment increases man's opportunities for becoming a passive consumer of various types of shows and entertainment. Unquestionably, it is in the interest of the individual to develop, above all, the meaningful, the qualitative aspect of his leisure time. Marx defined it as a time for the "total development of the individual which, in itself and in turn, acts as a most productive feedback on the productive power of labor" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 46, part II, p 221). It is precisely for this reason that particular concern is now being shown in our country for the building of cultural institutions and sporting facilities, the better organization of the people's recreation, the development of a network of hobby and artistic activities clubs, the organization of travel and tourism, etc. At the same time, in the spirit of the congress, the question is formulated also somewhat differently: the initiative of the people themselves and their labor collectives and public organizations must be manifested in this area as well with increasing activeness.

The process of restructuring the awareness and the upbringing of the person is today taking place comprehensively, surmounting a number of enduring concepts and encountering new problems. For many years our state and the people themselves were forced to deny themselves even the simplest necessities because of objective conditions. We experienced the trials of hunger, war and all possible shortages. Now, when sufficiency has arrived, when the well-being of the Soviet people is characterized in state plans by more than 100 different indicators, there is an intensive shift in needs, not always in favor of the spiritual ones.

In emphasizing the role of the spiritual factor in the development of human activities, our society does not consider it in the least as a means of limiting material aspects. It does not try to pit growing consumption against "plebeian-proletarian asceticism" (Engels). The sources of philistine recurrences are not found in improved material well-being. Those who fail the "test of sufficiency" are the people who see such sufficiency merely as a condition for their development as individuals. "Man," A.V. Lunacharskiy pointed out, "does not live for the sake of such facilities. He must dress, eat, rest and work in order to develop his knowledge, his feelings and sensations, in order to find happiness, to be happy and to share this happiness with others" ("A.V. Lunacharskiy o Narodnom Obrazovanii" [A.V. Lunacharskiy on Public Education]. Moscow, 1958, p 274).

The party firmly opposes a consumer mentality and ideology, which promotes the "upside-down" attitude toward a world in which objects dominate man, determining his thoughts and ideals and shaping a style of behavior alien to our morality. Occasionally, philistinism appears almost compatible with socialism and scientific and technical progress (referring only to what such an appearance brings to people on the material level). Philistinism has many faces. That is why the struggle against philistine philosophy is becoming an essential component of moral upbringing at the present stage.

This struggle is complicated by the fact that the shortcomings against which such a merciless war has been declared today, have substantially influenced

and are still influencing the mentality and self-awareness of many people. This cannot be ignored. If some moral criteria are undermined, the result is a stronger manifestation of bureaucratism, money-grubbing, and account padding, in some, and indifference, alienation and cynicism, which have become typical in others. The old gap between words and actions triggered mistrust and, in some cases, loss of faith. It is a characteristic phenomenon that not all workers in agriculture willingly accept to work under the conditions of the brigade method. They are not convinced that such conditions will be mandatorily observed; not every manager tries to exercise the autonomy granted to him, fearing that he will "not be praised" for that; there are also those who wait for everything to blow over...

The very atmosphere of the congress provided excellent training in morality. It taught lessons in truth, which essentially determined its proceedings, and firmly attacked "equalization," economic impunity, social irresponsibility and all sorts of unhealthy phenomena which demand of everyone to rethink many things and to correlate what was said and planned with his own conscience. Actually, today it is a question not only of moral development but also of a certain renovation for many people, of a moral renovation above all. Here there neither is nor could there be any kind of indulgences and privileges. What determine the value of an individual and are the base of social justice in socialist society are only labor, its quantity and quality and moral example.

It is particularly essential with this approach that the consideration of the individual as the main value be reflected in real action. A great deal is being done in this respect of late. This applies to measures to strengthen and protect human health, which is considered by the party a matter of prime importance, as it considers such problems on the basis of broad social positions. Characteristic in this respect, in particular, is the party's decree approving the work of the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine and many other enterprises on preventing and lowering morbidity among working people. It is a question of the practical work of state and public organizations with a view to the comprehensive strengthening of the family and its foundations. Social concern for the creation of better working and living conditions for mothers and attention to war and labor veterans assume high moral value.

It is very important not to lower the intensiveness of the struggle against the socially dangerous phenomena of drunkenness and alcoholism, which maim and kill the person morally and physically and hinder our progress. The party intends to wage this struggle tirelessly, decisively and uncompromisingly.

Nothing should be considered too petty if related to the assertion of lofty moral concepts. This particularly applies our interrelationships. A wise kolkhoz chairman, who had been heading his kolkhoz ever since the time of the commune, strictly followed throughout his life the maxim that "one may punish a person but not humiliate him!" We believe that these words are fully consistent with the tonality of our time.

In speaking of the problem of shaping the individual, naturally, we do not look only at the future. Need we prove that our society has promoted and recognized people with lofty feelings, skill and enthusiasm, who always

retained and developed the true moral values? Many such people exist around us, although they are not always visible. It is important to single them out more clearly, and describe more frequently and vividly their lives, for the destinies and accomplishments of such people are the most convincing examples for emulation and the best reason for thoughts about life and the best proof that the man of the new world has already become reality.

Giving priority to the problem of man, the human factor and socioeconomic development most clearly shows the great need for and relevance of the comprehensive study of this problem and the need for a more profound knowledge of man himself. How does modern science respond to this?

The USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium recently decided on the creation of a scientific council for the comprehensive study of the problems of man, combining the efforts of people in various fields of knowledge and different scientific institutions. So far, such studies have been conducted with no coordination, as a rule within the individual specialized sciences--social, natural and technical. As a result, the sum total of sufficiently reliable information about man is substantial. However, so far we have been unable to develop an overall picture on the basis of such information. Man's integral personality has become so highly developed that his study requires new approaches and comprehensive methods.

It is becoming possible today to reach a new theoretical and organizational level of knowledge of man and to issue corresponding recommendations related to the education and molding of the personality through the interaction of social, moral and natural-biological factors. This presumes not simply the interaction among the sciences of man but also their organic unity. In this case philosophy--a sui generis integrator of the knowledge of man--must play a special role. Such interaction is necessary not only within the special sciences but also between them and the arts, for the tremendous role which the traditions of the humanistic culture of mankind and the best accomplishments in literature and art play in the moral world of man is clear.

There are reasons to believe that a new type of science is developing today, dealing ever more actively directly with man, closely combining practice with socioethical standards and culture as a whole.

What are the main problems on which attention is focused? Let us say that, above all, it is necessary clearly to define and more profoundly to interpret the very concept of the "human factor." This is not some kind of abstract-scholastic problem. It arises, specifically, for many propagandists, for an aspiration is noted in practical work to reduce the interpretation of the problem of man precisely to a narrowly understood human factor. It is important to emphasize here once again that the party documents do not provide even the slightest grounds for such a confusion of concepts. The concept of the "human factor" is a specific indication of the functioning of man within the system of social, economic, production, scientific and technical, organizational-managerial and other relations; this involves all that pertains to man as the subject of activities in various areas of social life. The human factor is decisive in the process of accelerating socioeconomic development. However, this does not mean that we ignore the other realms of

activities and manifestations of the individual within the full range of values. Man is the target of our society and its development. The wealth of the individual, according to Marx, is the main capital which can assume the importance of a productive force.

The purpose of science is to study man in his integral aspect, including on the specifically functional level, i.e., as a "human factor."

The study of the human aspects of social processes, which have assumed first priority under contemporary conditions, is particularly important. It is a question of the means and methods of controlling labor and social activeness, harmonizing social, collective and personal interests, creating optimal socio-organizational conditions and perfecting the incentive system, promoting human initiative and discipline. Finally, it is a question of the moral foundations and criteria in life and activities and their meaning, considered not only in their totality but also in their strictly individual personality aspects.

A great deal remains to be done on the scientific-philosophical level. The main task here is to find the way to the overall scientific study of man in the unity of his social and biological qualities, avoiding extremes and proceeding from the Marxist theory of the social nature of man.

Particular attention must be paid to problems arising at the "intersection" of individual sciences which study various aspects of the human existence and development: personal qualities in their interconnection and interaction with social relations; laws governing the shaping of the individual in the course of his training and upbringing, labor activities, sociocultural creativity and moral advancement; problems of interaction and reciprocal adaptation between man and technology, particularly the new and the latest (the science of ergonomics); the social, genetic and physiological determinants in the functioning of the brain and the dynamics of mental processes; the mechanisms of human adaptation, interacting with social, ecological and genetic factors; problems of increasing the life span in their medical-biological, social and moral aspects, etc.

All of these are problems without the profound study of which we can no longer find out about the world of the contemporary person and master the new methods shaping him as an individual in accordance with the new requirements of social development and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

What will the man of the future look like? What are the changes awaiting him? How can science, art and literature influence the development of his capabilities and needs and the reaching of true equality among people while preserving individual features? The questions asked by society in this case are tremendous and science must be prepared to answer them. Such problems are not merely a matter of the future. They are topical as of now, in the course of shaping the new man of the new civilization.

In his answer to the letter of M. Maroua, the head of the "International Life Institute," M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, emphasized that to us human life is the highest value. Science and technology of today enable us to embellish, in the full meaning of the term, life on



earth and to create conditions for the comprehensive development of every individual. The party's policy and all activities are aimed in precisely that direction--the implementation of the constructive program and the preservation of the very existence of the human species.

We proceed from the humanistic principle clearly described by A.M. Gorkiy in his poem "Man:" "Everything Within Man--Everything for Man!" We thus emphasize the uniqueness and value of man and his development as the "absolute motion of establishment" (Marx) in socialist society and his decisive role as a factor of social activities and the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. The man of the new world, and his actions, ideals and values are the main, the basic feature of the center where the "power lines" cross in politics, science and the advancement of socialism and its growth into communism.

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## RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FUTURE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 86 (signed to press 29 Apr 86) pp 60-61

[Article by L. Balykova, history teacher at the Bolsheukovski Secondary School, Omsk Oblast, honored school teacher of the RSFSR, Hero of Socialist Labor and delegate to the 27th CPSU Congress]

[Text] "The future," M.S. Gorbachev said at the 27th CPSU Congress, "is largely shaped, comrades, by the type of young people we raise today. This is a task for the entire party, the entire people." We, teachers, have been entrusted with the greatest wealth of society, the children, to whom we dedicate our hearts and strength.

The level of maturity reached by our pupils depends on the extent to which they realize their place in life, in the fate of their people and in history in general--on their civic stance. Both family and school are responsible for its development. Whereas in the public production system man is the main productive force, we, teachers and school workers, are more responsible for this force than anyone else.

All of us warmly welcome the CPSU course of instilling comprehensive order and strictly observing the main principle of socialism: to each according to his work. Let us note that the experience of real life is stronger than any sermon. A practical and businesslike atmosphere is the most important feature of the socialist way of life. It is only in such an atmosphere that sensible spiritual needs are developed in full, unity between social and private interest is cemented and a proper attitude concerning the role and value of the working person in our society is shaped.

Let us take our school as an example. Its life is not isolated from life around it and from the concerns and joys of all working people in the village, rayon and oblast. In recent years, many of our graduates have linked their lives to their native region. They include mechanizers, livestock breeders and agricultural production managers. We are pleased to see that a particle of our long and painstaking work is included in their honest and conscientious work and deserved reputation.

However, we are critically assessing our achievements in the light of increased requirements. Shortcomings such as "percentage mania" and formalism have not yet been eliminated. The requirement of the 27th CPSU Congress addressed to all areas of social life not to fall behind progress, firmly to reject obsolete stereotypes and advance more energetically, also make it necessary for us, school workers, to tighten up.

Perfecting the training and upbringing of the students is maximally related to life. This is the purpose of the creative efforts of Soviet teachers. The key problem of the school reform is to combine training with productive toil. More than 20 years ago our oblast party organization stated that "Any kolkhoz and sovkhoz begins with the school." The systematic observance of the line helps to strengthen the material base of the school. The forms of participation of our children in labor are developing and broadening. Student production brigades are successfully working in many farms. Here the students acquire their initial labor training. This is the proper way of retaining young people in the countryside.

The reform means changing curriculums and improving the training process and, above all, achieving the psychological restructuring of the teacher himself. Unfortunately, our pedagogical schools are still poorly implementing this social instruction. Let me frankly say that frequently young specialists have poorly mastered the skills of educational work.

We are also concerned by the timid development of student self-management. We speak a great deal of converting knowledge into conviction as displayed in the specific steps and actions of school students. In fact, we do a great many things instead of letting the children do them. Are these not the origins of indifference, dependence and passiveness which brings so many disappointments later in life?

One of the main shortcomings of our steps is excessive organization and the inability of some educators to turn the Komsomol and Pioneer organizations into their active assistants.

It is high time for the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and the Komsomol Central Committee to draft a regulation on the sociopolitical practices of students. Turning seniors into direct participants in the education process is our common task.

I must also mention the case of frequently taking the teacher away from his direct obligations. Despite strict party instructions, a great deal of valuable time is wasted in all kinds of conferences, rallies and meetings. Valuing every working minute is necessary not only in material production. This rule must become a universal law.

This autumn, throughout the country 6-year-old children will sit behind the school desks throughout the country. Practical experience has indicated that the schooling of the 6-year-olds yields good results if everything necessary has been provided. In particular, additional training areas are needed. This

is only one aspect of the matter. The Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and the USSR Ministry of Education are in debt to the schools: to this date school teachers have not been supplied with method publications on the training of 6-year-old children.

In conclusion, I shall express the feelings of all teachers: the party congress gave us a great deal of new strength and positive feelings and, above all, a clear view of our growth and advancement.

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ALEKSANDR SUKHANOV'S CHARACTER AS A WORKER

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 86 (signed to press 29 Apr 86) pp 62-66

[Article by O. Kuprin]

[Text] The cafeteria was crowded. A line of people were waiting for the food and all tables were occupied. The din was loud, as though a male chorus was rehearsing. The arched roof made the acoustics good. The cafeteria was made of the type of cast iron tubes used in the long subway lines. The public catering institution itself was located deep underground. Very close to it, on different levels, two lines of the Moscow subway crossed. The closest Polyanka stop and all approaches to it were being built by those who were eating here--the builders of the SMU-8 Mosmetrostroy.

Increasingly, discussions around the table were about the Lyublin radius. The people were unwilling to discuss current affairs. What could they say about them? It was necessary to bring order in the passage tunnel, i.e., the approach to the main tunnel along which subway trains were already traveling. The passage tunnel was already lit and almost dry (by subway construction standards). All that remained to be done were cosmetic repairs: raise the floor slightly and even it up, install cable brackets, clean up, and so on. This was simple work, but someone had to do it. A single brigade could do this and the other two could be transferred to the Lyublin-Dmitrovskaya line. They could, if the designers had not fallen behind.

Sukhanov was not eating. He was not in the mood to eat and felt unnecessary to store up energy without applying physical effort. Four months of the new 5-year plan had gone by while he, with his famous brigade, had not covered a single meter of the several dozen kilometers by which the Moscow subway had to be lengthened by 1990. He knew how much remained to be done. The work had to be radically reconstructed, involving intensification and the increased activeness of the human factor. These were important concepts, familiar to all. But how specifically to energize this factor here, at subway tunnel No 703?

As they have in the past, many people visit the underground cafeteria. There are no violations of discipline whatsoever. The lunch break is 48 minutes and within that time one could hold a leisurely discussion while eating. When real work is underway such as, for example, digging a tunnel, even at the

busiest time half the tables are empty and no one waits in line for the food. People take 15-20 minutes to eat and rush back to the tunnel. No one urges them to do so. It is the work that calls them back, the particular mining zeal and, for some people, perhaps also the desire to earn more. There is nothing wrong with this. Not everyone has to worry, as Sukhanov does, about those subway kilometers. The main thing is the work. Incidentally, the human factor is energized only when things get moving instead of stagnating or crawling. The more difficult the work, the more tempered the person becomes. It is also true that some people are unable to withstand the harsh subway work.

Vsevolod Nikolayevich Churkin, section chief, has his own theory: if a novice moves furtively you may expect a request for resignation; if he faces the rock it means that he has a suitable character and not much one-on-one work is needed with such people. Briefly, this means that the section will have one more reliable person.

Next year Churkin will be celebrating 50 years of work at Metrostroy, interrupted by four years of war. He served in the navy and has considered himself since then a real seewolf. He invariably wears a striped sailor's vest, and sounds like a boatswain, loud and slightly hoarse. A special relationship has developed between him and Sukhanov. The table of organizations at the section changes frequently. All depends on the work. In some cases, such as now, one or two brigades will be transferred elsewhere, sometimes at the opposite end of the city. Churkin does not let Sukhanov go. To Vsevolod Nikolayevich, Sukhanov's brigade is his own. This is an informal feeling. On the practical level, it is the most reliable. This, precisely, is Sukhanov's attitude toward Churkin. In this case there is total reciprocity. They feel the same about the past war although they belong to different generations. However, the war is an intrinsic part of their lives.

In 1941 Sasha Sukhanov was 8 years old. He lived with his parents and a brother who was not even a year old, not far from the then northernmost Sokol subway station. That year Sasha entered the first grade (before the war children started school at the age of 8). The school closed down when the frontline approached Moscow.

This frontline city became his first and most authoritative teacher and educator. It taught him not the alphabet or bookish wisdom, and not student zeal. No, it taught him something else: the spiritual qualities which turn a person into a personality, a citizen, and which make personal qualities more than personal. This is a complex process. However, the gravity and great importance of some situations may shorten it to the limit. One may not be an active participant in such major events but unless one is a pathological individualist the common joys and common troubles become personal joys and troubles without any special educational efforts. All depends on the scale of events and the speed of their development.

The fate of his native city, of his country was being decided in the eyes of this 8-year old boy. In his immediate vicinity, tanks rolled straight into battle along the Leningrad Highway, from the famous parade on Red Square on 7 November 1941. Traveling in the opposite direction were ambulances and 1.5-

ton trucks with sides splintered by fragments, carrying wounded. Sovinformbureau communiques and the consequences of the latest bombing were being discussed in the long bread lines. Once a shell exploded in the immediate vicinity of that line. Two people were killed and many others were wounded.

In 1942, when Sasha reentered the first grade, the mailman brought the last letter from the front. It was not the soldier's triangular government-issue envelope. The Moscow construction worker, Sasha's father, had been killed at Stalingrad. Thus, life spared him nothing. His character was formed by his father's blood and mother's tears, which taught him to gauge people and events on the basis of the highest scale of values, totally unlike that of a child. He became the man of the family and, willy-nilly, was forced to make responsible decisions, even though he was no more than 13 and a fourth grader.

Sasha did not enter the fifth grade. Instead, he enrolled in vocational school, which made his mother's life easier. He worked as a fitter at a plant. At the age of 19, this voluntary Komsomol member was sent to the Metrostroy by the raykom. At that time the Kiev-ring station was under construction. He is still scared when he thinks about it: it was pitch dark, water up to the knees, feet sunk in the mud, and the pneumatic drill behaving like a wild horse and hard to say who was running whom: the drill or the person. After his first shift he collapsed on the bed and a shameful little thought came to him--to run somewhere far away. The thought ran around his mind but could not settle. Nor did the situation at work allow it.

Young people did not stay long in the tunnel. The front veterans, who had gone through fire and water during the war, scornfully referred to them as "generation of weaklings." Sukhanov did not quit as a matter of principle. In the final account, someone had to defend the honor of his generation, although hardly any condemnation had been voiced in his case. Aleksandr never became very tall or very strong from the meager military rations.

Since then, 40 years have passed in work at Metrostroy; he has been a brigade leader for 22 years and for the past 10 has been wearing on his best suit the star of Hero of Socialist Labor; this is also his second term as deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet; he has been a delegate to two party congresses. As to his personal life, he married, fathered two daughters and is already grandfather and for almost 3 years is classified as a working pensioner. Like miners, the builders of Metrostroy can retire at age 50.

Sukhanov's work and thoughts today are hardly about retirement. His thoughts are sad: for the first time in many years he was unable to fulfill his socialist pledges to Metrostroy and to this day he feels no particular change in the underground project; the pace is not right. A person with his experience can clearly see this without any reports on fulfillments or underfulfillments, and without any bookkeeper information. The veteran has his own accurate gauges.

Underground, the temperature remains virtually unchanged whatever the time of year. Another thing that rarely changes is the clothing: work clothes, under which a light shirt or a t-shirt. This is the clothing for ordinary work. If

the job is tough, not for snivelers or people with weak nerves, off come the jacket and the shirt, for it gets hot. Water drops from the ceiling, like a light rain in July, irritating but not refreshing. Now, however, before going down into the tunnel, people will be wearing a jacket and even an old sweater, to keep warm. There is also more talk than usual about earnings.

It is as though someone especially designed a wage system for the tunnel diggers such as to test human nature. In digging a tunnel one could earn as much as 400 rubles monthly but now, in "cleaning up" at Polyanka, one is thankful even for 200. The veterans are not surprised by such financial drops. They have learned how to structure their family budgets according to such irregular earnings; the young, however, are frequently in trouble. Naturally, in this case the mood is by no means optimistic and leads to all sorts of thoughts and "the desire to change jobs."

According to the sociologists, earnings are the basic reason for labor activities. This reason is followed by another, which is more important to today's youth: interest in the meaning of their work. Here again conditions at Metrostroy are another test for the novice. When a tunnel is being drilled, and when one is storming the hard rock with the drill, the game may not be intellectual but at least it involves physical strength, excitement and even a certain romanticism. Every meter conquered from the ground and each tube laid are the visible and tangible (you can touch it if you wish) result of your labor. The rock you have defeated, crushed by your drill, and blasted with your explosives, is carted to the surface. And when the tunnel is being cleared and everything underground is put in order, the same carts are used to remove the usual trash.

The result is that during the periods of calm between drilling the two types of jobs, combined, result in a rather negative psychological feeling, officially described as "cadre turnover." Add to this that today, as was the case half a century ago, nearly 40 percent of the subway builders do manual work. When this figure is mentioned, Sukhanov usually adds: "I am ashamed to mention it."

Is it not shameful that Moscow's Metrostroy is in one of the last positions in the sector in terms of technical facilities? Is it not shameful for reputable plants to manufacture drills which only last a week, if used in one-shift work at that? Is it not shameful for the scientist to engage in clever debates on scientific and technical progress decade after decade while no single decent tunnel drilling machine has been designed for underground construction? And is it not hurtful that because of all of this the prestige of the building profession suffers? It is both hurtful and shameful!

Yes, naturally, material incentive is an important reason for work and interest in the content of the work provides a high incentive. However, Sukhanov stopped thinking of these two reasons, as far as he was concerned, a long time ago, although when he seriously speaks of the psychological change in the miners he obviously considers that it should stand above these two reasons and that regardless of psychological nuances, the discipline and organization must be maintained, labor productivity must be increased and the quality of the work must remain high.



In this respect, Sukhanov is doing well. His brigade fulfilled its last year's plan by 7 November, and the results of the work were rated "good" and "excellent." In the 4 years of drilling the "Polyanka" station and its underground surroundings, there were no labor and production discipline violations, and only one person quit.

Had this been the general case, one could have said that the psychological restructuring had essentially taken place. Nevertheless, why is it that Sukhanov's people do not quit? The main reason may be the presence of other motivations for labor activities, as the sociologists say. One of them, to put it briefly, is the collective. Its natural extension and development is another incentive which gives the work a high moral meaning: understanding one's place and significance in the affairs of the sector, the administration and the entire Metrostroy, and, in the final account, the affairs of the state. With this type of understanding it simply becomes shameful to work poorly and the attitude toward parasites and idlers becomes severe and intolerant from the party and the ordinary viewpoints.

On 28 February the brigade went down to the tunnel without the brigade leader. There was a great deal of talk that day. The telephone at the section's office rang. The TV set in Churkin's office was on. The people waited.

As is his custom, Sukhanov got up at 5 am, before the morning shift had started. One has to be in shape and must not slacken. It was thus, neat and restrained, that he took the floor at the 27th CPSU Congress. He spoke of the same things that he discussed at home, with the party group, at the brigade council or with his comrades, at lunch breaks in the underground cafeteria. Now, however, he was speaking to the party, to the country.

The main thing is prompt designing and equally prompt availability of materials and mechanisms. It is important that the production reorganization from below, at the shaft, and at each work place be combined more quickly with reorganization in the upper management. Let there be no repeat of the mishap with the design for the Lyublin-Dmitrovskaya line. The technical and economic plans for the line had been completed ahead of schedule. This, however, was followed by half a year of coordinations and discussions at the Main Architectural-Planning Administration of the Moscow City Executive Committee, the USSR Ministry of Transport Construction, USSR Ministry of Railways, USSR Gosstroy and USSR Gosplan.

It was not this sad case that triggered Sukhanov's objections. He objected to the entire organization of planning. He spoke heatedly, sharply, perhaps too heatedly. The sharpness of his speech, as it later became clear, was fully justified. It turned out that in some cases the time for designing could be reduced by approximately 25 percent. This applies not only to the subway but to other railroad projects. Furthermore, designing a subway line such as the Lyublin-Dmitrovskaya took nearly 18 months.

In general, the head of the drilling brigade spoke on a subject he considered most painful and which affected most profoundly the subway builders and personally himself, Aleksandr Sukhanov, and ordinary honest working person.

Several weeks after the congress, Sukhanov was informed that everything with the design of the Lyublin line was in order and that steps had been taken following his critical remarks. The fact that steps had been taken was good, naturally. Perhaps the managers of departments involved in this story of red tape, had simply become ashamed.

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## UNDER THE BANNER OF INTERNATIONALISM

### AT THE DAWN OF MAY DAY; DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 86 (signed to press 29 Apr 86) pp 67-76

[Text] Every year, on 1 May, the planet becomes dressed in red. The working people on all continents celebrate the day of their international solidarity.

This year's May Day will be particularly noteworthy. One hundred years have passed since a powerful strike broke out on 1 May 1886 in the United States, organized by the proletariat who demanded an 8-hour work day. The actions of the working people were particularly extensive in Chicago. On 4 May Haymarket Square became colored by the blood of workers attending a meeting, shot at by the police. The bourgeois court sentenced their leaders to death on the basis of false charges. The "Chicago tragedy" shook up the proletariat the world over.

The 1889 and 1891 international socialist congresses proclaimed May Day a day of international solidarity of the working people.

"Workers of the world, unite!" This slogan launched by the international communist and worker movements was tested by generations of fighters for social and national liberation. To this day proletarian and socialist internationalism reliably serves the struggle waged by the working people for peace, democracy and social progress and against imperialism.

Loyal to the ideas of internationalism bequeathed by V.I. Lenin, the Soviet people have never separated the destinies of their homeland from those of other countries and peoples. As a party of internationalists, the CPSU educates the Soviet people in a spirit of class solidarity with the working people in the socialist countries and with anyone who supports today the rights of the working people to living conditions worthy of man, and struggles in defense of life on earth and for rescuing civilization from thermonuclear catastrophe. This was most strongly emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress.

The documents and materials presented to the readers are from different stages in the history of May Day. Some of the texts are published for the first time, while others have never been translated into Russian. Although a number of documents may be found in Soviet publications, the publications themselves have long been bibliographic rarities, for which reason the materials they contained have remained virtually unknown to the modern

readers. Each one of them revives, in its own fashion, the unfading pages of the living history of international solidarity of the proletariat and its struggle against class oppression and militarism and for the social liberation of the working people.

The documents were prepared for publication by a group of scientific associates of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers Movement, headed by Dr of Historical Sciences M.A. Zaborov.

#### Document No 1

From the Resolution of the Congress of American Trade Unions (1884)<sup>1</sup>

The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada has decreed that starting with 1 May 1886, it will consider as a legal working day the 8-hour work day. We recommend to all labor organizations within the federation, as of that day to include stipulations in their bylaws in accordance with said resolution.

"Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. Proceedings." 1884, p 24

#### Document No 2

From the Autobiography of A. Parsons<sup>2</sup>

The Federation of Trade Unions and Worker Unions designated the day of 1 May 1886 as the day of introduction of an 8-hour work day. I dedicated all my strength in support of this movement....

At about 9 pm I was invited to attend a big mass meeting on Haymarket Square,<sup>3</sup> where no speaker other than (Spies)<sup>4</sup> was present, for which reason they had summoned me and Fielden<sup>5</sup> to address the meeting.

I was introduced at Haymarket and addressed for about 1 hour 3,000 people, in support of the movement for the 8-hour work day and trade union unity. I then discussed the cruelty of the police displayed the previous day.<sup>6</sup>

Fielden spoke after me and I jumped off the van which we used for our rostrum, and approached another van, where women sat (including my wife and children). The crowd began to scatter because of the falling rain and the speaker announced that he was cutting his speech short. I helped the women to get off and accompanied them to Zepf Hall, not far from the place of the meeting, where we decided to wait for our other comrades before going home. I had been on the premises for about 5 minutes, looking at the assembly and watching closely at what was happening. I was near some women when I saw a bright light at the place of the meeting, followed by a loud explosion.<sup>7</sup> This was followed by the sound of gun shots. About 50 or more people were firing their revolvers under my very eyes, as fast as they could. Some shots were heard near the gates of the house, behind which I was watching the events. Soon after that the people began running into the building. I took the women to a safer place....

It turned out on the next day that many innocent people, who had not even attended the meeting, had been detained and thrown in jail by the authorities; being uncertain as to my own safety, I left the city, hoping to return in a few days and to publish this report in the press....

A bomb was thrown, several policemen were killed, the leaders of the movement were arrested and sentenced for conspiracy and murder. Seven among them received the death penalty.

What was the result? One could say that it was in favor of the bourgeoisie. The leaders of the workers "must be made an example to frighten and ensure the submission of others." The strikes "were suppressed. This method is unquestionable and has instilled useful fear in the heart of the working class," THE TIMES<sup>8</sup> wrote.

The strike for an 8-hour work day was crushed.<sup>9</sup>

"The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs." Edited by Ph.S. Foner. New York, 1977, pp 47, 48-49, 53

Document No 3

Report to the Petersburg Newspaper NEDELYA<sup>10</sup>

For quite some time one of the most extensive worker strikes ever organized has been taking place in the United States: it involves the participation of no less than 50,000 workers,<sup>11</sup> primarily railroad men, who call for reducing working time to 8 hours daily. In the final days of April, the agitation caused by these strikes has begun to assume an alarming nature, particularly in Chicago, where anarchists are heading the movement. On Monday<sup>12</sup> the workers organized a large rally<sup>13</sup> in one of the city squares, at which speeches calling for the killing of the bourgeoisie were delivered.<sup>14</sup> A police detachment sent to disperse the crowd was destroyed with dynamite bombs.<sup>15</sup> The hastily summoned new police and troop detachments exchanged gun fire with the crowd and eventually cleared the square. There were a large number of killed and wounded on both sides. Since then, and to this day, there have been daily more or less major clashes between the police and street crowds. The anarchist press is openly calling for internecine war and for setting Chicago afire. Several fires have already been started.<sup>16</sup> Troops have been brought into Chicago from neighboring cities and the city is currently under marshal law. Similar events took place in Milwaukee as well.<sup>17</sup>

NEDELYA, No 18, 4 May 1886

Document No 4

Decree of the International Socialist Congress Held in Paris 20 July 1889<sup>18</sup>

A large international demonstration will take place on a given date in such a way that simultaneously in all countries and all cities, on the very same day the working people will demand of the public authorities to limit the working

day by law to 8 hours and to implement all other decrees passed at the international congress in Paris.<sup>19</sup>

Since the American Federation of Labor had already resolved at its St Louis Congress, held in December 1888, that such a demonstration take place on May Day,<sup>20</sup> the same date was adopted for the international demonstration.

The working people of the different nations will hold this demonstration as indicated by the specific circumstances of their respective country.

"Les Congres socialistes internationaux. Ordre du jour et resolutions" [The International Socialist Congresses. Agendas and Resolutions]. Gand, 1902, p 57

#### Document No 5

From the Pamphlet of the Trade Union Chamber<sup>21</sup> of Miners of Pas-de-Calais (France, 1890)

Citizen miners! Today, May Day, in an unprecedented historical event, the workers the world over stopped work to demand improvements in their situation in the society which they support and enrich with their daily toil.

We, miners, demand of the authorities improvements of our lot.

Believe us that the reform which we so urgently demand will not ruin the most powerful company which is exploiting us and will not cause harm to the thousands of rich stockholders who are a powerful force and who live far away from us.

We demand the fastest possible adoption of laws which have been promised and awaited for such a long time. These laws must stipulate the following:

1. The establishment of an aid and pensions fund, guaranteed by the state.
2. Setting up mine arbitration commissions.
3. Election of miners' delegates.
4. An 8-hour working day.
5. Citizens-miners, now, when powerful demonstrations involving millions of workers are taking place, we have the right to demand of the authorities the introduction of labor legislation.

While waiting for this, we shall continue our efforts to strengthen our organization, rally within a single family and build in the future, which is our objective, a unified working people's union.

"Affiches et luttes syndicales de la CGT" [Trade Union Posters and Struggles of the CGT]. Paris, 1978, p 19

Document No 6

From the Article P. Lafargue "May Day and the State of Socialism in France"

The working class of Europe and America, represented by its advanced class-conscious detachment, rose on May Day 1890; the proletarians of all countries held hands, surmounting all national prejudices and crossing all lands and seas, swearing to one another to fight shoulder to shoulder for their liberation from the yoke of capitalism.

May Day 1890 is one of the most important moments of the century. On that day the history of mankind saw for the first time the proletariat the world over, inspired by a single thought and will, follow a single slogan and join forces for joint action.

According to the slogan of the congress, which passed almost unnoticed in the din of the world fair in Paris, suddenly the proletariat organized a universal demonstration and indicated that it unanimously opposes the capitalist class, demanding identical social reforms everywhere. The dawn of a new age rose on May Day 1890.

P. Lafargue. "May Day and the Socialist Movement in France." DIE NEUE ZEIT, vol 2, No 36, 1890-91, p 291

Document No 7

Decree of the International Socialist Congress, Brussels (August 1891)<sup>22</sup>

The international celebration of May Day is dedicated to the principle of the 8-hour work day, labor legislation and worldwide strengthening of the proletariat in its aspiration for peace among the peoples. In order to preserve May Day's truly economic nature<sup>23</sup> of demanding an 8-hour work day and strengthening the class struggle,<sup>24</sup> the congress calls for a unified demonstration by workers in all countries.

This demonstration will be held on May Day.

Wherever possible, it is recommended that no work be done on that day.<sup>25</sup>

"Les Congres socialistes internationaux. Ordre du jour et resolutions."  
Gand, 1902, p 58

Document No 8

From Workers Speeches at the First Petersburg May Day, 1891<sup>26</sup>

Comrades! This day must leave an indelible impression in everyone's mind (for us). For today, it is the first time that we have rallied from all parts of Petersburg at this modest meeting and this is the first time that we are hearing from our worker comrades the warm words calling us to the struggle against our strong political and economic enemy. Yes, comrades! Looking at this enemy, not knowing what his strength is, and seeing our small handful of

people who are assuming this fight, some of us may lose hope that our struggle will be successful! They leave our ranks despairing and cowardly. No, comrades! We must firmly believe in our victory. All we have to do is arm ourselves with the strength of knowledge of the historical laws of development of mankind. All we have to do is arm ourselves with it and we can then defeat the enemy. No restrictions or exile, jail and even sending us to Siberia will deprive us of this weapon. We shall find everywhere battlefields for victory. We shall share our knowledge everywhere: with our peasants and, in jail, with the detainees, telling them that they too are people and have all human rights; and that they, realizing these rights, will share their knowledge with others and organize them in groups.

This is the guarantee for our success!

Yes, comrades! We frequently read or even hear about demonstrations of workers in the West, huge, moving in streamlined ranks along city streets and instilling fear in their exploiters; however, we should look at the history of development of this streamlined mass and it will become clear to us that this mass originated with the same type of small group of people as ours. Let us look, albeit briefly, at the historical development of the social democratic party in Germany, which is the strongest and best organized organization in the West. It too started with a small handful of people who rallied in a production area, such as our Petersburg. These were the first workers to become aware of their human rights and to share their convictions with other workers, for which reason they were persecuted and exiled in the provinces by the government. However, even that order benefited the workers. These workers found comrades and, organizing all of them together, developed into an indivisible union. Why should we, Russian workers, despair or run away from these struggling comrades who are marching for such a great cause as that of the people's liberation? Looking at all historical facts which daringly make us hope for victory, we must also think of our Russian people, who will bear the burdens imposed upon them until they realize that they have human rights and that the worker must have more rights than anyone to make use of all the wealth created through his toil. Our worker must know that labor is the motor of all social progress and that he is the creator of all sciences, arts and inventions.

It is only when the people have realized all of this that no army will be able to prevent their self-liberation; taking such awareness to the people is the direct and inviolable right of all developed workers....

KRASNAYA LETOPIS, No 4, 1922, pp 265-267

Document No 9

From the Recollections of S. Mitskevich<sup>27</sup> on the First Worker May Day in Moscow in 1895

On the occasion of the celebration, three types leaflets were printed and extensively disseminated in the plants. The suggestion to celebrate this day with a strike was rejected only because, as Comrade Lyadov (M. Mandelshtam)<sup>28</sup> writes in his history of the "Russian Social Democratic Party," it would have



been quite easy at such a time for the police to catch all conscientious workers; the organization had no hope that the entire mass of workers would join in the strike. For that reason, it was decreed that the day of celebration be moved to Sunday 30 April. In order to avoid the risk of a general defeat, it was decided that the May Day celebration will be attended not by all but only by a few people from each factory, elected among the organized workers. About 250 people rallied for the May Day celebration, representing as many as 30 factories and plants, gathering around the Perovo station. They spent there the entire day: comrades Mandelshtam, Karpuzi,<sup>29</sup> Polyakov<sup>30</sup> and others spoke on the need to organize the working class, the struggle for political freedom and for an 8-hour work day; the tremendous successes of the worker cause in Moscow, despite its youth, were pointed out. The resolution was passed of immediately undertaking to establish the broadest possible mass organization and establish firm relations with other cities.

The spirit of the workers at the meeting was quite high. Great enthusiasm and faith in the worker cause were felt.

Songs broke out after the speeches. The workers sang the Marseillaise and Dubinushka and verses by a worker poet, weaver Ts. Pot; the entire crowd marched to the station singing.

On the following day, 1 May, in all leisure grounds--Sokolniki, Devichye Pole--workers in groups listened to stories of those who had attended the May Day meeting and read the leaflets disseminated on the holiday.

Rumors about the May Day celebration spread throughout the entire Moscow workers' population.

"Na Zare Rabocheho Dvizheniya v Moskve" [At the Dawn of the Moscow Labor Movement]. Moscow, 1919, pp 35-36

Document No 10

P. Zalomov<sup>31</sup> on the May Day of the Sormovskiy Workers in 1895

It was the end of April 1895. We were awaiting for the May Day celebrations,<sup>32</sup> which were planned for the first Sunday in May. The May Day celebration took place at the Mokhovyye Hills, on the edge of the forest, near the bank of the Volga. Some 60 people gathered, most of them workers. Some intellectuals were also present but their names were not mentioned and I cannot recall anyone of them, although I was particularly interested in them. We behaved as though we were living in a free country; we set up bonfires, brewed tea, delivered speeches and sang revolutionary songs quite freely. By then I already had some experience and nothing surprised me. The May Day celebration triggered a great upsurge and we felt our strength and long after that I could still recall the red flag raised on that May Day.

P.A. Zalomov, "Vospominaniya" [Memoirs]. Gorkiy, 1947, p 43

From the Article by A. Gramsci "The Power of the Revolution" (1920)33

The May Day celebration in Turin took place immediately after the Turin Industrial Proletariat had ended its huge general strike, which had lasted 10 days and ended in defeat. The entire working people of Turin had proved that they had not lost faith in the revolution; the entire toiling people of Turin proved that the power of the revolution had not declined and that, conversely, it had increased the strength of their battalions and regiments.

The entire Turin proletariat took to the streets and squares to demonstrate its loyalty to the revolution and to counter the wealth of the capitalists, estimated in millions and billions, with the power of the working class, the hundreds of thousands of hearts, hands and minds of workers, and to pit against fireproof safes the steel battalions of the fighters for the worker revolution.

The 10-day strike, hunger, poverty, despair and defeat did not concede to the capitalists and the state authorities what they considered as already won: the defeat of the proletariat, the disappearance of the specter, hanging, like a nightmare, over the palaces and fireproof safes. The capitalists and the state authorities are turning May Day into a day of unbridled terror and blood orgies. Rifle fire was opened at the demonstrators. Two workers were killed and about 50 were wounded. This was done for the sake of unleashing in the city an unrestrained and wild terror. Disgusting rumors were being disseminated about bombs, knives and conspiracies.... The number of detentions increased: the Royal Guard hunted people wearing red carnations and red cockades; the detainees were beaten up with rifle butts until they began to spit blood and became unrecognizable; shots were heard on streets and squares: the Royal Guard, armed with rifles, were moving around the city in trucks, firing at windows and doors and passers-by. Groups of enraged Royal Guards came out of alleys, aiming their bayonets at people regardless of class, sex and age, workers, officers, soldiers, priests, women or children. Such is the hatred and rage of the dirty and sinister mercenaries bribed from higher-up to wage civil war.

However, even this dress rehearsal for the "decisive day" and this wild excess of unparalleled violence cannot make the working class retreat even an inch from its positions. The funeral of the two killed workers turned into a manifestation of unparalleled power and organization. New popular forces are joining the movement, new masses are joining the revolutionary army as it takes its dead to the cemetery.

No defeat, no sadness and no obstacles, however great they may be, can crush the power of the revolution. The working people have left behind the critical stage of gathering and organizing their forces, the stage of discord and the defeat of illusions; they have become homogeneous and united, an organized and disciplined army aware of its real objective, aware of the fact that it represents a historical force assigned a mission which exceeds human possibilities; finally, from the raw material for the privileged classes, the

working people have become a nation which can create its own history and build "its own city."

Antonio Gramsci. "Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya" [Selected Works], in three volumes. Vol 1, Moscow, 1957, pp 155-157

Document No 12

From the Article by E. Thaelman 'May Day--Day of Struggle of the Working Class' (1927)<sup>34</sup>

With the decision passed at the Paris International Congress in 1889, May Day became the day of struggle of the working class, a day of affirmation of the will of the working class to struggle for the victory of the proletarian revolution. All reformist attempts to deprive 1 May of its revolutionary nature crashed against the opposition of the working class.

The revolutionary nature of the May holiday must be demonstrated more than ever before on May Day 1927. More than in previous years, May Day 1927 will be celebrated under the sign of the strongest possible capitalist offensive. This May Day is characterized by the aggravation of the international situation, which has already brought about a real threat of war.

The tremendous struggle waged by the working people of China against imperialism and the assistance of the imperialist executioners within China itself is in the center of international events.

Mere manifestations and declarations of feelings of solidarity are insufficient in the struggle against the imperialist plans. We must prevent the manufacturing of weapons and ammunition supplied to the stranglers of the Chinese revolution. We must block the shipment of arms and ammunition from German ports, which, according to reliable information, is taking place.

The government of the German bourgeoisie is also involved in the imperialist plans aimed against China and the Soviet Union.

In the area of domestic policy, the reactionary forces in Germany are preparing new repressive measures against the toiling masses.... Increased rentals, higher living costs and further increase in taxes are dooming the working class to poverty whereas the entrepreneurs do not even think of raising worker wages and, consequently, the living standard of the working class, by sacrificing some of the billions in profits, earned as a result of increased efficiency.

The growth of political oppression has been added to intensified economic exploitation.

May Day 1927 must become a day of powerful demonstration of the will to struggle by the German working class. It must prove the will of the German workers for unity in the revolutionary class struggle.... In addition to expressing international solidarity, the May Day meetings must concentrate on the slogan of "Gaining an 8-Hour Work Day and a 7-Hour Work Shift in Mining by

the German Working Class!" On this May Day millions of workers must take to the streets. Their slogans must read as follows:

Down with Imperialist War!

Everything in support of the Chinese Revolution!...

Hands off of the Soviet Union! Long live the first republic of workers and peasants!

Forward in the struggle against reaction and fascism!

Fight for an 8-hour work day!

Down with Imperialism! Long live fraternity among peoples!

E. Thaelman. "Izbrannyye Stati i Rechi k Istorii Germanskogo Rabochego Dvizheniya" [Selected Articles and Speeches on the History of the German Labor Movement]. In two volumes. Vol 1 (June 1919–November 1928). Moscow, 1957, pp 356–359

Document No 13

From the Report of G. Hall, U.S. Communist Party Secretary General,  
15 March 1986<sup>35</sup>

The May Day holiday, which was born in the United States, spread throughout the planet and became a true international day of solidarity of the working people. The class struggle is the leading force of history. The victory of the world revolutionary process is a monument to (A. Spies') prophetic words, said at the very beginning of the shameful trial of the Chicago martyrs: "I speak here as the representative of one class to the representatives of another. If you consider that by hanging us you will destroy the labor movement....well, hang us! You may put out the spark, but here and there, everywhere around you, flames will burst out. For the time being, this is an underground fire but you will be unable to put it out." The flame of the class struggle indeed spread throughout the planet, and by giving its due to the achievements of the working class, we give its due to its victories precisely in the class struggle.

To those who live in the capitalist world, the main importance of May Day is that it again and again asserts the central role of the class struggle....

One hundred years ago, when May Day was born, socialism was no more than a distant dream of the working class. Today this dream has become reality over a significant part of the globe, in the countries of the socialist community.... The centennial of May Day is celebrated during the year of the 27th CPSU Congress--an international event which marks the tremendous achievements of the state of the working class, of the achievements of socialism, which has charted a course of accelerated socioeconomic development. It would be accurate to say today that concepts such as May Day and the Soviet Union are interrelated....

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The resolution was passed on 7 October 1884 at the Chicago Congress of the Federation of Trade Unions and Worker Unions, which were the predecessors of the American Federation of Labor.
2. A. Parsons was one of the leaders of the labor movement in Chicago and editor of the newspaper ALARM. He was sentenced in 1886 and executed on 11 November 1887 on the Haymarket Case.
3. The meeting was held in Chicago on 4 May 1886.
4. (A. Spies) was one of the leaders of the Chicago group of revolutionary socialists. Together with the other leaders he was sentenced to death and executed on the Haymarket Case.
5. S. Fielden, was a participant in the Chicago Labor Movement. He was sentenced at the Haymarket trial but was pardoned in 1893.
6. Referring to the police action against workers at the McCormick Company Plant, 3 May 1886.
7. Referring to the explosion of a bomb thrown by an unknown individual at the police, who then opened fire at the participants in the meeting.
8. THE TIMES is an American bourgeois newspaper.
9. Here Parsons exaggerates. The will of the workers was not crushed and their struggle yielded results.
10. A Russian bourgeois-liberal newspaper.
11. The number of participants in the Chicago strike, which broke out on 1 May 1886, is inaccurate: initially some 40,000 went on strike and, a few days later, the number of strikers reached approximately 80,000.
12. 28 April, Gregorian calendar.
13. Reference to the meeting on Haymarket Square.
14. The article deliberately distorts the content of the speeches of (Spies), Parsons and Fielden, who were popular labor leaders. Actually, they were objecting to the police reprisal on 3 May against workers at the McCormick Company Plant (six killed and 50 severely wounded) and supported the demands formulated by the strikers.
15. Actually, one policeman was killed and five others wounded by the explosion of the dynamite stick.
16. The big fire, as a result of which one-third of the city burned down, broke out in Chicago in 1871. Possibly recollections of this fire kept alive in bourgeois-philistine circles feelings of panic also related to

the May 1886 events. The correspondent, who tried to defame the workers, presented the rumors as facts.

17. Referring to Milwaukee.
18. The decree was adopted on the motion of the French Marxist R. Lavigne, on behalf of the National Federation of French Syndicates (trade unions).
19. Referring to the congress' resolution calling for effective labor safety legislation, etc.
20. At that congress, the date at which a trade union campaign for an 8-hour work day would be launched in the United States, was set for 1 May 1890. The representative of the AFL, who attended the Paris Congress of 1889, asked the congress only to give moral support to the American movement in favor of the 8-hour work day. The congress took this appeal into consideration but its decree was of an essentially different nature. The proletariat the world over was to force the bourgeois to establish an 8-hour work day by law. In other words, the decree of the Paris Congress had in mind a political action by the working class carried out on an international scale.
21. A syndicate chamber is a trade union.
22. The decree was passed on the basis of the report submitted by N.L. Petersen, the representative of the Danish Socialists.
23. This formulation reflected, on the one hand, the fact that the Marxists had won at the congress a victory over the anarchists, who rejected the need for the struggle for partial requirements, including economic demands, as allegedly useless to the proletariat. On the other hand, however, the formulation reflected the exaggerated rating of the significance of reforms, which had appeared at that time among some Marxists, and a certain convergence with the reformist.
24. This thesis indicated that the congress accepted the Marxist viewpoint on the importance of emphasizing the class nature of May Day as a proletarian holiday, created by the labor movement, and based on the urgent demands of the working class and consistent with the task of intensifying the opposition to capital by the proletariat of all countries.
25. A stipulation which presumes, among others, the possibility of celebrating the May Day holiday on the Sunday closest to May Day, which was a concession made by the Marxists to the opportunists, above all those within the German Social Democratic Movement. Subsequently, the opportunists used this concession to deprive the May Day holiday of its militant nature and to limit it to no more than ceremonious meetings, out-of-town picnics, etc.
26. The speech is somewhat abridged, without indications as to who the speaker was, since researchers have not agreed on the identity of the

author. It is believed that the speakers who spoke on May Day included the revolutionary worker F.A. Afanasyev (who later became a bolshevik and one of the leaders of the 1905 Ivanovo-Voznesensk strike), M.I. Proshin, N.D. Bogdanov and other active participants of M.I. Brusnev's social democratic group. The May Day celebration was held on 5 (17) May in the woods in the area of the Putilov Plant. It was attended by approximately 120-150 people.

27. S.I. Mitskevish was a professional revolutionary and one of the founders of the Moscow "Workers' Union," and subsequently a bolshevik and noted party and state leader.
28. M.N. Lyadov (Mandelstam) was a professional revolutionary and one of the organizers of the Moscow "Workers' Union" in the 1890s; he headed the May Day event of 1895.
29. A.D. Karpuzi was a revolutionary worker; he worked in Moscow in 1892-1893 and organized worker circles among metal and railroad workers; in 1894 he became a member of the Central Workers' Circle, and in 1895, an active worker in the Moscow "Workers' Union." He authored one of the May Day proclamations of 1895. Subsequently he became a bolshevik.
30. F.I. Polyakov was a weaver; in 1891 he became an organizer of Marxist workers circles among textile workers; in 1894 he became a member of the Central Workers' Circle and in 1895, one of the leaders of the Moscow "Workers' Union."
31. P.A. Zalomov was a fitter. He was an active participant in the revolutionary movement and subsequently became the leader of the Sormovskiy Social Democratic Organization.
32. Referring to the second revolutionary May Day of Nizhegorod Revolutionary Workers and Intellectuals, members of the clandestine social democratic circles (the first was celebrated in 1894).
33. The article was published in the socialist weekly L'ORDINE NUOVO, 8 May 1920.
34. Article published in the newspaper DIE ROTE FAHNE, 1 May 1927.
35. G. Hall delivered this speech at the conference of "Workers of the World in Struggle," sponsored by POLITICAL AFFAIRS, the theoretical journal of the U.S. Communist Party, held in New York on the occasion of the centennial of May Day.

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FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY

TOWARDS NEW CONSTRUCTIVE ACHIEVEMENTS; THE MNRP ON THE EVE OF ITS CONGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 86 (signed to press 29 Apr 86) pp 77-82

[Article by A. Izheyev]

[Text] The Mongolian communists and working people are preparing for the 19th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, which will open in Ulan-Bator by the end of May. The congress will sum up the distance covered by the party and the country after the 18th Congress and formulate the long-term domestic and foreign policy tasks of the MNRP, and the basic directions in the economic and social development of the republic in 1986-1990.

In the past 5 years the Mongolian people have taken one more important step in increasing their socialist gains. The new features resulting from the purposeful activities of the party and the people may be seen everywhere, in the economy, the social sphere, ideology and culture. Mongolia is advancing toward its next communist forum with substantial accomplishments and broad plans for building socialism.

This MNRP Congress will be held on the eve of the 65th anniversary of the revolution. Sixty-five years ago Mongolia, where precapitalist production relations dominated, dooming the people to medieval backwardness, emerged on the high road of economic, social and spiritual rebirth. The principles of Marxism-Leninism and Lenin's idea that in the new historical circumstances the transition of previously backward countries from feudalism to socialism, bypassing capitalism, was possible, became the guiding foundation of MNRP strategy and tactics, as it headed the anti-imperialist and antifeudal people's democratic revolution.

Creatively applying the general laws of building a new society under specifically Mongolian historical conditions, using the revolutionary experience of Lenin's party and the world communist movement and closely interacting with them, and relying on the aid and support of the first socialist state in the world, the MNRP ensured the systematic and gradual implementation of profound changes in all areas of life, initially of a general democratic and, subsequently, as the necessary prerequisites appeared, of a socialist nature. In 1940 the conclusion drawn by the 10th MNRP Congress was the following: "We can now confidently say that we have firmly taken the



path of noncapitalist development." By the beginning of the 1960s socialist production relations had become established in all national economic sectors.

Guided by the MNRP, the Mongolian people proved through practical action, within a single generation, that capitalism is not an inevitable stage in the progress of countries on the prebourgeois level. Their economic and cultural backwardness is not an insurmountable obstacle for transition from socialism to a noncapitalist way. The sociohistorical experiment, successfully implemented in Mongolia, brought to light a number of essential and reproducible features of political, economic and cultural building, with inevitably specific features of a number of internal and external factors at the general democratic stage of the revolution, of the mechanism for laying the foundations for socialism in countries with an undeveloped economy. It is no accident that the Mongolian experience drew the attention of the revolutionary democratic parties and progressive circles of many developing countries, who are working to expose their peoples to the gains of contemporary civilization and culture, during the life of the present generation. The relevance of this experience increases today when, considering the correlation of forces in the world, the possibility of previously enslaved peoples of rejecting capitalism and building their future without exploitation and in the interest of the working people, has grown.

The unquestionable successes and dynamic progress achieved in all areas of social life in the country are the best proof of the fruitfulness of the course charted by the MNRP from the very beginning toward socialism in domestic policy, organically combined at all stages with a foreign policy oriented toward a firm alliance and internationalist cooperation with the homeland of the October Revolution and the global socialist system. The Mongolian people are persistently solving the main problems in completing the building of socialism, as defined by the 1966 party program. This involves the comprehensive development of production forces on the basis of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, ensuring high growth rates of the country's economic power and the enhancement of socialist culture, perfecting socialist production relations, improving the communist upbringing of the working people and, on this basis, ensuring the further enhancement of the material well-being and cultural standards of the people.

The republic's economic potential is growing steadily. Significant natural resources are being increasingly put to economic use. Production capacities are expanding and the body of skilled cadres is growing noticeably. Since 1960, Mongolia's GNP has almost quadrupled; its national income has tripled and basic capital in its national economy has increased by a factor of 8.5.

One of the main trends in the economic progress of the MNR is its gradual conversion from an agroindustrial into an industrial-agrarian country. In 1960 the republic generates as much industrial output as it did during the entire 1940. The fuel-energy complex, ore mining, light and food and the construction materials industry are developing at an accelerated pace.

Socialist collectivization in agriculture, which was completed by the end of the 1950s, made possible the accelerated progress of the agrarian sector of the economy, which employs 46 percent of people engaged in material

production. The material and technical base of animal husbandry and, particularly, crop growing, has strengthened: in the past 15 years alone capital investments in that sector more than doubles; basic production capital nearly tripled. Between 1981 and 1985 the average annual production of agricultural commodities increased by 18 percent compared with the previous 5-year period.

The successful building of the material and technical base of socialism is a prerequisite for improving the well-being of the working people and solving a variety of problems of the social development of Mongolian society, in which the principles and norms of a socialist way of life are being asserted step by step. It is indicative that in the past 5 years, with an annual net increase in the country's population of 2.7-2.8 percent, real per capita income increased by 12 percent. The health care and education systems, which were entirely created under the people's regime, are improving. The steady development of the network of cultural and educational institutions and the increased availability of mass information media are contributing to upgrading the general and political standards of the broad population strata and involving the working people in town and country in a variety of cultural and educational activities.

People's Mongolia is being built and developed through the toil of the entire people. Its accomplishments are also the results of the energy of its young working class, the appearance of which marks a revolutionary change in the country's social structure. At the present time workers with members of their families account for more than 40 percent of the population. The size of the working class is continuing rapidly to increase: between 1981 and 1985 alone 54,000 young skilled workers, many of whom already hereditary, joined its ranks. The Mongolian working class at its leading enterprises is displaying models of modern labor, consistent with even the strictest requirements. It is honorably fulfilling the role of leading force of the socialist development of the country, in the vanguard of which are marching the communist workers, who account for more than 32 percent of the total MNRP membership.

The republic's achievements are the result of the dedicated and honorable work of the Mongolian peasants. The development of collectivistic ideas in their minds and the enhancement of their cultural-educational and professional standards and labor and social activeness are features which characterize today the social aspect of the cooperated peasantry, which is firmly allied with the working class of its homeland.

The people's intelligentsia is making a growing contribution to the country's successes. Engineers, scientists, teachers, physicians, and men of literature and the arts have come from the ranks of the Mongolian peasants and workers. The number of specialists in economic and cultural sectors more than doubled since the beginning of the 1970s. The Mongolian intelligentsia, deeply loyal to the socialist ideals, is an active participant in building the new life.

The revolutionary and labor traditions of the senior generations are worthily being taken up by the Mongolian young men and women. Today three-quarters of the Mongolian population is under 35. Class tempering, education in a spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, the development of

labor and social activeness, perfecting training and vocational guidance and improving the working and living conditions of the young are problems on which the party and the state and public organizations are working, providing prerequisites for the implementation of the current plans and laying a reliable foundation for future socialist building.

The successful solution of problems of economic and sociocultural development is a firm foundation for the republic's new future accomplishments. Furthermore, as is natural, the ascent of Mongolian society to the higher stages of socialist maturity objectively formulates for the party members and all working people qualitatively new and difficult problems and stricter requirements concerning the organization of activities in all areas of social life. All of this is clearly realized by the party members. Guided by the Leninist slogan of mandatorily going forward and achieving more, the party realistically assesses the situation, does not ignore the shortcomings and difficulties which arise in the course of building the new life and seeks and finds ways to surmount them.

The extraordinary 8th (August 1984) and subsequent MNRP Central Committee plenums emphasized, on the basis of the programmatic party stipulations and the resolutions of its 18th Congress, the need to concentrate above all on unsolved problems, and provided new impetus to the creative activities of the party organizations and the entire people. In his speech at the 11th Central Committee Plenum, in December 1985, J. Batmonh, MNRP Central Committee general secretary and chairman, Presidium of the People's Great Hural, emphasized that "We must objectively assess the successes achieved through the persistent efforts of our people and just as persistently encourage an exigent approach to unsolved problems, unused reserves, omissions and errors in our work, and plan breakdowns, and draw from yesterday's lessons weighed conclusions for tomorrow. This is the natural and strict requirement of life."

This precisely is the approach which characterizes today the work of the party in preparing for its 19th Congress, which the Mongolian communists consider not only a party-wide but also a nationwide matter. They try to link most closely the pre-congress campaign with the sum total of important problems which must be solved in the immediate future and which express, in a concentrated manner, the formula of ensuring the accelerated economic and social development of the country.

On the eve of the congress, the main aspects of MNRP economic strategy are being developed and concretized in accordance with the features and requirements of the contemporary stage. They were reflected in the recently published MNRP Central Committee draft "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the Mongolian People's Republic in 1986-1990" which, after a nationwide discussion, will be submitted for consideration by the 19th Party Congress. The document formulates the main task of the 8th 5-Year Plan: the accelerated growth of public production and its increased efficiency and, on this basis, ensuring the growth of the people's well-being. In order to solve the main problem, the MNRP Central Committee draft points out, the material and technical base of the national economy will be broadened; the already created production capacities and labor, material and financial resources will be used with maximal efficiency; scientific and technical

achievements and progressive experience will be extensively applied in production; labor productivity will be increased, the quality of the work and organization of labor will be comprehensively improved and so will the economic mechanism.

The draft "Basic Directions" calls for increasing the national income by 26-29 percent and capital investments in the national economy by 24-26 percent in the 1986-1990 period compared with the preceding 5-year period. The material and technical base of agriculture will be strengthened. Efficient use will be made of the reserves and factors for production intensification in this sector, which will guarantee its stable growth and improve population food supplies and availability of raw materials for industry. The average annual volume of output of agricultural commodities must increase by 18-20 percent during the new 5-year period, compared with 1981-1985. Within that time industrial output will be increased 30-34 percent and labor productivity by 12-16 percent. In the current 5-year plan the consumption fund will be increased by 20-25 percent and the population's monetary income by 20-23 percent.

In recent years the party, state and public organizations have taken a number of steps to increase labor, state and planning discipline, strengthen socialist law and order, fight drunkenness and alcoholism and develop in the working people a communist attitude toward labor and public property. According to the Mongolian press, these steps are meeting with the extensive support of the people and are yielding positive results.

The MNRP emphasizes that the new greater tasks cannot be solved through the old methods and without rejecting the stereotypes of obsolete thinking. That is why in the course of the preparations for its 19th Congress, the greatest possible attention is being paid to restructuring and perfecting work style and methods, and seeking ways of increasing the effectiveness and efficiency of economic, organizational and ideological education centrally and locally. The party's work with cadres is improving. The proper choice, placement, strengthening and upbringing of cadres, upgrading their initiative and responsibility, and control and verification of implementation of assignments, as the key units in the activities of all party organizations, were emphasized at the conference sponsored by the MNRP Central Committee with first secretaries and heads of departments of aymak and city committees on preparations for the 19th Party Congress. The great importance of the comprehensive intensification of the activeness and vanguard role of the party members and the development of practical and principle-minded criticism as a lever for comprehensive improvement of matters in the country was noted at the conference.

In formulating its new tasks and promoting their systematic solution, the MNRP invariably turns to the experience of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties. The close study of the international socialist experience and its creative utilization at home, and the desire to make a contribution to the theory and practice of revolutionary changes in society are part of the MNRP's internationalist traditions. As Comrade J. Batmonh said, "The working people in our country accepted the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress with tremendous enthusiasm. These decisions give our party and people a new

inspiring impetus in the implementation of the new and bigger tasks in building socialism." A special decree promulgated by the MNRP Central Committee Politburo on the results of the participation of the MNRP delegation in the work of the 27th CPSU Congress formulated steps to organize the broadest possible dissemination and thorough study of the documents of the 27th Congress by all Mongolian party members and working people.

During the CPSU Congress, J. Batmonh, general secretary of the MNRP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, met with M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. The meeting reasserted the firmness and inviolability of the ties of friendship and cooperation which have traditionally linked our fraternal parties, countries and peoples. The steady contacts between CPSU and MNRP leaders, the exchange of experience in constructive activities and the joint consideration of plans and tasks are among the most important components of comprehensive Soviet-Mongolian interaction, based on Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, and imbued with sincerity, trust and mutual understanding.

"We firmly believe that with the moral and material support of Soviet Russia the Mongolian People's Party will defeat all external and internal enemies and in the near future the Mongolian people will take the path of progress and become part of the united labor family of all mankind," said D. Suhe-Bator, leader of the Mongolian Revolution, and founder of the MNRP. These words were prophetic. Several generations of Soviet and Mongolian communists and working people invested their efforts and talent in expanding and deepening the friendship and cooperation between our parties and countries. Today this cooperation extends to all areas of social life and the broadest possible strata of our peoples, united by the understanding of the common nature of their historical destinies. The comprehensive political, economic and cultural relations between the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic have been and remain of good service to the national and international interests of both countries and the entire socialist community.

The Soviet Union is providing Mongolia extensive assistance in building its socialist economy. In the past 25 years alone, with Soviet participation the Mongolian People's Republic has built more than 600 national economic projects, including 150 industrial enterprises. Completing the construction and the commissioning ahead of schedule of the production capacities of the Erdenet Ore-Mining and Concentration Copper-Molybdenum Combine was a major event in bilateral economic cooperation in the past 5-year period. The experience in the successful activities of this Mongolian-Soviet enterprise, as well as the joint Mongolsovtsvetmet Economic Association, is important in terms of developing the principles and methods for the future creation of new enterprises based on intergovernmental ownership, training national cadres and setting up international labor collectives. It is noteworthy that the Erdenet International Collective is today in the vanguard of the socialist competition which has spread throughout Mongolia under the slogan of "Two Congresses but a Single Goal," dedicated to the 27th CPSU Congress and 19th MNRP Congress.

In earmarking the plans for the new 5-year period and beyond it, the Mongolian communists emphasize the essential significance of the systematic course

charted by the CPSU and MNRP of intensified Soviet-Mongolian cooperation. The implementation of the Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation Between the USSR and the MNR for the Period Until the Year 2000, which was concluded at the August 1985 summit meeting, will ensure the increasingly closer and organic interaction between the two countries. It will make it possible to make fuller use of the possibilities and reserves of our mutual relations and efficiently to combine efforts, experience, resources and knowledge to increase the economic potential and enhance the well-being of the working people.

The USSR and MNR act in harmony and in accordance with a coordinated foreign policy course in the international arena. "The Mongolian People's Republic," Comrade J. Batmonh said at the 27th CPSU Congress, "tries to make its contribution to the common efforts of the fraternal socialist countries in the struggle for peace the world over and, particularly, in Asia. Our country is profoundly interested in the creation of a durable security system on this continent, based on common agreement. It systematically supports the constructive suggestions of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and of the peace-loving states in the area of joining efforts in order to establish reliable security on the entire Asian continent and prevent the forces of militarism and aggression from gaining the upper hand."

Mongolia is welcoming its 19th Party Congress and 65th anniversary of the People's Revolution in constructive toil and a creative surge, and in the struggle for peace and international security. Today the main guidelines of this country, which defined its socialist future firmly and a long time ago, are becoming even clearer. The deep understanding shown by the party members of their duty and responsibility for the solution of historical problems, the increased activeness of the masses rallied around the MNRP, the economic and cadre potential created by the country and its dynamic cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries are reliable prerequisites for enabling the Mongolian people to reach new heights in building socialism. The party of Mongolian communists is laying a true path to them, which will ensure the accelerated rhythm of future work.

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## THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD: TRENDS AND CONTRADICTIONS

### DILEMMA OF THIS CENTURY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 86 (signed to press 29 Apr 86) pp 83-92

[Article by Professor L. Tolkunov, chairman of the USSR Parliamentary Group]

[Text] Never before have the problems of war and peace had such a decisive significance to mankind and to its future. That is why the conclusions, initiatives and suggestions submitted on these problems at the 27th CPSU Congress were a subject of tremendous attention throughout the world. The world public had hopefully welcomed Moscow's appeal to put an end the nuclear and other mass destruction weapons by the end of the century, contained in the 15 January CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Declaration, which had made clear that the land of the soviets had formulated an overall realistic concept for disarmament and strengthening of universal security.

The resolution on the Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress, which noted that the last decades of the 20th century have raised for the peoples on earth difficult and grave problems, concluded as follows: "...The need to solve the most vital problems of mankind must encourage them to engage in reciprocal action and give way to the trend of the self-preservation of mankind." Another no less important conclusion was the following: objective conditions have developed in the international arena in which the confrontation between capitalism and socialism could develop only and exclusively under peaceful conditions. The contemporary world has long become too small and brittle to withstand war and power politics. It cannot be safeguarded and protected unless a decisive and irreversible break is made with the way of thinking and action which, for decades, have been based on the acceptability and admissibility of wars and military conflicts.

The philosophy of "might is right" has cost dearly to mankind. For centuries on end peaceful periods were merely short breathing spells before the next bloodshed. The exploiting classes solved their disputes at the cost of millions of human lives. They led the nations into the magic circle of hostility and confrontation.

The age-old search for ways to a lasting peace led to a decisive breakthrough in our age: a solution to the problem of endless wars was indicated in the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin; the idea of a lasting peace was became a programmatic communist stipulation; realistic steps were suggested to prevent

conflicts. The Great October Revolution inaugurated the age in which the formulation of such problems on a practical level became possible.

The Soviet state was born with a program for the radical restructuring of the system of international relations based on the principles of peace, equality and justice. The first foreign policy act of the land of the soviets--the Decree on Peace--which was drafted by V.I. Lenin, contained an appeal to all nations at war at that time and to their governments immediately to initiate talks on ending the war and concluding a peace without annexations and reparations. Our party formulated as a fundamental principle of international relations the concept of the peaceful coexistence among countries belonging to opposite social systems.

The nearly 70-year old history of the Soviet state convincingly proved that this concept was able to withstand the test of time. From the 1922 Genoa conference, at which Soviet Russia submitted a motion on a universal reduction of armaments and armed forces by all countries, to the idea of creating a collective security system in Europe in the 1930s, and from the persistent efforts of Soviet diplomacy to create an anti-Hitlerite coalition during World War II to the gigantic struggle waged by the CPSU against the threat of nuclear conflict today, throughout all historical stages the party of the Soviet communists has persistently and consistently pursued a line of implementing the great humanistic behest of V.I. Lenin on peaceful coexistence, which offers the nations "the only proper solution to the difficulty, chaos and danger of war" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, p 193).

In its struggle against the threat of war, our country has invariably proceeded from the concept of the indivisibility of peace. We have always considered our own security a structural component of collective universal security. The wisdom and perspicacity of this approach are manifested to their fullest extent today, when, as M.S. Gorbachev said, "The nuclear threat makes all countries equal on one point: in a big war no one will be able to stand aside or benefit from someone else's troubles. Identical security is a powerful imperative of the time. Ensuring it is becoming increasingly a political task, which can be solved through political means only. It is time to lay under relations among countries a foundation stronger than weapons. We neither see nor seek an alternative to this."

The nature of today's weapons leaves no hope that a country can defend itself through military-technical means only such as, for example, the creation of even the most powerful defense. Assessments of this matter, including those made by Western experts, are categorical. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, a nuclear strike with no more than 100 bombs, dropped on the 100 largest U.S. cities or in their vicinity, could result in the instant death of 36 to 56 million people. And that is 100 bombs only. Yet modern arsenals contain hundreds of warheads. A "limited nuclear war" in Europe would immediately kill one out of three Europeans and subject the other two to fatal radiation. The scientists have warned of catastrophic consequences of a mass use of nuclear weapons to the earth's ecological system, the inevitable occurrence of a "nuclear night" and "nuclear winter," and the death of all life on our unique planet.



Silent missile-armed submarines and "invisible" bombers developed across the ocean are as unsuitable in terms of ensuring national security as those already in use. Security cannot be infinitely based on the fear of retribution, i.e., on the doctrines of "containment" or "deterrence." Not to mention the absurdity and immorality of a situation in which the entire world is becoming a nuclear hostage, such doctrines urge on the arms race which, sooner or later, could become uncontrollable. Security can be only mutual and, if we consider international relations as a whole, only universal. The higher wisdom is not to be concerned exclusively with oneself, not to mention to the detriment of the other side. Everyone must feel equally safe, for the fear and concern in the nuclear age trigger unpredictable situations in politics and in specific actions.

Therefore, it is time to surmount the inertia of confrontation, to reassess the problems of security and to find essentially new ways of solving them. The intensification of contradictions among countries with different social systems should yield to an awareness of the threat of an all-destructive nuclear war, for under present-day conditions it is a question of a choice between survival and reciprocal destruction.

The new realities also demand a sober, a suitable attitude toward the objective process of sociopolitical development in the world. Unlike imperialism, which is trying to stop the course of history by force and to restore the past, socialism has never willingly linked its future to a military solution of global problems. Marxism rejects the "encouragement" of revolutions, which develop with the increased gravity of class contradictions which create revolutions. We are convinced that encouraging a revolution from the outside, not to mention encouraging it through military means, is both useless and inadmissible. V.I. Lenin wrote that "revolutions are made neither by order nor by agreement" (op. cit., vol 37, p 64). At the same time, we shall never accept the export of counterrevolution or attempts to halt the forward march of history through armed force.

Therefore, the basic task which faces all countries without exception is the following: not to close their eyes to social, political and ideological contradictions, to master the science and art of behaving in the international arena in a restrained and cautious manner, and to lead a civilized life, i.e., to practice correct international intercourse and cooperation.

To a decisive extent this applies to the USSR and the United States. The reciprocal security of the two greatest powers is the foundation for the global security system. Unquestionably, the differences existing between them are tremendous. However, equally great in the contemporary world are their interaction and interdependence. The gravity of our time does not allow the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States any alternative other than to learn the great science of living together.

Our policies are not based on the desire to harm the national interests of the United States. For example, we would not like a change in the strategic balance in our own favor. We would not like it because such a situation would make the other side more suspicious and intensify the general instability.

The new draft of the CPSU program lays out the fundamental positions of our country in terms of relations with the United States. Essentially, they are that the Soviet Union is in favor of maintaining normal and stable relations with the United States on the basis of existing objective prerequisites for the organization of fruitful and mutually profitable Soviet-American cooperation in various areas. It is assumed that such conditions will be based on noninterference in domestic affairs, respect for the legitimate interests of one-another, and acknowledgment and practical implementation of the principle of identical security and, on this basis, the development of the greatest possible reciprocal confidence.

Life is such that both our countries must proceed from the principle of strategic parity as a natural condition. Maintaining international stability is inconceivable without maintaining a military-strategic balance. Without it a number of treaties and agreements on limiting the arms race could not have been initiated. An approximate equality of forces should be considered a base for international security and a self-evident imperative.

This, however, calls for a new way of thinking and understanding that a reliable defense today requires a significantly fewer amount of weapons. It is obvious to all that the current level of balance of the nuclear potential of the opposing sides is excessively high. For the time being, it equally threatens each side. However, this is only for the time being. A continuation of the nuclear arms race will inevitably increase this equal danger and may raise it to such a level in which even parity will no longer be a factor in military-political containment. It is perhaps necessary, above all, greatly to lower the level of military confrontation. A true equal security in our age is guaranteed not by extremely high but extremely low levels of the strategic balance, from which nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons must be totally excluded.

The actions of the Soviet state do not differ from its words. Of late the USSR has made a tremendous practical contribution to reducing the level of military confrontation by taking a number of important steps: unilaterally, as a good example, it halted all nuclear tests and honored this voluntary obligation until the dangerous steps taken by the United States forced us to announce that we were ending the unilateral moratorium; it proclaimed a moratorium on the deployment of its medium-range missiles on European soil and removed those which had been deployed in answer to the deployment of American Pershings and cruise missiles deployed in Western Europe; it confirmed its unilateral moratorium on testing antisatellite weapons; it suggested the development of extensive international cooperation on the study and utilization of outer space for peaceful purposes, under the condition of its nonmilitarization.

On 15 January 1986 the Soviet Union came out with a program for gradual elimination of nuclear weapons from our planet by the end of this century, which was of historical significance, the elimination of other mass destruction weapons and the reduction of conventional armament to a level necessary for self-defense. The 27th CPSU Congress provided inspiring prospects for strengthening peace and solving the vital problems of mankind. It formulated a program for close and productive cooperation with governments,

parties, public organizations and movement the world over, which are truly concerned with the fate of peace on earth, and suggested a program for the creation of an all-embracing system of international security, which would apply to all--military, political, economic and humanitarian--areas.

For each of these areas the congress suggested an entire set of thought-out large-scale innovative steps. Let us single out in the military area the appeal for preventing an arms race in outer space. We believe that it is extremely necessary, before it is too late, to find a real solution which would block shifting the arms race to space. The initiation of such a race and even the development in near-space of anti-missile systems alone would not strengthen anyone's safety. Hiding behind the "space" shield from nuclear means of attack would become even more dangerous. The development of offensive space weapons, as the Soviet Union has pointed out, could turn the present strategic balance into strategic chaos and trigger a feverish arms race in all directions. This would increase mistrust among nations and security would worsen significantly.

What kind of peaceful future or strategic stability could there be a question of at all if, in addition to the missiles which are already deep in shafts and in the depths of oceans, yet another mortal threat comes out of space? The so-called "Strategic Defense Initiative" is clearly an attempt to develop for the United States a first strike potential and to disturb the approximate military-strategic balance in the world. Its implementation will not weaken but strengthen the likelihood of the outbreak of nuclear war. The "star wars" program, states R. Bowman, director of the Washington Institute for the Study of Problems of Space and Security, should be named a program of "star death."

The arms race, promoted by the United States, can have one ideological meaning only. The antisocialist "crusade" proclaimed by Washington is manifested in the aspiration to destroy the existing strategic parity, "isolate" the USSR and exclude the possibility of its influencing the solution of international disputes, to create hotbeds of tension and conflicts closer to its borders and to export counterrevolution. In this connection, the foundations for a comprehensive system of international security in the military, political, economic and humanitarian areas, formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress, and submitted to the governments and the public the world over for discussion, are of particular importance in countering such plans. The basic principles formulated by the Soviet Union include strict respect in international practices of the right of every nation to chose independently the ways and means of its development, to strengthen the spirit of reciprocal understanding and agreement among nations and to abandon any type of discrimination, blockades and "sanctions."

It is common knowledge that imperialism looked at the birth of socialism as a historical "error" which should be "corrected." It should be corrected at all cost, by all possible means, regardless of right and morality: military intervention, economic blockade, subversive activities, "sanctions" and "punishments," and refusal of all cooperation. Imperial ideology and policy and the desire to put socialism and the USSR in maximally adverse foreign conditions determined the race of nuclear and other armaments launched by the imperialists circles after World War II.

In his scandalously notorious 5 March 1946 Fulton speech, Winston Churchill, the then leader of the British Conservatives, announced the beginning of the "cold war" on the Soviet Union, openly pitting against the principle of peaceful coexistence the concept of "throwing back of communism" the concept of confrontation. It was no accident that the site at which this programmatic speech was delivered was a U.S. city. It is precisely American imperialism on which he called to raise the threadbare banner of anti-Sovietism. On 5 March 1986, i.e., precisely 40 years later, George Bush, the U.S. vice president, spoke in that same Fulton. He proved himself a zealous student of Churchill's. Essentially, Bush repeated Churchill's appeals for restoring the old order in the socialist countries and "driving back communism."

However, the dreams of imperialist global domination and, under present-day conditions, of American imperialism, are essentially faulty. This applies both to means and objectives. In the same way that designs for a perpetual motion machine come from ignorance of basic natural laws, imperial aspirations stem from concepts of a contemporary world remote from reality. The appetite of the United States clearly exceeds its capacity. This, however, does not make it any less dangerous.

The extreme "ideologizing" of U.S. foreign policy, the description given to its clearly manifested antisocialist trend, the course of confrontation with the opposite system, and the aspiration to block the progress of developing countries and keep them forever as raw material appendages to imperialism, the establishments of regimes suitable to Washington and the practices of embargoes and "sanctions" in international economic relations disturb the world, poison the political climate on earth and undermine the security of the peoples. Lately, Washington's policies in the "hot spots" of the planet have assumed particularly alarming aspects.

It is obvious to everyone that international security consists of two elements: global and regional. It is easy to see the organic interconnection and active interaction between them. Naturally, the determining element is the global, the confrontation and cooperation on the level of the two global systems, for it applies to the basic problem of will there be a nuclear catastrophe or not? It would be dangerous, however, to underestimate the regional aspect of international security. The conflicts in Africa, Asia and Latin America influence the political climate in the world. Imperialism uses them as an arena for ideological and military confrontation with the opposite system and the liberation processes, thus justifying its policy of confrontation on the global level and the intensification of general tension.

The doctrine of "neoglobalism" formulated by the Washington administration is, actually, a doctrine of reversibility of history. In his February 1986 "State of the Union" message to the congress, President Reagan addressed himself to the counterrevolutionaries of all sorts with the assertion that America "will support your right not only to fight and die for freedom but also to fight and gain freedom--in Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia and Nicaragua." Actually, it is a question of international piracy and the aspiration to overthrow with the help of hired killers legitimate governments and turn back the development of these independent countries.

Settling regional conflicts is a mandatory prerequisite for strengthening universal security and, together with the other peace-loving forces, the Soviet Union is doing everything possible to put out the "hot spots" on the planet. The USSR is persistently encouraging essential progress in reaching a political settlement in the Middle East, Central America, Afghanistan, the southern part of Africa and the Persian Gulf. Together with the other countries, we are prepared to seek just solutions and participate, if necessary, in giving corresponding guarantees.

We have always deemed it necessary to take all suitable measures to break the vicious circle of the arms race and not to lose even a single opportunity of turning the course of events to the better. Today the question is quite sharp and clear: we must rise above narrow egocentric interests and realize the collective responsibility of all countries in the face of the mortal danger which threatens the community of nations on the threshold of the third millennium.

Unfortunately, the ruling U.S. circles are unwilling to draw sensible conclusions from the new realities of the contemporary world. As in the past, the thinking of the leaders of the Washington administration is limited to the dogmas of the "policy of force" and strategy of "deterrence." The United States wants a special type of security suitable for itself only. It still considers power the most substantial argument in global politics.

The senior representatives of the Washington administration personally pour oil into the fire of chauvinistic passions. Strength is the most convincing argument we have, President Reagan said on 27 February. Only countries which talk "from a position of strength," in his opinion, are respected.

In exposing the true nature of the postulates of the U.S. leadership, J. McMahon a Cambridge University fellow, notes in his book "Reagan and the World," that ever since the present American administration came to power, "the main task of Reagan's foreign policy has been to restore the position of global domination by the United States in the economic, military, political and ideological spheres." The main obstacle to the implementation of these plans, the author goes on to say, is the Soviet Union, whose increased military capabilities have made asserting American control in various parts of the world increasingly risky. Under these circumstances, the Reagan administration has given up its attempts to keep the competition between the United States and the USSR within the framework of detente, instead assuming a more aggressive confrontation policy.

The term "national security" has become the currency, writes Lester Brown, a noted Western specialist. It is used to justify the maintaining of huge armed forces and the development of production of ever new armament systems. One-quarter of the taxes levied in the United States goes to "national defense," a concept which has assumed a purely military meaning since World War II.

The intensification of reactionary trends in imperialist policy is determined by shifts in the deployment of forces in the international arena. The process of radical changes on earth, initiated by the Great October Revolution, is continuing. The positions of world socialism are strengthening and its

influence on the course of historical developments is increasing. Meanwhile, an erosion is taking place in the dominant positions of the United States in the capitalist world. The antagonism between it and the developing countries is worsening and contradictions within the imperialist "power" triangle are becoming aggravated.

The reaction of the U.S. ruling circles and some of their closest allies to such processes is unpredictable and dangerous. It is increasingly reflecting the self-suggestion that they can stop time and even turn it back. An overassessment of their own strength intensifies the adventurism and thoughtlessness in the policies above all of the United States, with its messianic obsession and criminal thoughtlessness in the use of force in international affairs. Militarism is corroding all areas of American life. The cult of strength is becoming the national cult of the country. Anti-Sovietism in its hysterical paranoid form is becoming the dominant feature in the thinking of millions of confused Americans.

Of late the United States has worsened the international situation with an entire series of irresponsible and provocative actions, taking the path of actually undermining the Geneva agreements. The sinister nuclear explosions which shook up the Nevada grounds eliminated the unique opportunity of laying a real beginning to the disarmament process. The barbaric bombing of Libya, the blackmail and threats addressed at Nicaragua and the increased open support of forces waging undeclared war on Afghanistan, Angola and Cambodia illustrate the nature of Washington's proclaimed course of "new globalism," a course of aggression against the young independent countries.

The flywheel of U.S. military preparations has noticeably increased its revolutions as a result of a number of recent decisions made by the Reagan administration. All of this confirms that the present U.S. policy is a policy of aggression, promoting regional conflicts, perpetuating confrontation and balancing on the brink of war. However, even the hottest heads across the ocean undoubtedly cannot fail to realize the gap between their excessive imperial ambitions and the real possibilities of the United States. The existing overall strategic parity between the USSR and the United States is restraining the American "hawks." The aspiration to surmount the "strategic nuclear dead end" and gain the possibility of dealing a "first strike" with impunity are the foundations of the U.S. militaristic programs.

The progress of mankind is directly related to the scientific and technical revolution. This revolution matured surreptitiously and gradually but in the last quarter of a century initiated a tremendous increase in the material and spiritual possibilities of man. Such possibilities are of two kinds. We are seeing a qualitative leap in human production forces. However, the qualitative leap which has taken place in means of destruction and military affairs, has "granted" man for the first time in history the physical ability to destroy all life on earth. It is precisely this destructive aspect of the scientific and technical revolution that the U.S. imperialist circles would like to put in their service. They are particularly relying on extending the arms race to near-space.

The "star wars" concept did not appear from scratch. It logically stems from American foreign policy aspirations throughout the entire postwar period. J. Holdren, a known U.S. specialist from the University of California, and author of the book "The Dynamics of the Nuclear Arms Race," points out that the United States initiated the creation and development of virtually all basic types of strategic armaments: the atom bomb, strategic bombers, atomic artillery, ballistic missiles carried by nuclear-powered submarines, MIRV, and strategic cruise missiles. The United States is currently accelerating the creation and development of intercontinental mobile missiles and, finally, a system of offensive space armaments.

While the Soviet Union is suggesting broad programs for the elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of the 20th century, the United States is planning a drastic increase in all components of its nuclear missile forces for the same period.

Washington intends to increase the number of warheads of its strategic "triad" from 10,000 in 1980 to 19,000 by 1990 and to increase the number of elements in its strategic forces through the deployment of medium-range missiles (572) and sea- and air-launched cruise missiles (5,757 warheads).

Who can believe the claim of Secretary of State George Schultz that U.S. defense policy is based on the concept of mutually guaranteed security? In general, is a "logic" according to which in order to disarm one must begin by becoming armed to the teeth accurate? In other words, why, for example, create anti-missile missiles when there is another way, more reliable, safer and, above all, leading straight to the purpose: reaching an agreement on reducing and subsequently totally eliminating existing missiles?

Meanwhile, the U.S. reactionary circles and, in particular, their ideological headquarters--the so-called Heritage Foundation--are constantly recommending to the President to pursue the arms race, to prevent the Soviet Union from diverting funds to socioeconomic programs and, in the final account, to force the USSR out of international politics. These gentlemen are totally uninterested in history and have forgotten that many such futile pressures have been applied in the past.

The nuclear arms race is causing particular concern in Europe. The historical opportunity of Europe and its future lie in peaceful cooperation among countries on the continent. It is important, while preserving the already acquired capital, to move ahead from a basic to a more stable phase of detente, to a mature detente and, subsequently, to creating a reliable security system on the basis of the Helsinki process and the radical reduction in nuclear and conventional armaments. The task of ensuring the guaranteed safety on the European continent is complex and difficult. However, past experience reminds us that nothing comes by itself: one must struggle for peace, persistently and purposefully. One must seek, find and use even the slightest opportunity so that, while it is still possible, to stop the trend toward a growing danger of war.

The new Soviet initiative, aimed at solving one of the most important problems in Europe, is an example of such a search. It pertains to the confrontation

of powerful armed forces on the continent, equipped with conventional weapons. This problem is becoming increasingly crucial. To begin with, two 3-million strong groups of armed forces are facing each other in Europe. Second, they are being armed with a growing number of so-called conventional weapons which are approaching nuclear weapons in terms of destructive power and refinement.

A solution does exist. It was suggested in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the 11th SED Congress. The USSR calls for reaching an agreement on significantly reducing all components of land forces and the tactical air forces of European countries and the corresponding forces of the United States and Canada deployed in Europe. The reduced army formations and units would be disbanded and their armaments would be destroyed or else stockpiled on national territory. The entire European territory, from the Atlantic to the Urals, would be the space covered by this reduction. Nuclear operative-tactical weapons would be reduced along with conventional armaments.

In general, our continent is oversaturated with nuclear weapons. That is why the USSR so persistently calls for the total liberation of Europe from nuclear weapons, whether medium-range or tactical. We have suggested to begin perhaps with adopting intermediary solutions and then undertake further reductions. The Soviet Union has expressed its agreement to solve the problem of medium-range missiles in Europe separately, unrelated directly to the problem of strategic armaments and armaments in outer space. As was pointed out at the 27th CPSU Congress, the removal of Soviet and American medium-range missiles from Europe, in addition to halting nuclear tests, are problems in which an eventual agreement could be reached at a new Soviet-American summit.

What is amazing, however, is that the moment the Soviet Union suggested a program for the total elimination of nuclear weapons "supporters" of this weapon were found in Western Europe as well, claiming that nuclear arsenals are necessary as a containment factor. Unfortunately, the same approach was displayed in the answer given by the White House to the Soviet program as a whole. It is hard to detect in this answer any serious readiness on the part of the American leadership to actually undertake the solution of this radical problem of eliminating the nuclear threat.

The United States is increasing its pressure on the Western European countries, in an effort to maximally activate the local military-industrial complexes and to promote the activities of reactionary and militaristic circles in order to involve its allies in a new, this time space-oriented, round in the arms race. "One of the objectives of cooperation in the field of armaments among the members of the Atlantic Alliance should be the most efficient utilization of the achievements of technical progress used for military purposes," said the American General B. Rogers, commander and chief of the NATO armed forces in Europe, immediately letting it be understood that he was referring to the "Strategic Defense Initiative." The purpose of the general's speech was to entice the allies with the imaginary advantages of participating in the space arms race. However, even the naked eye can see that the Pentagon is planning through a more energetic support on the part of Western Europe of the militarization of outer space to circumvent the 1972 Anti-Missile Defense Treaty. An open threat is used: should the SDI be implemented and should the Soviet Union take respective steps, Western Europe



"would become a zone of reduced security." Any sensibly thinking Western European realizes, however, that it would be more logical in terms of Western European security to join in the struggle against the militarization of space rather than participate in it.

The contemporary world is complex, varied, dynamic, imbued with conflicting trends and full of contradictions and dangers. It was precisely on the basis of the current complex and harsh reality that the 27th CPSU Congress proceeded in formulating the foreign policy strategy of the Soviet Union. A nuclear catastrophe can and must be prevented. It is necessary and possible to build a world without threats, a world of good neighborly relations, a world in which each nation would assume its proper place, respected by others, and in which vital global problems, such as the ecological, raw material, energy, food, elimination of diseases and others, could be solved. The Soviet Union is aspiring toward such a world or even toward achieving it partially. The congress confirmed this. It formulated the main task of our foreign policy, which is to secure for the Soviet people the possibility of working under the conditions of a lasting peace and freedom. Under present-day circumstances the implementation of this requirement means, above all, ending material preparations for nuclear war.

Soviet foreign policy is oriented toward seeking reciprocal understanding, a dialogue and assertion of peaceful coexistence as the universal norm of relations among countries. We have both a clear idea on how to achieve this and a specific work program for safeguarding and strengthening peace.

The 27th CPSU Congress convincingly proved the indivisibility of socialism, peace and building. Socialism would be unable to fulfill its historical mission unless it heads the struggle for rescuing mankind from the burden of military concerns and violence. The main objective of Soviet policy is a secure and just peace for all nations.

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## IMPERIALIST CONTRADICTIONS AND WORLD DEVELOPMENT

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[Text] In its analysis of the picture of global developments, the 27th CPSU Congress paid essential attention to the processes occurring within contemporary capitalism. This is natural, for by the will of history it is precisely with that society, which is our neighbor, that we must seek ways for cooperation and mutual understanding on the basis of the new type of political thinking in the nuclear age. Familiarity with the features of imperialism is a major condition for the implementation of CPSU international strategy and the foreign policy course of the USSR. Finally, it is also a necessary prerequisite for a critical and comprehensively weighed attitude toward economic management experience in the capitalist countries.

In intensifying the theory and methodology of creative Marxism, the congress displayed a strictly scientific yet innovative approach in all these areas, reasserting "the good Marxist custom of providing a coherent and integral presentation of the foundations of its views and tactics" (V.I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 285).

V. I. Lenin noted that "in any social phenomenon in the process of development we shall always find vestiges of the past, foundations of the present and rudiments of the future" (op. cit., vol 1, p 181). It is precisely this type of approach that enables us to study monopoly capitalism comprehensively, within the entire system of socioeconomic and sociopolitical coordinates of the contemporary interdependent and largely integral world. The last system of exploitation has already passed its peak and entered the declining phase in its development, in the throes of an ever-deepening general crisis.

This comprehensive crisis in the capitalist social system is developing gradually, influenced by the interpenetrating contradictions between the two systems, within capitalism, between imperialism and the developing countries, globally and as it gains new depth and gravity. On the broadest level, however, the nature of the crisis is such that, compared with socialism, capitalism appears increasingly less prepared and able to understand mankind's problems and, above all, to find sensible solutions for them.

The determining criterion in this case is the attitude of either system toward man. Here the growing antihumanism of capitalism clashes with the communist view, which considers the individual and his life, the comprehensive development of his capabilities and well-being as its leading objective and guidelines, economic as well as political. That is precisely why, as the new draft of the CPSU program notes, socialism is a level of human progress superior to capitalism, "solving problems which the bourgeois system cannot." This, precisely, is the basic reason for which socialism has become the most prestigious force of our time, with the development of which the destinies of the world and social progress are linked more closely than ever before.

As was particularly emphasized at the congress, the general crisis of capitalism is ripening above all within itself. Being antagonistic and exploitive by nature, and inevitably ascribing a two-faced nature to all social progress under the conditions of the domination of private ownership, in the final account capitalism denies its own nature. That is why, the new edition of the party program reads, "ever new peoples are denying capitalism their confidence. They are unwilling to link their future development with it and are persistently seeking and finding ways leading to the socialist reorganization of their countries." Revolutionary changes, however, can only be the natural result of internal social development and class struggle, waged, above all, in each individual country." Today even the bourgeois ideologues are forced to acknowledge the stupidity of the theories of "export" and "encouragement" of revolutions. "The most serious challenge to the Western alliance today," writes American sociologist Robert Pollard, "is not the Soviet threat but our own economic ills" (Robert A. Pollard, "Economic Security and the Origin of the Cold War," N.Y., 1985, p 253).

Even excluding militarism, this is manifested most clearly in the accumulation of contradictions in areas such as social reproduction, scientific and technical progress and its consequences, use of nature, , internationalization of economic life, and the economic development of liberated countries. It is also manifested in the 40 million unemployed (in the technological areas mainly) in the imperialist countries, the interweaving of structural and cyclical crises in them, the ecocide in the nonsocialist world and the fact that the developing countries lag behind the imperialist centers in per-capita income by a factor of 11, which worsens the degree of their exploitation. Furthermore, it is of essential significance to note that unlike some previously held views, the congress' documents do not interpret such contradictions one-dimensionally, as a condemnation of the past, but in a systematically dialectical way. While such contradictions are also preparations for replacing the capitalist system, they (together with the crises) could also act as a source of its dynamics, i.e., of its partial transformation through the development of production forces and partial correction of production relations and the economic management mechanism.

This refines our views on the course of intensification of the general crisis in capitalism. Today it is a process in which two different dynamics intertwine. The one, the specific-historical, makes it nonlinear. In the current stage of the general crisis of capitalism as well, capitalism "allows" for the possibility of retaining its positions and preserves its ability to grow and, in some areas, even to recover its losses and take social revenge.

That is why the boundaries of the area under imperialist domination are flexible. They do not shrink evenly. Imperialism itself has adopted standards different from those it held at the start or even the middle of the 20th century. In particular, it is mastering the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution on a rather broad scale, uses the new forms of international division of labor and "undergoes" radical structural changes in production. Nevertheless, it is the general historical dynamics, which inevitably leads this system to its decline, that is dominant and determining in the intensification of the overall crisis of capitalism.

The most important contradictions in the contemporary world are related to the relations between the socialist and capitalist systems. In the economic area they are determined above all by the economic competition between the two systems as a special form of contemporary class struggle in the international arena. At the same time, being parts of the single global economy, trade and economic relations develop between them. True to its humanistic nature, socialism considers such peaceful forms of confrontation and coexistence with capitalism the only acceptable ones in the nuclear century. Furthermore, the victory of a new over an old system is always determined precisely in the socioeconomic area.

The advantages of socialism as a system allow it to retain the historical initiative in this competition. In the last 25 years its share in global production increased from 36 to 40 percent, while the volume of Soviet industrial output rose from 30 to 80 percent of that of the United States.

According to the computations of UNIDO experts, in 1963 the share of the socialist countries in the world standard-net processing industry output was 15.2 percent; by 1984 it has already reached 24.9 percent. Within that same period the share of industrially developed countries dropped from 77 to 63.5 percent. The dynamically developing socialist community is contributing today more than one-half of the growth of the global industrial wealth (UNIDO. "Industry in the 1980s. Structural Change and Interdependence." N.Y., 1985, pp 16, 21). Consequently, its bulk is already provided with labor free from exploitation.

However, the economic competition between the two systems has its problems as well. On the part of capitalism, they are triggered by the fact that that system does not observe in the least the proper civilized rules of competition. Losing to the socialist economy, it stubbornly tries to translate the competition into the language of military confrontation, which also involves the hope of exhausting it through the arms race. Although such hopes are illusory, the USSR and its allies must draw some of their economic potential away from building in order to meet defense requirements.

Use is made of the worst methods of imperialist rivalry, such as discrimination, "sanctions," and violation of contracts with a view to causing the socialist economy maximal damage. Particularly widespread is the destructive practice in technological trade according to which the United States and NATO use export controls artificially to isolate the socialist community from global scientific progress. Finally, efforts are made to promote discord within the socialist community and to prevent it from

increasing its power through collective integration efforts. As a whole, all of this is a structural component of the imperialist course aimed at stopping the advance of history, undermining the positions of socialism and achieving social revenge.

On the broad historical level such policy is futile. In the economic competition between the two systems, however, we too have something to think about. While properly noting accomplishments, we should also note that until very recently socialism was competing against the highly developed capitalist economy with essentially extensive methods, with relatively high specific resource outlays and at a steadily increasing cost per unit of "catching-up" growth. By the start of the 1980s the inertia of such extensiveness, the reasons for which were made clear at the 27th CPSU Congress, resulted in a slow-down in the growth rates of the Soviet economy and its technological standards, which necessarily affected the specific dynamics of the competition. According to IMEMO specialists, whereas in the 1961-1970 period the growth rates of the Soviet national income exceeded the American by a factor of 1.8, they exceeded it by a factor of 1.6 in 1971-1980 and 1.13 in 1976-1980, and were almost equal to it between 1980 and 1985.

Socialism, which has assumed a tremendous historical responsibility to mankind, has no right to fall behind in the competition between the two systems. In this light, the strategy of accelerated socioeconomic development formulated by the congress becomes even more necessary. A comparison between the long-term development earmarked at the congress and the congresses of the fraternal parties and the projected averaged growth rates of the capitalist economy shows that between now and the year 2000, the socialist community will once again be developing approximately twice as fast compared to the imperialist countries. This creates the need henceforth to find our place more precisely in accordance with the concept of this competition and be able to assess its course. Obviously, in this case the previous rather simplified comparisons between the USSR and the United States alone in terms of gross output indicators will no longer be suitable.

To begin with, the more time goes on the more capitalism is participating in this competition with its entire combined power, as a bloc of imperialist countries united by bourgeois class solidarity and relying on third-world resources. The countries within the socialist community will counter this bloc on the basis of their common international duty, relying on their economic integration and cooperation with countries with a socialist orientation, for there is an obvious link between their national accomplishments and the strengthening of world socialism as a whole.

Second, we must remember that it is a question not simply of competition between two economies but, above all, of a historical confrontation between two opposite social systems. Correspondingly, it would be accurate to interpret the competition itself above all as being socioeconomic. Otherwise, in assessing its course, the different nature of the link between economic growth and social progress under socialism and under capitalism will be lost and the role of human development, as the final measure of all economic successes, will be diminished. That is why the range of competition indicators must be comprehensive. It must include social justice, the quality

of life, social services and spiritual and personality factors. Naturally, with such an approach the comparison between the socialist and capitalist societies will become increasingly difficult. However, from the viewpoint of impact on global developments, we believe that it is precisely this non-comparability that is essential, offering an alternative and making differences visible rather than merely showing volume indicators of a class-oriented impersonal output, as it appears today, with the current essentially technocratic evaluations of the course of the competition.

Third, we must take into consideration that the competition between the two systems is increasingly becoming also a competition between two types of intensive economies and that quality parameters become as important as growth rates, such as scientific and technical progress, efficiency, productivity and production quality. The current ordinary "competition" set of TsSU statistics does not meet such criteria. It is too limited and includes mainly intermediary rather than end products. That is why its use as a guideline in fact hinders competition in the traditional sectors, which lose their role as "locomotives" of development. In itself, the course of outstripping the level of output of such commodities in the United States is fraught with an unnecessary duplication of the old American economic structure. The easiest indicators to reach are those which capitalism is not trying to increase, such as steel production. Finally, by applying the current TsSU method, we statistically impoverish ourselves in assessing the results of the competition, believing, as in the past, that "new value" is created exclusively in material production sectors, while services are merely a form of consumption of the national income.

Although the importance of comparing macroeconomic indicators does not decline, competition on the microeconomic level becomes particularly important. Here the multinational capitalist corporations are the rivals of socialist enterprises. It is precisely in this area that the intensive parameters of modern production are established, including an indicator of decisive importance in the competition between the two systems, such as labor productivity, and that the qualitative aspects of the pace of economic growth are shaped. From this viewpoint, the daily work of hundreds and thousands of socialist enterprises and associations, which today are largely responsible for the fate of the Soviet economy, appear in a different light, emphasizing the full magnitude not only of the economic but also the class, the historical tasks of socialism and the competition itself becomes a duel between two sciences of management and two economic mechanisms.

Naturally, this does not apply to all problems which have appeared in this area. It is clear, however, that in the light of the requirements of the congress and the CPSU program--economic as well as ideological--Soviet social science must formulate a new, integral and dynamic concept of the competition between the two systems. At the turn of the century the task of socialism's economic victory over capitalism becomes an item on the agenda. In this area we need particular accuracy and reliability in the assessment of our own successes, possibilities and reserves and the reserves still at the disposal of capitalism despite the increasing array of its contradictions.

Regardless of their confrontation, the two systems are not isolated from each other. They are objectively interrelated through the general process of global developments. In the light of the congress' documents this requires an innovative approach to their interaction. So far, social science is in debt to the country in this respect. In our view, this lag is mainly the result of the insufficient development of problems of socialist ownership and the forms through which it is realized in the foreign economic area.

A number of theoretically and practically complex questions arise in this connection, which makes the development of a political economic theory of intersystemic relations the more necessary. This will be the contribution of Soviet social science to the new way of political thinking created and supported by socialism.

The internal development of bourgeois society has become more varied and contradictory than ever. Modern capitalism, the new edition of the CPSU program notes, is quite different from what it was at the start or even the middle of the 20th century. The roots of its changes may be traced mainly to the changes in capitalist ownership. In recent decades this ownership has become much more concentrated and consolidated, above all through absorptions and mergers, intersectorial in particular. Crossing state borders, it created multinational monopoly capital which, as was demonstrated at the congress, assumed dominant positions in the capitalist economy. The multinationals include 751 corporations with sales in excess of \$1 billion each.

Another leading factor in this change is the new round of the scientific and technical revolution. Unlike previous stages, today the capitalist application of its results aims less at labor savings than at conservation of resources and production factors. Combined with the use of advanced technologies, this shapes a qualitatively new aspect of highly intensive public production which, furthermore, has reached new levels of internationalization. Thus, in the postwar period capitalist foreign trade grew at twice the GNP rate, and its export share increased from 9.3 percent in 1950 to 16.5 percent in 1982. The share of imports in consumption that year was 9 percent for North America, 13 percent for Japan, and 16 percent for the EEC (UNCTAD. "Handbook of International Trade and Development Statistics," 1985, pp 2, 430, 510). A major feature in recent years has been that increasingly the individual (partial, technological) division of labor is essentially becoming international, similar to the general division of labor.

All of this leads to a exacerbates the conflict between the hugely increased production forces and essentially unchanged capitalist production relations, still based on the contradiction between labor and capital, a contradiction which has become noticeably aggravated in recent years. In modern capitalism as well the concentration of wealth and power parallels the growing proletarianization of the population. In the past 30 years the working class in the developed capitalist countries increased from 137 to 241 million people and the engineering and nonindustrial proletariat has become a stable fixture within its social confines. The growth of the potential of the struggle waged by the main revolutionary class of our time against capitalism is inexorable, and the wedge of the monopoly policy of social revenge is directed precisely

against it. With the help of chronic mass unemployment and production modernization, by the turn of the 1980s the monopolies were able to drastically slow down the growth of real wages and partially eliminate social benefits. For the time being, the traditional means of class struggle have been unable to repel this counteroffensive. The number of strikes and the radicalism of worker demands formulated in the strikes have declined in recent years, and so has trade-union membership. With 40 million unemployed, protecting jobs rather than higher salaries assume priority in worker demands. Nor is traditional trade unionism "working out," for today the bourgeoisie would rather make concessions and reforms than resort to open violence, having opted for monopoly totalitarianism in all areas of social life as a "universal" means of social protection against changes.

The reason for the adoption of such tactics in the struggle waged by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat in recent decades has still not been given a clear scientific explanation. In our view, however, it is largely related to changes in the forms of labor relations and the structure of the working class itself. By no means have its new reinforcements, the nonindustrial ones above all, become aware of being part of the proletariat. Its factory-plant nucleus is being fragmented by unemployment, manpower migrations and shifts from large enterprises to "miniplants." The international maneuvering of the multinational corporations pit the various working class detachments against each-other. In this case a certain role is also played by the structural changes in the economy of the capitalist countries (the priority and fast growth of sectors in which most employees belong to the white-collar group). Finally, and most important, is the increased complexity of the exploitation mechanism, which is not only becoming increasingly refined, in the course of which profits are extracted from the skills, intellectual efforts and nervous energy of the workers, but is also skillfully concealed.

It is unquestionable, however, that the factors which limit the power and organization of the labor movement are historically transient. In this connection reality raises the question of the further development of the principles of the strategy and tactics of the working class, the problem of its alliances and coalitions with mass democratic movements, the ways and means of struggle of the trade unions for the rights of the working people, etc., applicable under modern capitalist conditions. The formulation of an effective model of economic management in the assumption of power by leftist forces assumes essential significance as well, for this, precisely, has proved to be their stumbling block. Valuable in solving all such problems is both previous experience and the new creative contribution which Marxist science can and must make in this case.

The new shifts benefiting the monopolies in the division of the public wealth and production efficiency, at the expense of the working people, do not vanish without a trace. The problem of marketing is becoming aggravated along with that of the cyclical crises, which reached once again a new record depth in the 1980s. Also surreptitiously growing are the structural crises which become interwoven with the cyclical ones. By the middle of the 1970s the factors which had determined the expansion of the capitalist economy in the 1950s and 1960s had become substantially exhausted, and its instability showed a substantial overall increase.



The last 10-15 years have shown a substantial increase in monopoly rivalry. Thus, of the 211 biggest multinational corporations in 1970, 170 remained on the market in 1976 and no more than 138 in 1980. Naturally, the fierce competition sometimes "purges" capitalism from its stagnant elements. However, the price which society must pay for progress attained through such "social Darwinism" is excessively high. In the final account, the waste of social production forces turns out to be its common denominator.

The twin effect--the interweaving of destabilization with economic growth--is also the result of worsening interimperialist rivalry, in the course of which the imperialist centers draw to themselves adjacent areas (Canada, for the United States, the Mediterranean, for Europe, and Southeast Asia, for Japan) and give priority to "their own" multinationals. Particularly unstable here is the balance of forces. Sharp conflicts break out. Competition drastically enters the areas of science, technology and management. As a whole, however, the trend is toward the development of a multipolar capitalist power structure which counters the U.S. hegemonistic aspirations. Thus, the share of U.S. multinationals according to UN records dropped from 61 percent in 1970 to 53 percent in 1976 and to 47 percent in 1980. Western Europe caught up with the United States in the volume of direct capital investments. In operations involving the use of borrowed capital, the United States has become the largest international debtor; in exports of science-intensive goods its positions in the capitalist global economy is being undermined by Japan. For the first time the domestic U.S. market has become an arena of foreign competition. Here up to 70 percent of good produced by American enterprises face foreign competition. Long periods of machinations involving the rate of exchange of the dollar and interest rates, carried out at the expense of rival partners brought about the drop in the rate of exchange of the dollar and the beginning of a withdrawal of lending capital from the United States. The geographic configuration of interimperialist contradictions is changing also. For example, the Pacific area is increasingly challenging the North Atlantic.

Naturally, capitalism is not halting its search for reserves for its survival. A process is under way of separating property from property control. Broader areas for attracting independent companies on an operational-contractual basis are being formed around the empires of the financial magnates, linked through reciprocal share holding. The number of areas of application of small business is growing. Many companies do not declare bankruptcy but become integrated within agrobusinesses. The technical conservatism of the monopolies coexists with the progressive development of small research companies in which new production developments are created and "polished." The monopolies take over between 40 and 60 percent of the value of the end product of the constantly changing sets of subcontractors, which total 30,000 for Siemens, 40,000 for Fiat and General Motors, 60,000 for General Electric, etc. It is through these "amortizers" that the monopolies are able to engage in structural changes and technical retooling, to ease cyclical fluctuations and to avoid risking their own capital.

Militarization has become an important means of "reviving" the economy and ensuring the growth of profits. Naturally, this does not involve the entire bourgeoisie which, furthermore, has become clearly divided on the problem of

war and peace. Nor is the military business a mandatory feature of capitalist production. Nevertheless, today the sinister militaristic alliance between the monopolies and the military is considered by the aggressive bourgeois camp an important component of the strategy of its social self-defense. Concealed behind demagogic myths of "Soviet military threat," in fact a widespread system of artificial noncompetitive redistribution of the national income of the capitalist countries has taken place in favor of the military monopolies and at the expense of the other sectors and the population at large. The existence and expanded reproduction of such a system is backed in the imperialist countries by intensified political reaction in all areas.

As the most clear manifestation of the parasitism of the declining stage of capitalist development, and putting all mankind on the brink of catastrophe, militarism undermines the national economy and severely distorts the development of economic processes. Thus, American experts have estimated that each 12-14 years the U.S. economy loses the equivalent of 1 year of output as a result of military expenditures and that by 1980 technology in the civilian sectors could have reached the level that is now forecast for as late as the year 2000, had new technological developments been used above all for civilian instead of military production. It is no accident, therefore, that the concepts and practical suggestions relative to the civilian reconversion of the war industry and the study of the interconnection between disarmament and development are triggering such lively interest throughout the world. IMEMO specialists have estimated that following the suggestions included in M.S. Gorbachev's 15 January 1986 statement would save the United States about \$1 trillion until the year 2000; another \$300 billion would be saved by Western Europe. Abandoning research on the SDI would save about \$23 billion between 1986 and 1989. So far, however, the United States is planning to divert from its social to its military budget \$51 billion in 1986 and \$83 billion in 1987.

"The dialectics of development is such that the funds used by capitalism to strengthen its own positions," the CPSU program stipulates, "inevitably lead to the aggravation of all of its deep contradictions. Thus, despite expectations, the wave of capitalist rationalizations did not turn the revival of 1983-1985 to develop into a "full-blooded" cyclical upsurge, for stagnation and the drop of income of the working people did not provide an impetus to the expansion of consumer demand. In 1975 competition led to the bankruptcy of 11,400 companies in the United States alone, reaching 16,800 in 1981 and 57,000 in 1985. Unemployment also created "new poor" even in the developed capitalist countries. Outbreaks of protectionism at the start of the 1980s led to breakdowns in production internationalization. Inflation, generated by monopoly prices disturbed the finances of the state and most corporations. "Suppressed" in prices, it was revived in extremely high interest rates, state budget deficits, chronic instability in the balance of payments and fluctuations in the rate of exchange.

"There must be something rotten in the very core of a social system," Marx wrote, "which can increase its wealth without reducing poverty..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 13, p 515). Examples of this nature are numerous. In 1981 Reagan promised to reduce unemployment to 6 percent, increase the GNP by 5 percent and balance the budget by 1983. In fact, however, in 1983 unemployment had reached 9.6 percent, the economic growth did

not exceed 3.3 percent and the state deficit was \$195 billion. It is not astonishing that the irrationality of capitalism, the "neoconservative" course of its ruling circles included, is becoming increasingly obvious to the population masses, "and society loses what individual capitalists gain" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 25, part 1, p 99).

Nevertheless, "neoconservatism" as well should be explained. It is not only and even not merely nostalgia for the past but a broad attempt to recast the present and to find private-ownership alternatives to the developing socialization processes which are the material foundations for the inevitable expropriation of the expropriators. Hence the steady attacks mounted by the monopolies even against "their own" state, and demands for denationalization and deregulation, which indicate the bourgeois fear of nationalization which, even under the conditions of state monopoly control, noticeably limits the possibility of private capitalist control of social production forces.

The multinationals are one such alternative. In taking the processes of production concentration and capital to the world economic area, they are contributing, above all, to the growth of socialization "in width." The bourgeois strategy is aimed in this case at avoiding the critical threshold of socialization "in depth" within the individual countries. It is no accident that, in challenging the sovereignty of the national states, the multinational corporations are also against the national-state form of social organization in general, and try to turn the world into a "single market" in which, according to their plans, the processes of socialization could be kept for a long time to come within the area of private capitalism.

The antihistorical nature of this alternative is unquestionable to the Marxists. Free competition is impossible under monopoly domination. Nor can capitalism today exist without the patronage of "its own" state. Even the multinationals returned under the shelter of the state superstructure following the mythical euphoria of "replacing" the state, for their capitals and decision-making centers remained national and no representative financial oligarchy, truly cosmopolitan in terms of ownership, has appeared so far.

In practical terms, "neoconservatism" itself means a transition to a new form of state-monopoly organization of the economy and society as a whole, in which in addition to the strengthened positions of the monopoly, there takes place less a narrowing of the old functions of the state (such as denationalization or replacing direct with indirect control) than the gaining of new ones.

Reaching a dead end in its own internal development, imperialism raises obstacles to social progress in the liberated countries. These countries were able to accomplish a great deal after gaining their independence. Public reproduction assumed an essentially expanded nature, based primarily on national facilities. Precapitalist systems were severely curtailed. The share of accumulations increased everywhere and many of these countries became industrial-agrarian and major exporters of industrial commodities. In a world, they stopped being the old "world countryside." Their role in world politics increased substantially.

However, by remaining within the confines of the global capitalist economy, these countries became the targets of the new, neocolonial exploitation, based on the largely remaining dependence of the developing countries on their former mother-countries, from which to this day they obtain virtually all the machines and technology they need and to which they sell three-quarters of their exports. Since the multinationals of the imperialist countries control the commodity-distribution network in capitalist trade (warehousing, commercial transport, financing, communications, etc.), this gives them direct and indirect control over 70-95 percent of sales of the 19 basic export commodities of the young states. For example, the multinationals handle 50-60 percent of phosphates and sugar, 70-75 percent of rice, bananas, rubber, tin and even petroleum, 80-85 percent of bauxites, tea and copper, 85-90 percent of the coffee, pineapples, tropical timber, cotton, tobacco, and jute, and 90 percent of the iron ore and other goods exported by the developing countries. All of this enables them to restrict the business dealings of producers, consumers and competitors, including blocking their access to markets, imposing monopoly prices, etc.

However, as is sometimes the case, dependence is not reduced merely to inequitable international economic relations. Its roots are found in the mixed type of social structure in the developed countries and the positions held by foreign capital. That is precisely why the struggle for abolishing the unequal situation of the young countries within the capitalist system cannot be limited merely to establishing a new world economic order. It calls for substantially deeper, mainly internal, social changes.

The developing countries' dependence means, above all, their exploitation. Their working people bear the double burden of oppression by the foreign and local bourgeoisie, between the two of which a conflicting convergence has taken place. Imperialism both contributes to the accelerated growth of local capitalism and, at the same time, robs its economic periphery, pursuing the twin aim of preserving the two systems as its competition reserve and turning this "subsoil" into the nutritive "main base" of the bourgeois system, without whose support, as Lenin emphasized, imperialism cannot exist (see op. cit., vol 38, pp 151, 155).

Even the tip of the iceberg of such exploitation is estimated by international statistics of capital dynamics as "leaning" toward tens of billions of dollars annually. Of late not the multinational corporations but the multinational banks have assumed the role of main exploiters of the developing countries, ensnaring them in a trillion dollar debt. The flow of funds "from south to north" regularly adds to the national income of the imperialist countries and is partially used by them to intensify the arms race and for social maneuvering. The opposite side of all of this includes reduced development possibilities and shifting to the young states the burden of structural and cyclical crises. UN experts have estimated that whereas 29 developing countries had a six percent or higher GNP annual growth in 1970-1974, there were only 11 such countries in 1980-1984; respectively the number of countries with an annual 4-5 percent annual GNP growth declined from 20 to 16, and with under 3 percent from 25 to 21; conversely, stagnation or reduction were noted in 5 and 31 countries, respectively. This is not amazing, for as

much as one-third of their export earnings went to repay their debts. Multiplied by internal disparities, such exploitation worsens disparities between developing and imperialist countries, and regardless of the lagging of the former behind the latter by a factor of 11 in terms of per capita consumption, the disparity between the imperialist and the least developed liberated countries is in a 1:39 ratio.

Therefore, for the time being imperialism is achieving one of its objectives concerning the developing countries: their exploitation. However, could such countries be unconditionally considered a reserve of imperialism because of this? The future alone can answer this question, for in addition to the worldwide development trend, modern imperialism encounters at least three specific obstacles in the developing countries: the first deals with the past, for traditional ideologies disappear much more slowly compared to traditional economic structure, and in this case capitalist "modernism" is countered by a "fundamentalism," within which in some cases such modernism disappears. Second, the cost of capitalist development is becoming increasingly unbearable, and it is no accident that the developing countries which have traveled the longest along this road, the countries of Latin America for instance, are facing most urgently the problem of indebtedness, which creates the greatest internal income distribution inequality in the world. Finally, capitalism meets within the liberated countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America an alternative turned to the future. The working class is increasing, and over the past 30 years it has grown from 79 to 217 million people. The countries with a socialist orientation are developing dynamically, thus proving the realistic nature of a noncapitalist development.

However, even where economic decolonization has not gone beyond bourgeois democratic boundaries conflicts between the local and foreign bourgeoisie are multiplying, the nationalization of the latter's property is taking place, and the state sector, cooperation and reciprocal assistance among developing countries are becoming its antithesis.

Naturally, here as well imperialism is seeking revenge. Its diplomacy sabotages talks on a new international economic order and tries to divide the nonaligned movement. Pro-Western agents are purposefully working in the developing countries. By encouraging regional conflicts imperialism is involving the young countries into the arms race, which undermines the process of their development even further. Their military expenditures, which reached \$127 billion in 1983, account for a greater world share than the share of their GNP in the world's GNP. Between 1979 and 1983 15 percent of the annual increase in the indebtedness of the developing countries was caused by payments for armaments they imported.

"However," the new edition of the CPSU program notes, "the opposition of the peoples of these countries to the policy of plunder and robbery is also growing. They are pursuing their persistent and just struggle against neocolonialism, interference in their domestic affairs, racism and apartheid. This resistance objectively converges with the general anti-imperialist struggle waged by the peoples for freedom, peace and social progress."

The global problems of mankind were presented at the congress in the full magnitude of their relevance and significance. Concern for all mankind and its future legitimately stems from the class nature of socialism. That is precisely the way in which scientific communism treated this problem from the very beginning, emphasizing the interdependence of all mankind and, consequently, of the interests of its overall development. According to V.I. Lenin, this approach is part of the interests of social development and the development of mankind toward a new way of life. In all cases, in the conflict between war and peace, V.I. Lenin noted, "we represent the peaceful interests of the majority of the earth's population aimed against the military-imperialist predators" (op. cit., vol 40, p 96).

The increased scale of human activities has increased the pressure on natural systems in all countries, so that in this sense as well the question of the use of nature is global. However, in addition to its natural basis it has a social basis as well, for where socialism finds ways to balance such pressures the bourgeoisie allows "not people but capital" to exploit the land, thus triggering critical situations. Imperialism made the problem of energy and raw materials a battlefield in the struggle against the developing countries and uses the aggravation of the food problem as a means of increasing the latter's dependence. The multinational corporations are rushing into the world's oceans, which are the common legacy of mankind, on their own uncontrolled basis. The threat of extending the arms race into space by imperialism has also appeared.

Such near-sightedness, irresponsibility and egotism can be displayed only by a decaying parasitical system. Nevertheless, here as well socialism challenges it to dialogue and to learning the great science of living together. Ensuring the habitability of our planet and the thrifty use of its resources will be substantially assisted if an end is put to the waste of human forces and facilities on an arms race imposed on mankind by imperialism.

The congress' documents provide an expanded characterization of contemporary capitalism. The theoretical and political conclusions and innovative formulation of many new problems at the party forum provide all necessary starting points for the further fruitful work of our social scientists, work which must be raised to a new level.

"It is precisely the specific economic and political situation in which we find ourselves, and precisely the special period in which Soviet society and the rest of the world find themselves," M.S. Gorbachev stressed at the 27th CPSU Congress, "that demand of the party, of every party member creativity, innovativeness and the ability to go beyond the confines of customary yet already obsolete concepts." The Soviet international-affairs scientists, who fully accept this party requirement, will dedicate all their forces to ensure its implementation.

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U.S. IMPERIAL IDEOLOGY: PAST AND PRESENT

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[Text] The present stage in global developments is characterized by a drastic increase in the aggressiveness of the most reactionary forces of imperialism. It is manifested in the escalation of military preparations by the United States and its NATO allies, their unrestrained intensification of the arms race, and the broadening political and ideological attacks mounted against the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community and against all forces struggling for their national and social liberation.

Such aggressiveness is manifested in particularly odious forms in the foreign-policy course of the Washington administration, based on intensifying tension, broadening military-political adventures and accelerating the arms race. It is with the help of this strategy that the American ruling circles hope, on the one hand, to prevent the further strengthening of the forces of social progress in the world and strengthen the system of neocolonial enslavement of developing countries and, on the other, to tie even more closely to their military-political chariot the NATO allies and Japan and, in the final account, to achieve the type of change in the existing strategic balance which would enable them to impose U.S. domination upon mankind.

"The right wing of the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie," M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress, "continues to regard the heightening of international tension as justification for military appropriations, formulation of global claims, interference in the affairs of other countries and aggression against the interests and rights of the American working people. Judging by all available facts, tension continues to play a major role in pressuring the allies, so that they may become obedient to the extreme and yield to Washington's diktat."

Such hegemonistic strategy is the creation of the U.S. sociopolitical system itself. It has become embodied in an imperial ideology, which has become the official foreign policy doctrine of the American monopoly bourgeoisie. This ideology, which began to take shape while the United States was taking shape,

has undergone various development stages and assumed years a particularly sinister aspect in recent years.

Unquestionably, the United States was one of the first Western countries in which bourgeois republican institutions and bourgeois democratic standards assumed a more or less finished form. It is also a fact, however, that from the very beginning American republicanism contained very strong elements and prerequisites for imperial expansion and aspirations to world domination.

One such element was the idea that Americans were superior to other nations, and that America had a special mission in world history. "The American variant of the Herrenvolk (superior race--author)," writes contemporary bourgeois historian T. Bayley, accompanied us from the very first days of the founding of the colony on Massachusetts Bay. The conviction that we were the chosen people and had the divine mandate to spread our noble institutions through the rest of the world immersed in darkness encouraged us to carry the white man's burden in the Philippines and everywhere else by the turn of the 20th century" ("Myths and the American Experience," vol 1, New York, 1973, pp 11-12).

The very nature and outlook which prevailed at the initial stage of American history contributed to the appearance of the myth that the English colonies in North America were destined for some kind of great experiment. Like the early utopias, European 17th-18th-century imagination depicted America as a kind of fabulous island, separated by seas and oceans from the rest of the world. Puritan historians and spiritual leaders presented matters as though the initial settlers had crossed the ocean, fought the Indians and conquered wild nature for the sake of implementing the postulates of Divine Providence. They drew a direct analogy between their own migration to North America and the legendary migration of the "chosen people" from "fallen Egypt" and depicted America as the "promised land," allegedly especially chosen by God Himself as the place where "the New Zion," "the City on the Mount," was to be recreated as an example to the other nations on earth.

As we can see, the syndrome of being "the chosen" was being instilled in the Americans from the very dawn of U.S. history. Religion itself, despite the extensive official overemphasis of the importance of having a religious outlook, assumed in America a highly functional, a pragmatic nature, and has long been considered above all a tool for achieving success in purely lay matters. As a rule, the theological and dogmatic elements it encompasses have been reduced to a minimum. While actively professing devout religious beliefs, obedience to God and Christian virtues, particularly during electoral campaigns and for purposes of foreign consumption, the members of the U.S. ruling class usually do not allow God to impose upon them a burden difficult to bear. Limiting itself mainly to formal public attendance of religious ceremonies and, in frequent cases, no more than hypocritical statements as supporters of lofty "moral values," the American elite has long put religion on the surface of entirely earthly matters, converting it into "something handy." This is confirmed by the fact that the American bourgeoisie has made extensive use of religion to justify its expansionistic policy.



With independence, faith in America's special destiny became the most important component of developing American nationalism. In the middle of the 19th century the attempt to substantiate the idea of the superiority and chosen nature of America and its mission of ruling the world was embodied in the so-called doctrine of "predestination" or "manifest destiny." The principle of racial segregation or "ethnic aristocracy" became part of the ideology of "American exclusivity," practiced by the ruling U.S. circles from the virtual beginning of the North American colonies. It is precisely the mass expulsion and elimination of the Indians and black slavery that significantly contributed to shaping the American variant of the "white man's burden."

As early as the 1890s, the French traveler de Liancourt noted that in the eyes of the U.S. population "none other than the Americans had a brain, and that Europe's mind, imagination and genius had already become senile." American geography textbooks of the mid-19th century scornfully spoke of the "lazy and good-for-nothing" Oriental peoples and second-rate Latin Americans and Europeans, who were allegedly incapable of rejecting the burden of the past and follow the American model.

Extreme manifestations of enthusiasm for America created conditions for the transformation of patriotism, nationalist aspirations and a legitimate feeling of pride in the accomplishments of their country into chauvinistic and jingoist feelings and uncritical praise of anything American. This was noted by many 19th-century authors. Here, for example, is what the noted French historian and statesman Alexis de Tocqueville wrote: "Clearly, in their contacts with foreigners Americans display no judgment whatsoever. At the same time, they are insatiable for more praise. They are pleased by even the slightest approval, but are rarely satisfied with even the greatest praise. They pursue you at every step to extract your praise, and should you oppose their persistence, they begin to praise themselves."

Hypocritically hiding behind slogans of "Christian morality," "peaceableness," and defense of "freedom" and "democracy," from the very beginning of the country's entry into the imperialist stage, the U.S. ruling class efficiently mastered the "essence of international relations under capitalism: Open plunder of the weak" (V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 20, p 245).

Many bourgeois ideologues have argued for the need to increase American power on the grounds that it would broaden the boundaries of the "free market" and, therefore, freedom itself. The idea of American expansion as a means of dissemination of the principles of freedom and democracy not only unified the "empire-building economic and philosophical forces," writes left-wing historian W. Williams, "but also created a psychological mood which the participants in that movement themselves quickly described as "America's manifest destiny to lead and reform the world" (W. Williams, "The Roots of the Modern American Empire," New York, 1969, p 9). In the final account, it was this that prepared the grounds for the transformation of the "City on the Mount" of the first settlers, the 17th-century puritans, into the concept of a "world empire," and for asserting the belief that America is absolutely and always right.

Support for the idea of "American exclusivity" provided the nutritive grounds on which varieties of American chauvinism blossomed. This idea was destined to become the foundation for the global-hegemonistic "imperial" ideology, the idea of Pax Americana, which was adopted by the U.S. ruling circles as a guiding foreign-policy principle.

The so-called "Monroe Doctrine" was proclaimed as early as 1823, in connection with the threat of intervention by the Sacred Alliance in Latin America. It proclaimed that the Western Hemisphere cannot be considered a target of future colonization by any European power and that the United States would consider such attempts on the part of the European countries a threat to its peace and safety. By the turn of the 20th century, during the period of transition to and entry into the age of imperialism, Washington's official interpretation of the "Monroe Doctrine" began to assume a clearly manifested expansionistic coloring and to be used mainly in substantiating the leading position of the United States itself in the Western Hemisphere.

In the course of the practical assertion of these principles, the U.S. ruling circles soon began to resort to the use of the "big stick" in establishing their domination in the Western Hemisphere. "The support of the Monroe Doctrine by the United States," President Theodore Roosevelt said in his address to the Congress, authorizes it to "institute international police authority." Furthermore, he claimed, its support of "civilization" gives America the special right to interfere in the domestic affairs of countries "guilty" of "bad actions" or of "powerlessness."

The popularity and durability of such a nationalistic syndrome were largely fed by the fact that the United States experienced no destructive wars of any kind with other countries. Separated from the rest of the world by two oceans and holding a dominant position in the Western Hemisphere, gradually the United States developed the view of its omnipotence. Expansion on the North American Continent, paralleled by wars with the Indians and Mexico and, by the turn of the century, the weakened and declining Spanish Empire, was of insignificant human and financial cost to the ruling U.S. circles.

Whereas initially American expansionism was regional, i.e., it applied exclusively to the Western Hemisphere, the 1898 war against Spain and the conquest of the Philippines indicated that imperial aspirations had expanded beyond the confines of the hemisphere. The elastic concept of "manifest destiny" and the "Monroe Doctrine" were enlarged with the principle of "open door," which stipulated granting American monopolies unrestricted freedom in capturing markets throughout the world.

In most modern times, the universal, missionary, aggressive, expansionist and openly imperialistic components of the doctrine of "America's mission," can be clearly traced in the beliefs of the U.S. ruling class of the superiority of its country's sociopolitical institutions and moral-ethical values, the perfect nature of its system and infallibility of its foreign policy, and numerous other sociohistorical concepts which set the United States as a model for other nations. They are also traced in the programmatic documents and specific political actions of the most aggressive and militant group within the U.S. ruling class, which has opposed for decades the attempts of the

realistic segment of the bourgeoisie to pursue a more flexible course aimed, in particular, at replacing methods of open diktat and power pressure with better concealed forms of economic and political expansion, take the path of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union and so on, heeding the changes which have taken place in the world.

[For example, as early as the start of the 1930s, a group of major U.S. financial and political personalities were formulating plans for a coup d'etat, the removal of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the establishment of a fascist-type dictatorship in the country. President John Kennedy, who had tried to promote a reassessment of policy toward the USSR and to acknowledge to a certain extent the new realities in the world, was assassinated in 1963. The same efforts were not the least cause for the fact that President Richard Nixon as well lost the presidency. Although at no time did he even conceive of abandoning Washington's militant anticommunist and imperialist course in the world arena, the positive shift which had been noted in the approach to relations with the Soviet Union was sufficient reason for influential forces in the United States, who opposed peaceful coexistence and cooperation, to accuse the President of taking the position of "appeasement" and to use the existing domestic policy circumstances related to the so-called "Watergate affair," to force the President's resignation in 1974. Jerry Ford, Nixon's successor, actually capitulated to the enemies of detente.]

After World War II the ruling U.S. circles set themselves the task of implementing in practical life the slogan of the "American Century." In this matter the economic expansion of American monopoly capital was assigned a key role. Essentially, from the onset, the military and political ties linking the United States with Europe and Japan in the postwar period were to become a guarantee for strengthening American trade and economic positions in these areas. At the same time they provided the U.S. ruling circles with the opportunity of putting virtually all means at the disposal of the capitalist world on the service of "containing" the Soviet Union and countering any revolutionary change in the world. This was what made the United States the bulwark of the most aggressive and reactionary imperialist forces in the postwar period. "We," H. Morgenthau, the noted specialist in international relations, wrote, "changed from a once revolutionary nation into something similar to Metternich's Austria, which tried to suppress liberal-democratic revolutions in the period between 1815 and 1848" (THE NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS, 24 September 1970, p 12).

In the 1950s, taking such examples as his basis, G. Bornham, the then head of the CIA's ideological department, taught "classes in the theory and practice of espionage." The essence of his "theory" was briefly the following: The principle of equality among countries is replaced by the idea of the superpowers, and even of a single superpower, in such a way that the other countries, although retaining a certain degree of independence in purely domestic matters, would no longer be able to choose their master. The principle of nonintervention in the affairs of other countries was totally rejected and interference by the great powers (the United States, more precisely) was considered a necessity. Both by virtue of its own special interests and for the sake of the interests of all, the United States should interfere anywhere in the world until it has created a global empire and,

subsequently, interfere in order to preserve it. This principle, which became the foundation of U.S. foreign-policy strategy, is being applied in Latin America, the Near and Middle East, and in virtually all areas on earth. It was reflected in the turns and developments of foreign-policy doctrines and programs, from the "Truman Doctrine," the "Marshall Plan," "Massive Retribution" and "Rejection of Communism" to the "Realpolitik" of Nixon and Kissinger and Carter's rhetoric on the defense of human rights.

In justifying the U.S. imperial hegemonistic aspirations, as early as 19 December 1945 Harry Truman stated in a White House speech that "Whether we want it or not, we must admit that the victory we won has imposed upon the American people the burden of responsibility for the further leadership of the world." In defining the tasks of American foreign policy, Dwight Eisenhower expatiated in the same spirit: "The United States must be the permanent center in world leadership for the sake of fulfilling mankind's aspirations: peace and justice under freedom." Hubert Humphrey, the democratic vice president, pathetically exclaimed: "I see in tomorrow's America the true capital of the world."

Therefore, virtually all foreign-policy programs and actions of the ruling U.S. circles after World War II, regardless of the party--Republican or Democratic--in power, had an openly expansionistic and imperialist character. It is indicative that the "Truman Doctrine," which was proclaimed after the war, was welcomed by the reactionary and aggressive circles of the U.S. ruling class as the "universal equivalent of the Monroe Doctrine." Subsequently, the purposes and names of the foreign-policy strategy followed by the consecutive administrations may have varied but the objective remains the same: attaining universal U.S. hegemony through the increase and use of military power. The same objective is pursued by the foreign-policy strategy of the present American administration.

In order to be able to implement their global hegemonistic and imperial aspirations, the ruling U.S. circles retained the use of "gunboat diplomacy," which they have repeatedly applied with increasing impudence in various parts of the globe. Furthermore, having assumed the functions of global policeman after World War II, Washington put on the service of its foreign-policy objectives the destructive power of nuclear weapons, which became a tool of foreign policy, blackmail and frightening the peoples in the hands of the American leadership, from the very beginning.

It was precisely the American leadership which used atom bombs, dropping them on the civilian population of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, despite the fact that this was totally unnecessary from the military viewpoint. They put in their service the policy of military threat and repeatedly resorted to threatening the use of nuclear weapons. The United States initiated a historically unparalleled arms race, developing increasingly terrible types of mass destruction weapons, thus contributing to the further aggravation of international tension and to poisoning the entire atmosphere of human life, the fanning of regional conflicts and setting various countries and peoples against each-other. Through the efforts of the ruling U.S. circles a global set of military bases was organized for the

deployment of occupation forces in Western Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Middle East and Oceania.

All U.S. Presidents, from Truman to Reagan, have considered nuclear weapons to be offensive and usable against other countries, regardless of whether or not the latter possessed similar weapons. The Soviet Union was, and remains, the main target of U.S. blackmail.

The myth of the "American Century" rapidly dispersed in the course of the postwar decades. The successes of world socialism, the collapse of the colonial system, the higher growth rates of the economies of Western Europe and Japan, the restoration of the relative autonomy of the advanced capitalist countries and the U.S. flops and failures in many parts of the world largely undermined America's faith in its omnipotence. Under the influence of these factors, many of the U.S. ruling circles' ideological foreign policy concepts became anachronistic.

For the first time in American history the territorial invulnerability factor lost its validity. The loss of U.S. nuclear monopoly made the country face the real threat of annihilation should it declare war on the socialist community. Under such circumstances, many realistically thinking personalities in the U.S. leading circles were forced to acknowledge the irreversible nature of the changes occurring in the world and the need to revise a number of the most odious dogmas of the foreign policy doctrine of the American bourgeoisie. "We must look in the face problems for which no easy, quick and durable solutions exist," President John Kennedy said, "and we must take into consideration the fact that the United States is neither omnipotent nor omniscient, that we cannot correct every error or prevent every catastrophe, for which reason there can not be an American solution to any and all international problems."

By the start of the 1970s the aggressive foreign policy course of the Washington administration in Southeast Asia and the U.S. defeat in the Vietnam war led to substantial changes in the entire set of ideas of the broad circles of the American population about the place of their country in the world and the main trends of international development. Increasingly, a new type of anti-interventionist way of thinking became crystallized in the mass consciousness. The masses began to realize the fatal nature of the White House concept of the United States remaining "number one" and "the strongest nation in the world." Ideas of abandoning the cold war policy and intensifying detente became increasingly popular among the public. The understanding grew that the path to security and peace passed not through confrontation aimed against the fictitious "Soviet menace," but through the improvement of U.S.-Soviet relations and East-West detente.

Starting with the mid-1970s, however, other trends caused by an entire set of objective and subjective factors became apparent in the country's sociopolitical life and the mass consciousness. Faced with the aggravation of internal contradictions within state monopoly capitalism, the most reactionary groups of the U.S. ruling class, closely linked with the military-industrial complex, tried to find a solution to the crisis through the accelerated

militarization of the economy, the intensification of the arms race and global expansion and the establishment of unchallenged American global domination.

In the merciless competitive struggle for world markets the once omnipotent U.S. industrial giant gradually lost position to Western Europe and Japan. It is as though, wrote the noted journalist R. Steele, "never in our history up to Sputnik had we, Americans, felt concerned about our place in the world... It was as though only yesterday we were living in the American century, when the dollar was as good as gold, American goods had set the world's standards and G.I. Joe (the American soldier--author) patrolled the world (supported by nuclear monopoly). All this is no longer."

Indeed, toward the end of the 1970s the Americans were increasingly beginning to realize that such ideas belonged to the past and that U.S. influence in the world was declining. The traumas and scars inflicted by the war in Vietnam clearly proved that despite its tremendous military power the United States was unable to control events in the world and halt the development of the liberation anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples. This was particularly clearly manifested during the period of drastic aggravation of Iranian-American relations in 1979-1980, which followed the overthrow of the shah's proimperialist regime. The Iranian events, the holding of 52 American hostages and their long captivity, guarded by Iranian students, were cleverly used by the extreme-right forces in the United States to trigger in the American citizens feelings of "insulted national pride" and "national humiliation" and to awaken in the petit bourgeois nostalgia for the past and chimerical dreams of achieving U.S. world hegemony.

Quite considerable and influential population strata, unwilling to accept the changes which had taken place in the international arena, reacted to all of this with increasing hostility toward other nations and countries, and intensified chauvinistic and nationalistic feelings. Once again "patriotism" made its appearance, accompanied by xenophobia and chauvinism, purposefully instilled in the population by the American ruling circles, nurturing in them a kind of egotistical complex aimed at putting the interests of the United States above those of the global community always and under all circumstances. Such feelings created favorable conditions for the revival of the imperial syndrome and for allowing the most aggressive, chauvinistic and reactionary forces of American imperialism, who brought to power the present administration, to come to the fore.

Frenzied anticommunism and malicious anti-Sovietism became the motive forces of the imperial syndrome. Their spokesmen appealed to most disparate groups dissatisfied with American foreign policy, from those who believed that the main purpose of the United States was to spread the American ideals throughout the world to the nationalists, who stubbornly refused to abandon the simplistic concepts of the "American Century."

Both nationalists and "idealists" favored an uncompromising "firm" policy toward the Soviet Union, considering the world as the arena in which America and communism were fighting a duel. As S. Hoffman, the noted American specialist in international relations wrote, "William Buckley's neo-Darwinist

concepts and Ronald Reagan's bravado began to meet with the response of a rather significant share of the stupefied public."

The drastic activization of research and propaganda efforts and the wave of publications originating from various conservative and ultraconservative "brain trusts" and "think tanks," in the second half of the 1970s are noteworthy. They assumed the leading role in the formulation of foreign-policy and military-political strategic concepts. According to an observer, the main task of these "propaganda ministries" of the right and various conservative organizations, such as the "Committee on Present Danger," consider it their main task to substantiate and instill in the broad population strata the thesis fabricated by the reactionary circles of America's military lag behind the Soviet Union, the purpose of which is to justify the need for further increase in the U.S. nuclear-missile potential.

The neoconservatives raised the slogan of rejecting America's "guilt complex" and "complex of national inferiority." Typical of many among them is their extreme anticommunism and support of the concept of the cold war. In order to strengthen "social stability" and "national unity," they suggest that propaganda be concentrated even more than in the past on the notorious "communist threat." "The imperial powers," wrote, for instance, I. Christol, the eminent neoconservative, "need a social equilibrium within the country if they are to operate efficiently in the international arena" (quoted from P. Steinfels. "The Neoconservatives: The Men Who Are Changing American Politics." New York, 1979, p 69). They consider the period of the cold war the ideal of such a united and strong society.

In commenting on the "oil crisis" after the October 1973 Arab-Israeli war, Christol quite seriously wrote: "The inferior nations, like people of inferior origin, could lapse into illusions regarding their importance... In reality, the days of "gunboat diplomacy" are by no means a thing of the past... Gunboats are as necessary in keeping international order as are police cars in keeping order inside the country." This theme was taken up by other conservative ideologues, who called for "liberating" all "inferior" nations from "illusions of their significance," including, if necessary, through intervention. In their view, the "inferior" nations should consider the realities of international politics which, allegedly, is based on the principle of inequality among nations and states.

The same ideas are promoted in an even more extreme form by the "new right" and fundamentalist groups, who account for a significant percentage of Reagan's electorate. From the very onset of his political career, the present resident of the White House has been a zealous supporter and and propagandist of the idea of the American empire and America's special mission. "I have always believed," he said in his Thanksgiving address to the nation, on 22 November 1982, "that a special fate was prepared for this country (America--author), and that Divine Providence placed this great continent between oceans, so that it may be discovered by immigrants from all parts of the world, who valued faith, freedom and peace more than anything else. Let us reassert America's purpose as the bearer of goodness and good will."

The countries of the Western Hemisphere became a sort of testing ground for the ways and means for the implementation of this "purpose," as had frequently been the case in the past. Under the new historical conditions efforts are being made to galvanize the Monroe Doctrine. The American bourgeois press has asked for a "Reagan variant of the Monroe Doctrine," which would call for pursuing an aggressive policy toward "subversive countries."

However, the imperial ambitions and aspirations of today's "hawks" in Washington are by no means limited to the Western Hemisphere. The "restoration of American hegemony in its full power" and restoring the role of the United States as the leader of the "free world" have been proclaimed the primary objectives of foreign-policy strategy. The Reagan administration is not shying at the use of steps which, unceremoniously promoting the interests of American monopolies, are seriously harming the economies of U.S. allies. Using the steadily rising interest rates and the tremendous enslaving indebtedness of the developing countries, Washington has imposed a sui generis tax on the entire capitalist world, extracting from it capital and funds with which to solve its own socioeconomic problems.

Let us note that the economic factor has always played a decisive role in defining Washington's imperial foreign-policy strategy. The feature of the present stage is that the so-called "iron triangle," consisting of the Pentagon, the military-industrial corporations and the U.S. Congress' Armed Forces and Appropriations committees, have assumed unprecedented influence in its formulation. The arms race unleashed by Reagan, the former governor of California, the acknowledged "forge of war," is turning into huge profits for a narrow circles of armament manufacturers, such as the Ford Aerospace, Boeing, Rockwell International and other corporations. It is not astonishing, therefore, that they hold firmly promilitaristic views on the arms race and arms control. Also entirely clear is the concern shown by D. MacCordale (a politician from the Santa Clara area in California, where the Lockheed Company assembles Trident-1 missiles, and Hewlett-Packard manufactures their electronic guidance systems), who exclaimed: "But what will happen to our economy if peace were suddenly to break out?"

A huge propaganda machinery was put into motion to substantiate the hegemonic aspirations of Washington's "hawks," and make the United States appear in the eyes of world public opinion as the only guarantor of the freedom of the peoples and impose on all mankind its social system and way of life. Various programs are being brought forth, such as "defense of human rights," "open diplomacy," etc. the purpose of which is "to promote democracy throughout the world" and apply "U.S. values" in other countries.

Expanding the subversive activities aimed at destabilizing the situation in rebellious countries and wrecking their political and economic structures has been assigned an important role. Of late such activities have assumed a particularly impudent and dangerous nature. The Italian journalist M. Conti notes that "The agents on the 'invisible front,' who are being more active than ever, are continuing to engage in broad subversive operations throughout the world, challenging the democratic ideals." As seen by CIA actions relative to Nicaragua, terrorism and "secret war" have been elevated by the United States to the rank of state policy. Efforts are being made to give



such actions the appearance of legality. Thus, Reagan signed Directive No 138, which sanctions the principle of dealing "preventive strikes" abroad, allegedly in the fight against terrorism.

However, in the struggle for achieving its hegemonistic intentions Washington relies essentially on "gunboat diplomacy," on naked military power. It is resorting to shameless show of force in Central America, the southern Mediterranean, the Middle and Far East and elsewhere. This was clearly confirmed by the piratical action committed by this huge imperialist state with its tremendous military power against the tiny and defenseless Caribbean island of Grenada. In commenting on these and similar acts committed by Washington, THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote: "Actually, Reagan is proclaiming an absolutely new foreign-policy doctrine. It sets a rather unusual precedent which could "legitimize" U.S. military actions elsewhere in the world, should Reagan decide that democratic institutions, as he understands them, need rescuing once again."

This was quite clearly confirmed after Washington's leadership came out with the concept of "neoglobalism" as the ideological justification for regional and local conflicts and the policy of export of counterrevolution and dealing with the forces of national liberation and social progress. The piratical actions committed by the American military against Lybia, which were a world-wide demonstration of state terrorism in action, were the most sinister step in the implementation of this concept.

"If there is still anyone who may have doubts as to who is really responsible for the present increase in tension," M.S. Gorbachev said in his Berlin speech, "recent events have shed full clarity on the matter. It is the U.S. imperial policy in its full manifestation. In its aspiration to turn history back, imperialism is relying with increased openness on force, interference in the affairs of free nations and state terrorism."

Statements about "self-defense," "defense of democracy" and struggle against "international terrorism," which highly-placed officials in the Reagan administration use in an effort to conceal the aggressive nature of their policy, sound truly insulting under circumstances in which the list of bloody crimes committed by American imperialism is becoming longer with every passing year, and the number of countries which have fallen prey to impudent U.S. interference is increasing. More than enough examples of this could be cited. Nicaragua lives at gun point. Support for the head hunters in Angola, the bandit groups in Afghanistan and the bloody Pol Pot supporters in Cambodia has reached unprecedented scale. In all cases it is a question of open acts of violence committed against sovereign countries and attempts at overthrowing legitimate governments. Each such crime is an attempt at bringing the "Reagan Doctrine," splendidly described as 'neoglobalism,' down to the practical level.

The leaders of the present American administration and the aggressive militaristic circles of the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie which stand behind it, perfectly realize that the Soviet Union is the main obstacle on the way to their imperial expansionistic plans. "Not only detente but even a warming of Soviet-American relations does not suit these circles," M.S. Gorbachev said in

his address to the working people in Togliatti. "They latch on to any opportunity to spoil improvements in the international situation, the shoots of which appeared after Geneva. The entire world knows who they are. They are those who are related to the war business, who embody the military-industrial complex, who put their representatives in the upper power echelons and who take them back after they have served them loyally in such positions. They are those who make billions from the arms race and confrontation."

The Republicans openly proclaimed in their electoral platform that "today the Soviet Union is the main threat" to U.S. "democratic institutions." It is natural, therefore, for the White House to look at events almost all over the world through the lens of Soviet-American rivalry. Using coarse lies and slander, Washington tried to launch a global military-political and ideological offensive against the Soviet Union or, in the expression of the U.S. leadership, a "crusade" against the Soviet Union and socialism as a social system. In order to justify his aggressive foreign-policy strategy, President Reagan baptized the Soviet Union "the evil empire," which is opposing the "center of good," the United States.

Reagan himself and some members of his administration seriously expatiate about the alleged forthcoming "collapse of the Soviet system," and "the downfall of communism." Furthermore, the change in the Soviet sociopolitical system is proclaimed as almost the main objective of American foreign policy. As George Schultz, the U.S. secretary of state, said in one of his speeches, "we deem it our obligation, for the sake of peace, to assist in the gradual evolution of the Soviet system in the direction of a more pluralistic political and economic system." In commenting on this thinly veiled appeal to undermine socialism in the Soviet Union, THE WASHINGTON POST noted that "For the first time in a declaration on the government level it is said that the U.S. administration acknowledges changing the system in the Soviet Union to be its political objective."

Expatriating about his fictitious love of peace, Weinberger, the U.S. secretary of defense, claims that "the road to peace is marked by preparations for war." Reagan's defense directive for the 1984-1988 fiscal years indicates how far the American "hawks" have gone. "The new nuclear strategy demands," the directive reads, "that the American armed forces be able to eliminate the entire Soviet (and Soviet-related) military and political system."

It is on the basis of such concepts that the United States is intensively engaged in making material preparations for war, and increasing its strategic nuclear forces so that they can inflict a "disarming" nuclear strike on the USSR. Today the ruling U.S. circles are threatening the entire world with "star wars" in pursuit of their delirious dreams of world domination. By formulating a broad program for the militarization of near space, they have taken a dangerous step in turning space into a source of mortal danger to mankind. It is thus that the remnants of the unattained "American century," with its cowboy-Western mentality, are trying to galvanize "star wars" with the help of Hollywood-superman scenarios.

The foreign policy of the American administration is seriously threatening universal peace and radically clashes with the idea of peaceful coexistence

between countries with different social systems and the vital interests of the nations. Although it has no future, it is extremely dangerous to the very existence of human civilization. This demands high vigilance from anyone who cares for peace.

The Soviet Union, which defeated the Nazi Reich slightly over 4 decades ago, clearly and convincingly proved the entire stupidity and unattainability of the aspirations of the Hitlerites, with their slogan of "Deutschland uber alles," to remake the world in the National-Socialist model. The reactionary aggressive imperialist circles who are behind the present Washington administration and who are trying to remake the world on a national-American basis with the slogan "America first," should be made to understand that the Soviet Union, which itself does not aspire to military superiority over others, will not allow any superiority over itself or let the United States change to its liking the global strategic situation and achieve global hegemony.

As the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress emphasized, the "policy of total and military confrontation has no future. Escape into the past is no answer to the challenges of the future but rather an act of desperation which, however, does not make such a position any less dangerous. Acts will indicate the moment when and the extent to which this is realized by Washington. On our side we are prepared to do everything we can radically to change the international situation for the better."

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## BOOK REVIEWS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

### ONE HUNDRED HEROIC YEARS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 86 (signed to press 29 Apr 86) pp 117-118

[Review by V. Trubnikov, candidate of philosophical sciences, of the book by Dieter Fricke "1 Maya: Istoriya, Traditsiya, Borba" [May Day: History, Tradition, Struggle]. Translated from the German. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 256 pp]

[Text] One of the most important landmarks in the process of converting the proletariat from a "class in itself" into a "class for itself" and in the realization of its own historical mission is, unquestionably, the birth of the May Day holiday, initiated by workers nearly a century ago, which became the universal day of reviewing the combat forces of the international working class and all working people who support the cause of peace, freedom, democracy and socialism. The appearance of the militant May Day tradition meant that the international proletariat had reached a level of development at which its leading detachments were able "to understand the significance of their movement and become precisely familiar with it" (V.I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 25, p 227).

The celebration of May Day and the gradual broadening and increased meaningfulness of its slogans reflect the major path which the labor movement has covered in one century. Born under the sign of the struggle for an 8-hour working day, it immediately assumed an international scale, addressing its demand not to individual owners of plants, factories and workshops but to the entire capitalist class. The universal proletarian holiday clearly demarcated the front line dividing the oppressed from the oppressors and contributed to the further growth of the international proletarian movement and the struggle for attaining its current and final political, economic and social objectives. In the course of the joint battles, the workers reached a conclusion of radical importance to their class awareness: that May Day, in the words of F. Engels, "Marks a clear and defined situation: two sharply distinct and opposite camps: on the one hand, the international proletariat, marching to victory under the red banners of universal liberation; on the other, the rich and reactionary classes of all countries, united in the defense of their exploitation privileges" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 22, p 423). Such is the profound essence of the great tradition which unites the

proletariat of all countries in the annual celebration of the day of international solidarity among working people.

The publicistic book by GDR Scientist and Journalist D. Fricke presents a concise chronicle, maximally saturated with factual data, of the heroic history of the May Day holiday, offered to the attention of the Soviet reader. It describes the most vivid parts of the history of May Day, starting with the famous Chicago workers' strike in May 1886 and the International Socialist Congress held in Paris in 1889, which proclaimed May Day a day of "great international demonstration" by the working class of all countries. "The May Day resolution was the best of those passed by our congress," F. Engels, who had played a decisive role in drafting it, wrote. "It is proof of our force throughout the world..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 37, p 329).

The book covers broad temporal and geographic events within the labor movement related to May Day activities. Using little known facts and documents, the author describes the history of the holiday of the class struggle of the proletariat not only in Germany but also in other countries in Europe, United States, China, Turkey, India, etc. Unquestionably, the attention of the Soviet reader will be drawn to the parts of the book on the May Day demonstrations of the working class in Russia, starting with the first revolutionary May Day of 1891. Particularly interesting are the chapters "At the Dawn of the 1905-1907 Russian Revolution," and "The Red October and the New Meaning of the Struggle of the Working Class," which describe the tremendous influence which the three Russian revolutions and the appearance of the first state of workers and peasants in the world had on the development of the International May Day Movement.

The materials in the book convincingly prove that May Day is not simply a worldwide proletarian holiday limited to a single calendar day. It has long become a major international factor which has a serious impact on the growth of the class awareness and strengthening of the international and national unity of the working class and the fate of the entire liberation movement which, in the final account, determines the future development of mankind.

"...In the complex and conflicting process of the exposure and involvement of the masses in the class struggle and in shaping a proletarian class self-awareness," the author justifiably emphasizes, "the revolutionary May Day played a significant role thanks to its exceptional link with the struggle for the present and future interests of the working class and the people" (p 74).

The level of maturity reached by the proletariat in creating May Day and the subsequent annual joint international actions by the workers on that day, contributed to accelerating the growth of their class consciousness. Alongside the development of the labor movement the content of the May Day actions became deeper and the range of basic class interest, realized by the proletariat, broadened. Whereas the main slogan of the first international demonstration of the working class in 1890 was the demand for an 8-hour work day, by 1893, much farther reaching international tasks were formulated as May Day demands at the Zurich Congress of the 2nd International, in 1893: "Urge to action the powerful will of the working class and bring nearer the hope of a socialist change and international peace" (p 54). In its May Day 1901

appeal to the workers of all countries, the International Socialist Bureau of the 2nd International concretized the objectives of their struggle, pointing out that never before had there been such an urgent need for a powerful demonstration in which the working class would declare its solidarity in the struggle against militarism and war (see p 76).

The celebration of May Day gained a new meaning under the qualitatively different historical situation created by the victory of the Great October Revolution. As the author writes, now May Day marches around the world "as a manifestation and symbol of the systematic struggle against imperialism, fascism and war and for peace, democracy and socialism... The struggle for the revolutionary unity of the working class became the main idea of May Day" (p 13).

With the help of documents the author traces the way, as the aggravations within imperialism worsened, and as the power of the world socialist system grew in which May Day widened its social confines, becoming a day of international solidarity not only of the working class but of the broadest possible toiling masses in the socialist world and in the capitalist and developing countries. Now, when the policy of the aggressive imperialist circles is creating a growing threat of destroying civilization in the flames of a thermonuclear war, the struggle for the salvation of mankind from nuclear catastrophe becomes the leading slogan of May Day activities.

Hundreds of millions of working people, the author writes, "are marching in an endlessly long column, which started in the past, and which for more than nine decades comes out to demonstrate on May Day. This column, which has surmounted in the course of almost three generations the various obstacles erected on its way, has become a powerful current" (p 251). It is indeed a powerful current which has encompassed the overwhelming majority of mankind and is successfully transforming the appearance of the planet on the principles of socialism, freedom and democracy, implementing its historical vocation of safeguarding and strengthening universal peace.

Today one can only admire the accuracy and relevance of the prediction made on 1 May 1896 by a German labor newspaper, which wrote that May Day "will survive all the holidays of bourgeois society and...will become a celebration of spring and peace of liberated mankind" (p 74). That is what it has already become in the socialist countries and, in the end, that is what it will mandatorily become throughout the earth.

Politizdat has done a good job by issuing, timed for the centennial of May Day, a book on its history. This book will arm propagandists and anyone interested in problems of the labor movement with good information.

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ATLAS OF WORLD POLITICAL REALITIES

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[Review by I. Starkov of the reference dictionary "Chto Yest Chto v Mirovoy Politike" [What is What in World Politics]. Progress, Moscow, 1986, 455 pages]

[Text] Today, when mankind is experiencing an exceptionally difficult and important period in its history, the question of a prompt and accurate orientation of broad social circles in the headlong rush of events in global politics, developing and disappearing trends and, finally, the kaleidoscopic variety of concepts, definitions and terms dealing with international life, the names of the various organizations and definitions and journalistic cliches which have become part of the vocabulary, becomes particularly urgent. One can easily understand that in this case it is by no means a question merely of general education tasks. The importance of our period and the increasingly active involvement of millions of people in the process of the social interpretation of our time and in the struggle for peace, and the efficient participation in the administration of public and governmental affairs ascribe a major political meaning to such tasks. "The most essential feature on which today we must concentrate the entire force of party influence is making every person realize the gravity of our time and its crucial nature," delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress said.

A major help in the implementation of this mandatory requirement, a help which can explain the nature of events in the world and make even more convincing the basic assessments of the party and its stipulations and suggestions on problems of global development and the foreign policy course charted by the USSR, can and must be provided by a corresponding referential publication aimed, above all, at the broad range of people who actively follow world events. Hence the increased exigency concerning its content. Referential publications in politics and social science must be on the level of the requirements of the readers. They must answer their questions precisely and with suitable arguments and provide accurate explanations, a comparative analysis of opposite viewpoints defined by the ideological struggle between the two systems and, if necessary, brief historical references, references to precedent and analogy, etc. By providing food for thought, such publications can actively help the people in developing specific concepts consistent with the scientific criteria of Marxism-Leninism.

All these thoughts are appropriate to becoming acquainted with the new referential dictionary "Who is Who in World Politics." The title speaks for itself. In slightly over 360 entries, in a comprehensive yet concise form, the dictionary describes what lies behind major international events, phenomena and processes occurring today, and the consequent positions held by the different social forces and the political currents and groups representing them, and what is taking place in the main centers of global politics and the so-called "hot spots" on earth.

The dictionary covers a broad range of problems. Naturally, however, priority is given to the most urgent, to the major problems of our time--war and peace, prevention of nuclear catastrophe, safeguarding and strengthening peace, disarmament, ensuring comprehensive international safety, and organizing equal cooperation among countries and peoples. The fact that all of these problems are considered in accordance with the tremendous variety of social and political forces operating in the world arena and their occasionally noncoincidental and sometimes even conflicting interests, gives these problems their necessarily comprehensive multidimensional nature. At the same time, the main thought is clearly emphasized that today all nations in the world have a common enemy, which is the threat of nuclear war, and the most important task of eliminating this threat.

The dictionary describes extensively the various aspects of the economic life of mankind, the condition of global economic relations and trade-economic and scientific and technical relations among countries. It describes the global problems of our time--ecological, food, energy and raw material--the peaceful development of outer space and the world's oceans, and indicates the foundations for their successful solutions. Considerable attention is paid to problems of social consciousness, and to the various social and political institutions and mass movements of today. The readers will also find answers to the questions of the role which the various intergovernmental organizations play in our tempestuous time, beginning with a universal forum, such as the United Nations Organization, or international social associations, such as the World Peace Council, the World Federation of Trade Unions, and others, and military-political and various other groups of countries. Information useful in understanding specific aspects of relations among countries is found in articles on problems of international law. We can say with full justification that the authors have made a great effort to present in a skilled and intelligible manner the Marxist-Leninist view on the realities of contemporary global politics, supported by the entire arsenal at the disposal of Soviet social science.

As the compilers indicate, editorial work on the dictionary was completed in January 1986. The authors already had at their disposal the main results of the reinterpretation and comprehensive study of the profound and significant changes in contemporary global developments, made by the CPSU Central Committee at its April 1985 Plenum and subsequently, suitably reflected in the draft new edition of the party program, submitted for discussion to the Soviet people. The fundamental conclusion had already been drawn that the state of nuclear confrontation demands new approaches, means and methods of interrelationship among different social systems, states and regions. The task was set of assisting a transition throughout the world to a new type of



political thinking, according to which the philosophy of survival and equal security for all must be backed by daring and decisive action. Correspondingly, the main objectives and trends of CPSU international policy were formulated, expressing the aspiration of the Soviet people to engage in constructive toil and live in peace with all nations.

The possibility of relying on the results of the work done by the party in the preceding months, a work of tremendous volume and invaluable significance, and the following of its ideas and suggestions in the interpretation of specific problems make relevant all data contained in the dictionary now, in the period after the 27th CPSU Congress. The richest possible theoretical and political content of the materials of the congress, naturally, indicates the task of further thoughtful work on the content of this dictionary and the intensification and enrichment of this work with all the new features developed by the congress. This task is based on the fact that Izdatelstvo Progress intends to make this dictionary a regular publication. In its present aspect it is already an unquestionably useful work as a valuable aid in the study of congress materials and understanding the nature of current international events.

The dictionary is like an atlas of the changing panoramic view of economic, social, political and ideological components of contemporary reality. It cannot be compared to a static photograph. If comparisons are needed, it would rather resemble a set of synoptic maps of the world, indicating how and for what reason cyclones appear, what are the laws which govern their dynamics and, on the other hand, where and why are areas of stable pressure developed, which make the cyclones lose their strength and fierceness.

Metaphors in politics are, naturally, quite conventional. However, they enable us perhaps to imagine more clearly the dynamic condition of the world today and provide a scientific description of the basic content, trends and contradictions found in the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress and the new edition of the party program.

The work under review is a needed publication which will help the Soviet people in their profound reinterpretation of the realities of the international situation as demanded by life and so urgently formulated by the party. Life is developing rapidly, refining the content of old and creating new concepts and definitions which reflect the political and ideological struggle continuing in the world. Articles on such events will be found by the reader in the subsequent editions of this dictionary. For the time being, as we wish this new initiative success, we would like to hope that future editions will include articles which will sum up the situation in the world at each specific time and, if necessary, will refer us to corresponding publications which will enable us to acquire a deeper knowledge of one problem or another and, naturally, will be published in an edition bigger than the present one.

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## COMPREHENSIVE STUDY OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

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[Review by Professor M. Bunkina and Professor Yu. Pankov of the following works: 1. "Sovremennyy Monopolisticheskiy Kapitalizm" [Contemporary Monopoly Capitalism] (in eight volumes). Academician N.N. Inozemtsev, O.N. Bykov and I.D. Ivanov responsible editors of the series. Mysl, Moscow; 2. "Velikobritaniya" [Great Britain]. S.P. Madzoyevskiy and Ye.S. Khesin responsible editors. Moscow, 1981; "Yaponiya" [Japan]. Ya.A. Pevzner, D.V. Petrov and V.B. Ramzes responsible editors. Moscow, 1981; "Frantsiya" [France]. G.G. Diligenskiy and V.I. Kuznetsov responsible editors. Moscow, 1982; "Soyedinennyye Shtaty Ameriki" [United States of America]. A.V. Anikin, O.N. Bykov and A.I. Shapiro responsible editors. Moscow, 1982; "Federativnaya Respublika Germanii" [The Federal Republic of Germany]. V.N. Shenayev, M. Schmidt (GDR) and D.Ye. Melnikov responsible editors. Moscow, 1983; "Italiya" [Italy]. N.P. Vasilkov and K.G. Kholodkovskiy responsible editors. Moscow, 1983; "Malye Strany Zapadnoy Yevropy" [The Small Western European Countries]. Yu.I. Yudanov responsible editor. Moscow, 1984; "Avstraliya i Kanada" [Australia and Canada]. I.A. Lebedev responsible editor. Moscow, 1984; 3. "Ekonomika i Politika Stran Sovremennogo Kapitalizma" [The Economics and Politics of Contemporary Capitalist Countries]. Mysl, Moscow; "Soyedinennyye Shtaty Ameriki," 1972; "Velikobritaniya," 1972; "Malye Strany Zapadnoy Yevropy," 1972; "Yaponiya," 1973; "Frantsiya," 1973; "Federativnaya Respublika Germanii," 1973; and "Italiya," 1973]

[Text] The recent decades have been characterized by the further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism. Capitalist contradictions--economic, social and political--continued to increase and to worsen on the national and international levels. Capitalism, as the political report of the Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress emphasizes, "is encountering today an unparalleled interweaving and reciprocal intensification of all of its contradictions. It is encountering a number of social and other dead ends unparalleled in the full century of its development."

What specifically characterizes the contemporary stage in the development of monopoly capitalism? What are the reasons for a transition from a period of relatively high pace of economic development and a relative stability of capitalism in previous decades to the current uninterrupted catastrophes?

How is this affecting the situation of the working people, their class struggle and the domestic and foreign policies of the ruling classes in the capitalist countries? Under what specific national conditions and specific forms are the new socioeconomic processes developing? What is the position held by one country or another in the capitalist world and in the clashes among centrifugal and centripetal trends characteristic of the contemporary stage in the development of monopoly capital and in the historical competition between the two social systems? Finally, what possible influence could such changes and upheavals have on the destinies of imperialism?

The eight-volume comprehensive study "Contemporary Monopoly Capitalism" (1), prepared by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations, is dedicated to the study of these important and topical problems. Each of the books in the series deals with an individual country or group of countries (2) and is actually an independent study. In addition to Soviet authors, associates of the German Democratic Republic Institute of World Politics and Economics participated in the work on the FRG.

A standardized logical structure has been applied in all volumes, which consolidates the cycle of these monographs and enables us to consider national imperialisms as links in the world capitalist system.

On the basis of Marxist-Leninist analytical methodology, which is the key to the fruitful interpretation of complex and conflicting processes in the development of contemporary capitalism, and having summed up extensive factual and statistical data, the authors have continued on a higher level their theoretical study of areas of developed capitalism, which was initiated with a series of similar works published in 1972-1973 (3). However, the monographs under review are by no means simply revised and expanded editions of previous works. They are a substantial step forward in the study of the problems of monopoly capitalism based on materials of the 1970s and beginning of 1980s and an essentially new cycle of studies, considerably broadened in terms of problems and geographic scope. The series of works under review, which sums up the results of an entire stage of analytical work by a large group of scientists, convincingly refutes the claims of bourgeois and reformist economists and political experts on the essential change in the nature of contemporary capitalism, substantiating the fact that today as well the main laws governing the functioning and development of monopoly capitalism discovered by V.I. Lenin are fully relevant. Furthermore, this series of studies describes the characteristic features of the appearance of uneven economic and political developments in contemporary bourgeois society. "Financial capital and the trusts are not weakening but increasing disparities in the speed of growth of the different parts of the global economy," V.I. Lenin wrote in 1916 ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 27, p 394). Today's capitalist world confirms in the best possible way the accuracy of Lenin's prediction to the effect that as capitalist antagonisms become aggravated, the equalization of levels and the uneven and spasmodic and disproportional development of capitalism will increase.

Each of the books consists of three sections on the economic, sociopolitical and foreign policy problems of the specific country. They are preceded by an introductory chapter on the place and role of that country in the contemporary

capitalist world and the basic factors and reasons which define them. The materials and conclusions contained in these initial informative chapters convincingly prove the accuracy of Lenin's stipulation to the effect that "Under capitalism any basis for divisions into spheres of influence, interests, colonies, and others, other than the consideration of the power of the participants in the division, and general economic, financial, military and other power is inconceivable" (ibid., p 417). Despite a certain modification in the specific nature of national imperialisms analyzed by V.I. Lenin, such specifics continue to leave their mark on contemporary developments as well. This is manifested, for example, in the particular aggressiveness displayed by U.S. imperialism, the relative weakness of French industry, compared with the credit-financial sphere, and the retained traditional orientation of Great Britain toward its former colonial empire.

The final group of chapters deals with the main problems of economic development. We find here a study of country and regional features of production forces and production relations, the growth of monopoly capital and the aggravation of reproduction contradictions in the 1970s and 1980s; new trends are considered in state-monopoly control, capital exports and foreign economic relations. Data of nearly 20 highly developed capitalist countries proved that typical of the period under consideration is a comprehensive conversion to intensive development, above all through labor savings in material output. In this connection, however, the authors point out, the process of capitalist reproduction is distinguished, as a rule, by a drastic disproportionality, which proves a relative overaccumulation of basic capital, which is at the base of the cyclical and, partially, structural crises which have broken out in the last decade.

Monopoly capital has tried to compensate for the decline of its overall level of profits paralleling said processes, through a dynamic introduction of a mass of technical and technological innovations in the production process. Naturally, today the factor of diminished profitability is not the only incentive for production updating. The declining trend in profits is manifested extremely unevenly in different periods and in different sectors and countries. In 1983-1984 as well a considerable increase in gross profits was noted in the main imperialist centers. The authors make a fruitful attempt to analyze the significance of scientific and technical progress in terms of the contemporary capitalist economy as a whole and the national economies of each of the countries under consideration. In particular, they note the substantial gap typical of the majority of Western European countries between theoretical studies and experimental developments, on the one hand, and their practical utilization, on the other. This circumstance is one of the important reasons which explain why the Western European area remains scientifically and technically dependent on the United States. The reasons for the narrowing of the technological gap between the United States and Japan where, until recently, conversely, basic research was developed poorly, are suitably described.

Starting with the 1970s, the share of agriculture slowed down in the structure of the gross national product (GNP) of the main capitalist countries. In a number of countries it became actually stable (United States, Great Britain, FRG). At the same time, a trend towards stabilization and, in a number of

countries, a drop in the share of the processing industry and a substantial increase in services were noted in the GNP of a number of countries. This legitimately raises the question of the initiation of complex and painful processes of "reindustrialization" on a new technical basis, paralleled by deep structural crises in traditional heavy and light industry sectors, and a permanent "technological" unemployment, greatly linked to the emergence on the foreground of new science- and technology-intensive sectors. Even under the circumstances of a certain economic revival in the mid 1980s, a number of basic economic sectors remain in a state of permanent decline: metallurgy, the production of traditional types of metal extraction equipment, shipbuilding, agricultural machine building, the textile industry and petrochemistry. Several books in this series pay particular attention to regional disproportions in the deployment of production forces, which have entailed major socioeconomic consequences hindering national progress. The monographs on the United States and Great Britain, which have the greatest reserves of energy and, in particular, petroleum and natural gas, among the developed capitalist countries, discuss specifically the national energy and raw material complexes of those countries.

The studies pay attention to the system of state-monopoly production relations and the specific features of the economic base of each country. As the authors prove, the concentration and centralization of capital intensified in the 1970s; production monopoly increased and the links between banking and industrial monopolies became even closer, and the domination of the financial oligarchy, even more obvious. How can one not recall in this connection Lenin's words that "for imperialism it is the industrial capital and not the financial which is characteristic"(op. cit., vol 27, p 389).

The book on the FRG offers a profound study of the monopoly structure of its economy and features of its development in recent decades. The authors make a detailed study of a superior form of monopolization, such as the contemporary concern; they convincingly prove that the concern has become the definitive nucleus of the monopoly organization of the economy and the "dominating monopoly form" ("The Federal Republic of Germany," p 67).

In considering the processes of concentration and monopolization and changes in the correlation of forces among the national and international financial groups, the authors prove that the latter are decisively strengthening their positions and that an intensive internationalization of capital and production is taking place. Multinational capital, which has gathered strength, is enhancing and monopolizing entire production areas in individual countries and in the world capitalist economy as a whole.

At the same time, in addition to monopoly associations, we see in all countries a trend toward increased premonopoly economic forms, the existence of a big stratum of small and medium-sized businesses, operating either on a progressive technological or semiartisan basis, as a rule closely related to the monopolies. Interesting, in this connection, is the phenomenon of so-called "behind-the-screen" or "gray" economy and "black" employment, which operate outside the law. This sector has assumed a substantial role in the economy of the developed capitalist countries, particularly in connection with growing unemployment, and is a lever in increasing the exploitation of the

working people who are entirely deprived here even of limited protection from extreme exploitation. To a certain extent, this phenomenon has been analyzed, unfortunately, only in the book on Italy, in which the share of the "gray economy" in the GNP is quite significant ("Italy," pp 216-220, 224-227).

The authors deserve credit for paying particular attention to the military-industrial complex, which is the support of the extreme reaction and a steady and growing source of military threat and which has substantially strengthened its positions in the past decade within the structure of the state power system and greatly expanded its economic activities and ideological and political influence both within the country and internationally. "The increased power of the military-industrial complex and its conversion into a relatively autonomous reactionary force, not only in the United States but in the other most developed capitalist countries, create a real threat to international security and to the very existence of mankind and the destinies of the peoples of the world" ("United States of America," p 133). Diverting huge funds for military expenditures in virtually all capitalist countries worsens the economic difficulties, leads to a drop in the rates of economic growth and contributes to inflationary price increases and the disturbance of governmental finances.

Unfortunately, the interesting monograph on the United States does not provide a complete study of the mechanism for financing the budget expenses for arms purchases and maintaining armed forces at the expense of "foreign donors." Yet this is an important aspect of the problem, for between 1980 and 1984 the funds coming to the United States from Western Europe alone, as the result of the artificially increased exchange rate of the dollar and interest rates, amounted to hundreds of billions of dollars. There is an equally unquestionable connection between the trillion-dollar foreign debt of Latin American, Asian and African countries and the trillion-dollar increase in U.S. military expenditures over the past decade. This causal relations should have been traced in detail.

Noteworthy shifts are typical of the system of international economic relations within contemporary capitalism. Despite the increased volume of world trade, its growth rates have fallen substantially behind the dynamics of capital exports and imports. The books under review analyze the processes of international capitalist integration and important components in contemporary foreign economic relations, such as scientific and technical trade and financial interrelationships. The study of relations between developed capitalist countries and socialist states, the Soviet Union in particular, is of great interest. It confirms both certain successes as well as significantly unused possibilities under the conditions of a drastic increase in international tension toward the end of the 1970s. This applies, above all, to the United States, which has steadily pursued in recent years an increased policy of discrimination in this area and imposed it on its allies.

A major structural component of this study is the analysis of the sociopolitical factors which determine the domestic political situation of the countries under consideration. The authors indicate the changes which have taken place in the deployment of class forces as the result of the proletarianization of new social strata, the higher educational standards, the

broadened political experience of the working people, and their worsened material situation and the quality of life under the conditions of the crises.

In the study of social life, the researchers justifiably proceed from the fact that changes in class relations and significant shifts in the social structure have their distinct logic and do not entirely match the curve of the economic development, although they correspond to it. As the books indicate, a further aggravation of the basic social antagonism--contradiction between labor and capital--took place in the 1970s and 1980s as the petit-bourgeois forms of production erode, and capitalist relations become virtually all-embracing. A process of further proletarianization of the middle classes develops. In France, for example, the share of hired labor among the active population increased from 66 to 84 percent in one-quarter of a century (from 1954 to 1980) ("France," p 188). The share of the West German working class, which accounted for 70.8 percent of the population in 1961, rose to 75.5 percent in 1980. Furthermore, the share of the bourgeoisie in the employed population declined. Within the same period, in West Germany it dropped from 2.6 to 2.1 percent ("The Federal Republic of Germany," p 250). Naturally, the trend toward the erosion of intermediary social groups in capitalist society does not operate directly and does not result in "pure bipolarity." Its effect may be slowed down by the temporary growth of class-heterogeneous intermediary strata. However, this is merely a stage on the way to the proletarianization of the overwhelming majority of the population in the capitalist countries. Such contradictory processes in the socioclass evolution have been traced in several books in the series.

Processes common to all developed capitalist countries--a declining share of percentage of farmers and industrial workers among the active population, and the faster increase in the share of "white-collar" group in hired labor, and heterogeneous marginal strata which, although having a certain political weight do not form homogeneous groups from the social viewpoint, are among the reasons for the forming of new parties and movements (such as the Social Democratic Party in Great Britain and the "Green" Party in the FRG). At the same time, we note conflicting movements in the mass consciousness (growing alienation of labor, changed nature of labor motivations, etc.).

This affects relations between labor and capital and between the masses and the government (the growth of democratic movements, antiwar above all, in the United States and Western Europe). It is becoming increasingly obvious that imperialism is unable to cope with the social consequences of a scientific and technical revolution of unparalleled depth and scale, and that it is precisely imperialism that is to be blamed for the fact that mankind has come close to the dangerous threshold of nuclear war.

In analyzing the various aspects of the struggle waged by the working people and the trade union movement for protecting the social gains, the authors of the "Contemporary Monopoly Capitalism" series prove the way in which, in the face of the growing discontent of the people's masses, rejecting a liberal-reformist policy and the tactics of dropping social crumbs, the ruling circles are increasingly turning to the use of not only the power of the state but also a broad set of various power means against left wing, democratic and antiwar forces, ranging from ideological "brainwashing" to terrorism, for

domestic policy purposes. The volumes on the United States, Great Britain and some other countries, offer a study of the social and political consequences of the "conservative wave," pointing out its extremely regressive influence on bourgeois democratic institutions and on changes in the correlation between the legislative and executive powers in favor of the latter. It is pointed out that destructive leftist trends, which appeared on the crest of the wave of social protest, and which were nurtured by the immature consciousness of petit-bourgeois groups involved in political life, actually worked in favor of the so-called "forces of law and order." They contributed to strengthening conservative trends in public opinion and, on the sociopolitical level, strengthened the role of the new middle classes, most of which took the side of the ruling imperialist circles. Said factors operated with different degrees of intensiveness in virtually all countries, which determined, in addition to other reasons, a "shift to the right" in the domestic and foreign policies in many of the analyzed countries.

The monographs analyze extensively the process of accumulation of the revolutionary potential in the working class and other toiling strata. They note the difficulty of interpreting the new complex phenomena in the economic and sociopolitical life of communist and worker parties and the process through which they formulate their respective policies.

The limits of a review prevent us from discussing in detail parts of this study which deal with the functioning of the party-political systems in the developed capitalist countries and their evolution as tools for strengthening the rule of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Let us only emphasize that in these books the authors have formulated and substantiated a great deal of interesting concepts which enable us to understand better the features of the power mechanism in each country.

In the foreign policy area, analyzed at the end of each book, the aggravation of the contradictions within monopoly capitalism stimulated the turn taken by the ruling circles of the leading imperialist countries, although in varying degrees, from the policy of detente of the 1970s to one of intensifying the atmosphere of tension and frenzied anticommunism in the international arena.

In addition to analyzing relations by a single country or group of countries with the socialist states, the monographs also consider problems, such as interaction among capitalist countries, involving political and military integration within the North Atlantic Bloc and beyond it, policies toward developing countries, and the strategy and tactics of individual and collective neocolonialism. The books under review indicate with specific data the way in which imperialism is trying to take social revenge on a global scale and in all directions: against the socialist states, the countries freed from colonial dependence and the entire revolutionary movements. Such an antihistorical adventurist course became even stronger in the mid-1980s, triggering in Washington the notorious doctrine of "neoglobalism."

One of the great merits of this series is the fact that the trends and problems common to the whole of monopoly capitalism are analyzed on the basis of extensive data from the individual countries. The books inform the readers of the national specifics in the historical, economic and social development



of each of the countries under consideration and enable them to determine and compare the common and specific features in the functioning of contemporary monopoly capitalism.

The monograph on the United States, the assault force of world imperialism, and the largest and richest capitalist country, notes that the present trends in foreign policy strategy are determined by influential expansionistic circles within the American monopoly bourgeoisie, who have openly charted a course of global hegemony, and of subordinating the other capitalist countries to their will. Although forced, as a result of the military defeat in Indochina and the notorious Watergate case, which triggered a constitutional and political crisis in the 1970s, temporarily to moderate their ambitions, they subsequently mounted a global counterattack on the forces of socialism, social progress and peace.

For Japan, which firmly assumed a place second to the United States in the capitalist world in GNP starting with the mid 1960s, the last decade has been characterized by a transition from an extremely high economic pace in the 1950s and 1960s to a moderate pace, accompanied by an intensive structural reorganization based on the development of its own scientific and technical developments instead of importing new developments, as was the case previously. In an effort to make their political weight among the centers of imperialist rivalry consistent with their economic potential, the ruling circles of the "country of the rising sun" are participating with increased activeness in the struggle for broadening their realm of influence and markets, accelerating, at the same time, their remilitarization and increasing military expenditures at a high pace. Japan has already outstripped Italy in the overall amount of military expenditures and has come close to the French level ("Japan," p 26).

In terms of the scale of its economy and volume of output, the Western European area is superior to Japan and comparable to the United States; nevertheless, it cannot be considered equal to the United States as an imperialist partner and rival. Western Europe is a sum of national countries which, despite quite intensive integration processes, retain their domestic markets, support their own producers and defend the interests of their own monopoly bourgeoisie. The specifics of the Western European countries and their problems are clearly described in the respective books in the series.

Great Britain, which is experiencing a protracted period of decline and adaptation of its economic structure, which had taken centuries to develop, and its society, to the changing circumstances of global developments, is seeking its new place in the world and, in order to accelerate these processes, finally joined the EEC in 1973. However, to this day it retains the largest "economic empire" abroad next to the United States, which makes the overall economic power of British imperialism much greater than the potential of its national economy (see "Great Britain," p 23).

France, which as a result of fast economic development and important structural changes between the 1950s and the beginning of the 1970s, came close to the volume of output and services of the FRG, has been nevertheless unable to avoid the severe crisis upheavals in a number of economic areas. A

curious fact has been noted by the authors: in the system of international relations the weight of France exceeds its economic power and, to a certain extent, is determined by factors of political and diplomatic order. Furthermore, the policy of the leading circles in that country in terms of relations with the United States and the Soviet Union, which reflects the common interest of West European capital, has been unable to ignore the growth of leftist feelings among the masses of French working people during all of the 1970s.

The FRG, which is economically the strongest Western European country and one of the largest exporters in the capitalist world, is trying to play an increasingly active role in the regional and overall imperialist system, promoting the development of Western European integration in depth and thus hoping to make use of the power of this economic bloc in its expansionistic interest (see "The Federal Republic of Germany," p 25).

Italy made substantial progress in its economic development in the 1970s and assumed an important position among the largest capitalist countries. Despite a high level of monopolization, the great activeness of its nonmonopoly large- and medium-sized enterprises, and cooperative associations, which also extends to the world market, remains its specific feature.

Whereas the monographs dealing with individual large imperialist countries already had their analogues in the 1972-1973 series, the book "The Small Countries of Western Europe," which came out in 1984, is significantly different from the work with the same title which was published in 1972, above all in terms of the geographic scope of the countries studied. The 1972 work covered only four countries--Sweden, Switzerland, Belgium and the Netherlands. The new work provides a related study of all the problems covered in the series based on data of more than 10 small countries in Western Europe. The authors have adopted the Leninist concept of the two main groups of such countries: those which hold quite firm positions in the various areas of global economic relations and politics, or "are part of the sum total of relations in the 'division of the world'..." (op. cit., vol 27, p 384), including Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark and others, and those which were for a long time themselves the direct targets of imperialist exploitation by the "great" powers, although some of them, in turn, were colonial exploiters, such as Spain, Portugal, Greece and Ireland.

The authors describe the features in the development and place of the small countries in the capitalist world, and the reasons for and ways of their particularly extensive involvement within the system of global economic relations, based on highly specialized production of commodities and services. They note the specific nature of the sociopolitical development of the small capitalist countries and point out that their substantial role in foreign economic relations increases their importance in world politics. As a rule, the small countries follow a more or less weighed foreign policy, and many of them (Finland, Austria and others) maintain strong economic relations with the USSR and the other socialist countries.

The monograph on Canada and Australia has no precedent in the series which came out at the beginning of the 1970s. The original analysis in the

development of problems of Canada and Australia, which are former dominions of the British Empire, are now among the 10 most economically powerful capitalist countries and have a comparable economic status, politics and military-political system of imperialism, and opportunities for the development of capitalism "in width," through the economic development of new territories, is of great interest. Canada and Australia are highly developed countries of state-monopoly capitalism. However, they are also targets of economic expansion of U.S. and Japanese monopolies (see "Australia and Canada," p 12). The further growth of intensive economic relations between the United States and Canada (trade and joint entrepreneurial activities) are more intensive than similar processes in the Western European integration bloc and could substantially influence the entire course of rivalry among the three centers of imperialism. No less important in terms of the economic opportunities of Japan is the intensification of its relations with Australia, which is increasingly drifting toward the sphere economic influence of the "country of the rising sun," while retaining close political and military-strategic ties with the United States. The book proves that these processes are accompanied by constant clashes which influence the economic and sociopolitical life of either country.

The firm scientific base of the books in the series is another one of its virtues. The rich factual data in the individual volumes are comparable for the entire series as a result of coordinated editing of statistical data. Each monograph has an index of subjects and a bibliography listing the main works by Soviet authors on the economics and politics of the specific country or group of countries and an economic-geographic map.

Understandably, it would be difficult to avoid shortcomings and partial misses in a study conducted on such a scale and including so many features. In a number of books most of the attention is paid to the situation in industry while little is said of processes characterizing the development of agriculture. Let us note that whereas the role of the state and its policies in economic life are clearly described in all books for the countries at large, the analysis of the state of affairs in the private monopoly sector, which is the most important component of contemporary state-monopoly capitalism, suffers from schematism and is frequently superficial. Nevertheless, it is precisely the study of this basic aspect of state monopoly capitalism that enables us to understand the nature of the changes currently taking place in the allocation of ownership and in following the shifts in the structure of the contemporary financial oligarchy. Naturally, we cannot fail to take into consideration that such a study is made considerably more difficult by the "concealed" nature of said processes and that their detection and evaluation is difficult.

Considering the present difficulties experienced by capitalist reproduction, when the ruling circles in the majority of the countries under consideration are relying on upgrading the activeness of private enterprise and of petty and medium-sized business and competition, in an effort to find a solution to the difficulties, the study of such economic phenomena and of changes occurring in this area is of particular interest. Nor have the books in this series properly covered the very necessary analysis of the organizational structures of contemporary companies, their decision-making mechanism, the

interrelationship between monopolies and the market and the nature and forms of modern competition.

The study of the ways and means through which the private monopoly sector and its organizations and groups exert pressure (through entrepreneurial associations and others) on governmental bodies is extremely important in providing an accurate evaluation and in forecasting state economic policy. In our view, the authors should have described such problems more extensively.

The series on monopoly capitalism should have included a more systematic study of the characteristics, contradictions and development trends in contemporary capitalist production relations and profound summations of a political economic nature. Such an analysis can be found only in the book on the FRG.

Unfortunately, the authors of a number of monographs have taken an unjustified shortcut in the area of specific economic practices, limiting themselves to superficial descriptions of important superstructural phenomena within monopoly capitalism (the specifics of the deployment of class-political forces, the structure and contradictory developments in the mass consciousness and the role of state institutions in the exercise of power by the imperialist bourgeoisie).

In our view, the series on "Contemporary Monopoly Capitalism" suffers from yet another shortcoming. The comprehensive approach to problems of the capitalist economy demands today a mandatory review of the economic and sociopolitical aspects of environmental protection and reproduction. For example, ecological problems are having today a most serious influence both on the self-growth of capital and the situation of the working people in the production process and the reproduction of manpower. Ecological slogans and programs have become an important factor in the political life of the countries under consideration.

The books in this series have some inaccuracies as well. Let us mention one of the most essential: the uneven development of global capitalism is manifested in the priority given in the 1980s to international credit-financial and monetary relations. Their increased institutionalization has become stronger rather than weaker, particularly after the system of "free floating" exchange rates was introduced and as a result of the general instability in the area of international circulation. Against this background we note the intensified role of the United States as a center of attraction of lending and entrepreneurial capital. Nevertheless, in the book on the United States the authors discuss only the depreciation of the dollar and its consequences (page 258). Characteristic of the 1980s is a drastic slowdown in capital exports from the United States. Particularly noticeable is the decline in the growth of direct investments made by American multinational corporations in developing countries. The monograph, however, emphasizes the no longer prevailing line of accelerated U.S. capital exports (page 260).

Finally, here are two wishes for the future. We would like to see in such books better substantiated argumentation on crucial problems with bourgeois, reformist and revisionist theoreticians. Secondly, the successful experience of work on the book on the FRG with colleagues from the GDR shows the expediency of making more extensive use in such research of major specialists

from the scientific institutes in the socialist community and Marxist scientists in the capitalist countries.

Let us note, in conclusion, that despite such shortcoming the major series "Contemporary Monopoly Capitalism" deserves a high rating and entirely justified interest. It sheds light on contemporary rapidly changing conditions in the development of contemporary capitalism and the prospects and limits of its development. The studies made by the authors are important in gaining a deeper understanding of the most crucial problems of our time and in scientifically substantiating the international policies of the CPSU and the formulation of the strategy of the international communist, worker and democratic movements. Let us hope that the publication of such comprehensive and basic studies will be continued, taking into consideration the new major and difficult problems of the study of imperialism at the end of the 20th century, which the 27th CPSU Congress assigned to our social sciences. The mastery and development of the tremendous wealth of theoretical ideas included in the Central Committee political report, the new edition of the party program and the other congress documents, is the prime duty of Soviet researchers.

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