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USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 14, September 1985

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22 January 1986

USSR REPORT TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 14, September 1985

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

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EDITORIAL - TO PROTECT AND MULTIPLY SOCIALIST PROPERTY

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[Text] Preparing for its 27th congress, the party has resolutely adopted a course of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and of perfecting socialist society in every possible way. This is a course of fuller realization of the enormous advantages of socialism and of utilizing all of the constructive forces rooted at its base, which is social ownership of the means of production.

The bourgeoisie and its ideology have for centuries implanted the idea in people's consciousness that the only possible and eternal basis for socioeconomic progress and the free development of the personality is private ownership. They have proclaimed it to be sacred and inviolable. Today, too, the apologists of capitalism, who are under the power of this illusory formula, connect all their designs and hopes with preserving and consolidating private ownership.

The historical experience of real socialism and every major success achieved by it in constructing a new world mercilessly destroy the illusions of private ownership and prove irrefutably that the knell sounded long ago for capitalist private ownership and that we are living in an epoch in which social property is being established forever. It has already become the indestructible basis of progress in comprehensive socioeconomic development for many peoples. It opens up a better future for all mankind and for genuinely free development of each individual's personality.

The question of ownership is primarily a question of whose hands the means of production are in and of who is, practically, the master of them. In the USSR, the basic means of production and the greater part of funds in the non-productive sphere, as well as the land, its underground resources, waters, and forests lie in the state's exclusive ownership. All this makes up the common property of the entire Soviet people. A portion of the means of production in agriculture belongs to labor collectives (kolkhozes), which run their own cooperative economies on state land and within the framework of the unified state plan. The state assists it in drawing closer to state ownership. On this basis, the class differences between workers and kolkhoz peasants are

gradually being overcome, which is an important precondition for the achievement of the complete social homogeneity of society.

Socialist society can successfully move forward and accelerate socioeconomic progress by one means: constantly strengthening and comprehensively multiplying social property.

In the first days of Soviet power, V.I. Lenin appealed in an address to the people: "Protect and conserve the land, grain, factories, tools, food products, and transport as the apple of your eye. From now on all this will be wholly your nationwide property." ("Complete Collected Works," Vol 35, p 67). This appeal by the leader determined the main directions of the struggle for socialism and for its consolidation and development.

In the years of Soviet power, the working people of our country have, on the basis of socialist ownership, made a leap forward in the development of production forces, which was unprecedented in history, created and accumulated enormous material valuables by their work; and on this basis, achieved a fundamental improvement in their welfare. In the last 5-year plan periods alone, the Soviet Union's national wealth has increased by more than two and a half times and has reached the astronomical figure of 3.6 trillion rubles. Around one-fifth of this sum is made up of the population's household property. In this same period, the real incomes of working people rose by almost 1.6 times.

Soviet people are becoming convinced by their own experience that the national wealth and the people's welfare are organically linked in our country. The richer society is and the more material goods it has created, the higher the standard of living of working people and the more fully their needs in various areas are satisfied. This link derives organically from the very nature of socialist ownership, which directly subordinates social production to the interests of the working man himself and of his comprehensive development.

The Basic Law of the Soviet state obliges each citizen of the USSR to protect and strengthen socialist property, to struggle against embezzlement and squandering of state and social property, and to multiply the national wealth by his conscientious work. This constitutional requirement is becoming a matter of duty and honor and a principle of life for an ever greater number of Soviet people.

The civic maturity of Soviet people, which is shown primarily in their attitude to social work and social ownership, is formed in the labor collectives and in their practical activity. In our country there are over 2.5 million labor collectives of enterprises, institutions, and organizations. Each labor collective is entrusted with a certain, sometimes very considerable portion of social property. This places a great responsibility on it for rational, effective utilization of existing material, financial, and labor resources.

The transformation of working people from "non-owning (beskhozyaynyy) producers" (as Lenin called workers under capitalism --See "Complete Collected Works," vol 2, p 548) into the true owners of social production is not only

the deepest socioeconomic but also a psychological turning point in the lives of millions of people. The historical task of socialism is to make the members of society into not only good workers, but also real, wise, and zealous owners of social property, owners who are able to organically unite their personal or group interests with nationwide interests, and who are capable of seeing the scale of work at the state level from their own workplace. "The question" Lenin said, "is to make the conscientious workers feel that he is not only master in his plant, but also a representative of the country, and to make him feel responsible for himself." ("Complete Collected Works, "vol 36, p 369-370).

Socialism is a centralized economy, managed according to a unified plan and on the broadest democratic basis. The organic combination of the two principles -- centralism and socialist democracy -- in fact amounts to the essence of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism.

Consistent implementation of this principle ensures the active and effective participation of the masses in managing production and in protecting and multiplying social property.

A proprietary attitude to material goods is shown first and foremost as thrift. For thousands of years, people have learned how to protect their personal property. And this thrift has become a habit and a character trait. Socialist ownership, which represents a type of economic relations which is historically higher than capitalism has engendered a fundamentally new phenomenon, that is, the necessity of protecting socialist property. This is thrift of a higher order in both economic and moral regards. But much time will be required before it enters the blood of each person.

Now, when our economy is being raised to a qualitatively new level -- the level of comprehensive intensification -- the question of socialist thrift, the importance of which is not decreasing but increasing with the growth in the national wealth, arises in a new way. After all, on the contemporary scale of the national economy, a reduction in the expenditure of fuel, raw materials, and materials by only one percent makes it possible to increase the national income by 7 billion rubles.

But what is involved is not only the scale of production. The intensification of thrift and the consistent implementation of the strictest regime of economy are becoming an important factor in the intensification of the economy. In view of the decreasing absolute growths in material resources, and primarily in such resources as metal, fuel, and electric energy, the national economy's growing requirements of them will increasingly be met through economizing. Thus, in the first 4 years of the 11th 5-Year Plan period, economizing fuel and energy have already amounted to half of the growth in their production. For the forthcoming period 75 to 80 percent of the growth in the country's requirements of fuel, raw materials, and other materials must be met through economizing. It is impossible to achieve such a degree of economizing in the national economy by the old methods and without maximum utilization of the achievements of scientific-technical progress.

The policy of economizing is not a temporary campaign but a socialist method of economic management which has been used in our country at all stages of socialist construction. At the contemporary stage, in the conditions of intensification of the economy, it is being developed to the fullest extent in the interests of protecting and multiplying socialist property. Thrift must become universal and general. Without this it will be impossible to solve the enormous tasks of construction facing the country. At the CPSU Central Committee conference of 11 June, Comrade M.S. Gorbachev stressed: "The policy of economizing is the road toward our wealth, it is truly the task of all tasks, and is a party-wide and nationwide task."

The policy of economizing has two dimensions: minimum expenditure and maximum results. But in present conditions results mean not only, and not so much, a growth in the quantity of products as an improvement in their quality. The problem of quality is coming into the foreground. Successful solving of it is ensured primarily by the advanced organization of production and by the strictest observance of technological discipline. The party regards lagging in the sphere of product quality as serious socioeconomic and moral-political damage to our society. The common struggle for high product quality is today the struggle to consolidate socialism and for full realization of its advantages in the economic competition with capitalism.

The real state of affairs, however, is that at many enterprises the quality of manufactured articles is low, while considerably more energy, metal, and other material resources are expended on the output of one item than at better enterprises in our country and other foreign enterprises. There are great unutilized waste products, defective goods, and losses of material valuables in transporting and storing them.

With the growth in the scale of the national economy the volumes of waste from production and consumption are also growing. Their use makes it possible to save a large amount of primary materials and to economize on them. However, the share of secondary material resources in the country's raw material balance is not great. According to the calculations of specialists, this share could amount to one-third of the total volume of raw materials.

The party organizations' efforts are now being directed toward raising a mighty barrier everywhere to losses, defective goods, and squandering of national resources. The policy of economizing must become in reality a powerful motivating force for our ascent to new heights of socioeconomic progress.

The creative initiative of the working masses and their proprietary concern for protecting and multiplying socialist property are shown especially clearly in the nationwide competition which has developed. In making worthy preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress, the working people of towns and villages are persistently struggling to successfully fulfill the plans for 1985 and the 5-Year Plan as a whole and for the creation of firm foundations for steady, highly productive work from the first days of the new 5-Year Plan period. The struggle for intensification of the policy of economizing in the national economy in every possible way has become one of the main areas of socialist competition. Many labor collectives are successfully fulfilling

their obligations to work no fewer than 2 days per year on saved resources. Let us recall that economizing material expenditures, calculated over 2 days, provides the national economy with an additional 3 billion rubles.

The movement for economy and thrift which fosters genuine owners of the national property gains its strength from the high degree of awareness and enthusiasms of the masses. But this powerful moral force is revealed to its full extent in skilfull combination with the material stimulation of work. In the conditions of our planned economy the system of economic accountability is an effective form of this combination. The socialist accountability system is a practical and vital school in which the masses learn by their own experience to save minutes and seconds of work time, to economize on raw and other materials, and to expend each kopek of the national resources in a proprietarily repsonsible manner.

The brigade form of organizing and stimulating work contributes to the development of a collectivist spirit. In industry it takes in more than 70 percent of workers. But only 22 percent of brigades work on the economic accountability system. More wide-scale introduction of the brigade economic accountability system into enterprises in industry and the construction industry is an important reserve for increasing the effectiveness work and for intensifying the regime of economy. But this matter must not simply be allowed to take its course. Serious organizational work and an increase in the responsibility of economic leaders and trade union committees for the creation of appropriate conditions in all brigades are necessary.

The economic ministries and departments fulfill a responsible state function in centralized management. Powerful economic levers are concentrated in their hands. Among these are, first and foremost, capital investments. The shift of our economy to the track of intensive development calls for a new approach to utilizing these investments. Up until now, the basic proportion of annual capital investments has been directed toward new construction, while only one-third went toward technical re-equipment and reconstruction.

The party is now setting the task of directing no less than 50 percent of capital investments toward the reconstruction and modernization of existing production in the 12th 5-Year Plan.

The turnabout in investment policy substantially changes the situation in the national economy and sharply increases the demands on the economic leadership. The main index of the effectiveness of this leadership must be not the amount of resources invested in production development but the final returns from them; not how much you took from the state but how much you returned and how much you added. In the conditions of an intensive economy, this is the only rational way of protecting and multiplying socialist property on the scale of the entire national economy.

The effectiveness of the resources invested in the national economy directly depends on the quality of planning and design decisions and on the technical level of equipment. In the construction of new enterprises and in the reconstruction and modernization of existing enterprises, ministries and department are obliged to strive for the introduction of technologies

producing little or no waste and of resource-saving equipment, to ensure thorough and comprehensive reprocessing of all types of raw and other materials, and to provide for the creation of specialized capacities for utilizing the secondary raw materials produced in the productions process.

The ministries are responsible for the technical and economic substantiation of the existing norms of the expenditures and stocks of material resources. Meanwhile, a considerable number of obsolete norms are being preserved. They make it possible to conceal cases of squandering and to report supposed economizing of resources to the higher organs when in fact they are being overexpended. It has now become urgently necessary to revise existing norms in a number of cases and to make them stricter, without corrections for negligence and carelessness.

The party is keenly posing the question of imposing full order and organization on all sectors of the national economy and of strengthening work, plan, and contract discipline in every possible way. Unfortunately, it is still impossible to call the position in a number of ministries and departments normal. Last year the state courts of arbitration alone examined 102,000 cases connected with the violation of contract discipline. The reasons for the violations uncovered are often of a subjective nature. They are superficial. But they also have a deeper source: this is the low quality of our plans and projects in a number of cases, and also the shortcomings in the economic mechanism.

The basic direction of perfecting the economic mechanism is clear: it must become in practice a mechanism for protecting and multiplying social property. This will make it possible to make the economy dynamic, balanced, and maximally receptive to scientific-technical progress. At the CPSU Central Committee conference of 11 June, Comrade M.S. Gorbachev said: "It is necessary to boldly eliminate all that is obsolete in order for an 'anti-expenditure economic mechanism,' so to speak, to begin to work at full strength, a mechanism which will stimulate the development of the economy and literally strike the hands of negligent economic leaders and of those who are fond of getting more resources and capital investments out of the state and giving less." The economic mechanism must work in one direction: to put up firm barriers to the squandering of state resources and to stimulate their rational and effective utilization in all sectors of the economy.

A more active search is needed for organizational forms of effective ruble control over the work of production services and supply and sale services.

Party and economy organs must constantly keep sight of the problems of perfecting primary accounting, the work of the accountancy services, and the stock-keeping of enterprises, associations, and organizations. It must be remembered that accounting and control are the instruments of protecting and defending the national property from plunderers.

Manifestations of departmentalism and localism do great harm to socialist property. Violations of the economic legislature, falsely inflated figures, and other distortions of state accountability are particularly intolerable. Thus, in the Chimkent Oblast of Kazakhstan, facts were cited at the recent

obkom plenum which showed that last year alone 95 cases of falsely inflated figures, amounting to 3.5 million rubles, were revealed in construction organizations. And all this was done to present the state of economic affairs in a more favorable light than it in fact deserved. Such methods of "correcting" accounts are resorted to by the economic leaders of many enterprises in other krais and oblasts, sometimes with the knowledge of party organizations.

Departmental control is clearly not coping with the responsibilities placed upon it. Losses through squandering are frequently written off as production costs without the establishment of who the guilty parties are, and none is made responsible for this. It is time to deal a decisive blow to falsely inflated figures which always have, so to speak, a given name, patronymic, and surname, to any eyewash, and to shameful attempts to deceive the state. Party organizations are called upon to display high principles, to lead this struggle, and to bring it to its conclusion.

The intensive economy, which it is the party's course to develop, makes new, higher demands on the utilization of nature. Meanwhile, the real state of affairs still far from meets these demands. A number of ministries and departments and also some republics do not always fulfill the plan tasks of environmental protection and rational utilization of natural resources. Because of the formalism and departmentalism shown in this work, comprehensive measures to protect nature fail, as a result of which damage is done both to nature and to the national economy. There are great losses of a number of useful minerals during their extraction and particularly in the enrichment process.

Environmental protection and the rational utilization of natural resources, and also the problems relating to this, have now acquired unprecedented urgency and vital importance. It is impossible to solve them only through the efforts of officials directly connected with this. A nationwide movement is necessary in order to fully realize the advantages of socialism in effectively utilizing nature and to establish inviolable harmony between man and nature.

Particularly urgent is the question of a zealous attitude toward the land in agriculture. Increasing the effectiveness of its use is one of the basic reserves of the rural economy. In leading kolkhozes and sovkhozes there is a proprietary, wise attitude toward the land, zonal systems of land cultivation are being persistently mastered, and intensive technologies are being introduced. As a result, up to 40 or 50 quintals of grain are obtained per hectare. But in a number of kolkhozes and sovkhozes the level of field cultivation is low, agricultural technology is violated, and there are not proper returns for meliorated land areas. Losses of agricultural products are still considerable in the harvesting, transportation, storing, and processing. All of this does great damage to the economy.

Enormous production potential has been created in the agro-industrial sector of the economy. It is important to make skillful, property use of the existing opportunities to substantially increase returns from invested resources.

Party committees and soviet organs must increase the demands made on kolkhoz and sovkhos leaders and on agricultural specialists. Rural communists are called upon to set an example as zealous owners of the land. They have a vanguard role in the struggling of village working people for an increase in the country's food fund.

Socialist ownership forms the basis not only of production, but also of all other spheres of activity in our life. Health care, the people's education, science, culture, and everyday life are provided with the necessary material resources from the national revenue. Of substantial importance here is the way in which the state resources assigned to them are utilized and consumed. Proprietarily zealous utilization of these resources determines to a decisive extent the degree to which the population's need for various services is met.

In our country, the basic part of the country's housing fund, which forms the material basis for satisfying one of the most vital needs of Soviet people's lives, is the property of the entire people. In the years of Soviet power it has grown by almost 20 times. The urban housing fund alone has reached 2.5 billion squares meters. A large amount of material resources is consumed in housing. Up to one-third of the heat energy produced in the country goes toward heating and year-round hot water supply of residential houses. More than 100 billion kilowatt-hours of electric energy are expended on satisfying the everyday needs of the population.

The function of the communal housing industry is the careful exploitation of the state housing fund. The party and state are taking measures to further improve its work. The population itself can and must do a great deal in this direction. Wherever there is success in increasing the activeness of the public and in combining the efforts of residents and workers of the communal housing services, good results are achieved. The maintenance of buildings is improved, repairs to apartments are carried out on time, losses of water, heat, and electric energy are reduced, and upkeep on the adjacent territory is improved.

Soviet people are called upon to protect and multiply socialist property not only in production but in everyday life. When we are at home we do not turn into private consumers of social wealth. The high responsibility of its joint owners obliges us to have an attitude like that of the state to the consumption of this wealth and to the safety and condition of the social housing fund, and also to learn how to rationally consume all those goods which create everyday comfort. What is involved is the development of a high standard of culture in everyday life and of thrift in housekeeping, and also the eradication of a kind of barbarity in everyday life.

A resolute struggle must be waged against the growing waste from the consumption of food products, and it is necessary to foster in oneself a respectful attitude toward bread and other items in everyday demand. These are, after all, the products of our own work, they are our wealth, and thoughtless squandering of it must not be permitted in any form.

Socialist property needs to be defended constantly and by the entire people from encroachments on it by any kind of money-grubber. The state has at its

disposal a large network of law and order and control organs. But there are still a considerable number of weak points in these organs, as there are in the system of state management of the national economy. These weak points form in places where there is no firm order or good organization of work, where there is lack of an effective accountancy and control system, where discipline is violated, and where officials lose their sense of great responsibility for the safety of state property.

It is primarily through such weak points that thieves and scroungers get at the people's wealth.

Bad management, squandering, and embezzlement cause great losses to socialist property. A considerable number of cases of selfish crimes, deceit of customers, speculation, and bribe-taking in the system of trade and social nutrition are still coming to light. Some workers of the USSR Ministry of Trade, the USSR Ministry of the Food Industry, and also the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives have evidently become accustomed to such phenomena, considering them inevitable, and do not take effective measures to eradicate the causes which give rise to such abuses.

Unfortunately, the criminal activity of embezzlers, speculators, bribe-takers, and their accomplices are not always cut short in good time and in a decisive manner. They sometimes continue for years. A considerable portion of the blame for this in fact lies with the law and order organs. Cases occur of a superficial attitude to the verification of alarm signals about unearned income being gained. The investigation of some cases is inadmissably prolonged. The effectiveness of the actions of the Main Administration for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation is still insufficient. The prosecutor's supervision is not always distinguished by the necessary consistency and persistence in eliminating the causes and conditions which contribute to violations of the law.

The legal service is called upon to promote the observance of legality in economic relations. About 80,000 legal consultants are engaged in the sphere of this service.

However, in many cases their work is not properly organized. One-third of industrial enterprises and one-half of kolkhozes and sovkhoses do not have legal services at all. Further improvement of the activity of the legal service organs is an indispensable condition for consolidating order and discipline in production. A number of enterprises have interesting experience in the multifaceted work of legal consultants. They provide assistance to the party organizations and administration in solving questions of economics, the education of cadres, and legal propaganda among working people.

Soviet society has risen to such a level of development that it can no longer reconcile itself to antisocialist manifestations which hinder its advance. The time has come to take decisive measures to cut short and completely eradicate speculative machinations, private enterprise activity, a parasitic way of life, idling, and other deviations from the principle of social justice. The consolidation of all constructive forces of the people, the leading nucleus of which is the party, is necessary for this. With the

intensification of its organizational and educational activity, other social organizations are also activated. At present, it is particularly important to organize close cooperation between the law and order organs and the soviets of people's deputies, labor collectives, and the public.

Many shortcomings in economic activity and cases of plan tasks failure, of bad management, of artificially inflated figures, and of eyewash are to a significant extent the results of unsatisfactory organization of control and of a low level of fulfillment discipline and responsibility.

The implementation of systematic control and verification of the fulfillment of decisions made is a most important part of organizational and management work. We have accumulated considerable experience in this sphere and have created a broad network of party, state, and people's control. In accordance with the USSR Constitution, important measures are being implemented in the country to perfect the activity of all control organs.

The millions of Soviet people who actively participate in the work of the management and control organs and of other social organizations learn in practice how to be zealous owners of the people's wealth and really contribute to protecting and multiplying it. But there is also a considerable number of individuals in our country who understand their position as the owners of production in a highly peculiar manner: they take hold of everything that "lies in temptation's way" and convey it from "their" enterprise to their home.

People who live by narrowly egotistic interests of personal fortune and acquisition remain petty private owners in their way of thinking and their disposition. They are interested in social wealth only insofar as they can enrich themselves at its expense. An equally resolute struggle is just as necessary against "pilferers" as against other embezzlers of socialist property. Both administrative measures and the existing legislation must be fully applied here.

Any attempt on socialist property must be cut short rapidly and irrevocably. But this is only part of the task. The main point consists of eradicating the causes and conditions that make such attempts possible. Not the least among these causes are bourgeois-philistine individualism and relapses of petty bourgeois attitudes, to which part of the population is subject to a greater or lesser extent. The respectable philistine does not himself steal, does not take bribes, and does not commit crimes connected with his official position, but when other people do this he considers that this does not concern him. He is socially neutral. He firmly distinguishes two concepts: "mine" and "other people's". State property is also "other people's," "public" to him. He is completely indifferent to the social wealth. Bourgeois-philistine indifference toward socialist property is a sluggish force which slows our development and serves as fertile ground for all sorts of anti-collectivist elements to grow on. One of the constant tasks of our political-educational work consists in awakening in each person an unremitting sense of being an interested owner of social property and of forming a citizen who firmly occupies an active socialist position in life.

At the contemporary stage of perfecting developed socialism, there has arisen particularly urgently the question of achieving a higher degree of political and moral maturity of Soviet people as the genuine owners of social production. We simply cannot, and have no right to be, bad owners. A sharp turn is needed in the style and methods of economic operations. The urgent demand on the times is that of bringing them into accordance with the contemporary scale and nature of production and with the trend and potential of scientific-technical progress.

The vanguard role of communists must be manifest in all this with new strength. They are called up to set an example of a proprietarily zealous attitude to the people's wealth not only in words but also in deeds. Wherever a communist works, he has no right to close himself off within the narrow framework of group, departmental, or local interests. His distinguishing traits are the broad view of an owner, the same attitude to the task as that of the state, and party principle.

The very word communist means an adherent of social ownership. He must be this by conviction and world outlook, constantly confirming this in practice and by all his deeds. Our party's Statute, too, obliges each communist to "protect and multiply social, socialist property, which is the basis of the might and prosperity of the Soviet Motherland". There are now more than 18 million people in the CPSU's ranks. And if each communist acts as this lofty title obliges him to, the party will achieve a further increase of its vanguard role in the Soviet people's struggle to accelerate socioeconomic progress on the road of comprehensive consolidation and development of socialism.

The accountability report and election campaign is now going on in the party organizations. This is an extraordinarily important and responsible stage in the preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress. The party is orienting all its organizations toward a practical attitude, against ostentation and self-satisfaction, and toward showing a high degree of exactingness and irreconcilability toward shortcomings. The main point is to profoundly and comprehensively analyze the work done after the 26th CPSU Congress, to interpret the accumulated experience, to determine ways and methods of improving economic, organizational, and educational activity, and to ensure that the economy is shifted onto the track of intensive growth and of acceleration of scientific-technical progress. It is from these positions that the party evaluates the effectiveness of leadership and the state of affairs in the labor collectives.

New horizons are opening up before society. We must strive for total implementation of the socialist ideal of social justice, ensure that the principles of socialism are put into practice in full measure, and make social ownership -- the foundation of our collectivist system, our existence and prosperity -- indestructible and truly sacred and inviolable. Much has already been done in this area, but the party is now mobilizing the forces of the people for a great leap forward.

In one of his articles, addressed to the Soviet people, the well-known British writer James Aldridge wrote: "...You have made socialism as indestructible as

a diamond. You have done more: You have given the world a slogan for the future: 'Not mine for me, but ours for us.' In fact, in your country this dream has already become reality..." These words fully express the profound meaning of our work and our struggle yesterday and today. And we do not forget, we must not forget that the entire world is watching us, being convinced by precisely our example of the possibility and necessity of building life in a new way, and contrasting the disunity of the private owners under capitalism with the comradely cohesion of the association of free working people.

A person learns to know himself in action. As they say, try to fulfill your duty and you will immediately discover your worth. Socialist owners are people of duty who are deeply aware of their responsibility to society and the collective. These must be people of high moral qualities and a high level of culture. Precisely these qualities are shown by the best production workers, among whom there are more and more enterprising young people.

Innovators and front-rank workers are really people of a new make-up and the owners of life. Their world is wide: they live for social interest. For them, "ours" is not an empty word but the very reality of life which they are building. These are people of honor and conscience, knights without fear or reproach. They do not spread their arms in helplessness, saying: "But what can I do?" They do not bandy words such as: "Why do I need all this?" Their motto is: "If not me, who else?" These are workers whose work goes well, because they are truly acquainted with creative emotions and know the happiness of work excellently done.

Soviet people, people of creative work who recognize themselves to be the owners of social production and behave as owners in practice, and who protect and multiply social property, are the living soul of socialism, its real might, and its main motive force which is driving society forward, to a communist future!

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SPEECH BY M.S. GORBACHEV AT THE TYUMEN AND TOMSK OBLAST PARTY ECONOMIC AKTIV
CONFERENCE 6 SEPTEMBER 1985

AU231401 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 85 (signed to press 3 Oct 85)
pp 13-21

[Text] Dear comrades: On behalf of the Central Committee of our party, permit me to greet you warmly and cordially, and through you all who, by their selfless work, their will, and their energy have brought to life the once remote expanses and created here the country's main fuel and energy base.

To the Soviet people, Tyumen has become the symbol of the labor exploit of hundreds of workers and specialists. The oil and gas extracted from the depths have traveled thousands of kilometers, to the farthest corners of our country, and have become the reliable basis of the further growth of its economic and defense might. The Soviet people and the party are proud of your patriotic deeds, dear comrade Siberians.

The oil-and-gas extraction industry is a basic branch of our economy, and the West Siberian complex is the heart of these branches of industry. The rhythm of its work determines to a considerable extent the success of the whole national economy. This is why the development of this complex plays an exceptionally important role in party economic strategy.

The Central Committee attaches great significance to today's conference, to the results of its work, and to those practical measures that will ensure further development in the petroleum and gas industry and in the productive forces of the whole of Siberia.

Our meeting is taking place in a period of responsibility for the country. As you know, the April plenum of the party Central Committee and the June conference at the Central Committee proposed and substantiated a course aimed at accelerating the socioeconomic development of Soviet society. The emphasis is placed on scientific-technological progress; on the mobilization of organizational, economic, and social factors; and on zealous management.

For the purpose of achieving the planned targets, the CPSU Central Committee and the government have adopted important decisions aimed at speeding up the economy's transition to an intensive path of development and increasing production efficiency. These include detailed programs for raising the

technical level and speeding up the development of machine construction, reconstructing ferrous metallurgy, perfecting design work and improving all capital construction, introducing fundamentally new technologies, expanding the production and application of computer technology in the national economy, and others. The prospects for a development of productive forces in a number of the country's regions have been defined.

Important measures are being implemented to stimulate scientific and technological progress and to speed up the application of the achievements of science and front-ranking experience. Documents on a switch to management by groups of several industries, similar industries, have already been prepared. I think that a decision now being prepared on one of the most important questions, the use of the country's labor resources, will have a positive effect on social and economic life.

A number of important measures in the social sphere have also been adopted; I have already had occasion to speak about them.

The Central Committee of our party fully realizes, comrades, that the people have judged and will continue to judge the party's policies not by its works and not by the number of adopted decisions, correct though they may be, but by practical actions and specific results.

That is why we attach exceptional significance to the organization of work to fulfill adopted decisions and to the monitoring of their implementation. This kind of work must be the main criterion in assessing the activities of the party committees and organizations, of ministries and departments, and of soviet and economic organs. Any other approach is simply unacceptable. Everyone, whatever work he or she does in our society, must fully answer for the job at hand and perform it with great conscientiousness, care, and initiative.

This refers directly to you to, dear comrades. The party has put forward tasks aimed at the acceleration of the development of our economy; and I shall tell you flatly that in order to be able to perform them, the country must have at its disposal the necessary resources of both oil and gas. And this depends above all on you. Tyumen is the chief source of hydrocarbon raw material. We simply have nothing else like it at the moment. Since the start of the development of deposits, Tyumen workers have already extracted more than 3 billion tons of oil. The ahead-of-schedule attainment of the extraction level of 1 billion cubic meters of gas per day was a major success. This is an outstanding achievement, an unprecedented one in world practice.

Everything that has been done to create an oil and gas industry in Siberia is convincing evidence of the immense creative possibilities of our socialist order, and it is, of course, also the result of the intense work of the 1.5 million multinational detachment of working people of Tyumen Oblast.

It is also clear that an oil and gas giant such as the West Siberian complex could only have been created through the efforts of the whole country, of all the republics. The working people of the Ukraine and Belorussia, of Uzbekistan, the Baltic and other republics, of Moscow and Leningrad, of the

autonomous republics, of the krais and oblasts of the Russian Federation, have made and are making a weighty contribution to its formation.

The scale of this work will increase. The oilmen of Tataria and Bashkiria have produced a good initiative, having gone over to the integrated implementation of work at deposits in Tyumen Oblast. Recently there was the approval of the initiative of Georgia, Azerbaijan, Moldavia, Armenia, and Turkmenistan for the construction organizations of those republics to participate in the 12th 5-Year Plan in the erection in Western Siberia of housing, social, cultural, and everyday amenities and the building of motor roads.

Our young people have responded warmly to the party's appeal. They have made and are making an immense contribution to the development of the oil and gas virgin lands. More than 150 thousand people have arrived here on travel passes from the Leninist Komsomol. Student construction detachments have already completed work worth R1.5 billion. Young people's participation in the development of this region will continue to grow.

In general, comrades, a great deal has been done and high attainments have been made. But time is passing, and life confronts us with ever more new tasks. The high indexes for the extraction of oil, and especially gas, foreseen in the USSR's energy program and in the draft basic guidelines must to a definitive degree be provided by the Tyumen fields.

Of course, this is not a simple thing to do. It will take the efforts of many. That is precisely why the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government adopted a decision on the integrated development of the oil and gas industry in Western Siberia. This is a fundamental document opening up a qualitatively new stage in the development of the region. The essential feature of it is to increase sharply the efficiency and reliability of the country's fuel base there, through intensification and by using the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

A most important part of this party document are the measures it envisages for the improvement of housing and the cultural and everyday living conditions of oilmen and gasmen in Siberia and for the solution of the entire range of social questions related to the retention of cadres. Large amounts of funds and resources are being allocated for all these purposes. They must be used thriftily.

M.S. Gorbachev noted that the Siberians will have to resolve even more complex and responsible tasks. One should constantly bear in mind that the successes of the oilmen and gasmen in the Tyumen area strengthen the country's might and speed up its progress. But their failures do the opposite. They make the economy feverish and slow down our progress.

That is why the CPSU Central Committee is concerned by the fact that for the third year running, Tyumen has failed to fulfill its plans for oil extraction. The failure to fulfill tasks creates difficulties in the national economy. At the same time, lagging is not decreasing, but increasing.

The earlier analysis and the discussion of pressing questions at the current conference show that the problems accumulated gradually, over the years. Today we must say firmly to ourselves that the extraction methods which were envisaged during the first stage of the formation of the oil extraction complex on the Ob have in practice exhausted their potential. It has long been clear that the epoch of golden gushers, the epoch -- if one can put it this way -- of "easy oil" is coming to an end. We must switch over to forced [prinuditelnyy] extraction work; we must go into more difficult areas, to deposits with lower yields, over to the assimilation of more difficult deposits.

This was the time to look more closely into everything, look to the future, and implement a program calculated for the new stage in the exploitation of deposits. But this was not done in good time. The central departments and the party, soviet, and economic organs of Tyumen have shown tardiness and, in overcoming difficulties, have taken the path of the least resistance by deciding to compensate for their failures by increasing the load on the large deposits. Not only oilmen, but also builders, energy industry workers, and transport workers have proven unprepared for working under the new, complex conditions. Recent talks in Samotlor, Urengoy, and Surgut have shown that machine builders have badly let down oil and gas workers and continue to do so.

Progressive methods of mechanized extraction are being introduced extremely slowly, the technical supply of the industries is inadequate, and there are many cases of equipment being unreliable.

The innovating traditions of the pioneers of Tyumen oil have somehow lost their lustre in recent years. This has apparently happened because the arbiter of its technical policy, the Main Directorate of Oil and Gas Production for Tyumen Region [Glavtyumenneftegaz], has also become a sort of second-rank link between the extraction associations and the ministry and has become an organization for eliminating hold-ups [proryvy].

But both Tyumen and Tomsk Oblasts have edifying experience. The Yuganskneftegaz, Tomskneft, and Nadymgazprom production associations, the Severtruboprovodstroy Trust, the Surgut No. 2 Drilling Works Directorate, and a number of other collectives had a considerable number of remarkable labor successes to their credit.

In Tyumen Oblast there are drilling teams who drill more than 100,000 meters annually, almost twice as much as the region's average. The best repair teams carry out up to 3 capital and 13 running repairs monthly. This exceeds the average by more than 50 percent. Unfortunately, all that is best which has been accumulated in Soviet petroleum extraction has not yet become the practice in every Siberian oil workers' collective.

The industry's science bears a great deal of the blame for the existing situation in the West Siberian region. For a number of years now, the branch's scientific organizations have expended virtually their entire arsenal on justifying the situation that has taken shape. Institutes are not lawyers' offices attached to the departments. Their task is to search creatively for

ways to increase extraction efficiency, to advance scientific-technological progress, and to predict the prospects of development of this branch. There is not one scientific-production association in the country's main oil and gas extracting region.

And the lesson of the oilmen must be learned soundly by everyone so that mistakes are not repeated. This concerns primarily the heads of the gas industry. So far things in the industry appear not to be going badly. I have visited the main gas field, Urengoy. Unquestionably the scale and rate of its development are impressive. But when you begin to take a closer look at the state of affairs, you discover that even here the commissioning of new capacities is lagging behind, as are the development of repair facilities and road construction; automation is poor. In order to obtain the required quantity of gas, the planned extraction levels on existing wells are being exceeded.

In the near future, Urengoy will reach the maximum gas recovery level. The country is to obtain the entire future increase in gas recovery from Yamburg. But for this to be possible, facilities must be provided there. But this has hitherto been done at an inadequate rate.

The main responsibility for the state of affairs in the region lies with the oil and gas workers. But, we must not forget that their successes or failures are formed by the attitude toward this matter of all that are involved in the development of the West Siberian complex. And first and foremost I would relate this to the geologists, the construction workers, the power engineers, and the machine builders.

Mineral prospectors must cardinaly improve the efficiency of their work. They are in debt to oil workers. During the last decade, the known reserves available to the oil extraction process in Western Siberia have dropped significantly and are comparable to the average branch level. The possibility of rapidly increasing oil extraction in this region is decreasing noticeably. This means that the Ministry of Geology must take more fully into account the recommendations of science in the choice of areas and the scale of its prospecting work.

The electric power industry is seriously holding back the development of the oil and gas complex. The insufficient reliability of the electrical supplies is resulting in big losses of oil and gas and rightly gives rise to criticism by working people.

The meetings and talks in Surgut attest to the fact that the builders of electric power stations are capable of fulfilling their tasks at a high rate and of performing high-quality work. But the schedule for commissioning the third power aggregate could be threatened due to an absence of the necessary equipment. They must be given assistance.

Now about the problems of capital construction in the region. Its present scale is truly unparalleled. Each year the volume of work is equal to that of building two Volga motor vehicle works and a Baykal-Amur railway every 2 years. It is well-known that the Siberians are the initiators of the progressive integrated unit method of constructing industrial installations.

Nevertheless, the state of affairs in capital construction is holding back the resolution of many important questions. The leaders of the State Committee for Construction Affairs, the construction ministries, and the client ministries approach these issues too narrowly.

Whenever new tasks arise in the development of the oil and gas complex, we are forced to adopt measures hastily and make large additional outlays. Just as now, when the polar gas fields must be rapidly built up with the aid of large housing blocks, the Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises has once again proved unprepared for this.

The necessary rates of progress will not be achieved with delays such as these, particularly now, when the construction of the West Siberian complex is entering a more crucial stage. During the next 5-year plan period the volume of construction and assembly work will significantly increase. This means that the construction program must be fulfilled -- a vast program even for our country.

But it must not simply be a question of the volumes of capital construction, but also one of its quality and generally of the reliability of everything we plan, conceive, construct, and create. If something is reliable, it is sound, effective, unfailing, and long lasting. This also applies to the development of new territories.

In order to achieve higher rates of progress in construction, we must once again return to the question of supplying construction workers with the necessary equipment and expanding the scale of work aimed at improving the living conditions, primarily the housing conditions, of the construction workers themselves.

I would like to talk about another lesson which the experience of developing the Tyumen's underground resources teaches us. The successes which have been achieved have led some people to become complacent. I do not know whether it is because they were too proud of their positions or whether there are other reasons; but some leaders have been unable or unwilling to see the real situation, to make a fundamental assessment of it, and to report to the Central Committee and the government. This is not the way to do things, comrades. It is difficult to run things properly unless objective information is supplied. With such an approach fresh mistakes and miscalculations are inevitable. Given the immense scale of the work, this could lead to huge losses.

In this connection I consider it appropriate to remind you of what Vladimir Ilich Lenin taught us. He repeatedly said that in everything we must always follow the truth, no matter what it may be. All embellishment can only do harm to our great cause. This Leninist precept must be a norm of life of our society.

Our attitude toward people and our concern for them is the main issue of our policy. And this is particularly significant for the new regions of development. The Tyumen Obkom seems to understand this, but obviously not entirely. The party obkom and the ministries should treat the problems of

creating normal living conditions for people as the most important aspect of their activity.

The new and more complicated stage of the further development of Siberia must be matched by a new and higher level of organization of all work. The necessary preconditions for this exist. Tyumen has at its disposal well-tempered, experienced cadres devoted to the cause of the party and a militant, multithousand detachment of Communists is in operation here. Such a collective is up to resolving the tasks set.

While I am here, comrades, in the center of your vast West Siberian region, I would like to talk briefly about the problems of the socioeconomic development of the eastern regions of the country as a whole.

The accelerated development of the productive forces in Siberia and the Far East is an important part of the party's economic strategy.

Today Siberia has a highly developed industry and agriculture, grandiose construction sites, and powerful economic complexes. It is the main base for the country's energy supply. It also has tens of large modern cities and major world-renowned scientific and cultural centers.

But, however great the importance of Siberia and the Far East for the fate of the country today, we all clearly understand that tomorrow the role of this region will grow immeasurably.

And so, as we seek solutions to the most urgent problems, we must also look far ahead, literally into the next century. We need precise ideas on how to make the most rational and efficient use of the colossal production and economic opportunities of the land of Siberia.

It was from precisely this standpoint that the work of the all-union conference on questions of the development of the productive forces and acceleration of scientific-technical progress in Siberia was held recently in Novosibirsk. The Central Committee supports the ideas expressed there on the need for a shift toward the all-around intensification of production toward thorough, integrated processing of raw materials extracted; a concentration here of an increasing proportion of all-union production in such power-intensive industries as ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy and the chemical, petrochemical, microbiological, and pulp-and-paper industries; and the production of efficient construction materials.

Proposals for speeding up the development and reorientation of machine construction enterprises and for freeing them from the production of relatively labor-intensive products which are little connected with the basic needs of the region merit the closest attention.

The Politburo has charged the Gosplan, the Academy of Sciences, the State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR ministries and departments, and the RSFSR Council of Ministers with considering and making use of the conference's recommendations on drafting the basic directions of the country's

economic and social development for the 12th 5-Year Plan and the period up to the year 2000.

The key question of Siberia's future, as of that of the country as a whole, is the question of the pace of economic growth.

In a word, comrades, in order to maintain constant rates of economic development, a profoundly well-considered organization of production is required, taking account not only of today's problems, but of the long-term problems of the region and the requirements of the country as a whole.

This brings me to a number of other problems starkly confronting the economy of Siberia and the Far East.

One of the most important ways of improving capital investment efficiency in the extraction industry is by shifting to the deep, integrated processing of the raw material on the spot. So that here we have to set our sights on the development of mutually complementary production. We already have such experience: high-efficiency territorial production complexes have been created and are now operating precisely in these regions of the country. They make it possible to achieve savings of 15-20 percent on capital investment and considerably reduce operating costs.

It is clear that all this bears directly on the problem of making rational use of both energy and raw material resources and material resources in general. For the purpose of evaluating the scale and significance of this problem it is sufficient to take into account that expenditures of fuel and raw and other materials constitute more than half of all outlays on the production of the country's social product. In addition, the industries which provide us with raw materials and fuel are the most capital- and labor-intensive industries. From this it is clear why the shift to an active resource-saving policy is of paramount importance for the intensification of the national economy and the acceleration of the whole development of our society.

In this connection I would like to support in every way possible the campaign for economy and thrift that has been launched in the country. The mass information media and the press in particular, are dealing with this theme well, which is unquestionably of benefit.

However, more could still be achieved. This is confirmed by the experience of the Ukraine, where in the last 4 years the rate of reducing the amount of materials involved in output, for instance, has been more than double the planned task. Moreover, more than 500 million metric tons of secondary resources and waste products are now involved in industrial production in the republic, comrades. Their portion in the overall volume of resource consumption now reaches 12 percent in the Ukraine, which is exactly double the percentage for the country as a whole.

The greatest potential for the comprehensive utilization of fuel and raw materials exists here in Siberia and in the Far East, at the places where their extraction is concentrated. However, a considerable amount of petroleum gas in Tyumen Oblast is burnt off. It is intolerable that this situation

should continue. The problem of utilizing by-product gas must be resolved as soon as possible. Nor can we be satisfied by the way work is proceeding on increasing the intensity of oil refining.

One could cite a large number of examples of similar poor economic management in other industries and production spheres; but maybe things are worst of all in our country with regard to the utilization of timber. In Siberia only half as much end product is produced from one cubic meter of procured timber compared to the country as a whole.

We must place the process of intensifying the economy regime on a firm foundation from the viewpoint of planning and organization, and we must make it the most important part of all of our economic activity. In 1986 we must reduce by 3.2 percent the amount of energy consumed in achieving the national income, and by 3 percent the amount of metal consumed. This is a very serious task. We have not yet achieved such rates of resource economizing.

We cannot and shall not support leaders who orient themselves on former approaches, on obsolete norms, who associate an increase in the rate of production growth with the procurement of additional material resources.

And here is something else that must be brought to attention: During the current 5-year plan period, the growth rates of circulating capital in stocks have outstripped the growth rates of production volumes. Withdrawing these resources from national economic circulation totally eats up the effect gained from economizing material resources.

Economic leaders and specialists on the spot are quite capable of solving this question. There is no need here for any directives; all that is needed is an interested approach to the matter. This is also a most topical issue for our economic services -- the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Finance, and the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply. The system of financing and providing credit for material supplies must be thoroughly tightened up. But we must also give some thought to why labor collectives that take no part in the struggle to economize resources have it so easy.

Front-ranking collectives have launched a movement to work at least 2 days this year on economized materials, raw material, fuel, and electricity. Similar pledges have been made almost everywhere; but far from everywhere are they being backed up with the proper economic, organizational, and educational work. Beside those who have already worked 1-2 days on economized resources, we have tens and hundreds of enterprises and organizations that fail to keep within even the planned norms for raw material and materials consumption.

Of course, the development and introduction of resource-saving equipment and technology must play a particularly important and long-term role in our struggle for economy. In this respect a considerable amount of scientific-technological work has been done. Nevertheless, wasteful technologies continue to be utilized on a mass scale.

In Siberia, to a greater extent than in other areas, technical policy must be aimed at saving labor in every possible way, by raising the power-labor ratio and using the most advanced technology and the very best machines.

It is essential to continue ensuring the priority development of science in the Siberian and Far Eastern regions. Today we can clearly see the perspicacity of previously adopted decisions to set up the Siberian Division and the Far Eastern Center of the Academy of Sciences, the Siberian Division of the V.I. Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences and the Academy of Medical Sciences, and the fruits of the development of Siberian science are now evident. They can be seen here in the land of Tyumen, on the BAM, and in other regions.

Now, while intensifying efforts to develop scholarship in academies, industries, and higher educational institutions, it is important to consolidate its material and manufacturing base and to focus our sights more firmly on the development of the productive forces of the eastern regions of the country.

In Siberia, as in the rest of the country, scientific-technical progress will become a powerful lever of economic development. But, as is known, a lever requires a fulcrum, and capital construction is this fulcrum; but thus far, unfortunately, this remains a weak spot.

Siberia is rich in local construction materials; but their development has not been organized as it should have been, comrades. And if one takes the requirements of the regions for prefabricated prestressed concrete, bricks, and nonmetalliferous materials, these are being met poorly. Prefabricated housing construction here is developed insufficiently. Implementing the resolution adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on increasing the industrialization of capital construction, the production of at least one-third of the progressive materials envisaged should be organized in the east of the country.

Taking into consideration the development of the economy outlined up to the year 2000, the volume of the construction program in Siberia will more than double. An essential condition for fulfilling this program is, first and foremost, the technical and organizational economic reconstruction of the material base, which would make it possible to turn construction into a unified production line, starting with the manufacture of construction materials -- structures, large-unit modules -- up to the assembly of them into facilities that are ready for use. The improvement of the system of management construction should be subordinated to this aim.

All that has just been said concerns not only the questions of the development of production in Siberia and the Far East but also the development of the social sphere and of everything connected with people's lives.

Everyone knows -- and this is one of the chief lessons of developing Tyumen -- that Siberian living and labor conditions are special; and we endeavor to take this into consideration in our social policy. During the current 5-year plan period in Siberia and the Far East housing, hospitals, and children's

preschool establishments have been constructed and municipal services and retail trade have been developed at a faster rate than in the European part of the USSR. Regional factors have been introduced or increased. Percentage supplements to earnings for continuous work service have been established for many categories of workers and employees; other measures have also been taken.

All this is having an effect. In the last 4 years the population of the eastern areas of the RSFSR has increased through an inflow of workers and specialists from other places in the country. However, one cannot fail to see something else, namely that a considerable number of people have indeed departed from these areas. This means that housing construction has to be further increased in Siberia and the Far East and the provision of the population with foodstuffs and consumer goods has to be improved. The service sphere, health care, and education have to be developed.

This, of course, will require both strength, and resources, and time. But Siberia must become not only a construction site, not only a majestic production shop. Everyone must remember that if we do not make this expansive region a comfortable place for people to live in, all our plans will remain on paper.

I wish to say that every construction project for new facilities in Siberia and the Far East must be solidly based from the social angle and envisage an improvement in people's working and living conditions.

A few words on one other question directly relating to the transformation of Siberia into a land where people should rejoice in life: I am thinking of the need for a careful attitude toward nature. In Siberia we must behave like genuine proprietors; we must care not only about the benefits of the moment but about preserving the wealth and beauty of Siberia for future generations.

In conclusion M.S. Gorbachev said: My visit here has been short but intensive. It was useful and interesting to see the colossal amount of work being done here by you. Siberia is called the land of the future and this is, of course, correct. But even today, this land is already augmenting the glory, wealth, and might of our motherland.

Allow me to wish you success in your work, good health to you and your families, and all the very best in life! (sustained applause).

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SPEECH BY M.S. GORBACHEV AT THE PARTY ECONOMIC ACTIV CONFERENCE IN TSELINOGRAD
7 SEPTEMBER 1985

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pp 21-31

[Text] We have invited party and administrative workers of a number of Siberian and Urals oblasts, krays of the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan, a large group of secretaries of the rural rayon party committees, including kolkhoz chairmen, sovkhoz directors, and agricultural scientists to take part in today's [7 September] meeting in Tselinograd. We will talk about party and economic matters.

One can say that following the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, a stage of direct preparations for our party's 27th congress began. Intensive work is under way in the country. All labor collectives in towns and in the countryside, all spheres of life of Soviet society are involved. Currently we must resolve, all at the same time, many important and complex tasks -- tasks of today and tasks for the future.

The accountability and election campaign in party organizations gathers momentum daily. It has always constituted a big event in the life of the CPSU, and if one takes into consideration the new tasks and the fact that we are approaching the next party congress, the significance of the accountability and election campaign grows immeasurable. It is important that the campaigns will pass off in the spirit of adherence to party principles, constructive criticism and self-criticism, and high responsibility of communists to the people.

The Central Committee expects that the party organizations will emerge organizationally and ideologically strengthened; freed from all that impeded their active work; and capable of inspiring, organizing, and leading the labor collectives toward solving the tasks our country is now facing. This will be largely determined by whom the communists elect to the leading bodies of party organizations and, above all, as secretaries of primary party organizations and party committees.

The 27th CPSU Congress has to adopt the new edition of the Party Program and the main directions of the country's economic and social development for the 12th 5-Year Plan and for the period up to the year 2000. Preparation of these

documents is being completed, and after examination at the Plenum, they will be published for discussion. Such an approach to preparation of the documents when not only the leading bodies of the party and state, but also all communists, all working people, are taking part, will make it possible, we hope, to submit to the congress scientifically based proposals enriched with the experience of the whole party, the experience of the people.

Speaking of all this, I would like at the same time to voice one wish: One certainly should not wait until both the program and the main directions are adopted by the main congress, but should act vigorously even now in the spirit of the times. The main reference points have been defined, and we must go forward persistently, not giving way to difficulties, matching our practical activities with the directions of the April Plenum and the subsequent Central Committee decisions. The time in which we are living and the tasks which we have come up against demand that we be at the same time firm, decisive, and wise in carrying out our planned political course.

One of the most important demands of our work under present conditions should be the capacity to combine solving long-term tasks with solving current tasks. Working out long-term goals and setting out the aims of our socioeconomic development are very important. But at the same time, we should be clearly aware that even the most exciting plans, the most beautiful long-term prospects, if not backed up by practical work and a search for effective solutions, are worth nothing. It is a kind of Manilovism.

M.S. Gorbachev emphasized the enormous importance of present work on successfully completing the last year of the 11th 5-Year Plan. This is important for creating the groundwork for the future, a good start in the new 5-year plan which we want to make a turning point so as to infuse more dynamism into the economy and the development of Soviet society.

Each labor collective and party organization knows best of all its reserves and what has to be done to reach the level of plan tasks for the current year. Much still must be done in industry, in capital construction, in transportation, and in the sphere of service and trade. I particularly want to speak about the tasks of agriculture. For all the difficulties there are, we can count on more than last year for the harvest of grain and other agricultural products, including fodder. There are real opportunities to cope with the plans for laying-in of livestock products.

A decisive phase of the fight for this year's harvest has now begun. Satisfaction of requirements for grain, both for foodstuffs and for fodders, will to a large extent be determined by the contribution of Kazakhstan and the krais and oblasts of Siberia and the Urals. Taking this into account, the CPSU Central Committee and the government has given them much aid. And now it's up to you, comrades. We hope that the party organizations and workers of Kazakhstan and oblasts of Siberia and the Urals will carry out the grain harvest with great energy and skill and will make the country happy with a weighty contribution to the grain resources of the state.

It is obviously symbolic that following the examination in Tyumen of the state of affairs in the fuel and power complex, we are today discussing matters that

concern foodstuffs. I will say that there can be no effective economy without either the former or the latter, and that it is impossible to resolve tasks of raising the prosperity of the people and increasing of the country's economic and defense might without them.

The creation of a reliable food base is an all-party and nationwide task. The April Central Committee Plenum delivered a precise and principled directive concerning this: Realization of the Food Program is an urgent matter which demands particular attention.

The starting point, it seems, for analysis of the state of agriculture and the agro-industrial complex is the May 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. It has been a little more than 3 years since the plenum. Time has shown that we acted correctly in adopting the Food Program and a number of major decisions on topical and urgent problems connected with the development of the agro-industrial complex. Work on implementing the measures drawn up by the party is now proceeding in all directions. Profound modernization of agricultural machine-building is being carried out. Indices relating to the production of mineral fertilizers are close to meeting the tasks. The stock of improved lands has been substantially increased.

I should like to make special mention of the great scale of work which is being carried out in connection with the social transformation of rural areas. Construction of housing, cultural and domestic amenities, and roads has expanded. All this has created favorable conditions for consolidating cadres in rural areas. The implementation of major measures to improve the economic situation of kolkhozes and sovkhozes on the basis of introducing new and higher procurement prices and increments to these is having a favorable effect upon the economic position of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and upon the results of their economic activity.

To sum up in a few words the overall result of our work since the May plenum, it is possible to say that we have chosen the right direction, that we have learned much, and that we have already accomplished quite a great deal.

It is also important that attitudes toward the problems of the development of the agro-industrial complex have changed significantly throughout the country as a whole. Questions concerning the development of agriculture and the industries that are linked to it are considered to be a national task. And orders from the countryside, its needs and requirements, are at the center of attention and are being fulfilled as a priority.

The question naturally arises: What effect does this all have on the results and activity of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and other enterprises and organizations of the agro-industrial complex, and what gain has our society as a whole received overall?

As for the overall volume of production of agriculture, the final data for 1983 and 1984 show that compared with the preceding 2 years of the 5-year plan, its output increased by R22 billion, or 9 percent. Harvests of grain, potatoes, sugar beet, vegetables, and fruit have grown. During these years the average annual production of meat increased by 9 percent; milk, by 8

percent; eggs, by 6 percent. Taking the fulfillment of this year's plan into account, procurements of stockbreeding produce will exceed 1982 levels; procurements of meat (measured in live weight), will grow by 2.5 million metric tons; milk, by 9.2 million metric tons; and eggs, by 3.5 billion units.

During these years the number of farms incurring losses has decreased significantly. The level of profitability as a whole in kolkhozes and sovkhoses production rose. In 1983 the net profits of kolkhozes and sovkhoses amounted to a total of almost R24 billion and the level of profitability reached nearly 22 percent. According to these results in 1984, a year that was marked by more difficult weather conditions, these profits amounted to about R20 billion and the level of production profitability reached 18 percent.

The growth in output of agricultural produce had an effect on the per capita consumption of food products. This year the level of consumption in the country, calculated per head of the population, is 78 kg of meat and fish, including 17.7 kg of fish, 318 kg of milk, 260 eggs, 134 kg of bread, 110 kg of potatoes, 106 kg of vegetables and cucurbits, 46 kg of fruit and berries, and almost 45 kg of sugar.

How can one assess this? For total calorie content of food, we are at the level of the world's most developed countries. For meat and fruit, per capita consumption here is, so far, lower than in certain countries of the world, and somewhat less than the established rational norms of food intake. From this point of view, the most acute problem in the fulfillment of the Food Program is the production of meat. We are lagging in this respect.

As for the other products -- milk, eggs, fish, sugar, vegetables, potatoes -- their per capita consumption levels are no lower, and in some cases higher, than in many countries, which corresponds to or is close to the Food Program targets. The population's demand for bread and bakery products is being satisfied in wide variety.

But all the same, the problem of providing the population with food products is not yet fully solved. Demand for some of them exceeds what is available. This is connected with the fact that cash incomes here are rising more rapidly than output of food products. And at the same time, state prices for staple food products have been virtually stable throughout 2 decades, although the costs of producing them are rising. Meat, for example, is sold in our stores at a price two or three times lower than the expenditure. Now this difference is made up by state subsidy, which amounts to almost R20 billion a year on meat. An impressive sum, as you see.

The fact that staple foodstuffs in our country are accessible to all sections of the population is a big achievement of ours. But, in speaking of this, one cannot fail to mention something else, something which is worrying many Soviet people. More and more letters are coming to the Central Committee from the working people in which they raise the question of a disrespectful attitude to the labor of workers and peasants which is contributed to the production of bread and other agricultural produce.

"Bread is life," write Comrades Ivanov and Mangalov from the village of Magansk in Krasnoyarsk Kray. "It is our wealth, it is the strength and might of the motherland. And what is the attitude to bread? Barbarous. We must finally tackle this problem head on."

A second letter: "We have no hungry people," notes Comrade Sukhanova from Moscow. "Loaves of white bread are being thrown into the rubbish bin. Livestock can be fed on leftovers from public catering."

There are many such letters. Clearly, comrades, there is something here to ponder, both in labor collectives and in the central organs -- indeed, to put it bluntly, in every family. Our common concern is resolutely to change attitudes to bread, and indeed to other food products.

However, in all it is quite clear, that the main direction in solving the food problem is persistent work by the party and the whole people on the further development of agriculture and the agro-industrial complex as a whole.

Here, one could give several examples how the growth of the material-technical and economic possibilities in many oblasts, krays, and republics are being utilized poorly. There are still people who have not been removed from their posts who look for source of income not in high yields, not in livestock productivity, not in economical management, but in the allocation of budget allocations and bank credits.

The shortcomings and blunders have seriously affected the results of measures taken for the achievement of a greater stability of our agriculture and, above all, crop production. Today I would again like to emphasize the following: We will not be able to change the weather. There is only one way: In the specific, sometimes complex conditions it is necessary to find the most effective ways and methods to achieve high yields. This is the key problem of our work in the agro-industrial complex.

This is extraordinarily important for krays and oblasts in Siberia, the Urals, and Kazakhstan. Instability in crop growing is strongly reflected in the results of activities of kolkhozes and sovkhoses in these regions. In the 4 years of the 5-year plan, the majority of planned production tasks have not been fulfilled in Kazakhstan. The republic has a great debt in the sales of grain crops to the state; some quality indices have worsened; and field yields have fallen, as has livestock production.

In the past years the plans in the production and sales of grain crops to the state of the Urals and Siberian oblasts of the RSFSR have been systematically unfulfilled. In the past 4 years there has been a great debt in the sales of grain crops from kolkhozes of the Altay and Krasnoyarsk Krays and Novosibirsk, Orenburg, Chelyabinsk, and Kurgan Oblasts have failed to supply large enough volumes of milk and meat.

The nonfulfillment of plans in the production and sales of grain crops evokes tension in satisfying the needs of the country; consequently, this forces us to import grain crops and to spend considerable currency resources on this. We have set the task of further increasing grain production in order to fully

meet our requirements. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the party, state, and economic organs of the country's grain-producing republics, krays, and oblasts must proceed from this task in their practical activities.

To speak about the most important task, it is necessary for the country to strive in any year of unfavorable weather conditions and to produce not less than 200 million metric tons of grain crops; and in normal weather conditions, 250 or more million metric tons. This, I would say, is a strategic crops production task for the near future!

However, the problem of grain crops is not only its production, but also its rational use. We cannot make up for incomplete work in fodder production with large volumes or the use of grain crops for fodder purposes. This practice is unsuitable, it is impermissible. But it has already become deeply rooted in many rayons. Understanding the great importance of the problem, it is necessary to seek ways of solving it. Certain lessons in this respect have been learned: the procurement plans for coarse and succulent fodder were not only fulfilled but also overfulfilled in 1983 and 1984. This created conditions for ensuring higher results in the production of livestock products with a smaller volume of concentrated fodder. The production of fodder at sovkhozes and kolkhozes must be undertaken in the same way as the production of grain crops, and to no less a degree, and in no worse way. This is, so to speak, the two sides of the same coin. One must fight both for the harvest of fodder crops and for raising the quality of fodder on the basis of the use of the modern achievements of science and the accumulated experience at kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

I would even say that the problem of quality must now be given priority. Control investigations have shown that many of the country's regions are losing 20-30 percent of the nutrients as a result of the poor quality of the fodder. Inadequate work in a number of places to eliminate the shortage of fodder proteins also results in an overuse of forage grain. Many farms already understand this well and have actively taken up the resolution of the problem of protein. Others count on help from state resources. One must support the former and decisively condemn the dependent mood of the latter.

Now, when plans are being formed for the new 5-year plan period, it is very important that at every kolkhoz and sovkhoz, in each rayon, in all oblasts, krays, and republics, all problems connected with building up meat resources in the country are thoroughly considered. This is a priority task. In the final year of the 11th 5-Year Plan, a rise in meat production to the extent of 2 million metric tons deadweight is expected, compared to 1980. In order to reach the indices of the Food Program, we have to double meat production in the 12th 5-Year Plan.

All in all, the tasks in the production of grain, fodder, meat, milk, and other products indicate that we face very intensive work in the coming 5-year plan period. All workers of the agro-industrial complex and primarily our leading cadres must well understand this.

A question arises: How do we achieve what is planned; do we have the necessary conditions for this? I am answering this question which I

formulated by coming to the point, and not just for effect. I want, on behalf of the Central Committee, to say here, in no uncertain terms, that we now have such opportunities and such conditions. We are convinced of this, in particular, by the work of thousands of kolkhozes and sovkhoses, and a whole series of krays and oblasts in the years since the Central Committee May Plenum.

The primary task now facing us is to ensure a high return from all that which is today at the disposal of agriculture and the agro-industrial sector as a whole. However, the level of return on assets in the countryside remains low. In Kurgan Oblast the production assets of kolkhozes and sovkhoses in the 2 years since the May Plenum of the Central Committee have increased by nearly 13 percent, but the volume of gross production, on the contrary, has decreased by 12 percent. It is the same picture in Kustanay Oblast, where the growth of basic production assets in this period was 14 percent, whereas output of produce decreased. Reduction in the volume of agricultural produce, despite a noticeable rise in the level of provision of assets, has occurred in a number of other oblasts in the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan.

The main link with which we must come to grips in order to solve the whole chain of practical tasks facing us in the countryside is the organization of production and of the labor of personnel at state and collective farms and all enterprises of the agro-industrial complex, the widespread utilization of the already existing experience of highly productive and efficient work. Here, everything depends not only on additional capital investments, but on the businesslike attitude of our management cadres and party, soviet and economic bodies.

I should like to dwell in somewhat more detail on certain practical questions.

First, it is necessary to go over more boldly to new progressive technology, to more efficient forms for utilizing material resources, concentrating them primarily in those directions and places where they can give the greatest return. In the years of the forthcoming 5-year plan, we must give priority attention to the cultivation of grain crops on the basis of intensive technologies.

This year about 17 million hectares of wheat and virtually all the corn for grain are being cultivated by intensive technologies. In spite of all the caprices of the weather, a considerable increase in the harvest is being achieved here. According to the data of the Ministry of Agriculture and VASKHNIL [All-Union Agricultural Academy imeni Lenin], farms in many areas are obtaining 40-50 quintals per hectare of grain, or 15-20 quintals more than with the usual technology.

New technological processes are gaining ever stronger positions. Grain crops will, in accordance with proposals received from the countryside, be cultivated for the 1986 harvest with the use of intensive technological processes on an area exceeding 31 million hectares, while corn will occupy nearly 4 million hectares. Taking into account the existence of good predecessor crops, we can, in the very near future, increase the application of such technological processes to embrace an area of no less than 60 million hectares. It is also here that it is essential to concentrate, first and foremost, fertilizers, equipment, and other resources so as to obtain high guaranteed harvest yields and make grain production as stable as it must be.

However, it is not the full extent of the matter. Today we had a brief meeting with the scientists. The result of that discussion can be boiled down to the following: The main issue at the present stage is the observance of technological discipline in the fields. What is needed in agriculture is the same technological discipline as exists in steelmaking or pig iron founding, for instance. Make just a small mistake and you will have a different quality of metal. As a matter of fact, this is the stage of fieldwork we have now reached. In order to obtain the maximum effect from intensive technologies one needs skilled cadres. However, we have not achieved good professional training everywhere.

Many people in our country are accustomed to work like this: Sow, and harvest what grows, and that's all there is to it. With intensive technologies one must not work like that. This requires precisely growing the crop, fine and literate work. This is why it is necessary to teach the cadres; without profound knowledge things will not work out. This, comrades, is the reliable way of obtaining high and stable harvests. The time of general instructions and general slogans is gone. Party committees must keep this immensely important new cause under their daily supervision and, relying on science and front-ranking practice, advance in every way possible the intensive technologies in production.

Second, in many places little use is made of the opportunities residing in the mastering of scientifically based farming systems. They now exist for each zone, essentially for each farm. This is an important factor for raising the productivity of the land. It is necessary to remember in this connection that neglect of any of the elements of land cultivation violates the whole cycle of struggle for the harvest and generally reduces to naught the expenditure of labor and resources. I would especially like to talk about fallow fields. Remember, a few years ago there was heated debate: fallow fields or not fallow fields? It was science and the viewpoint based on scientific data that won in the end. Now we have 22 million hectares of fallow fields. In the

major grain-growing areas of Kazakhstan, Siberia, and the Urals, 15-20 percent of the arable land lies fallow.

Terentiy Semenovitch Maltsev -- and he is present here -- has reminded me on every occasion about fallow lands, saying that this task must be seen through to the end: If in the conditions of Siberia and the Kazakhstan Virgin Lands there is less than 20 percent of fallow land, then it is better not to have it.

We have either reached this or have come near to it now. But the results are quite mixed and they need to be properly understood. One can quote numerous examples where, during dry years, well-prepared and correctly treated fallow land provides a yield which is twice or three times higher than land which has not lain fallow before sowing. This is particularly noticeable during severe years. And the quality of the grain is significantly better than on other fields. But it is not so everywhere. Even in such oblasts -- I would say major grain-producing oblasts, such as Omsk, Saratov, Orenburn, Tselinograd Oblasts, Altay Kray -- the expansion of fallow land in the crop rotation has not yet ensured an increase in the gross grain harvest.

So what is the matter? The point is that land has been allocated as fallow land, but there is no real work on the fallow land. This is not a new question and we have discussed it already more than once. In one case, the fallow land is not plowed in time, in another case it is not treated and weeds grow there. And where are our rayon and oblast agro-industrial associations? Where are our specialists, zonal scientific research institutes? And the main thing, comrades, is how can an agronomist look at all this calmly? After all, land is his vital concern, the concern of his honor and conscience as a specialist and as a legislator for the fields.

Third: It is obvious to all of us that in the specific conditions of our country, with its extreme continental climate, its frequently recurring droughts, it is impossible to ensure a stable conduct of agricultural production without the presence of improved lands, primarily irrigated ones.

We have traveled a long way. We are implementing an impressive program of land improvement for agriculture. The scale of land improvement work will continue to expand on the basis of already developed and adopted plans. This firm line of ours was reasserted at last year's October CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

And yet, today the prime task in the area of land improvement consists not in the extension of areas but in ensuring their efficient utilization. The harvests being obtained in these lands do not correspond either to the expenditure we made in construction or to their real potential. The Ministries of Agriculture, Land Reclamation, and Water Resources and our All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni Lenin are essentially only logging this unfortunate state of affairs. There have been quite a few instructions concerning these questions but the leaders of the aforementioned organizations have not displayed party responsibility in fulfilling the decisions of the party's Central Committee and the government.

And at times it is possible to hear this sort of argument: If there were irrigated lands, the harvests would come of themselves. This, you know, recalls the arguments of inveterate extentionists. Letting things go is especially intolerable where the question of the use of irrigated lands is concerned. We must first of all ensure that the cultivation of agricultural crops on irrigated lands should everywhere be carried out using intensive technology. Furthermore, we must see to urgent measures in the fundamental improvement of the state of improved lands. It is precisely to this end that capital investments allocated should be primarily directed. This is the demand of the CPSU Central Committee and the government which must be met without fail.

The fourth issue is the problem of livestock raising. It must be recognized that despite a certain amount of progress, scientific and technical progress has as yet barely reached this industry. Many leading workers and specialists are still trying to solve the problem of increasing the production of meat, milk, and other produce through extensive factors.

When a few years ago we put forward as the basic orientation the increase of productivity, improvement of breeds, and raising of livestock productivity rather than the numerical increase of head of cattle, many reacted with incomprehension and even pain. But experience has shown that this approach fully justifies itself, and it could be no other way. This has been proved by experience of the leading farms. The last 2 or 3 years, when the head of cows and other cattle in the country have virtually not increased, and the head of cows has even decreased slightly, have nevertheless been marked by not a great, but a steady increase in the production and procurement of livestock produce.

We must continue to concentrate our attention not on increasing the head of cattle because this entails heavy expenditure for the construction of new livestock farms and the personnel to service them, but on the decisive introduction of intensive methods of production. Probably there are and there will be rayons and even oblasts where it is necessary also to increase the total number of animals if the fodder production is also developing at an accelerated rate. However the main attention must be paid to the intensification of livestock breeding.

If the delivery weight of every head of cattle were increased even by 50 kg, we would obtain an additional 1.5 million metric tons of meat in live weight from the same number of heads of cattle. This will be much more inexpensive and economical than obtaining the same additional amount of meat by means of increasing the total number of animals whose numbers would require, in that case, an increase of almost 5 million head.

A change of approach is also required in our daily farming. More active efforts must be made to implement the opportunities which are opened up by selection and breeding work and by new technology with balanced feeding. This is the main condition for high productivity. If we obtained from our existing number of cattle an average milk yield of only 3,000 kg per head, we would have more milk than we would know what to do with.

The questions of intensification of livestock breeding and of increasing the cattle and poultry productivity are of topical importance for oblasts and krays in Siberia and Kazakhstan. Great attention must be devoted to this.

M.S. Gorbachev further dwelt on the problem of improving the storing and processing of agricultural products, characterizing it as a most important problem for the 12th 5-Year Plan period. Criticizing in this connection both the central departments that are responsible for creating the material and technical basis for the storing and processing of these products, and the local party and soviet organs whose duty it is to find the resources for solving this task, he stressed the need for ensuring an accelerated development of branches of the third sphere of the agro-industrial complex and especially an accelerated development of machine building for the food industry.

This problem cannot be solved without the participation of other ministries, too. Local party and soviet organs must apply themselves to fulfilling this most important state task and to determining what concretely must and can be accomplished locally to modernize and reconstruct the enterprises of the food, milk, and meat industries, vegetable bases, and the production and installation of cold storage equipment.

Using our talks, I want to note that there are questions which wholly depend on you, comrades. Does it really constitute a problem for some of the largest cities, oblast and kray centers, with their enormous industrial potential and dozens of constructions trusts, to build the necessary facilities for storing fruit and vegetable products and for their marketing? I have been told that in Tselinograd the field-to-store cycle has been well worked out. This is a great matter. And wherever this is not done, it is not because of any difficulties but because of a careless attitude toward an important task. This cannot be characterized in any other way, because what is involved here are the everyday needs of the people and the growth of the people's material well-being.

I also want to turn attention so that the construction ministries do not move the construction and modernization of installations of the food sectors of the country's industry into the background. We will hope that the construction workers, too, will learn lessons from our conversation now.

And one further question: The technological and organizational reconstruction which we are carrying out in agricultural production and connected sectors demands new approaches, in the realization of the possibilities of our scientific research establishments, too. Of course, agricultural science has done and does a lot. Everybody knows that. But today we cannot be satisfied with what has been achieved.

The Central Committee sets the task of intensification of science itself. It is a question of turning it into a genuine catalyst for speeding up progress in the countryside. And here, first and foremost, it is a matter of radically raising the level and successfulness of scientific research.

We are now at a stage when the development of the key directions of scientific and technical progress and fundamental work on topical problems of biology and biotechnology should be more thoroughly tackled. This question was recently discussed by the Politburo and a detailed decision was adopted. Scientists' work shows that achievements in this field can sharply raise the intensity of major biological processes.

The progressive directions in science and modern methodological and methodical approaches open great possibilities for selection work. The application of genetic and cell engineering can greatly speed up the creation of disease-resistant strains, which have high drought resistance and hardiness and are adapted to the natural conditions of every region. This also concerns the raising of new, more-productive breeds, cross-breeds of livestock and poultry.

At present the problems of scientific provisions for agriculture are such that they require wide participation of scientists from various fields of knowledge. And here I would like to appeal to the USSR Academy of Sciences to continue expanding its cooperation with the USSR Academy of Agricultural Sciences and agro-industrial scientific institutions. It is precisely the deep integration of fundamental science with scientific institutions of the agro-industrial complex that harbors great reserves for raising the level of agrarian science and the effectiveness of its influence on agricultural production.

We should be more concerned about putting the achievements of research into practice. There can be different forms of this, but experience has shown that the most rational of these are scientific and production associations. This has now been verified and proven by many years of practice.

We are all united in understanding the necessity for the speediest implementation of the tasks in the field of the agro-industrial complex, continued M.S. Gorbachev. I do not doubt that we are also united about the fact that great organizational and political work is required for this. The answer to the question of how to make it more influential and yield better results is given by the decisions of the April Plenum, the materials of the CPSU Central Committee conference on problems of scientific and technical progress, and other party documents. The ideas, propositions, and conclusions contained in these documents must be persistently and consistently implemented.

Enterprising work is needed in the country's agrarian sector. This concerns all our cadres -- party, soviet, economic and trade union. It applies to all levels of the party.

Initiative-taking, enterprising, thoroughly thought-out work by party organizations will make it possible to bring into use deep reserves of production and to ensure a high return from the production, economic, and cadre potentials created in the countryside! It is precisely this which must now be emphasized. Here I would like to say something about the role of our rural raykoms. There are now 3,200 of them. They include over 49,000 kolkhoz and sovkhoz party organizations. There are now 6.5 million communists in rural areas. This is more than one-third of the membership of our party.

With such a force, with such a vanguard, one can achieve truly great deeds, both in production and in the social sphere. The party Central Committee thinks highly of the activities of this most important link of our party, of the contribution made by the party committees to the implementation of the political course of the party, and in particular in such a highly important aspect of its organization as the implementation of the Food Program.

However, along with this, it is necessary to make certain criticisms too. A study made by Central Committee departments of the activities of a number of oblast party organizations showed that many raykoms are slow to reorganize their work and at times forget that the party committee is an organ of political leadership.

Some raykoms stray into an incorrect style of work. It is sometimes difficult to tell the forms and methods of work of the party committee from those of an economic organ. Not everywhere is attention paid to raising the level of ideological work.

Work with cadres represents an acute question for the rural raykom. Heads of kolkhozes and sovkhoses are indeed the golden reserve of our cadres. It is necessary to value highly and increase the prestige of the difficult work of the chairmen and directors, so that in each rayon, in each oblast, kray, and republic there takes shape and consolidates a stable body of cadres who are leaders of farms.

M.S. Gorbachev said in conclusion:

Such a discussion and consultation held on the eve of the next party congress and on the eve of the new 5-year plan period assume special importance not only for this large agricultural region but also for our entire country and for all our people.

All conditions exist in Kazakhstan, Siberia, and in the Urals in the current year for the plans for sales of grain crops to the state to be handled successfully and for a major contribution to be made to the country's food resources. This will be a good present for the next, 27th Party Congress (sustained applause).

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SPEECH AND CONCLUDING REMARKS BY M.S. GORBACHEV AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING WITH VETERANS OF THE STAKHANOV MOVEMENT, LEADING WORKERS AND INNOVATORS OF PRODUCTION 20 SEPTEMBER 1985

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pp 31-40

[Text] Dear comrades:

Permit me, on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, to greet you heartily, veteran Stakhanovites, who have been at the source of a movement which embodies the valor, honor and heroism of the working man; you frontrankers and innovators in production, who are worthily continuing the unfading traditions of the labor feat.

These is good reason for our meeting. Half a century has passed since the day when the Stakhanovite spark of the labor upsurge fired the multimillion-strong movement of working people. I think it will be right for us not merely to recall the exciting events of those years, but also to consider how best to use the mobilizing possibilities of the socialist competition to solve the urgent tasks of the present.

The importance of the Stakhanovite movement is great and permanent. In it is clearly manifested the creative principle which Vladimir Ilich Lenin saw perspicaciously in the experience of the first communist subbotniks: "...the deliberate and voluntary initiative of the workers in the development of labor productivity; in the changeover to new labor discipline; and in the creativity of socialist conditions in the economy and life." ("Pol. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 39, p 18).

What a deep and wide-ranging definition, comrades, so greatly in keeping with the tasks of our own crucial times.

The Stakhanov movement was born during unforgettable years. The young Soviet state, literally outdistancing time, was carrying out industrialization at a headlong pace. Efficiency of labor had to be raised rapidly, new forms of labor organization had to be found, and the opportunities created by technical reconstruction and by the renewal of the material production base had to be used to the full.

The Stakhanov movement reflected the new attitude toward labor, which Maksim Gorkiy called the fiery explosion of mass energy. A mighty splash of the creative forces of the young country and its working class and peasantry took place: of course, not suddenly. It was prepared by the entire course of shaping new social relations and the purposeful work of the party.

A number of years have passed since then, but today, with admiration and pride, we recall the names of those who founded the Stakhanov movement. Whatever the name, the personality was a vivid, talented, and original one. All of them were from the ordinary people: the miners Aleksey Stakhanov and Nikita Izotov, the forge operator Aleksandr Busygin, mine party organizer Konstantin Petrov, steelworker Makar Mazay, milling machine operator Ivan Gudov, steam locomotive engineer Petr Krivonos, footwear last worker Nikolay Smetanin, weavers Yevdokiya and Mariya Vinogradova, combine harvester operator Konstantin Borin, tractor drivers Pasha Angelina and Praskovya Kavardak, surarbeet growers Mariya Demchenko and Mariya Gnatenko, and many, many others.

"Stakhanovite" and "in Stakhanov fashion" are a symbol of initiative; a symbol of the struggle for everything that is frontranking and against that which is obsolete and outmoded. The Stakhanov movement is not only a social phenomenon, but also a moral one which has revealed the spiritual beauty of the man of the new society. The pioneers of that movement have become true heroes of the country. People set their standards by them, people learned how to live from them, and they were followed by factory workers, kolkhoz members, the intelligentsia and young people.

I speak about this not just to pay tribute to history. When one looks at the Stakhanovite veterans and today's labor frontrankers sitting in this hall, one thinks of the organic link between the times, of how the baton of socialist traditions is passes on. In the half century that has passed, both equipment and people have changed, but the traditions of the Stakhanov movement have not moved into the past. Particularly pertinent to our times is the pioneer Stakhanovites' indomitable spirit of innovation, their striving to get the maximum possible from their equipment, and their boldness in breaking with outmoded standards and psychological habits.

Today the party has embarked on a course of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, of scientific and technological progress, and of persistently strengthening discipline and order in everything. The task before us is to give the economy a greater degree of dynamism, to switch it into the track of intensification and to bring about the utmost growth in production efficiency. This course fully takes into account and -- to be more precise -- expresses the aspirations and mood of the working people.

The 27th CPSU Congress will definitely set out our plans and policy for both the short and long term. In the main, however, we already have an idea of how the national economic complex should develop in the 12th 5-year period and up to the start of the third millenium; we see where the crucial link is and which levers must first be pulled. In three 5-year periods industrial potential must grow to the same extent as was created in the entire preceding years of Soviet power. And what is more, this must be achieved -- and this is the crux of the matter -- by means of intensification of the economy.

Life itself dictates this pace. It is dictated by the need to raise the well-being of the Soviet people and to maintain the country's defense capability at a level which unconditionally guarantees the security of our state and its allies. In a word, following the Leninist course, we had to make a responsible historic choice. And the party did so: To attain, by vitally speeding up socioeconomic progress, a new and high-quality state of society. And we will proceed along this path. We will proceed consistently without deviating. The center of attention should now be shifted to practical implementation of the planned measures, to specific deeds, to the hard, everyday work of all, without exception, be it worker, kolkhoz member, specialist, scientist, or enterprise or sector manager.

Not long ago I visited the oil and gas area of Western Siberia and the virgin lands of Kazakhstan. Discussions with workers and specialists were serious and frank. The main result from these discussions is that the Soviet worker, peasant, engineer and scientist, is profoundly aware of his responsibility for solving the tasks facing the country. There is a clear understanding that it has become essential not only to move forward, but to make a genuine breakthrough along the entire front of scientific and technical progress and to effect a decisive change in the development of the economy.

In these new conditions, people's activeness and their lively interest in changes are noticeably growing. They are searching for innovative solutions to problems and more effective forms of organizing socialist competition. This is shown in the workers' mass initiative which recently came into being.

Thus, collectives of enterprises in Moscow and Leningrad are struggling to achieve the entire growth in production volume through technical progress and maximum utilization of equipment. Machine builders in the Ukraine have pledged to guarantee the entire growth in output in the 12th 5-year period without increasing consumption of rolled ferrous metals or raising the number of workers. Metallurgical workers in Lipetsk, Nizhniy Tagil, and Cherepovets are striving for high production indices by making better use of capacities and secondary resources, and by raising the quality of output. A good number of enterprises are attaining high final results on the basis of improving job certification and job efficiency. Universal support has been given to the initiative of labor collectives which had decided to work at least 2 days this year on economized materials.

I particularly wish to mention the important initiative of the Volga Automobile Production Association, which was approved by the CPSU Central Committee. Its essence is in the fact that the collective has worked out concrete proposals for increasing production efficiency and the quality of output, which exceed considerably the control figures for the 12th 5-Year Plan fixed by the ministry. It has been decided to considerably increase labor productivity, to reduce the amount of metal used per motor vehicle, and to reduce fuel consumption while increasing by 1.5 times the guaranteed mileage of new vehicle models. The collective has asked for the proposals to be included in the state plan.

It is worth noting that the accelerated workrate at this Volga plant is, to a considerable extent, connected with the experience of start-to-finish cost accounting, from the enterprise to each brigade, to each work place. This is a worthy response to the appeal of the party to place all reserves to the service of the national economy and an example of the approach of a good manager to the matter.

As we can see, the frontranking collectives today focus above all on the quality indices of labor; the mastery of new equipment and technology, the economic use of resources, the absolute fulfillment of contractual obligations and the increase of efficiency of production. I name only individual features of the competition. Its experience is as rich and varied as life itself.

And of course, it is vastly important for the worker himself to become the master of production, to become attuned to the scales and the new elements of the present tasks. For competition is one of the most important areas in the development of working people's creativity; one of the basic ways for self-assertion and enhancement of the Soviet man, for the expression and public recognition of his ability, talent and civic qualities.

In a word, we have been successful, we have seen the first results. But this is only the beginning of our great work. Before us are tasks of a large scale which have to be solved consistently and steadily. They concern all spheres of life. They demand the highest level of responsibility of all links of management. We will continue to implement persistently and consistently a course of reorientation of the economy's cadres in the spirit of the new approaches and demands put forward by the Party.

But in the final reckoning, comrades, the success of the job is determined in workers' collectives, at associations and enterprises, in shops, brigades and workplaces; it is determined by the energy, wits, and, I would say, the heart, honor and conscience of every worker. To work conscientiously for the general well-being, to strictly observe discipline, to show responsibility and initiative, to care about the interests of the state as though they were one's own -- that, in essence, is what is required of everyone.

All levers, economic and social, must be brought into action in these aims, all stimuli, material and moral. In this context, I would like to draw particular attention to the importance of the sort of encouragement which cannot be measured in rubles; the practice of bygone years and of today shows the extent to which it is important to notice, support, and elevate in good time the conscientious labor of workers, kolkhoz members, specialists and scientists, and all those who augment the glory of the motherland.

Sometimes it is not easy for those in the vanguard; the wind, as the saying goes, does not always blow in their sails. Established traditions have to be broken, stagnation and incomprehension must be overcome. But every innovator is the country's pride and glory, a great attribute of socialist society. Such people must be supported, their names and deeds must be known by the whole country and every labor collective.

While comprehensively encouraging enterprising and highly productive labor, it is, at the same time, necessary to severely penalize those who work haphazardly, violate labor and technological discipline, and continue turning out defective products. In letters reaching the Central Committee, working people suggest that more effective legal, material, administrative and other measures be employed against those who do not want to work conscientiously. That will be just. This is the way we must act. Indeed, the new mechanism of economic management, to which an ever increasing number of enterprises and industries are being converted, aims at this.

The Central Committee believes that the working class, the peasantry, engineering and technical cadres, employees and the intelligentsia will display creative activity and will spare no efforts to see that the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development becomes a reality and the lives of Soviet people become richer materially and spiritually, fuller and more meaningful.

Comrades, V.I. Lenin considered the ability "to evoke both **COMPETITION AND INITIATIVE AMONG THE MASSES** [uppercase passage published in boldface] so that they get down forthwith to the matter at hand" (op. cit., vol 52, p 39.), to be extremely important. At the present time, virtually all the working people are participating in socialist competition, but in my opinion the return from labor competition is not always what it should be. There are various reasons for this. One of the main reasons is that competition forms and methods by no means fully accord with the nature of the present stage of economic development. In many collectives, socialist competition proceeds in its own way, as it were, without a firm and profound connection with work to convert the economy on to an intensive footing, to speed up scientific and technological progress, to restructure the economic management mechanism and to extensively introduce collective forms of labor organization.

This situation must be radically changed. If we have really set about uncovering reserves and making the maximum use of all that we possess, let us take a fresh look from this standpoint at competition itself. On the whole it lacks as yet a more clear-cut orientation toward priority goals: improving labor productivity and production quality and economizing resources.

Pace, quality, thrift, and organization: these are the main catchwords of the day. Making use of our meeting, I would like to speak yet again about the need to decisively improve the quality of output. This concerns a whole group of questions: economic, political and moral. The low quality of output is nothing other than squandering, the direct waste of both the people's property and a person's labor. Let us take the example of consumer goods. One can understand the customer who is perplexed as to why we know how to make spacecraft and nuclear-powered vessels, yet modern household appliances, shoes and clothes are often defective. This has not only material, but also moral and political costs.

There is no secret as to why this happens. One of the main reasons is the low demands made on the quality of output and weak technological discipline. Here, a lot depends on the labor collectives themselves. We are convinced that workers and kolkhoz members, scientists and specialists, engineering and

technical workers, and economic managers will start to struggle to ensure that no Soviet product should be inferior to its best world counterparts or that it will be superior to them.

While speaking of quality, I would like to point out that quantity indices have still not lost their significance. Today, also it is necessary to produce more grain, vegetables and meat; to extract more coal and oil; and to produce more consumer goods. In a number of industries the increase of output will continue to be an important index of labor competition. But there is another obvious point: We cannot increase production of, let us say, energy and raw material resources, to infinity. We must learn to use in a thrifty way every ton of metal, oil, and fertilizer; every kilowatt of electricity; and every cubic meter of timber.

This is why competition must involve thrift and the efficient use of labor, material and financial resources. I have already had occasion to speak on this theme. But, taking into account the fact that a change for the better is happening only slowly, I would like to stress yet again: Economy, thrift, and the rational use of the production potential we have built up are our closest reserve and the decisive condition for raising the efficiency of the national economy.

Every concrete step in this direction must be treasured and strict exactions must be made for waste. Otherwise, look at what happens sometimes: One sees posters in a shop or plant yard calling for economy and thrift, while the territory of the plant is chock-a-block with scrap metal and equipment which has not been installed on schedule. So you see: Appeals and words are one thing, but deeds are something quite different.

Comrades: In performing the tasks facing society it is hard to overrate the role of the trade unions. The holy of holies in their work is care -- care for social and cultural needs, for the conditions of work and life, for the rest and recreation of the working people. But these tasks cannot be carried out successfully without a systematic and persistent struggle for the highest possible labor productivity and for discipline and good organization in production. There are no ways to create benefits other than efficient work. For this reason, the protection of the working people's interests through an increase in productivity is one of the most important duties of the trade unions and all production collectives.

To this end, more active use should be made than at present of the Law on Labor Collectives. In them are focused all the problems of our life. In the labor collectives plans are implemented, new ideas are tried out, and cadres are molded. It is not a fleeting "glance from above", but close study and consideration of the situation in the lower links that will help, for example, to more energetically introduce brigade cost accounting. I stress: cost accounting.

In the brigade -- this you know well -- each person is open to view. The members of the collective themselves assess the extent of participation of each in the joint labor. Here, there is fuller realization of the principles of social fairness, both in earnings and in other material and moral forms of

incentive. It is difficult here to dodge and hide behind other's backs and the link between pledges and end results of production is clearer.

So, to a considerable extent, the creation of an atmosphere of daily and painstaking searching for reserves in the collective, of exigency, as they say, "horizontally" and "vertically," depends on the trade union. However, the impression is often created that the trade union committee appears to be taking part in everything, but has not defined where it should apply its main efforts. As a result, much enthusiasm -- as often happens in the organization of competition -- is squandered on "paper," on "inventing" and "drawing up" measures.

Formalism is the sworn enemy of the competition and the direct creativity of the masses. It is no secret that sometimes pledges are produced like carbon copies and those taking part are merely handed them to sign. The indicators of the competition are fixed without taking into account the specific situation at the enterprise or sector. Consider the personal pledges of the competitors. Of themselves they are a good thing. But what is the point of a worker or engineer copying out what are essentially the direct responsibilities of his job and then giving his word to carry them out? This is a distortion of the very idea of the competition.

The following issue should also be thought about. Are there not too many forms of competitions and initiatives? This is not always a good thing. The most valuable aspect of the competition is the achievement of high results; the engendering of frontranking production experience, innovative ways and methods of work. If one correlates numerous initiatives with their real return, then one cannot but come to the conclusion that far from all of them have been sufficiently thought through.

I believe that it is in precisely this direction that the work of the trade union and economic management bodies should be intensified. Real matters must be substituted for by putting forward high-sounding slogans; live work must not be replaced by the implementation of large numbers of far-fetched measures.

There are other issues which have become ripe: Responsibility for the provision of organizational and technical support for the competition, for the economic foundation of the pledges, and for their intensity; overcoming leveling in the provision of incentives to the winners; and raising the prestige of the frontranker. Precise criteria are required, both for successes and for failures. I expect that those taking part in the meeting will express their views on these and other issues.

Today allow me to also touch on another difficult problem, the struggle against drunkenness. The measures that have been taken are warmly supported by the working people, although there are those who are dissatisfied. Results that give grounds for hope can already be seen. Consumption of wine and vodka manufacture has been reduced. People have taken more intolerant attitudes toward drunkenness. There is more order on the streets of towns and villages, as there is in production also. I will tell you that injuries have been

sharply reduced over the past 3 months. This has made it possible to maintain the health of thousands of people, and there can be nothing dearer than that.

This means that this great cause has not been launched in vain. We will rigorously implement what has been mapped out. We understand that there is long, hard work to be done in introducing sobriety as a norm of life in our society. We have sufficient endurance, the more so given the fact that in implementing this line the CPSU Central Committee relies upon the support of all the people, upon the maturity and the strength of public opinion.

Comrades: The Stakhanov movement has one special feature. It was conceived in a youthful environment; its initiators were not older than 30. This is natural, for no task which is at all sizeable or historical can be accomplished without the energetic, active and versatile participation of young people. Today, as never before, it is important to fully utilize the energy of the young generation in accomplishing the grandiose innovative tasks which our society faces.

Sometimes there is talk about modern youth being slow to reach civic maturity, while some people from the older generation even grumble about this. But, if we take a most exacting look, then we can be satisfied with contemporary Soviet youth. Our young men and women are the children and grandchildren of those who, in the years of industrialization, set labor productivity records never seen in those days; of those who, in the hard times of war, were the first to rise in the attack, to throw themselves bodily onto the gunports, who rammed enemy planes and tanks in battles. These are the children and grandchildren of those who turned virgin soil, who extracted oil and gas in the Arctic tundra and the Siberian taiga. These are our children and grandchildren, these are our comrades-in-arms who, today as well, are showing the world the loftiest examples of labor, service and loyalty to the fatherland. It is they who are building BAM, erecting new cities, growing grain and loyally performing their service in defending the country's borders.

The party and the people highly value the contribution of Soviet youth to socialist and communist construction. We trust our youth in everything; we care about the fact that wide possibilities should be open for their self-development, for them to show their capabilities in all areas of production and public life.

Our socialist cause will only benefit if party committees and economic bodies, together with the Komsomol, can find ways and forms for a fuller use of the energy and the talents, the interests in everything that is new, the objection to routine and conservatism, the healthy ambition of young working innovators, engineers and scientists, including through competition. It is also necessary to place promising specialists into commanding roles in production, science, management and culture in good time. This always justifies itself.

No doubt, you have seen one of the programs in the television series "You Can Do This." It was about craftsmen who had built their own cars. Many models were shown, but one stood out niticeably. It was built by two young Leningrad workers; Dmitriy Parfenov, who is attending evening classes at an institute, and Gennadiy Khayinov, who has completed a technical college course on

constructing ship's instruments. In 3 years, these 25-year-old boys constructed a car of their own design. They displayed a high level of technical ability and an innovative way of thinking. I think it was right to allocate a special laboratory for these master craftsmen to continue their work.

I have dealt with this problem on purpose to underline the fact that we need, by all possible ways, to open opportunities for the technical creativity of youth. And not only to open, but to also create all the necessary conditions for the creative potential of youth to be directed to the solution of problems connected with the acceleration of society's socioeconomic development. At present, proposals are being prepared on these questions, which will be examined by the CPSU Central Committee.

A year ago, the CPSU Central Committee passed the decree "On the Further Improvement of the Party Leadership of the Komsomol and the Increase of its Role in the Communist Education of Youth." It has been discussed, in a businesslike fashion, in party and Komsomol organizations and has, no doubt, highlighted the fact that life in the Komsomol has been active, more saturated with practical, vital deeds. The interest in urgent tasks has intensified, there is less formalism, but much more is to be done.

What are we talking about? About the need for the Komsomol to persistently implement Lenin's behest -- to learn communism, to learn every day, in the factory and in the field, in the classroom and the laboratory -- to be able to combine everyday work with a communist outlook for the future. All that which youth is interested in, is anxious and concerned about, all this is indeed the Komsomol's concern. The style and methods of its work have to be of a vivid and absorbing character. They have to be young and youthful, both in essence and form, free from over-organization, from working in fits-and-starts, and from trumpery of all kinds, on which much energy and means are still being spent.

Comrades, an especially crucial period has started in the life of the country -- the fate of plans for the current year and the 5-year plan as a whole is being decided; the scope of preparations for the next CPSU congress is spreading. This sets the tone of the life and activity of party organizations, labor collectives, and the whole social atmosphere.

Today, when the party is interpreting what has been done and is defining more precisely the course for the future, it is important for us to know your opinions and suggestions on the most burning topics of the day. The Central Committee constantly and attentively heeds the voice of working people, collective farmers, specialists, and scientists, and checks its policy with the experience of the masses. There can be no other way. The cause of the party is the cause of the people.

The party is confident that the problems facing society can be successfully solved. It is confident because it has at its disposal a clear program of actions and relies upon the creative strength of the people, good organization and discipline, and the high political and professional standards of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia. The implementation of the party

line will make our motherland even richer and stronger, and will make the life of Soviet people even better and our development even more dynamic.

In the name of this, in the name of our great ideals, it is worth living, it is worth laboring, it is worth struggling (sustained applause)!

Dear comrades: I believe that all of us were pleased to meet here. Every one of you has something to tell, for you stood at the origins of the Stakhanov movement and were its active perpetuators. You personally are the living history of our homeland.

You, comrades, are proving through your work that, in the final account, everything depends on the person. When it became necessary to cover within a short historical period a distance equalling centuries for other peoples and states and to resolve tremendous socialist construction problems, under the leadership of the communist party the Soviet people created a powerful industrial base and rapidly developed their production forces, thanks to which they were able to crush the fascist military machine which imperialism had aimed against us.

This was the result of the dedicated work of all Soviet people. This was the service rendered by the senior generation. Today, on behalf of the entire people we give tremendous thanks to those who were then the banners of innovation, to the Stakhanov movement.

In the days during which we are celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Stakhanov movement this nationwide gratitude is deserved, for the traditions of those years are immortal. Here as well, in this hall, the veterans are surrounded by the young who will also have their say and lead through personal example.

The shock Stakhanovite movement is continuing. This movement, which enjoys the support of the people -- the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia -- will live always. It will always act as the party's support in the solution of new broad problems. That is why the Central Committee sees to it that everything gained in the field of labor innovation over these past 50 years is not only preserved but also multiplied.

The tasks which face us are tremendous. They are great not only because the country must, as I said, accomplish in 15 years as much as has been accomplished during all preceding years of socialist construction. They are tremendous also because we must reach our targets through the use of different methods, above all the achievements of scientific and technical progress. We have everything that is necessary to ensure such fast progress. We have a developed science, highly skilled working class and peasantry and the necessary material resources. In a word, we have the necessary forces, and no lack of patriotism and a creative attitude toward labor on the part of our people.

It is important that all of this be put to work. It was properly said here that matters cannot be reduced to a question of rubles in the use of incentives for highly productive work. Even more important to the working

person, not to mention the frontrankers and innovators, is the moral incentive, the recognition of services rendered to society.

Once again at this meeting we have obtained confirmation that in our work matters must be developed in such a way as to enable the entire people, production frontrankers above all, actively to participate in our work. Metaphorically speaking, they are the flower of society. They are people with a high charge of energy, patriotism and responsibility. Who if not they should participate in drafting and passing laws and making economic and political decisions? They must be represented in all of our state bodies, from top to bottom. Their word must be heard, for it contains the irreplaceable experience of the people.

Generally speaking, we see our tasks as being the following: Bring to light the tremendous possibilities inherent in the Soviet person and in his character through new means of organizational, political and economic work.

We are trying to publicize our projects in all realms of social life. The people must know both the good and the bad, so that they may increase the good and wage an irreconcilable fight against the bad. This, precisely is the way it should be under socialism. We must burn out with a red-hot iron from our socialist family, our socialist society, embellishment and whitewashing. In brief, we need healthy labor, a healthy society and a healthy mentality, things which are naturally inherent in a socialist way of life.

As far as the foreign policy of the party and the Soviet state are concerned, we are doing everything possible to safeguard peace. You can rest assured that we are doing this fully aware of our responsibility.

Comrades! This was a good meeting. It was good because many useful and valuable things were said here by you. The party's Central Committee will make a close study of your suggestions and take them into consideration in its practical work.

I congratulate you once again on your anniversary. Thank you, once again for your tremendous toil and dedication to the cause. I wish you good health, so that the veterans may continue to work for many more years with the young people, for the glory of the homeland. My best wishes also to the young, who are now assuming the main responsibility for the implementation of our plans. Please present the best wishes of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet government for the good health and prosperity to your families and fellow-workers (sustained applause).

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ADDRESS BY M.S. GORBACHEV ON FRENCH TELEVISION

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pp 41-51

[Text] On September 30, Mikhail Gorbachev received Yves Mourousi, Alain d'Anvers and Dominique Bromberger, journalists of the French Television Company TF-1, on the occasion of his upcoming official visit to France.

Follows the text of M.S. Gorbachev's address to the French television viewers and his replies to the questions of representatives of the TF-1 Television Company.

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. Good evening, dear friends.

I am glad to have an opportunity to meet the French television viewers on the eve of the visit to your country. I must say that I am looking forward with much interest to the new meeting with France, her people, political leaders and public figures.

I share the opinion of the president of the republic that the forthcoming meeting is of a special nature for many reasons. We will certainly judge it by its results but now I will say that we are preparing for the meeting with a sense of high responsibility, and, on our part, will do our utmost for it to be fruitful.

As far as bilateral relations are concerned, we are convinced that the development of Soviet-French cooperation accords with the vital interests of both peoples. The best proof of that is historical experience. When Russia and France, the Soviet Union and France cooperated, this served the best interests of both of them, of the whole of Europe and of the whole world for that matter. Conversely, alienation and enmity were detrimental to our national interests and adversely affected the international atmosphere.

One cannot strike from of history the fact that Soviet people and Frenchmen were brothers-in-arms in the struggle against fascism. He would betray the memory of the fallen in that sacred struggle, if we forgot how the French pilots of the regiment "Normandy-Neman" heroically fought against the fascists in Soviet skies, while Soviet partisans fought in the ranks of the Maquisards on French soil. Twenty million Soviet people died in that terrible war. They

died for our and your freedom. Frenchmen, too, sacrificed their lives for your and our freedom. More than twenty thousand Soviet anti-fascist fighting men are buried in France. I know that their memory is revered in your country. The Soviet people is grateful to you for that.

But it is not only the joint victory that brings the Soviet and French peoples closely together. Our cooperation in many fields -- in the economy and trade, literature and the arts, is deeply rooted in centuries. All this is indicative of the good fundamentals, good traditions and deep roots of our relations. Their development and strengthening, and I am saying it with great confidence, serves our common interests. It is very important not only to continue, but also to deepen the dialogue, accord and cooperation between the USSR and France.

On the whole, as it seems to us, our relations are taking shape quite well. The volume of trade has quadrupled in 10 years. We are gratified by that, and I believe this also serves the best interests of France. Yet economic relations could be more active and diversified. This is our belief. The same goes for cooperation in science and technology, whose impressive symbol was the joint flight of Soviet and French cosmonauts. The exchanges in the field of culture and education, tourism and public contacts are fruitful.

I hope that the forthcoming Soviet-French meeting will give a fresh impetus to the development of political, trade, economic, scientific, technical, cultural and other relations between the Soviet Union and France. But we view this meeting as a major event not only in bilateral relations. Accord and cooperation, as it was recorded in the Principles of Soviet-French Relations in 1971, are designed to become a "permanent policy in their relations and a permanent factor of international life."

Another reason for the urgency of my meeting with President Mitterrand is the aggravation of the international situation. There is little comfort in what is happening in the world today. At any rate, judging by deeds rather than by words, international tensions are growing. The threat of a nuclear missile catastrophe is not lessening. We must face this bitter truth. Mountains of arms have been stockpiled. Yet their production and modernization are being stepped up. Europe is literally crammed with military bases and deadly weapons. Today it is no longer enough to say that it is a "powder keg." It is a much more explosive concentration of the latest means of destruction of human beings. But even this proves to be not enough: new gigantic armament programs and most dangerous strategic concepts are being feverishly drawn up and implemented, although Europe is too small and too fragile for power politics, as, for that matter, is the whole of our planet -- the earth.

I am saying all this in the belief that today nobody has the right to be a passive onlooker of what is going on. So much distrust and suspicion have accumulated in the world that it will, perhaps, take quite a lot of effort and time to remove the road blocks. But without that, without an appropriate, I would say, psychological change of attitude, and certainly, without political will-power, it will be difficult to change the situation for the better, if possible at all. The destiny of every nation, of every person, whether an

ordinary citizen or a political figure, is being decided in foreign policy now.

To survive and to ensure a future for our children and grandchildren it is necessary to curb the forces of madness, the forces of war and militarism. The flames of war should be put out before they flare up.

Can it be done: We believe that this is possible. We already have positive experience, on which it is possible to base ourselves -- the successes of detente. They have preserved their vital force. A consistent observance of all provisions of the Helsinki Final Act can again improve the climate in Europe and disperse the clouds, which have gathered over the continent.

Once Voltaire dreamt of the triumph of reason as an indispensable condition for normal human life. This call by the great son of France is particularly topical today, when the crossbow and sword have been replaced with nuclear weapons. We will have enough time to find out whose ideology, whose view and laws are more moral and whose economy is more rational. History will have enough time for a peaceful competition of ways of life to ensure for people an opportunity to make a voluntary choice, on their own, to determine what social system is more to their liking. Yes, we are different, but nothing can be done about that, such is the will of history.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it is doing and will further do everything in its power in order to live in peace with states belonging to other systems. Moreover, this is precisely the principle which underlies our approach to the solution of international problems. We are guided by that also in our home policy.

Now I will speak in brief about our domestic affairs. About 277 million people live in the Soviet Union now. Historical experience has convinced us that the peoples of Russia made the right choice in 1917 by making the revolution, by destroying exploitation and social and national oppression. The Soviet people are proud of their country's achievements, in particular, the fact that for more than 50 years now there has been no unemployment in the country. The right to work is enshrined in the Constitution and is secured by a system of corresponding social and economic measures. There is no deficit in the state budget.

Our people, just like any other one, wants to live better and is gratified that in the past two decades real per capita incomes have doubled, and that prices of staple foodstuffs did not increase. More than 2 million apartments are built in the Soviet Union every year. Housing is provided free of charge, and the rent accounts for three percent of a family's budget, on the average. The health of people and their spiritual development will remain our major concern. Mind you, we have succeeded in achieving a good deal in this field. There are more than 6 million engineers, 1.5 million scientific workers, and more than a million physicians in the country. A system of free public education and health care has been established and is functioning.

The Soviet Union integrates more than a hundred nations and nationalities. The assertion of the principle of the equality of peoples in all spheres of

Society's life was one of the principal gains of the revolution. Of the 15 union republics and 38 autonomous administrative units, many were in the position of backward outlying regions at the time the revolution was accomplished. Nowadays they not only enjoy equal economic and political rights but have also created their powerful economies and have made great strides in science, culture and education.

Soviet people see not only their achievements and successes but also their weaknesses and shortcomings. You possibly know that all that is discussed in our society widely, openly, on a democratic basis. We consider it important to focus attention precisely on unsolved problems and are striving to accelerate the economic and social development of the country and to improve the people's life. We keenly react to negligence and irresponsibility. And, of course, we devote prime attention to seeing to it that the standards of social justice, the democratic rights of citizens and Soviet laws be strictly observed.

All these efforts are approved of by our people. Moreover, the people demand of us leaders, that we pursue precisely such a line. I know this from many thousands of letters from people and from personal meetings and contacts with hundreds and hundreds of Soviet people.

In a nutshell, we know the existing problems well. Some problems have been or are being solved, while others require time, resources and persistent efforts. We have now fundamentally taken up the questions of scientific and technical progress and of improving economic management and management methods. We have the possibilities of solving the new tasks. These include both highly-qualified cadres, natural resources, and the science-based production potential. The main thing is that the political course is widely supported by all population strata. We intend to bring up further measures aimed at improving the state of affairs for discussion by the whole people.

On the whole, we shall come to our party's forthcoming 27th Congress with a concrete program of action to perfect Soviet society and with plans for the coming 5 years and for the period lasting til the end of the century. We will peer with our mind's eye into the third millennium. The prospects that are opening up are vast. Suffice it to say that the amount of work which is to be done in industry alone in the forthcoming 15 years is equal to that which we have done over the almost 7 decades of Soviet power.

I am telling this not only for the sake of acquainting French TV audiences with our everyday work and concerns. It seems important to me that in France and other countries people should have a clear idea of the system of our priorities. If the main thing for us, Soviet people, is to develop the economy, social relations and democracy, this also determines our interests in the international arena and our foreign-policy interests, above all the interest in peace and in a stable international situation, which would make it possible to concentrate attention and resources on peaceful creative work.

We are determined opponents of the arms race on earth and of transferring it to outer space. It is essential to stop this dangerous process and to set about tackling disarmament without delay.

I want to emphasize that we not only make statements but we also act precisely in that direction. We have unilaterally renounced a first use of nuclear weapons, introduced a moratorium on any nuclear explosions, and suspended the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe. We have told the whole world that we shall not be the first to make a stride into outer space with weapons. Our country is ready for other radical solutions as well.

And what of it? Just try without bias to think what is being done and said in reply to our initiatives. New nuclear explosions have been carried out, an antisatellite weapon has been tested, and a feverish drumming up of distrust of our initiatives is under way. It is impossible to get rid of the impression that some people have been frightened by the very possibility of accords in Geneva, the prospect that the production of weapons will have to be curtailed, maybe, and military appetites moderated. But, as a saying goes, we shall see what we shall see. We have patience enough. Although I want to say frankly -- all this is very far from a search for ways to improve the international situation.

As you see, many questions have built up in the world -- disquieting and urgent ones. I intend to discuss them with the president of France most seriously. I hope that our dialogue will be fruitful. I am convinced: The Soviet Union and France have a real possibility of making a tangible contribution to the cause of mutual understanding and cooperation among peoples. It is with this hope that I am going to France.

On behalf of the Soviet people I wish all those listening to me now, all men and women of France, and all French families happiness, prosperity and peace.

Best wishes to you all.

A. D'Anvers: Mr. Gorbachev, allow me to thank you for receiving us. We are glad to meet you irrespective of the views to which you adhere. You are a man of this era, a man of your time.

M.S. Gorbachev: I hope that this conversation will take place in a spirit of mutual understanding and the traditional friendship that is a feature of relations between our countries.

[Question] You are aware that not everything will be easy during your visit to France. You are expected in Paris both with interest and, I would say, a certain amount of wariness. They want to see what kind of a person Mr. Gorbachev is. Problems of Soviet-French relations will be considered from both defense policy and human rights considerations. What are your thoughts on this subject? Would you now have to revise some of your positions?

[Answer] Why am I going to France on my first foreign visit to the West? I have already tried briefly to answer this question in my address to television viewers.

We are aware, of course, that there are likely to be people in France who, perhaps, even frown at the way our relations are shaping up -- and they are

becoming dynamic, making progress and gaining momentum. What I have in mind is both political dialogue and the broadening of economic ties and traditional cultural contacts. We proceed from the assumption that this meets the basic interests of the Soviet people and those of the French people. This is the decisive thing and the rest are particulars. Perhaps, there are those in France who criticise us. I think that, perhaps, those critics would even like to detract from these good trends in the development of Soviet-French relations. But it is not to them that we are looking. I repeat, we are going to France because we think this meets the basic interests of our countries, the goals of improving the international situation as a whole, and hence the interests of other peoples. Today we need more than ever before an active political dialogue to remove the overlayers of past years. We are different, true, and have different political systems and different views of human values, but we also have much in common. First of all, I think, what we have in common is a desire to live in a real world and to find ways to work together and cooperate in different fields, all the more so since all of us are worried today by the escalation of the threat of nuclear conflict in connection with the increased danger of a nuclear conflict and the arms race. We have a need, a real necessity for such exchanges and for discussing various questions. And I think France is a very important partner for the Soviet Union in this sense. It is precisely proceeding from these considerations and this understanding that we are going to France.

[Question] Mr. General Secretary, Soviet-French relations undoubtedly saw a period of cooling up -- I mean the years 1983 and 1984. Was it an interim, a thing of the past, or will something of it survive?

[Answer] Let us look ahead, and fill our relations, our political dialogue, our economic and trade cooperation and our cultural exchanges with new contents, broaden our cooperation, find and identify our common interests and possibilities for joint or parallel actions in the interests of France and the Soviet Union, in the interests of the other peoples.

You know, way back in 1922 Vladimir Ilich Lenin said words which I have written down and decided to quote for you today. Perhaps, I should have done so when I answered your first question, why we are going to France. Lenin said in 1922: "Any rapprochement with France is extremely desirable for us..." I think that the meaning of these words of Lenin and of the idea carried by them effectively holds true today as well.

[Question] Regardless of what government France will have?

[Answer] You know, every people decides for itself what government to have and, respecting the sovereignty, the sovereign right of every people, we must reckon with it in our foreign policy. We have trust and respect for the friendly people of France, and will seek to maintain and develop relations with the incumbent government, and with the government which may come into office tomorrow.

There are periods in relations between states when something darkens. In our case, when we discuss Soviet-French relations, I would concentrate more on what brings our peoples together. I think that this is capital which enables

us confidently to build today's relations and confidently to look ahead to energize our relations. This, I think, will promote both the interests of our countries and the cause peace. Let us look ahead.

[Question] Recently you met Mr. Marchais. Is it not paradoxical that at a time when the French communists have withdrawn from the government and are criticizing the French Government, you pay your first visit to Mr. Mitterrand in France?

[Answer] I do not think it is. What is taking place in France is the business of the French, their internal affair. I know that those political forces which are governing the country today -- I mean the Socialist Party and those who are allied with it -- and also those who are in opposition stand to one extent or another for the development of Soviet-French relations on the basis of traditions, on the basis of experience accumulated over the years. I think that it is a responsible position. Our approach is the same.

[Question] It seems you are having excellent relations with all the social democratic governments in Europe.

[Answer] We have been energetically cooperating with social democratic parties during the past few years in questions which today are worrying the peoples of the world -- I mean questions of war and peace. You must have noticed that conversations with delegations of socialist and social democratic parties have accounted for a sizeable share of my meetings and conversations during the past few months.

We think that our ideological differences are no obstacle to cooperation in tackling such urgent questions as questions of war and peace, and we for our part openly say so. We have good relations and maintain useful contacts with the social democrats in West Germany, Sweden and Finland and with the socialist parties of Japan and Austria. Generally speaking, we are open to cooperation with all the forces which have an interest in reversing dangerous tendencies in the development of the world situation and in leading the world onto the road of cooperation, interaction and mutual understanding.

[Question] You seem to have been showing special interest in Europe lately. Is this impression true?

[Answer] The Soviet leadership has always kept in sight questions of our relations with West European countries in pursuing its foreign policy. I would even say, in the focus of attention.

This is understandable. You and we live in this Europe. I think that West European countries are no less interested in developing relations with the Soviet Union and that the Soviet Union is no less prominent in their foreign policies than they are in Soviet foreign policy. We have some traditions. We have history, from which we draw some lessons, from which we are learning. Anyway, the Europeans will not be wanting in wisdom. Whatever aspect of the development of human civilization we take, the contribution made by the Europeans is immense. We live in the same house, though some use one entrance to it and the others another. We need to cooperate and to develop

communications in that house. I think it natural that the Soviet Union attaches much importance to this cooperation.

[Question] A Gaullist approach?

[Answer] I will not now take issue with you over who should be credited with priority. The question of interaction, cooperation and establishment of relations with West European countries has always played a substantial role in Soviet foreign policy. It has been so long before De Gaulle, a major figure in politics, emerged.

[Question] Yet reaction to the actions of Western countries may vary. Indeed, when some number of officials of Soviet institutions were accused of spying and asked to leave France, no special reaction came from the Soviet Union. But when the British recently charged a group of Soviet officials with spying, the reaction of the Soviet side was strong and energetic. One has got the impression that the Soviet side acts according to the principle "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." Do you divide the Europeans into good and bad?

[Answer] I think you will grant the Soviet Union the sovereign right to take decisions on every case as it sees fit. In so doing, we take account of both the interests of the Soviet Union and of the overall situation.

[Question] What do you think of the European project known as Eureka?

[Answer] I want to go to Paris and to learn in detail about Eureka. Perhaps, we will continue in Paris later an exchange of opinions on this question.

[Question] Speaking a priori, do you prefer the Eureka project to the "star wars" plans of the Strategic Defense Initiative?

[Answer] A priori, we prefer non-militarization of space to its militarization. This is the main thing. If the Eureka project is pursuing peaceful goals -- and this is just what we want to clarify in our conversation with the president and with other French officials -- we will think over our attitude to that project.

[Question] You have written a letter to Reagan. Have you put forward any new proposals?

[Answer] Yes, we have.

[Question] Could you tell us anything about these new proposals?

[Answer] I think the Americans have already spoken about the main things. They always call upon us to do everything confidentially but their patience lasts them only as long as a meeting lasts. As soon as a contact is over, the world learns within 10 minutes what has taken place at that "confidential" meeting. At least, it learns the basics. That is why you must already have an idea of this matter. But I think that we will yet have discussions in France on this subject.

[Question] What all this amounts to a 40 percent reduction in the nuclear arms arsenals, does it not?

[Answer] I will put off answering this question. These problems are now being presented in Geneva, and I would not like to answer your question before our delegation to the Geneva talks has presented our proposals in the entirety.

[Question] Do you think that your forthcoming meeting with Reagan in Geneva in a few weeks can become something more than just a get-acquainted meeting?

[Answer] It would be too great a luxury for the leaders of such countries as the Soviet Union and the United States in the present-day tense situation, with the peoples of the world expecting concrete, constructive steps primarily from the great powers, to go to Geneva just to exchange a handshake, to look at each other and to smile pleasantly in front of television cameras. We are inviting our partners -- I mean the President of the United States and his colleagues -- to make thorough preparations for our meeting in Geneva so as to lay already during those preparations and at the meeting itself solid bricks into the edifice of future peace. We must build peace -- but a different peace and different relations -- proceeding from realities. We have our own interests, France has hers, and the United States also has interests. But who can say that the other states of the world have no interests? And all those interests are clashing on the world scene. To assume that only one country or group of countries can act on that scene means to have a wrong idea of today's world. I think that much is caused by this lack of comprehension. Realities must be reckoned with, they are a serious matter.

[Question] Mr. General Secretary, you have lately been showing some signs of pessimism. You said in your address to the French people that the threat of nuclear catastrophe is not abating. Also, you said in one of your interviews yet earlier that, perhaps, it would be too late, and that the world situation was growing explosive. Talking in this way, you meant mostly the SDI. But the SDI is a thing of the future. Why then do you think that the threat to peace now is graver than it was?

[Answer] This is the main question, which must be answered precisely now.

When we say that we have reached a point beyond which events may get out of hand, it is not a sign of pessimism. It is a manifestation of the responsibility of the Soviet state and its leadership for the destinies of peace. There are those who stand to lose if the peoples realize the situation as it is. But we have now reached a point as a result of scientific and technological progress when the arms race can spill over into outer space. We have reached a point when weapons of new types, not even nuclear but no less awesome and efficient, if we may talk about efficiency in this case, can be developed.

Frankly, already now it is very difficult to begin talks. You must have noticed that a sort of militarization of political consciousness is taking place. And what happens if the militarization of space begins tomorrow and if

space strike weapons are developed? What should the logical answer of the other side to such actions be? By no means the beginning of disarmament in strategic weapons and other nuclear systems. We should face realities squarely and see how the situation is shaping up. These are very serious matters and they must not be camouflaged with demagoguery, excuse my saying so. As a matter of fact, the destinies of the peoples, the destinies of peace are at stake. There may emerge processes which will altogether block possibilities for seeking a peaceful settlement of problems. Ways must be looked for to counter that challenge.

If anyone introduces weapons in outer space, such constraints as the AMB treaty, the accord on the limitation of strategic weapons and others will go overboard. That is why we have really approached a very critical point in the development of the international situation. This is not a pessimistic position but a realistic appraisal of a real situation. And it prompts a need to look for solutions so as to lead the development of international relations onto a different road, onto the path of peaceful cooperation, to stop the arms race, to begin reductions in nuclear armaments and eventually to eliminate them. And I must say that the matter hinges not only on the position of the Soviet Union and the United States -- other countries also bear responsibility. Today it is impossible to sit it out on the sidelines -- one must take a stand. The times demand that every responsible government or politician fated, so to speak, to lead one state or another, should today take a clear stand on these issues.

[Question] You have been general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee for several months now. Some people view you as a leader for the next quarter century. What would you already now like to change in the Soviet Union?

[Answer] I can hardly add anything to what I have already said and what is known in France as well. We view the situation in the country as follows. On the one hand, we have travelled a great road and made immense economic, social and political progress. We have managed in a historically short period of time to carry out major plans and to introduce deep-going changes in that huge country, once backward from the point of view of the economy and education and populated by many peoples. But we can no longer be satisfied with this. Perhaps, this is logical if we bear in mind that as man develops, his needs, both material and cultural and intellectual, keep growing. Our society must change so as to meet these needs to an ever growing extent. The socialist system enables us to ensure greater dynamism in the economy, in the social sphere and in the cultural and intellectual sphere. This is the main goal towards which we are working now.

[Question] You are seen by many as a man of change. Why then are there no changes in the Soviet Union in the matter which, we believe, is in a way damaging to the reputation of the Soviet Union abroad, namely, in the matter of human rights?

The names of Sakharov and Shcharanskiy are mentioned in France and a campaign is being conducted so that Soviet Jews could leave the country if they wish. Why not take all this into account?

[Answer] I could put it as follows: Let us in the Soviet Union manage our affairs ourselves and you in France manage yours. But I will nevertheless answer your question. The issue of human rights is no problem to us and we are ready to debate it anywhere, in any audience and with any representatives. We have what to say on this issue which is now being artificially played up by Western propaganda and exploited to poison relations between peoples and states.

As regards first and foremost economic and social rights, we could demonstrate the state in which they are in the most developed Western countries, including France, and the situation in our country. Relevant facts are common knowledge. As for political rights, I could say that our Supreme Soviet has more worker and peasant deputies than all the parliaments of the developed capitalist countries put together. It would be interesting to stage an experiment, at least for half a year or for a year, and send workers to the parliaments of your countries. We would then see what happens. But there workers, as a rule, are kept away, whereas in our country they are in key positions everywhere, from rural soviets to the Supreme Soviet.

Of course, we have people which by virtue of some logic or another have fallen out with the Soviet form of government, with socialism, and profess some different ideology. Problems in such cases arise when one individual or another comes into conflict with law. That was what happened to Shcharanskiy whom you mentioned. He breached our laws and was sentenced by court for that.

You mentioned the "Jewish question." I would be glad to hear of Jews enjoying anywhere such political and other rights as they have in our country. The Jewish population, who account for 0.69 percent of the entire population of the country are represented in its political and cultural life on a scale of at least 10-20 percent. Many of them are people well known in the country.

When it is a matter of the reunification of families, we agree to this and settle such questions. There are exceptions when individuals in point know state secrets. But does not France have legislation protecting the interests of the state? It does, and I know this. We will continue to resolve these questions without fuss, on the basis of a humanitarian approach.

[Question] And the last question, just in passing: Is it true that there are 4 million political prisoners in the Soviet Union?

[Answer] It is absurd! It calls to mind, you know, Goebbels' propaganda. I am amazed that you, Mr. Mourousi, an educated and up-to-date man could ask such a question. I repeat: it is absurd.

[Question] Mr. Gorbachev, you seem to be practicing a new method of communication, a new method of leadership. Is there a "Gorbachev style?" If there is, how could you define that style?

[Answer] I think, there is no "Gorbachev style." I have already said so. Discussing methods of our work, in particular, the style of my work, it is not something which appeared yesterday or a month, two or three ago. I have been

working like this all my life. And many of my comrades are working precisely like this.

The style we are cultivating in our party we define as the Leninist style of work. It is characterized by such things as extensive communication with the working people, publicity in work and analysis of real processes which underlie policy making. It is everything which Lenin taught our party. I am an enthusiastic champion of precisely this approach. The example set by Lenin is the best possible example. We are following the road of Lenin and using his style.

[Question] A new generation of Soviet leaders have risen to power along with you, Mr. Gorbachev. For instance, at the end of last week we heard that the Soviet head of government had been replaced. What could this new generation of Soviet leaders give your country in addition to style?

[Answer] I think what is taking place is a normal process. There is nothing out of the ordinary in it. Every generation makes its contribution to progress, to molding political and spiritual values. I think that the present generation of leaders in the Soviet Union will make their contribution. This will concern primarily large-scale work to perfect socialism. We know what must be done in order to bring out to a fuller extent the best aspects inherent in that social system. And it is man with his needs who is the centerpiece of all our aspirations.

But I would say that we do not view socialism as a consumer society, we will not follow the standards of the Western way of life, but we will make use of what is useful.

Every effort will be made to make our economic system, our political system, the system of socialist democracy more dynamic. Attention, the closest attention possible will be attached primarily to bringing out the importance of the human factor in full measure.

[Question] You come to Paris the day after tomorrow and if you have an evening off what would you prefer to do, visit the Picasso Museum, see Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar," enjoy a concert, listen to an opera -- in short, what is your preference?

[Answer] Since I know the program and since it does not give me an evening off, let alone a day off, I have no problem.

But generally speaking, when you visit another country, it is always interesting to learn also about its past. But I must say that I am equally, if not even more interested in the present-day life of every society, every country, every people, their problems, traditions and interests. Perhaps this is natural for a politician.

[Question] Mr. General Secretary, we would have, probably, a thousand other questions but we must conclude our interview. We want to thank you again for granting this exclusive interview to French television.

[M.S. Gorbachev] I was happy to meet with representatives of French television. I think our conversation with you makes it possible to say that we can meet, that we can calmly discuss all questions.

We are interested in a further development of relations with the friendly people of France. This is a matter that requires reciprocity. We must move towards each other. It is from this viewpoint that we regard our forthcoming visit as well. This is a good possibility for enhancing our relations and identifying their prospects for the future.

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SPEECH BY M.S. GORBACHEV AT THE MEETING WITH MEMBERS OF THE FRENCH PARLIAMENT
3 OCTOBER 1985

LD031542 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 85 (signed to press 3 Oct 85)
pp 51-59

[Text] Esteemed Messr. presidents,

Esteemed deputies and senators,

Ladies and gentlemen:

I am gratified by the opportunity to address members of the French Parliament, to meet with you, the elected representatives of the French people. I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to thank the president of the republic for the kind invitation to visit your country.

Today is the second day of our delegation's visit. Important meetings have been held and an exchange of views has been started on topical questions of bilateral relations and international affairs. Of course, it is yet early to sum up the results of the talks with President Mitterrand and other statesmen of France. But it is obvious already that both sides are showing desire to impart a new impulse to the development of relations between our countries and, with due account to the existing realities, to bring closer our positions on international problems.

When talking with the president of the republic and when addressing you today I strive, naturally, for the essence, the main thrust of the Soviet state's foreign policy to be understood better, to a fuller extent in France. Like the foreign policy of any state, it is determined first of all by internal requirements.

Permit me to dwell briefly on this question. I believe you know what a long and in many respects difficult road has been traversed by our country in the years of existence of Soviet power. From Tsarist Russia we inherited extreme economic backwardness. Three quarters of the population were illiterate. Within a very short period of time, if the yardstick of history is applied, the Soviet Union turned into a mighty, in all respects modern power with high cultural standards. We put an end to unemployment and ensured for the population such social boons as free provision of housing, medical services

and education. I will name a few figures illustrating the country's economic development. In the post-war years alone our national income grew more than 16 times while industrial output increased 24 times over. During the same time the real incomes of Soviet people sextupled.

Pride in our successes does not make us complacent. We see that at the present stage society's increased maturity sets before us tasks which are of a greater scope and are, in much, new in their content. We are fully aware also of the shortcomings that exist in our work, of the existing difficulties and problems, quite often sufficiently serious ones. The main task that we set ourselves today can be expressed in a brief formula: to accelerate society's social and economic development.

This requires that many things be raised to a higher level-- the scientific and technical base of the national economy, the methods of management and man himself, his consciousness, skills and qualification. In short, we have set off on the road to achieving a new qualitative state of society.

Our main task is to make the economy more efficient and dynamic, to make the life of people spiritually richer, more full-blooded and meaningful, to develop the socialist self-government of the people.

It is not difficult to understand that not only reliable peace but also a calm, normal international situation are paramount conditions of attaining these aims. And it is these priorities that determine our foreign policy, a policy in which, naturally, we strive to take into account in full measure the interests and requirements of other peoples, all the realities of the present epoch.

Our world, a multifaceted and contradictory world, is rapidly approaching the end of the century and the millennium. It has more than its fair share of complex problems of a political, economic and social nature. The coexistence on our planet of two social systems, each of which is living and developing according to its laws, has long become a reality.

But one must see the other reality as well. And this reality is that the interconnection and interdependence of countries and continents is becoming increasingly closer. This is an inevitable condition of the development of the world economy, of scientific and technological progress, the acceleration of the exchange of information and the movement of people and things -- on earth and even in outerspace. In short, the entire development of civilization.

Alas, it is not always that the gains of civilization are a boon for people. All too often and too vigorously the achievements of science and technology are being used also for the creating of means of annihilating humans, for the development and stockpiling of ever more terrible types of weapons.

In these conditions Hamlet's famous question: "to be, or not to be" is being set already not before a single individual but before mankind. It develops into a global problem. There can be only one answer to it -- mankind, civilization must survive at all cost. But this can be ensured only if we

learn to live together, to get along on this small planet by mastering the difficult art of taking account of each other's interests. This we call the policy of peaceful coexistence.

We are strong enough to give a crushing rebuff to any attempt to encroach on our people's security and peaceful work. But we hold that it is not by force of arms but only and exclusively by force of example that one must prove the correctness of one's ideology, the advantages of the system that each people has chosen of its own will. Such is our unshakable conviction.

I spoke yesterday to the president about our perception of the main axis of contradictions, the struggle of the two tendencies in world politics. We regard as extremely dangerous the view, no matter how it is being justified, that the tasks facing the international community can be solved by the creation and stockpiling of ever new and more destructive types of arms -- on earth and in outer space. We regard as dangerous also actions that preserve and aggravate international tension. It is tense as it is. It is so tense that now it has become extremely difficult to reach agreement not only on complex, urgent matters but also on relatively simple problems. If we do not stop the present tendencies, tomorrow we will not be able to overcome their monstrous inertia. It will become even more difficult to talk.

That is why we consider it so important already now, immediately, before it is too late to stop the "infernal train" of the arms race, to start the reduction of arms, improve the international situation and develop peaceful cooperation among peoples. This is in mutual interest, this is everybody's task. Nobody can permit himself to sit it out on the sidelines.

The Soviet Union, as you probably know, not only issues calls but also acts in this direction.

We have unilaterally suspended the further placement of medium-range missiles in Europe and called on the United States to respond in kind. We stopped all nuclear explosions and called the United States to respond in kind. Quite naturally, we address this call to the other nuclear powers as well.

The Soviet Union proposes to start a reduction of the armed forces and armaments of both sides in Central Europe -- and to start with a reduction of Soviet and American troops. Moreover, we are prepared to reduce more troops than the Americans.

As for outer space, we are for its use exclusively for peaceful purposes and persistently call for the reaching of agreement on this because a transfer of the arms race into outer space will make the reduction of nuclear arsenals objectively impossible. As you know, we have submitted to the United Nations a proposal on international cooperation in the peaceful exploration of outer space.

And now I would like to inform you of the new steps taken by the Soviet Union. They pursue the same aim: to stop the baleful process of the arms race and ward off the war danger overhanging mankind.

First. A few days ago we proposed to the government of the United States to come to terms on the total prohibition of space strike arms for both sides and to reduce really radically, by 50 percent, the nuclear arms capable of reaching each other's territory.

In other words, we propose a practical solution to the very same problems that were agreed upon by both sides early this year as being the aims of the Geneva talks: not only to stop the arms race but also to drastically lower the level of armaments and at the same time avert an arms race in outer space.

There is hardly any need to say how all this would strengthen strategic stability and mutual trust.

I can inform you that our delegation in Geneva has been instructed to present concrete proposals on this question and authorized to give the partners exhaustive explanations.

I am saying all this because a multitude of versions and false rumors are already circulating in the West concerning our proposal, and it is time for some clarification.

Second. Concerning medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. With the aim of making easier agreement on their speediest mutual reduction (as we are often told, in Western Europe, too, there is a great interest in this) we consider it possible to conclude a corresponding agreement separately, outside of direct connection with the problem of space and strategic arms. This road, as it appears to us, may turn out to be practical.

In this connection I consider it important to explain our position on such a question as the place of the nuclear potential of France and Britain in the European balance of forces. This potential is growing rapidly and we can no longer ignore it. It was said from the French side that the nuclear forces of France are not subject to discussion without her participation. This stands to reason. It follows from this that it is time to start between us a direct dialogue on this theme to try to find an acceptable way out through joint efforts. The Soviet Union is prepared for such a direct dialogue with France just as with Britain, of course.

Here I want to stress that we will take into account the security interests of France in the most attentive manner. And today, as it appears to us, the question of a reduction of her armaments is not on the agenda.

Third. You know that we have announced a moratorium on the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe. The number of SS-20 missiles that the Soviet Union has on standby alert in the European zone is now 243. This means that it precisely accords with the level of June 1984 when the additional deployment of our missiles was started in response to the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Europe. The SS-20 missiles that were additionally deployed in the process have now been withdrawn from operational readiness and the fixed installations for housing these missiles will be dismantled within the next two months. This is verifiable. As to our reply

measures in respect of the territory of the United States itself, they continue to remain in force.

I would also wish to explain the meaning with which we invest the term "European zone" in this case. This is the zone in which medium-range missiles capable of striking targets on the territory of Western Europe are deployed.

It should be added to this that we have already totally phased out the old, and very powerful, SS-5 missiles and are continuing to phase out SS-4 missiles. This means that on the whole the number of medium-range carrier missiles in the European zone of the USSR is now much smaller than 10 or even 15 years ago. In accepting this self-limitation we are guided by the broad interests of European security. I think Europe is now entitled to expect a reply step by the United States -- the termination by it of the further deployment of its medium-range missiles on the European Continent.

You see what serious steps the Soviet Union is taking. In combination with the previous actions, our latest proposals, as it seems to us, are a package of constructive and realistic measures the implementation of which would bring about a genuine breakthrough in the development of international relations. A breakthrough in favor of peace, security and cooperation among people.

This, if you please, is our program of improving the explosive international situation that threatens peace. We expect that in response to our proposals the West too will traverse its part of the road.

I would like to stress that the realization of the program proposed by us would also signify substantial advance toward an aim that is so desired by all the peoples and is so important to them -- the prohibition and total liquidation of nuclear arms, the total delivery of mankind from the threat of nuclear war.

There can be no victors in a nuclear war. It seems that all responsible politicians are in agreement on this. It is time to draw a practical conclusion from this -- to stop the nuclear arms race. And we believe that this demand will be supported by all honest, realistically thinking political forces, public figures, all people who cherish their homeland, their life, the life of their children and grandchildren.

The task of totally prohibiting chemical weapons and liquidating their stockpiles is becoming ever more urgent. At the conference on disarmament in Geneva the Soviet Union is actively taking part in the drafting of a relevant convention. We are meeting our partners in the talks half-way in a number of substantial aspects, including verification. I am sure that it is quite possible to reach agreement on reliable verification.

Incidentally, the following thought also prompts itself here. If it was possible to reach agreement on the nonproliferation of nuclear arms why not apply the same method in respect of chemical weapons? This would be in the general channel of efforts to achieve their total prohibition. The Soviet Union would be prepared to take part in the drafting of an international accord on the nonproliferation of chemical weapons. We are also prepared to

do everything depending on us for the creation of a zone in the center of Europe free from chemical weapons.

As I speak here, in Paris, in the heart, it can be said, of Western Europe, I cannot but speak about some substantial problems of European security, about how we in the Soviet Union see them.

I will start with the most general question. What, after all, is security in Europe? It is the absence of war and the danger of war. The interconnection and intertwining of the destinies of peoples, despite the difference of the social roads chosen by them, is felt in Europe with special force. Because of geographical density and oversaturation with armaments, Europe, like no other continent, is vulnerable to an armed conflict, the more so a nuclear one.

Therefore, European security cannot be ensured by military means, by military force. This is an absolutely new situation and means a departure from traditions, from a mentality and manner of action that took centuries, even millenniums to form. It is not at once that human thought adjusts itself to something that is new. This applies to all. We are feeling this. We have started the rethinking, the adjustment to full conformity with the new realities of many customary things, including in the military and, naturally, the political fields. We would want such a rethinking to take place both in Western Europe and beyond it.

So far fear of unacceptable retribution is one of the obstacles to war, to the use of military force. But everybody understands, however, that it is impossible to build a lasting peace on fear alone. The entire question is where to search for the alternative to fear or, to use military language, deterrence?

We see what attempts are now being made to find a way out -- by using new arms in the so-called "star wars". This is an illusion, and an extremely dangerous one at that. It is naive in general to seek a solution of the problem of security in the perfection of the shield and the sword. Security in Europe, just as international security as a whole, can be achieved only on the road of peaceful coexistence, detente, disarmament, confidence building and development of international cooperation.

This is a long and difficult road, the more so since it requires the overcoming of mutual suspicions, mistrust and prejudices accumulated over decades. But there is no other road, if we want to live. And like any long road, it begins with the first steps which often are the most difficult ones to make. We understand this and want to help ensure the solution of the task -- for ourselves and for you. It is this that motivates the proposals that I have already mentioned.

This applies also to the conference in Stockholm which is discussing the important problem of mutual trust in the military field. As it appears to us, the contours of future accords are gradually beginning to take shape there. They include making more concrete and imparting maximum effectiveness to the principle of the nonuse of force. They include a definite set of confidence-building measures in the military field, these so to say safety fuses to

prevent an erroneous interpretation of the actions of the other side in conditions of an aggravation of the military confrontation. A number of states, first of all neutral ones, propose to reach agreement on mutual exchanges of annual plans of military activity subject to notification. We are prepared for such an accord in the hope that it will help overcome suspiciousness and impede covert preparations for war.

The ideas of setting up nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, including on our continent, in the north of Europe and in the Balkans, are spreading ever more wider. We support these ideas and are ready to take part in the appropriate guarantees where this is required. We view as useful the idea to create a corridor free of nuclear arms along both sides of the line dividing the two military-political groupings. We also hold that states that do not possess nuclear arms and do not have them on their territory have full right to reliable guarantees of their security based on international law, guarantees that nuclear arms will not be used against them.

Many aspects of all-European cooperation are recorded in the Helsinki Final Act. We hold that it is a serious achievement and fully retains its importance. When the tenth anniversary of the Helsinki accords was marked, all the participants in the all-European process declared for its continuation. The Soviet Union is prepared to take the most vigorous part in this. Every European country has contributed a share of its national experience to the Helsinki process. This is a common asset of the peoples of Europe, and it should be protected and multiplied by joint effort.

The political climate in Europe depends in no small measures on the development of economic ties between West and East. Here, too, an innovative approach is necessary. The solution of the tasks of industrial, technical and scientific progress that face each country today could be made much easier by an effective utilization of the international division of labor. We in the Soviet Union are prepared for this, including the search of new forms of joint production and cooperation. It goes without saying that this implies principles of mutual advantage, equality and a serious approach.

The establishment of more businesslike relations between CEMA and the EEC also appears useful to us. The countries of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance have displayed in this respect a constructive initiative which appears to have been met favorably. It is important for it to produce concrete results. Here, as it has already been stated, in the measure in which the EEC countries come out as a "political unit", we are prepared to find a common language with them on concrete international problems as well. This could be done in various forms, including also parliamentary ties, with those who represent the European Parliament.

Without uniting the efforts of all European countries it will not be possible really to solve also such an acute problem as preserving and improving the environment on our continent. In many of its areas, figuratively speaking, the land is beginning to burn under the feet, the rain falling from the sky is an acid one, if not fiery, while the sky itself cannot be seen because of smoke. European rivers and seas are acquiring a pitiful state. At one time, it seems, we did not act with sufficient far-sightedness and generated such

problems that now simply defy solution within national frameworks. Here truly there is a field in which we all must become aware of the continent's common destiny.

Much can be done in the broad sphere known as the "humanitarian" one. The preservation by common effort of the cultural values of the past, cultural exchanges that mutually enrich one of the cradles of mankind's spiritual values -- Europe -- does this not deserve the closest attention? It is with interest that we are preparing for such an out of the ordinary event as the "cultural forum" opening in a few days in Budapest. Also belonging to this sphere is the expansion of information about each other's life, cultivation of feelings of mutual sympathy and respect. The mutual study of each other's languages is of much importance from this point of view. Extensive exchanges of school pupils, students and teachers is a promising thing. However, it is very important for the young generations to have correct perceptions of each other because it is for them to build a peaceful Europe. The pooling of efforts in the struggle against diseases -- old and new ones -- is a task of immense importance.

The Soviet Union attaches the greatest importance to ensuring human rights. It is only necessary to free this problem from hypocrisy and speculations, from attempts at interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Such problems are rather acute in present-day Europe as the position of migrant workers, mixed marriages, reunification of families. We are for approaching such problems in a positive and humane spirit with full respect for the sovereign rights of all states.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, I believe that in the present situation it is especially important not to emulate medieval fanatics and not to spread ideological differences to inter-state relations. Stability in these relations, their lesser susceptibility to political situations will strengthen also stability in Europe as a whole.

We do not think, for instance, that there is a taboo for life on the possibility of establishing contacts in some form between the Warsaw Pact and NATO as organizations. Nor to speak of overcoming Europe's division into opposing groupings in a more or less foreseeable future. As is known, this is exactly what we and our allies are proposing. But, as we see it, even in conditions of the existence of the two blocs it is possible to create such a modus vivendi which would blunt the acuteness of the present confrontations.

And, of course it is more important today than ever before to develop a more intensive political dialogue between East and West, to use all the already established forms of this dialogue -- regular meetings at various levels, including of course the highest one, political consultations and broad contacts by the scientific and cultural communities.

We regard the development of parliamentary ties as a very important matter as well. I would like to stress this particularly as I am speaking within these walls. This includes, naturally, also the development of parliamentary ties with France. Deputies of the National Assembly and Senate of France can be

assured that they are welcome guests in Moscow. I state this on behalf of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Such, in most general outline, are our views on how really it is possible to achieve, and within a comparatively short period of time at that, an improvement of the situation on our continent and to increase Europe's role in overcoming the present stretch of confrontation.

I will add yet another thing. The need for more active interaction to eliminate the seats of conflict and tension existing in various areas has never been felt more than now. The fact that the Soviet Union and France, despite their belonging to opposing military-political groupings, have much in common in the approach to a number of presently existing regional problems and situations is one of the examples of the possibilities of such interaction. For instance, the situation in the Middle East, in Central America, South Africa, and so on. Our contacts with the French leaders confirm this.

When proposing an expansion of good neighborliness and cooperation with Western Europe we have no intention at all to belittle the importance of a possible contribution to this by Canada which belongs to NATO and has also signed the Helsinki Act. Neither does our European policy have anti-American thrust.

Since one hears numerous speculations on this theme permit me to dwell on it in greater detail. The very way the question is posed -- that by improving relations with Western Europe we want to drive a wedge, to set it at loggerheads with the United States -- is absurd. Firstly, we want to have good relations not only with Western Europe but also with the United States. Just as, for that matter, also with China, Japan and other countries. We are not pursuing a Metternich-like policy of "balance of forces", of setting one state against another, knocking together blocs and counter-blocs, creating "axes" and "triangles", but a policy of global detente, of strengthening world security and developing universal international cooperation. Secondly, we are realists and we understand how strong are the ties -- historical, political and economic -- linking Western Europe and the United States.

Esteemed deputies, the best minds of mankind have warned about the danger of our consciousness lagging behind the rapidly changing life. This is especially topical today. Man is already stepping out into the galaxial distances. But now much remains undone on earth! Not a single nation, not a single state is capable of solving the existing problems alone. But the old baggage of disunity, confrontation and mistrust impedes unification.

I know that by far not everybody in this hall accepts our world outlook, our ideology. Being a realist I am not trying to convert anyone into our creed. Any philosophy is approached by individuals and peoples themselves, only achieving it through much suffering, only on accepting it with their minds and hearts. But despite all differences in political and philosophical views, in ideals and values we must remember one thing: We all are keepers of the fire of life handed over to us by the previous generations.

Each had its own mission and each in its own way enriched world civilization. The giants of the Renaissance and the great French Revolution, the heroes of the October Revolution in Russia, of the Victory and the Resistance -- they all fulfilled their duty to history.

And what about our generation? It has made great discoveries but it has also found recipes for the self-destruction of the human race. On the threshold of the third millennium we must burn the black book of nuclear "alchemy". May the 21st century become the first century in life without fear of universal death.

We will fulfill this mission if we unite our efforts. The Soviet Union is prepared to make its contribution to ensuring a peaceful, free and flourishing future of Europe and all the other continents. We will stint nothing for this.

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TOWARDS THE 27TH PARTY CONGRESS

TAKING RESPONSIBILITY FOR SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS

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[Article by V. Protopopov, first secretary of the Moscow City Leninskiy CPSU Raykom]

[Text] The primary duty of each party organization and every party member today is to display a truly creative attitude toward the party's task of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development on the basis of scientific and technical progress.

As was pointed out at the 11-12 June 1985 CPSU Central Committee conference, great hopes are set on Moscow's working class and intelligentsia and its powerful scientific and production potential in resolving this problem. The 50,000-member strong party organization of Moscow's Leninskiy Rayon is making its contribution to the common cause. Systematically working for converting the economy to intensive development, it is concentrating on the reconstruction and technical retooling of industry and construction. This problem has assumed particular importance for us, for the majority of enterprises currently operating in the rayon were built before the revolution and the rest during the first five-year plans. The wear and tear of the passive part of capital buildings--plant and equipment-- has in frequent cases hindered the reorganization of the production process on a modern technical and organizational basis. The active part of many enterprises as well (machinery, equipment, etc.) has also become morally and physically obsolete. The situation is further aggravated by manpower shortages, which is largely caused by extensive economic management methods. Also characteristic of the rayon is a steady population outflow caused by the fact that new construction is being done primarily in Moscow's suburbs. The working people, who are given apartments in these districts, find jobs closer to home.

Despite objective difficulties and work errors, we have been able to make some positive changes in the qualitative renovation of production and labor, primarily as a result of reconstruction and technical retooling of a number of enterprises. During the first 4 years of the current 5-year plan alone, 19 new production facilities, shops and sectors and 20 automated and semi-automated assembly lines have been installed, in addition to 430 units of modern high-efficiency equipment. One hundred and ninety new technological processes have been mastered. This averages 20 percent more than was

accomplished during the first 4 years of the preceding 5-year plan. We realized from personal experience that capital investments channeled into reconstruction are twice as profitable compared to new construction. However, such results can be achieved only if reconstruction is carried out on a comprehensive basis and at a high pace. The violation of such requirements drastically reduces the economic efficiency of such steps.

Technical retooling at the 2nd Moscow Instrument Making Plant, the Elektrosvet Plant, the experimental factory for musical instruments and the weaving and finishing factory is taking place quite satisfactorily. Mechanization and automation of production processes at the Kauchuk Association have been speeded up. Let us point out that the positive results achieved in the course of the reconstruction are largely the result of the purposeful activities of the party committees at these enterprises. In summing up their experience, the CPSU raykom tries to popularize it as widely as possible through the system of training the party and economic aktiv and holding special seminars for secretaries of primary and shop party organizations and party group organizers. The brigade leaders' council formed under the rayon CPSU committee has been assigned an important role in this matter. As we know, the brigade is the basis production cell. The most prestigious brigade managers, who are members of the council, help the raykom study arising problems more profoundly, react to them more actively and focus its efforts on their main features. Last year, for instance, the council held a seminar for brigade leaders and party group organizers in enterprises scheduled for reconstruction, at which exchange of experience on how to work during the reconstruction period was exchanged.

The difficult and responsible tasks which the technical retooling of the production process sets to the party organizations of enterprises require, in turn, an enhanced level of management of their work and more efficient supervision by the CPSU raykom. The voluntary technical and economic council (TES) set up at the party raykom, headed by the raykom secretary, is of great assistance in this matter. The council has eight sections which include leading workers, engineers, scientists and rayon party workers. They analyze the most important and difficult problems encountered by enterprises and organizations and formulate corresponding recommendations. Thus, in order to study the course of the preparations for and work on the reconstruction of an enterprise, the industry section sets up a group of specialists in this field. As a rule it includes higher school seniors in the rayon undergoing production or pre-graduation training. Furthermore, the group supervises the reconstruction and substantially helps the raykom, above all by supplying it with the type of prompt and qualified information it needs for decision making.

Even prior to the reconstruction, representatives of the party raykom participate in the consideration of problems related to its volume and deadlines set by the ministry in charge of the given enterprise. Such participation is expedient from all points of view. What makes it even more necessary is the fact that it is already at this preparatory stage that a variety of discoordinations and misunderstanding arise. For example, the rayon and the enterprise are interested in completing the reconstruction within the shortest possible time, and one would think that the ministry would

be equally interested. In practice, however, the ministry frequently shows no such interest, giving as a reason the need to channel funds into more important targets, equipment supply difficulties, material and manpower shortage, etc. However, the party raykom which represents, so to say, the interests of enterprises located within its territory, has no effective levers with which to influence decisions made by economic organizations. All it can do is essentially argue, persuade and request. Obviously, upgrading the role of party committees of ministries and departments and establishing close business contacts with the local party organizations would make it possible to raise somewhat the level of such decisions and take the common interests more fully into consideration.

In our rayon, as is the case in others, funds allocated for reconstruction frequently remain unused as a result of the insufficient capacities of construction organizations for doing the necessary amount of work. On the surface this seems easy to correct, simply by planning the ceilings of capital investments according to the available capacities of construction organizations. In reality, however, all of this proves to be far more difficult. For example, the Main Construction Administration of the Moscow City Soviet issued its Trust No 4, which is in our rayon but does work throughout the city, its 1985 plan, which called for expenditures of 36 million rubles, whereas in fact the cost of construction broken down by project exceeded 46 million. As a result, the trust is fulfilling its plan but not its construction program. It exceeds unfinished construction norms and slows down the pace of reconstruction.

The party raykom tries to correct the situation somewhat, but the steps it takes are not always successful, unfortunately, for naturally it is the main administration which has the prerogative of drafting the construction trusts' plans. Furthermore, its planning activities also suffer from substantial shortcomings. Obviously, a satisfactory solution to the problem may be found in the current work being done in the country on streamlining planning and perfecting the economic mechanism. The construction organizations must be converted to full cost accounting. This will direct the labor collectives toward observing the planned deadlines for the completion of each project. Work under the stipulations of true rather than formal cost accounting will increase the responsibility of construction managers and careless ones will be deprived of the possibility of concealing their inability to do the work by referring to flaws in planning and material and technical supplies. In such cases the party organizations will take the specific culprits strictly to task for omissions in the work.

The results of a low pace of reconstruction may be seen at the Krasnaya Roza imeni R. Luxemburg Combine, the reconstruction of which was started as early as the end of the 1960s. The party raykom recruited for participation in the technical updating of the combine the Scientific Research Chemical Fiber Processing Experimental Institute, the Introscopy Scientific Research Institute and several other institutes located in the rayon, which introduced a number of interesting developments. A particularly great deal was accomplished in automating control of production processes. At first, everything at Krasnaya Roza seemed to be progressing successfully. However, the technical retooling of the combine stretched over the years, and the party

raykom was unable to help. As a consequence, some of the equipment became morally obsolete in the course of the reconstruction and cannot be used in the production of fabrics in demand. It was precisely this sad case that convinced the CPSU raykom personnel that they must act energetically precisely at the initial stage of planning the technical retooling of a production facility.

Bitter past experience has convinced us of the importance of seeing to the comprehensiveness of reconstruction from its very start. As a rule, the numerous attempts made by various management authorities to amend initial plans reduce the efficiency of reconstruction in which, usually, the emphasis is on the main production shops, ignoring auxiliary technical retooling. Consequently, although the mechanization of the main labor processes becomes highly developed, that of auxiliary operations does not exceed 30-40 percent. Yet the so-called bottlenecks, existing at the enterprise for years on end or else newly developed, may reduce to naught all technical retooling efforts. Something similar took place at Baking Plant No 6, where a system for the automatic loading of the bread was set up, but no concern was shown for updating the other links in the technological chain. Loading workers were released and loading time per truck was reduced from 20 to 6 minutes. However the length of time during which the finished product remains on plant territory remained the same, for document processing was not automated. The lack of reusable packaging materials and the fact that bread stores had not been adapted to the new system led to the fact that the time needed for unloading the bread doubled. It is thus that incomplete reconstruction and lack of planning of its individual steps drastically reduced the efficiency of a difficult and expensive reconstruction.

Inevitably, the tactic of minor improvements, in the course of which technical retooling is concentrated exclusively on the type of equipment available at that precise time, requires substantial outlays. It would be much more useful while drafting the plan for reconstruction and technical retooling to contemplate the use of the full set of the necessary machine tools and other machines and equipment meeting the most advanced technical and economic requirements.

It is an open secret that for a number of reasons to this day enterprises find reconstruction bothersome and unprofitable. Thus, plan assignments are frequently issued regardless of the influence of the technical retooling process on current growth rates of output and the dynamics of other technical and economic indicators. By no means is it always possible to prevent their drop under retooling conditions. Although an interruption in production or a temporary slow down in its pace may be more than generously recovered in the future, this is not taken into consideration in the current plan. The nonfulfillment of production assignments during the reconstruction period tangibly harms the interests of the labor collective and its reputation, for which reason the enterprises do everything possible to avoid technical retooling, preferring to resolve arising problems through new construction, although aware of the importance of retooling.

Speaking of the difficulties related to reconstruction, we must keep in mind not only the radical renovation of the production process, supplying it with

the latest equipment and the utilization of modern technologies but also substantial improvements in working conditions. The attention of our party organizations is always focused on this aspect of the matter. Of late the groups set up within the commissions controlling administrative activities, in charge of supervising the reconstruction, have proved their usefulness in supervising the implementation of steps to improve working conditions, thus contributing to the growth of labor productivity. It cannot be said that economic managers show no proper concern for this matter. However, frequently the aspiration to reach higher indicators of the results of the reconstruction (increased volume of output, profitability level, capital returns, etc.) lead them to postpone the solution of problems directly related to streamlining working conditions and amenities of the participants in the production process.

That is why the party raykom consistently and firmly follows a line of increasing the obligations of managers for taking prompt steps aimed at improving working conditions and amenities. The system of workplace certification, which is increasingly being applied, has helped to identify previously ignored possibilities at rayon enterprises. Naturally, this is not exclusively a question of improving working conditions directly at the workplace. Concern must also be shown for organizing nutrition, providing the necessary conditions for personal hygiene and relaxation of the working people, opening at each enterprise reception centers for consumer services and placing orders, etc. The party committees are solving all of these problems together with the trade union organizations.

In addition to technical retooling the reconstruction must include the organizational restructuring of the production facilities which, as a rule, promises to yield significant economic benefits. We are currently making preparations for the reconstruction of two silk-weaving combines: Krasnaya Roza and imeni Sverdlov. In addition to weaving, the former includes finishing work, essentially done with raw materials produced by the enterprise itself. The latter specializes in finishing operations with raw materials received from enterprises located outside Moscow. The party raykom suggested to the USSR ministries of light industry and RSFSR textile industry the creation of a single production association on the basis of the two enterprises. Within it the Krasnaya Roza Combine would develop weaving and the Combine imeni Sverdlov, finishing. Our suggestion was considered interesting. However, in order to implement it a number of problems related to the radical breakdown of the existing production system and the psychological restructuring of the personnel will be necessary.

It is self-evident that the purpose of the economic mechanism is comprehensively to help the labor collective master the new equipment and production facilities as rapidly as possible. In this connection, significantly greater opportunities are created for enterprises which become involved in the large-scale economic experiment launched in the country. For example, the party raykom is closely following its development at the Elektroluch Production Association. The enterprise's economic activities are systematically studied by its technical and economic council with the help of scientists from the economics, psychology and philosophy departments of Moscow State University. The seminar organized by the party raykom offers economic

managers periodical information on the course of the experiment, the way in which the specific features of enterprises must be considered in its implementation and how to solve various arising problems. The seminar not only helps managers to prepare for converting to the new economic management conditions; it also has purely educational objectives by guiding the managers in seeking ways which would enable them to attain the most advanced levels of scientific and technical progress in the world within a short time.

At every step life confirms the steadily increasing importance of the human factor in the labor and management process. The new and higher technical standard of the equipment installed in the course of the reconstruction, such as machine tools with numerical programming, manipulators, and robot sets intellectualize labor and stimulate the enhancement of worker skills. It also raises a number of physiological, psychological and other problems caused by man's participation in the modern production process.

All of this, naturally, demands of the economic managers specific and competent leadership and knowledge of the laws governing the functioning of man-machine systems. At a recently held CPSU raykom plenum on the results of 2-year work by the labor collectives on increasing production efficiency on the basis of the application of scientific and technical achievements, we discussed not only the need to accelerate the pace of automation, with which we are still unsatisfied, but also the closer cooperation between science and production and upgrading the activeness of scientists in resolving practical problems and studying the consequences of the economic reorganization under way.

The raykom and the primary party organizations took additional steps to improve organizational work. It was judged necessary to strengthen the section of the technical and economic council dealing with strengthening ties between enterprises and scientific research institutes. A closer interaction between the party organizations of industrial enterprises and scientific establishments is being organized. Joint sessions between party committees and party buros and meetings of the party and economic aktiv are being held more regularly. Personal contacts among secretaries of cooperating party organizations are also helping to resolve arising difficulties.

However, organizational measures alone are clearly insufficient in order significantly to energize the human factor. The successful solution of the exceptionally difficult problems related to economic intensification on the basis of scientific and technical progress is inconceivable without awareness of the role which every participant plays in the production process and without the steady aspiration on the part of everyone to make a personal contribution to the common project. That is why the rayon party organizations ascribe prime significance to developing in the working people a feeling of ownership and responsibility for everything accomplished by the brigade, shop, enterprise and society. This cannot be accomplished with exhortations alone. We must involve as many working people as possible in daily participation in production management, regardless of their position in the collective.

"Scientific and technical progress," the June CPSU Central Committee conference emphasized, "is a vitally important matter, consistent with the

interests of all and enabling everyone extensively to display his capabilities and talent." The energizing of the human factor is directly related to the interested participation of the working people in the workings of units such as standing production conferences, voluntary economic analysis bureaus, norming, voluntary cadre departments, people's control posts and committees and trade union, Komsomol and other bodies.

The brigade form of labor organization and wages carries a great educational charge. With this in mind, the rayon party committee recruited scientists from the VUZs and rayon scientific establishments, who studied the experience acquired in several enterprises in organizing the work according to the new system. Studies confirmed the high efficiency of the activities of brigades working on the basis of a single order and applying the labor participation coefficient. They are successfully resolving some social problems as well. The collective consideration of problems within the competence of the brigade involves each one of its members in production management and helps to develop an owner's attitude toward the project.

After studying the acquired experience, the participants in the sociological study formulated specific recommendations which enabled the raykom to take steps for the further development of the brigade contracting order in the rayon's enterprises. The investigation revealed, for example, the reason for the low efficiency in the work of some brigades. It turned out that, as a rule, they had been set up hastily, ignoring production specifics. In other words, the managers of some enterprises had merely created the appearance of active use of a progressive form of labor organization and wages.

Other problems were encountered as well. Thus, it was found out that highly skilled workers were unwilling to join the new-type brigades, fearing loss of individuality. Some foremen had shown a skeptical and prejudiced attitude toward increasing the rights of brigades in resolving production problems. They had disliked the fact that with the brigade contracting method some executive functions had become subjects of collective discussion. The party organizations must take these and other conflicts into consideration, leaving unattended not even a single one of them.

These days the frontline of the struggle for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress runs through science. "The tasks of science," the June CPSU Central Committee conference noted, "should be reconsidered through the lens of today's requirements which demand its decisive turn to the needs of public production and of public production to the needs of science." Our rayon enjoys considerable advantages in this respect. It has almost 60 sectorial and academic scientific and research institutes and four higher educational institutions employing more than 2,000 doctors and more than 11,000 candidates of sciences; it has over 150 academicians and corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences and of sectorial and republic academies. Nearly 40 percent of the rayon party organization members work at scientific research institutes and VUZs located on rayon territory.

The existence of such a powerful scientific potential entrusts the CPSU raykom with great responsibility for its efficient utilization. All in all, in the last 4 years, some 60 problems dealing with further enhancement of research

efficiency in the natural and social sciences and the efficient combination of basic with applied developments have been considered at plenums, aktiv meetings and buro sessions. The party raykom pays particular attention to the application of the target program planning of scientific research, which makes it possible to concentrate scientific forces and resources on comprehensive programs above all. At the present time rayon scientists and engineering and technical workers are participating in the implementation of 30 comprehensive target programs and 65 programs related to the solution of individual most important scientific and technical problems.

The competent guidance of the activities of the primary party organizations presumes the mandatory election of leading specialists in basic scientific and production problems as members of party committees and party buros of scientific institutions and VUZs. The rayon party committee buro includes three doctors of and two candidates in different areas of scientific knowledge.

The raykom firmly applies the practice of systematically hearing out reports submitted by members of administrations, managers and workers on specific topics. The work of the commissions controlling administrative activities has become more specific. More than 40 such commissions are currently functioning at rayon scientific research organizations, design bureaus and institutes and VUZs. Many party organizations have set up commissions controlling administration activities related to the implementation of the scientific and technical programs issued by the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology. The seminar for their chairmen organized by the raykom greatly contributes to upgrading their work efficiency.

We must acknowledge that the creative potential of the collectives of scientific research institutes and VUZs is by no means utilized in full. After a special discussion of this question, the raykom plenum called for upgrading project efficiency based on economic and scientific and technical cooperation contracts making it incumbent upon the primary party organizations to seek new means for integrating science with production more persistently.

Soon after the plenum a seminar was held with secretaries of primary and shop party organizations and heads of VUZs, sectorial scientific research institutes and design bureaus and academic institutes. Problems of strengthening ties between basic research and the requirements of the national economy were studied at a seminar with heads and party committee secretaries of academic institutes and VUZs. Party committee secretaries and heads of sectorial scientific research institutes and design bureaus studied with interest experience in the accelerated practical application of scientific developments. The seminar also dealt with problems of perfecting cooperation between science and practice and stimulating the work of scientific personnel.

In accordance with the resolutions of the raykom plenum and seminar recommendations, communications by managers not only of scientific institutions but also of their individual subunits are being regularly presented on the prospects of research themes, steps taken to improve their efficiency, etc. The VUZ party organizations have already accomplished a great deal in this respect. Particularly important is the fact that the

number of topics simultaneously worked on has been reduced by 15 percent as a result of the elimination of duplicating, ineffective and simply far-fetched topics. This enabled us to concentrate the efforts of scientists on the faster implementation of contracted projects urgently needed by practical workers. The size of their staffs has been reduced as well and the participation of faculty, postgraduates and students in economic contract work has been increased.

The efficiency of work based on contracts for creative cooperation was investigated by the party raykom at several scientific institutions. It was determined that this form of cooperation between science and practical work was not sufficiently fruitful in all collectives. The party organizations were asked to study the situation in this area and to formulate measures aimed at eliminating formalism in concluding creative cooperation contracts.

Let us cite as a positive example in this area the business relations between Moscow State University imeni Lomonosov and the AvtoZIL Production Association. Some 40 university chairs and laboratories are doing research needed by industry. As a rule, the results, are put to practical use, thus proving the tremendous possibilities which the creative interaction between VUZ science and industry opens to the national economy. Thus, a group of Moscow State University and AvtoZIL workers were awarded the USSR State Prize for creating and applying an essentially new technology for metal processing and item control using laser technology.

The experience in three-sided cooperation among the Institute of Fine Chemical Technology, the Rubber Industry Scientific Research Institute and the Kauchuk Production Association is of interest. All three are located in our rayon, which greatly simplified the procedure of concluding the contract the initiative for which belongs to the CPSU raykom. Its implementation is discussed at the annual joint meetings of the party committees of these organizations, at practical science conferences and meetings of the party and economic activists and systematically analyzed by the party raykom. Such cooperation is yielding good results to this day, even after the institute was moved to another rayon. The annual economic benefits alone from the application of a new technology for the manufacturing of conveyor belts at the plant, developed by the scientists, totals 300,000 rubles. Many young Kauchuk workers and technical personnel of the Rubber Industry Institute are attending evening courses at the MITKhT [Moscow Institute of Fine Chemical Technology]. Here they become familiar with the latest scientific and technical achievements which they subsequently apply in their work. In turn, senior institute students do their pre-graduation practice at the plant and defend dissertations on topics consistent with the plant's interests.

Starting with contract work for individual enterprises and organizations, some rayon scientific establishments move on to signing contracts with ministries and their main administrations. Such cooperation offers substantial advantages to the national economy, for the results of such studies can be applied not at individual but at all sectorial enterprises.

The party committees in scientific establishments do not limit themselves to the utilization of traditional forms of cooperation with production

enterprises. They direct their collectives toward providing interested support of various initiatives born of practical necessity and the search for new and more efficient forms of cooperation.

Thirty-two scientific institutions in the rayon have converted to the new financing and economic incentive system in accordance with the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Efficiency and Work Quality." The party raykom studied the work of a number of scientific research institutes and noted positive changes in their activities. Thus, thanks to the use of customer orders, VNIISTROYDORMACH [All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Construction and Road Machinery] has reduced the time from start to finish of a development from 3-5 to 2 years. The formation of comprehensive brigades, which include institute and enterprise personnel has led to a drastic reduction in the time needed for the production of machine prototypes.

The higher educational institutions as well have great opportunities for further development of relations with production enterprises. Much remains to be done to improve the organization and management of their scientific research. For example, the organizational isolation of the chairs hinders comprehensive scientific research. It is true that in a number of VUZs development work has been conducted jointly by specialists from several chairs for quite some time. Such cooperation is obviously promising, for which reason it needs the active support of party committees and buros.

The CPSU raykom steadily directs the party organizations of scientific collectives toward increasing the practical contribution of social scientists to the economic and social development of the city and the rayon. So far their ties with production are weak and sometimes even unproductive. Some studies show an insufficiently profound analysis of social practice and the absence of any significant recommendations. Yet life proves at each step the fruitfulness of bringing the scientific interests of social scientists closer to national economic requirements. This year, for instance, two groups of political economy teachers attending the Moscow State University Skill Enhancement Institute worked at the Factory imeni E. Thaelman and the fruit and vegetable association for a period of three weeks. Their observations enabled them to formulate noteworthy recommendations on the development of cost accounting brigades at the factory and improvements in production brigade management at the association. This experience gave us the idea of the possibility and necessity of concluding long-term cooperation contracts between the institute's political economy chair and rayon enterprises, which will make more serious scientific and practical work possible.

The rayon's specific features determine the increased attention which the CPSU raykom pays to problems of utilization of advanced equipment and technology in scientific research. Many institutions are currently applying systems for automated design which lower the share of routine work and contribute to the unification of the creative efforts of specialists. The rayons party organizations show concern not only for the development of the material and technical and economic base for research but for its most efficient utilization as well. An investigation conducted by the party raykom with the

help of people's controllers exposed serious shortcomings in this area and steps were taken for their correction. Some party organizations have set up commissions to control administrative activities concentrating on the efficient utilization of equipment.

The party raykom is also involved in the propaganda and dissemination of available positive experience. Thus, Moscow State University has commissioned the first stage of a system of shared computer use, which makes the intensification of scientific research possible. The university's physics department is applying a unified system for experiment automation. Many scientific organizations are leasing equipment. A thrifty attitude toward the use of state funds is developing everywhere.

However, this entire necessary and useful work will not yield full results as long as there is a shortage of skilled specialists to service modern equipment. To a certain extent the gravity of the situation can be reduced by retraining specialists, as is being successfully practiced by the Moscow State University's computer mathematics and cybernetics department. The main way to resolve the problem, however, is the early vocational guidance of students. We are currently working to computerize secondary schools with the possibilities of rayon scientific and production organizations. On the instructions of the party raykom, the Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov, the Pedagogical Institute imeni V. I. Lenin and the computer center of the Spektr Scientific Production Association are conducting an experiment based on the facilities of the physics and mathematics secondary school and the production-technical school, the purpose of which is to accustom the students to work with electronic equipment and to develop a durable interest in their use in their future skills.

The party raykom particularly emphasizes that people who know their work and are able to carry out any assignment creatively, responsibly and with initiative, staff all sectors which ensure the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. "All our cadres," delegates to the June CPSU Central Committee delegates said, "must realize the vital necessity of the reorientation of each enterprise and sector and the entire national economy toward intensive development." Naturally, this will demand of every scientist and production worker intensive efforts, creative zeal and steady self-discipline. Related problems were soberly and critically analyzed with interest in the course of the rayon's accountability and election campaign.

In working on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, guided by the stipulations of the CPSU Central Committee, the rayon party organization is concentrating on improving production, further development of scientific research and the integration of science with practice. Unquestionably, the labor collectives in Leninskiy Rayon will cope with their assignments and welcome the 27th party congress with new successes in building communism.

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CONTEMPORARY AGRICULTURAL WORK AND ITS PROBLEMS

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[Uppercase words published in italics]

[Text] The main attention of the whole country and of every Soviet individual is today concentrated on ensuring qualitative improvement in the entire national economy. The problem is to achieve a vital breakthrough by the end of the eighties in increasing its efficiency and intensifying all of its branches, including agriculture, the trends and rates of development of which are of the greatest significance in the light of the prospects for developing society as a whole. This was particularly stressed at the conference in Tselinograd.

To achieve a higher production output with less expenditure of material resources and a smaller number of workers -- this task urgently faces the village, which reflects the general laws of production development. And, as in other branches, the main link making it possible to ensure the fulfillment of this task must be to consider scientific-technological progress, reach the most advanced scientific-technological positions in a short time, and introduce into production up-to-date equipment and the latest technology, primarily those which will save resources and labor.

At the same time, the approach itself to fulfilling this task definitely presupposes consideration of the specifics of agriculture with its diversity and complex interweaving of tradition and innovation, and also consideration of the fact that in contemporary conditions agricultural work is a sufficiently contradictory and complex phenomenon.

Some, as when the whistle blows, hurry to the workshops of a large state agricultural enterprise, while others, through firm habit, report "for duty" at a kolkhoz office. In the fields a man skillfully handles a vast water sprinkler, while, as before, the figure of a woman sugarbeet grower with a hoe is a familiar sight. No one is surprised any more when the operator at a control panel feeds livestock according to a special program, but, as before, a spade and a pitchfork in the hands of a herdsman is regarded as natural. A kolkhoz machine yard can have equipment of "100 horsepower" ready for operation, while at the same time an ordinary horse is equipped for work-- one

of the obvious rural contrasts. Here they know the worth of skill and up-to-date professional training, but, as always, they also highly value a special kind of sense, age-old peasant wisdom, because people deal with the land, with living nature... It is precisely of such work -- by no means uniform, but still equally necessary in real practice -- that demands are being made today, demands conditioned by the serious problem of qualitatively changing productive forces. There is no doubt that the processes connected with this must affect every aspect of agricultural work. But the question is to establish which trends now predominate in its development and which paths lead to a sharp increase in its efficiency.

Bearing in mind the vast creative forces inherent in the nature of the developed socialist economy, the party has set a task of program significance -- to ensure that the country reaches the highest world level of social labor productivity. In agriculture labor productivity must grow more rapidly, which as foreseen by the classics of Marxism and which today acquires real significance. The disproportion between industrial and agricultural production "must begin to decrease; that is, agricultural productivity must increase relatively faster than industrial productivity" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 26, Part 3, p 115), and from being a technologically isolated branch of the national economy, where land is the main means of production and the natural process in the main technological process, and agriculture must become a scientifically managed organic part of a unified production system developing on an industrial basis.

This transformation is taking place today and is apparent in the change in the substance and structure of agricultural work. It is taking place "through great technical evolution" (V.I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works," vol 43, p 187). Implementation of the USSR Food Program, which determines the main aspects of agrarian policy at the contemporary stage, is, for the village, taking the form of a considerable increase in capital investments and an essential renewal of basic funds, which has become possible in the conditions of scientific-technological progress and with the country's more powerful economic potential. Rural areas are being supplied on an ever increasing scale with tractors, combines, motor vehicles, specialized transport, and modern means of mechanizing and automating livestock farms. The energy capacities of agriculture have increased to 720 million horsepower (our country has more than 3 horsepower per hectare, whereas 20 years ago, for example, the ratio was 1:1. The means of labor available to its workers are increasing correspondingly (in comparison to 1965, the energy supply for labor has increased 3.8 times and the fund supply 5.2 times). On average throughout the country each of the 4.6 million mechanizers has machinery at his disposal worth more than R5,000.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that in labor expenditures on the production and processing of agricultural products, the proportion of embodied labor is increasing, this labor being embodied in means of production manufactured at industrial enterprises. Technical progress is leading to an increase in the economic role of the workers class in the development on agriculture and also to an increase in the number of industrial workers whose labor is utilized indirectly in land cultivation and livestock breeding.

Socialist production creates the objective conditions for "combining industry with agriculture on the basis of the conscious application of science and the combination of collective labor: (V.I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works," vol 26, p 74). Practice has shown the real possibility and effectiveness of developing large-scale specialized enterprises and agroindustrial associations. The mutual interweaving of the production-economic relations of state and kolkhoz-cooperative farms and the consolidation of interfarm links attest to the higher level of production socialization and to the further development of the social organization of productive forces in agriculture.

Strengthening the industrial basis of agriculture not only leads to decisive progress being made along the path of its intensification, but also determines essential changes in the very structure of the country's agroindustrial complex and in the cadre structure.

Workers in the basic professions who have received qualified training now clearly stand out among those permanently employed in kolkhozes and sovkhoses. These include mechanizers (who now comprise one-fifth of the total number of those employed in public farming), workers responsible for maintaining and repairing equipment (at present their specific proportion is not great, but it is precisely in this sector of agricultural production that the greater part of new professions are arising, with which the future of agriculture is connected), and livestock specialists.

To an increasing extent, the direct link with machines and mechanisms of a growing number of workers is leading to their greater differentiation, which is connected with differences in their professional qualification, and in their educational and cultural-technical level. The former peasant "universalism" is disappearing, a phenomenon with which, as Marx noted, "there is no division of labor..., no application of science, and, consequently, no diversity of development, no difference in talents, and no wealth of social relations" (op. cit., vol 8, p 207). At the same time, specialization in highly mechanized work does not stand in opposition to universalization; on the contrary, it is an indispensable condition of it. And in this lie important, still far from exhaustively researched features of the dialectics of specialization and universalization, differentiation, and integration of labor and of the working people themselves (including those from different social groups and strata) in the conditions of developed socialism and the scientific-technological revolution. In this lies one of the manifestations of the merging of the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution, and of the law of the change of labor and the division of labor in large-scale industrial and agricultural socialist production. For example, an operator or an adjuster are now able to master any complex mechanism in operation both in livestock breeding and land cultivation and in industry, because of the increasing community of their structure and the principles of their control.

It is very important that the planned qualitative alteration of the professional structure and the expansion of the range of seemingly primordial agricultural professions increase the formerly very limited POSSIBILITIES OF SELECTING the sphere of application of labor IN THE VILLAGE ITSELF, and this determines the consciousness of this selection, while taking into account the

individual features and abilities of the worker, which is extremely important for drawing young cadres into agriculture.

Practice confirms that making qualitative changes in labor and raising the qualifications of cadres in the mass professions -- a condition of scientific-technological progress -- in its turn has a direct effect upon introducing and developing modern equipment and new production technology, and also upon economizing human labor.

Such are the general trends. But practice demonstrates something else. The present level of worker training is frequently at variance with the level of the material-technical base of agriculture. There is a shortage of qualified tractor drivers, combine operators, and drivers generally; and because of this, the process of switching machines over to two-shift work is being held back. On many kolkhozes and sovkhoses new equipment is not being utilized, while those mechanisms in operation frequently fail to yield the necessary effect because of an acute shortage of qualified livestock breeders and skilled adjusters.

At the same time, the material-technical base and the pace of its development in some rayons and branches hold back the cultural-technical growth of the cadres. Suffice it to say that an average of 50 percent of such labor-intensive work processes, as potato and cotton picking and the distribution of fodder on cattle farms, has been mechanized. And the natural result is that a large proportion of unskilled manpower is still concentrated in agricultural production. The absence of comprehensive mechanization on many farms and well-known conservatism in the forms and methods of labor organization in livestock breeding naturally lead to this branch now being the least attractive to young people, and so its workers are mainly middle-aged and elderly.

Life itself suggests ways of resolving the contradictions that are now appearing. It is obvious that, in resolving the problems of sharply increasing production efficiency and forming a new type of worker, one must not fail to take into account the fact that the scientific-technological revolution not only gives rise to new professions that correspond to the industrial type of production, but also makes heightened demands on existing professions -- the agricultural worker who has to master scientifically substantiated zonal systems of land cultivation and intensive technologies cannot help but to also master an entire arsenal of up-to-date machines and instruments, and cannot help but to learn the basics of plant biology, soil science, livestock management, and economics. While evaluating on merit the advantages and prospects of the new type of agricultural enterprises, at the same time it is important not to lose sight of the fact that the path of development of agriculture, and also the trends of development of agricultural workers, are primarily connected with transforming the branch as a whole and with perfecting not individual units, but the entire production system, with all the economic and social changes in rural life that must accompany this process.

Today the task of further consolidating the material-technical base of agriculture and the branches connected with it and of increasing the efficiency and mutual responsibility of all units in the agroindustrial complex is being practically resolved. It is primarily a question of raising the level of production's technical supply in those sectors where the present level does not correspond to the degree of qualification of the workers or, on the contrary, does not assist growth in their qualification. Not just any updating process, but precisely the kind which is accompanied by the introduction of the latest equipment and technology, and yields the greatest effect is envisaged here. To hold back this process (and in practice there are such attempts, which are caused by traditional views on agricultural work) means to contribute to the conservation of extensive production and backward forms of labor in society, which would exacerbate the contradiction between the demands of the economy, the new level of people's education and culture, and their new potentials and aspirations, on the one hand, and, basically, obsolete forms of labor activity on the other, and would inevitably slow down their development in the main production sphere.

It is also wrong to count on the accelerated growth of only economically sound kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Highly topical is the task of ensuring equal possibilities for the intensive development of farms operating under different economic and natural and climatic conditions. It is well known that the state of the rural economy has vitally improved recently. However, the general figures of growth conceal considerable differences in the levels of development of individual kolkhozes and sovkhoses. This disparity seriously affects both production activity and the possibilities of forming stable, qualified cadres, and their professional and cultural growth. In the less-strong farms such possibilities are much more scarce, and in the weakest groups they have virtually been curtailed. This is most keenly felt by the most active among the workers of these collective, because in such a situation their vital interests both in the production sphere and in the consumption sphere, not to mention their long-term interests, are not fully realized.

An intensive outflow of the population and a shortage of cadres, particularly skilled cadres, is becoming the natural result of this, which, in its turn, affects the farm's economies.

It is clear that differences in natural conditions cannot be eliminated. But this by no means applies to economic conditions; and recently a considerable amount of work has been done to ensure that kolkhozes and sovkhoses located in different soil and climatic zones and specializing in the production of different products have equal possibilities for development. New agricultural and processing enterprises are located according to natural conditions. The price mechanism is being improved in order to better take zonal production costs into account. An important feature in resolving the problem is leveling out the incomes of the families of rural workers in the different regions of the country, while taking into account the quantity and quality of the work and the objective conditions of the reproduction of the labor force.

All these measures are producing results, although inequality in farms' economic situations, and thereby in the conditions of development of their collectives, is still very appreciable. The substantiated distribution and

efficient utilization of funds and resources acquire particular significance in contemporary condition. It is planned to increase basic production funds in agriculture approximately 1.5 times by 1990. It is important to ensure that, in the final analysis, these funds end up where it is most expedient from the viewpoint of the efficiency of the branch as a whole. It is important to correctly define the very structure of funds, not to become carried away by oversaturation with equipment, but to concentrate attention on the intelligent selection and utilization of this equipment, and on the introduction of labor-saving technologies, the importance of which is inestimable in the task of intensifying production.

Of course, intensification primarily requires considerable investments, and their limited nature is clear. But today it is not simply a question of capital outlays. It is also essential to seek other ways of managing affairs more efficiently, primarily in those places into which it is not yet possible to channel considerable means. It is clearly impossible to carry out the technical reequipping of production immediately and everywhere. But it would also be unforgivable to procrastinate when the stage of the practical implementation of the planned strategic course has already begun. Realistic appraisal of the situation in a specific farm or region will make it possible to work out realistic, effective measures to ensure the better utilization of what they have at their disposal. It was noted at the conference in Tselinograd that the organization of production and labor, and the extensive utilization of available experience acquires particular significance in contemporary conditions, and that the problem of problems is the observance of technological discipline and the performance of precise, intelligent work, using the achievements of science, which must become a real catalyst for speeding up progress in the village. The party stresses the necessity of bringing more fully into play all reserves for increasing the production of foodstuffs both in kolkhozes and sovkhoses and in subsidiary plots.

The issue of individual subsidiary plot of rural workers is special today. It is well-known what an appreciable role these plots still play in family incomes and in supplying the country's population with foodstuffs. It is also well-known what labor expenditures they still require. One sometimes hears a leader, speaking of the development of individual plots, remark with satisfaction that they now "bind" the individual to the village. In a literal sense this is so. But is this what we want and count on achieving in resolving our economic social tasks?

Obviously, at the present stage, when individual plots are objectively necessary and fulfill important socioeconomic functions, we should find ways of achieving more efficient development in this sphere and create the conditions whereby they would be managed with the least possible expenditures of the time and labor of agricultural workers. The main thing is that informal, constant concern for this should be shown by local organs and kolkhoz and sovkhos leaders.

The present-day approach to the development of agricultural production also requires the radical replacement of certain firmly established forms of labor organization and the transition to more rational, efficient methods of economic operations.

It is characteristic that many rural inhabitants are today forced to leave the countryside and move to the town, simply as a result of the seasonal way the labor force is used. We are speaking of a shortage of people in many kolkhozes and sovkhoses, while at the same time far from all of them are employed year-round. Meanwhile, practice convincingly confirms that the inevitable break between the period of production and the period of work in agriculture must by no means inevitably lead to the seasonal nature of work and uneven utilization of the labor forces.

Many farms in the Ukraine, Belorussia, and the Baltic republics have embarked on the path of cooperation with industry, and have opened up workshops which produce spare parts for radio-electronic apparatus and various metal goods and ready-made garments. These rural workshops are supplied with equipment, instruments, and raw materials by city enterprises, which also organize vocational training for local workers. The farms build the necessary premises. As specialists from the USSR State Planning Committee have calculated, production can be increased by R20 billion by means of cooperation between kolkhozes and sovkhoses and industry.

It is significant that, with industrial production operations developing closer relations with the village and with processing enterprises and industries being formed which assist the efficient utilization of labor, the outflow of the rural population is slowing and the stability of collectives is increasing. "Pendulum migration" is also decreasing (but this now involves up to 15 percent of the population employed in rural areas). Farms are recommended in every way possible to utilize this lever for liquidating the seasonal nature of work -- while taking local conditions into account and not to the detriment of agricultural production, concern for the land, or growth in its productivity. However, attempts are not always successful in breaking the firmly established notion that subsidiary enterprises are somehow profoundly alien to the village and a source of "iniquitous" income.

The present-day approach and the search for up-to-date solutions must now embrace every aspect of the varied practical activity connected with agricultural production and must distinguish the style of leadership at each of its subsections.

But, naturally, implementation of even the most successful solutions and effective return on investments made in production primarily depend on the agricultural worker himself and on his preparedness and interest. It is natural that in the new conditions, the strict social aspect of labor and the position of the worker in production, which determines his attitude to the task at hand, acquire increasing significance.

Today's rural worker is not, of course, the peasant of the time of Gleb Uspenskiy. The present generation virtually has not found and does not know any methods of running a farm other than those that already exist. The collectivist way of life and collective labor represent a social form of the individual's development. The "borders" of the village are also expanding more and more, and the system of its population's mutual relations goes far beyond the limits of the countryside.

Under the influence of these factors, the villager's personality type is undergoing a profound change and norms of conduct common to both town and countryside are taking shape.

The interests of the individual worker occupy an increasingly vital place within the system of the workers' personal interests, because in our society work is no longer simply a means of subsistence; the individual also develops creatively within the production sphere. It is characteristic that agricultural workers are showing increasing concern for the quality of machines, mechanisms, fertilizers, and mixed fodders delivered to them, and also for the efficient utilization of resources. Competitions in various professions, which are held in the rayons, oblasts, republics, and on an all-union scale, have become very important phenomena. These competitions of the best tractor drivers, milkmaids, land amelioration specialists, and shearers not only make it possible to reveal people's skill and creative abilities, but also vitally increase the prestige of rural professions by revealing their extensive potentials and proving that the best-trained, creative minded workers achieve greater success.

Now four-fifths of the working inhabitants of rural areas have a higher or secondary (complete and incomplete) education, whereas in the prewar years this was true of only 1 out of very 16. However, the tasks of intensifying production require a new, higher cultural-technical level of the worker engaged in the agrarian sector of the national economy. The introduction of the achievements of scientific-technological progress is directly connected with a serious restructuring of the system of training cadres and with a radical improvement in cadre training and retraining. This kind of work is now being carried out, and practice confirms that it must become larger in scale.

Special attention should be paid to the problem of the timely development of a well thought-out network of vocational training and retraining, not only for the younger generation of rural workers, but also for a wider range of the able-bodied population now engaged in labor requiring little skill, which primarily applies to women workers. Statistics confirm that the apparently legitimized "women's" professions -- calf rearers, field crop growers, and vegetable growers -- now bear the least relation of all professions to technology. The Food Program has set the task of generally completing the comprehensive mechanization of land cultivation and livestock breeding by 1990. Many of the women employed today will work under these conditions. Consequently, the question arises of making the most effective use of their labor and significantly increasing and expanding the range of their vocational training. The necessity for such measures is also dictated by the interests of production and the interests of the women workers themselves.

Under the influence of the scientific-technological revolution, the economic significance of the human factor in production is sharply increasing, which is now particularly stressed in party documents, and the role of stimulating incentives and motives for personal decisions and actions aimed at goals beneficial to society and developing interest in work and the responsibility and activeness of each individual is increasing. It is clear how great in

this respect is the significance of a material incentive system, and in recent years a great deal has been done to increase the material interest of workers, including agricultural workers. Not only is the level of wages changing; the forms are also. The measures aimed at actively spreading the brigade contract in the village and at even more thoroughly introducing the economic accountability system are well-known. "Conveying the principles of economic accountability to all primary work cells and to every workplace is of great significance," it was noted at the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. "This will make it possible to link measures aimed at perfecting the system of management from above with the development of collective forms of labor organization and stimulation from below, and to increase the activeness of the working people."

Tasks connected with ensuring that wages are strictly dependent on the results of work, its productivity, and its conditions are being moved to the forefront. The party considers the constant improvement of work remuneration to be a most important aspect of economic activity, on which the growth of production efficiency depends to a considerable extent. And the necessity for this constant improvement is obvious.

Scientific-technological progress, as has already been noted, has a complex effect on the individual worker. Even in modern agricultural enterprises operating on a developed industrial basis, the most up-to-date professions frequently live side by side with the heaviest manual labor. Attempts are now being made to compensate for this to a certain extent with wages; it is believed that THE HEAVIER the work, the higher it must be paid. But work is becoming increasingly COMPLEX and, obviously, this measure, justified and right at a certain stage, willingly or no, is beginning to act as a brake on anything new that arises in agricultural production. Smoothing out contradictions in the substance and conditions of work by means of leveling out wages does not provide a complete and clear picture for deciding where new equipment, technical ideas, and the efforts of production organizers must primarily be channeled, and does not stimulate the aspiration of the workers themselves to higher qualifications and further study. New contradictions arise in their turn: the cadres with whom the future of the village is connected frequently seem to lose out from a moral and material point of view. Their material interest in the end results of their work is insufficient. The level of training of operators, adjusters, and electricians sometimes does not correspond to the requirements of industrial production and new technology: It is not always possible in rural areas to select the necessary cadres, because the workers with high technical qualifications lose out financially in an agricultural enterprise (in comparison with an industrial one). At the same time, it is becoming increasingly complicated to select people for sectors in which labor is still heavy -- workers cannot always be attracted even by the high wages paid for this work.

Obviously, for a radical solution to the problem, one must seek more radical measures. And in this respect, not only the efforts and interest of practical workers and representatives of local organs are important; those of specialists in scientific research institutes and economists in central institutions are also important.

At the same time, it is becoming increasingly clear that material incentives alone will not resolve the entire complex of problems now facing us. When the role of the individual in production changes, work incentives also change, as does the individual's perception of the mutual connection between state, group, and personal interests and goals. The practical implementation of the principle of unity of interests sometimes in many ways amounts precisely to realization of the principle of material interest. But whereas quite recently its effect was unconditionally real, now, when people who grew up in conditions of sufficiency are coming to work in agriculture, it is becoming particularly obvious that the concept "interest" is by no means equal to material interest.

Profound changes in agricultural production and the worker's involvement in an increasingly complex system of social relations develop a corresponding system of needs in him. In particular, the desire not simply to have certain benefits, but also to actively influence production and distribution is becoming one of the most important requirements of the worker. He values highly the substance of his work, investing this concept not simply with technological meaning, but also taking into account the degree of independence in the adoption of decisions at his workplace, the correlation in work of administrative and executive functions, and the degree of participation in resolving production problems at the level of his subsection and the enterprise as a whole.

As people's general educational and specialized training grows, the sphere of analysis and criticism likewise expands -- from the individual sector to everything that takes place in the economy, and from evaluation of a fact to analysis of processes and phenomena. They attach paramount importance to relations forming within the production process, which shows an incomparably greater sense of civic dignity. Agricultural workers -- like all workers in our country -- are more and more actively participating in the management of enterprises -- through local soviets, trade unions, organs of people's control, general meetings, production conferences, and various forms of independent organizations.

It would seem that the need to develop the independent action and initiative of the working people in the sphere of production management could not be questioned. However, this necessity still does not always find practical expression. In practice, there is another point of view which, although not always present in pure form, nevertheless is definite enough. Basically, it is the fact that the problems of production development and management can be resolved only by specialists with the aid of modern technology. The functions of control and fulfillment would seem to be divided. Sometimes this opinion develops into excessive administration which undoubtedly lowers the "tone" both of production and of the people themselves.

Meanwhile, practice definitely shows that qualitative growth not only in the means of labor, as the material elements of productive forces, but also in the people themselves -- society's main productive force -- means that in the new conditions, in addition to the significance of the level of education, qualifications, and professional growth of the worker, his conscientious attitude toward work acquires even greater significance. "...The deeper the

transformation we wish to produce, the more we must increase interest in it and a conscientious attitude toward it," stressed Lenin ("Complete Collected Works," vol 42, p 140).

Only in a socialist society is a real basis created for the active and interested participation of each worker in social production. However, as is known, this advantage is not realized automatically, but is achieved by perfecting the entire system of social relations, taking into account the peculiar features of the concrete stage of development of production and society.

The solution of the serious tasks which have been set for agriculture for the coming years depends upon the mastery of new technological methods and upon the mechanization, specialization, and cooperation of production. But it has always been important for our society that transformations in the economic sphere should be reflected in the entire system of social relations and that the interests of man should be apparent in the concern for technology and capital investments. It is no accident that the plan of the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia was already regarded as being much wider than its purely economic essence: "electriciation as the basis for 'democracy'" (V.I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works," vol 42, p 380).

Today the party particularly stresses that the socialism realizes its advantages through democracy. "It is necessary to always remember Lenin's idea that socialist democracy cannot be understood abstractly," the April Central Committee Plenum stated. "It has been and continues to be the instrument of development of the economy, the growth of man's activeness, and the communist education of the masses. It is precisely with this key that the party has worked and will continue to work in strengthening the democracy of the Soviet system."

Particular attention is now being concentrated on full and consistent realization of the broad rights of labor collectives. Stressing the need to increase the independence of enterprises and to intensify their interest in the final results of work, party documents aim for further involvement of working people in the everyday discussion and resolution of questions on the work of plants, construction sites, kolkhozes and sovkhoses, and also for skillful use of the potential for really activating people's energy, which will make it possible to make better use of the technical, economic and social reserves of production.

The question is arising in agriculture of further development of the democratic principles inherent in the kolkhoz form of production, and of establishing them in the working practices of sovkhoses, too. What is involved is increasing the role of general meetings of labor collectives, improving the practice of preparing for and conducting the meetings and making use of the experience of creating brigade and farm councils, which have become an effective way to establish collectivism and involve rank-and-file workers in the administration of kolkhoz and sovkhos affairs. Proposals are being made that a number of sovkhos posts, particularly that of brigade leader, should be made elective, as they are in kolkhozes.

It is also natural that every leader is now required to not only be competent and have the ability to think in an economically educated manner, but also -- and mainly -- to have the ability to work with the collective, directing its efforts toward solving common tasks and developing social production, as well as the ability to talk to people in the language of truth. At present there is a particular discussion regarding the style and manner of leading. Today's rural worker has no intention of becoming reconciled either to an unsubstantiated decision or to rudeness, and will not forgive a condescending attitude toward himself (which is still displayed frequently by leaders and specialists). He demands respect as an individual BOTH IN EVERYDAY life and in production.

The development of democracy is becoming the basis on which the problem of fostering conscious discipline and state thinking in people is being solved. The spread of independence and initiative is directly connected with increasing the responsibility of each worker and enlarging the role of this responsibility in social development. Lenin was speaking about a comprehensive increase in the independent activity of working people and in the awareness of responsibility even when the "great replacement of forced work by work for oneself" ("Complete Collected Works," vol 35, p. 197) had only just taken place, and when a new work culture and new views had not yet had time to develop among the masses. Developed socialism fully opens up the working people's "possibility OF WORK FOR THEMSELVES, and moreover of worked and based on all the achievements of the latest technology and culture" (V.I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works," Vol 35, p 196). It is important to strengthen and develop such an awareness bearing in mind that it is precisely discipline, based on personal interest and responsibility and on a combination of democracy and centralism, that will make it possible to ensure the qualitative shift in increasing production efficiency that we want to achieve.

There is an especially urgent need in agriculture for fuller realization of the entire complex of conditions connected with fostering conscious discipline. For a long time, the branch's affairs were conducted by counting on physical strength and excessive loading, the economy was frequently built on the people's enthusiasm and selflessness, while conscientiousness -- in the widest sense of the word -- was frequently interpreted as the necessity of acting in one's own interests. Today the party is calling for even more energetic continuation of the search for the most expedient forms and methods of combining the economic interests of society, labor collectives and each worker.

It is stressed that "the more closely production and social questions and the interests of state, collective, and individual are coordinated, the better the tasks will be solved; and that "it is necessary to convince people that the acceleration of scientific-technical progress is a vitally important task which corresponds to the interests of all and makes it possible for each person to reveal his abilities and talents."

And ensuring a stable interconnection of interests means ensuring a firm material basis for the development of conscious discipline. Fostering this discipline is a lengthy and difficult process, but undoubtedly only that can be controlled, and largely, managed. In contemporary conditions this is one

of the most important aspects of management activity at all levels, from the enterprises to the scale of the whole of society.

In stressing the interconnection of ends and means in production and also the complex interaction between production and consumption and between the development of society and that of man himself, the party proceeds from the fact that increasing the welfare of working people and meeting their increased needs are becoming some of the most important economic preconditions for rapid production growth and urgent requirements for the very development of society. What is involved is not simply further increases in the standard of living. The question is a considerably broader one, of the creation of conditions favorable to the comprehensive development of the abilities and creative activeness of working people.

Socialist society possesses enormous opportunities for influencing the formation of the personality by changing the conditions of people's work and everyday life and by enriching their way of life. And while at previous states of agricultural development a certain lag, conditioned by the past, was observed in the social development, the situation is substantially changing at the contemporary stage. At the same time, it is becoming increasingly clear that the demands of rural workers, which have formed under the influence of the development of production and society AS A WHOLE, are beginning to outstrip the CONCRETE possibilities of realizing them. And each new generation of workers perceives this increasingly acutely.

The complexity of acquiring necessary goods and the inadequate volume of everyday service allow rural inhabitants to have considerable money (the average size of a deposit in a savings bank in a rural area is greater than in the town). The growth in money reserves is undoubtedly an important sign of the increase in the material welfare of kolkhoz and sovkhoz workers. But the increase in accumulations of money is also a growth in "postponed demand", in the unrealized requirements of the rural population, primarily in trade, the organization of cultural leisure and various kinds of recreation, and so on. All this lessens the rural worker's interest in increasing his cultural and technical level and in more effective work activity, for as is known, material interest in work is determined not only by the size of a nominal wage, but also by the opportunities for spending it. That is why as the remuneration for work, and income as a whole, of the urban and rural population are levelled, the task of fundamentally improving trade and the medical, cultural, and everyday services of agricultural workers becomes increasingly topical.

It is obvious that the material and cultural provisions of workers employed at a particular enterprise also depend on the accumulation funds that the enterprise has at its disposal. However, the differentiation of conditions in agriculture is, as has already been noted, very considerable. A considerable number of inhabited localities which are distant from towns and large centers will continue to exist for a long time yet (primarily in the eastern regions of the country). The need to increase the roadnetwork and all means of communications is growing particularly here; this would make it possible to substantially improve the cultural and every day services provided for the inhabitants of remote villages, primarily through the development of mobile forms of services. It is necessary to take into account the fact that the

very level of consumption in regions with less favorable conditions is higher than the average and must be guaranteed not only by the size of incomes but also by a greater abundance of goods, the expansion of various kinds of services, and a growth in the number and an improvement in the content of the work of cultural establishments.

Practice shows that whereas people with various technical and educational training can find a position in the production sphere thanks to the change in work content and to the expansion of the range of rural professions, the social and cultural conditions of today's village are still oriented toward a relatively low level of education and demand. This is becoming one of the most important causes of the circumstance, which is decisive for many kolkhozes and sovkhozes, that they are losing their young and best trained cadres, with whom their future is connected. The problems of social and cultural construction are now being placed on a par with the tasks of transforming agricultural work, for only the integrated solution to both is a condition for the comprehensive development of man both as a worker and as an individual.

This is how the party poses the question today: "We must be maximally attentive to all that concerns man, his work, his material welfare, and his recreation. That is the key question of policy for us."

"...There are peculiar features of agriculture which are absolutely unavoidable (if we disregard the too remote and too problematical possibility of laboratory manufacture of protein and food). As a consequence of these features, heavy machine-building industry in agriculture will never be distinguished by ALL the characteristics which it has in industry," Lenin noted" (Complete Collected Works," Vol 5, p 137). These features will continue to determine the specific nature of agricultural production and agricultural work to some extent. At the same time, the peculiar nature of this sphere does not exclude the main point; the establishment of "heavy machine-building industry" and the achievements of scientific-technical progress in agriculture, which is the condition for substantial qualitative changes in the content and conditions of agricultural work and which raises the worker engaged in the agrarian sector of social production to a new and higher socioeconomic cultural-technical level.

The growth of production efficiency is determined by a complex, differentiated system of interconnections between the economy, social life, and the rural worker's social make-up. It is obvious how important it is in contemporary conditions to know these connections, to pick out the dynamics of their development, and to skillfully influence them. The items require profound analysis and realistic evaluation of the state of affairs in a specific kolkhoz, sovkhoz, rayon, or oblast, as well as bold thinking and effective decisions which give scope for the initiative and creativity of village workers. More intelligent, more responsible, and more disciplined work, the need for which the party is stressing today, is in the interests of both production and man himself.

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A DISCUSSION ON CRITICISM

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[Article by Nikolay Proshunin]

[Text] Life in a socialist society is not a cloudless idyll. New problems and difficulties arise within it, without ready-made prescriptions for their resolution. All of this requires studies, thoughts, comparisons of views and businesslike debates. Such debates are by no means conducted in a sterile social atmosphere free from passions and enthusiasms. Whenever significant changes develop in the historical life of a nation, consistent with its vital interests, and major changes become apparent, the "critical temperature" of the society and the creative spirit of the people rise, leaving their imprint on the nature of their thinking and language, focusing the attention on problems in the discussion of which there can be no question of impartiality and coolness of mind. It has been justly said that whoever draws his sword dispassionately is rarely inspired by the cause for which he is fighting. To this day the new appears and strengthens in the course of sharp clashes with the old and the alien which, as a rule, is tenacious and obstinate.

The development of criticism in Soviet society is a process in which the communist party plays a leading role. It influences it through the nature of its decisions and the example it sets with its inner life and style of activities. A self-critical approach to the problem is a statutory requirement as well as an ethical norm of behavior of the party member. The party demands the comprehensive assertion of an atmosphere of bolshevik frankness, daring opposition of sluggishness and stagnation in all party organizations, and their development and support of criticism, criticism from below in particular, of negligence, slackness, greed and manifestations of bureaucratism, ostentatiousness and immodesty. This demand was sounded with new emphasis at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

In preparing for the 27th CPSU Congress, party members are strengthening the relations of principle-mindedness, reciprocal exigency and exactingness in their midst. The party's accountability and election campaign is developing under the sign of a realistic analysis of accomplishments and lost opportunities in the economy and in social and spiritual life. Its purpose is to concentrate the efforts of party organizations and labor collectives on key problems of economic and cultural construction and to contribute to the

further strengthening of the Leninist norms of party life, the increased activeness and initiative of the party members and, naturally, the development of criticism and self-criticism. The party considers extensive and effective criticism an irreplaceable instrument of party democracy and a reliable method for the identification and resolution of arising difficulties and contradictions. The nationwide movement in support of the party's course of acceleration of economic and social development and the increasingly intolerant attitude of the Soviet people toward anything which hinders the renovation and advancement of life mandate to the party members to formulate more sharply, to discuss more thoroughly and to resolve more efficiently the crucial problems and to find the best ways and means of eliminating negative phenomena.

Those who insist that the main purpose of criticism and our comradely polemics is to establish the similarity in the interpretation of the problem and to assert mutual agreement are hardly right... Superficially such a conclusion may seem attractive, but is it accurate, does it guide us properly? People oppose only that with which they disagree. Fruitful analysis is based not on identical views but on the clash of opinions on a specific problem. To reduce a discussion to an enumeration of identical viewpoints means to convert it to compliments paid at a party, which does not contribute to new ideas and knowledge.

Occasionally, things at a meeting develop in a perfectly decorous and lofty way, without sharp speeches and even a ripple of agitation. Sharp turns are negotiated cautiously and skillfully, and the type of grandeur that dominates the hall is such that some comrades become drowsy despite themselves. This happens wherever the efficient organization of meetings and conferences is confused with overorganization and where there is fear of the fresh wind of criticism. Under such circumstances it is difficult to expect any serious discussion of shortcomings and readiness to penetrate problems in depth and analyze life in its entire complexity and variety. In such cases an impassionate and sincere word or original view is rarely heard, such as to bring the audience to life and to trigger a meaningful exchange of views or an interesting argument which would be crowned by a jointly found practical solution.

No truth can truly reach the minds and hearts of people if it is linked with cold judgement and boredom. Lenin passionately supported open and impassioned argumentation and disputes in the press, which enlightened and rallied the masses around the party banner, uplifting their consciousness, spirit and resolve and helping them to formulate firm and clear convictions. Vladimir Ilich was the inflexible foe of interminable and tedious logomachy which, in his words, ends not because the people have resolved the problem but because they have simply grown tired of speaking...

V. V. Vorovskiy wrote to M. S. Olminskiy about the inadmissibility of reducing the task of criticism to a search for agreement as follows (the letter is kept in the archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism): "In that way we shall degenerate into a society of mutual adoration. I am not even mentioning the psychological impossibility of remaining silent in the face of erroneous views. It is only someone indifferent to theory and its fate that can let

them pass without objection. Apart from this, what will we turn into? I shall be catching 'points of agreement' in your articles, you in mine, X's in Y's, etc. The result will be some kind of compendium of points of agreement, a collection of general and unquestionable areas and truisms, things which could be freely put in parentheses. The individuality of the authors, their specific views and personal studies or anything which could take theory forward would be erased, reduced to naught. The result will be Marxism edited for an institute for girls of noble birth. God save us from such success."

Readers who are closely following our press today can easily see that the need for arguments arises precisely "where viewpoints cross," as a result of different aspects and disagreements on the approach to one problem or another. Need we make an effort to search for something which is unquestionable? No, naturally. Nor do we need far-fetched contradictions or efforts to "hatch out disagreements" as Lenin used to say.

If it is true that truth is born out of arguments, this applies above all to arguments among friends holding the same views on basic matters. A fruitful dispute is possible precisely as a result of common basic principles and an identical attitude toward fundamental ideas. In that case, as Lenin emphasized, arguing is interesting and important precisely because the basic ground for the discussion is the unquestionable loyalty to socialism. Conversely, an argument is frequently meaningless if there is irreconcilable contradiction between people.

Unity in the main thing does not, however, exclude variety of opinion and even sharp differences in views on a specific subject. Polemics should be treated as such, without locking oneself within the narrow world of "good common sense" where, according to Marx, differences rather than unity are noticed and vice-versa. The participants in the discussion focus on what is unclear or questionable and try to refute that which they believe to be wrong, and to substantiate the accuracy of their understanding of the new phenomena of reality and the real processes in social life. This violates neither the principles of collectivism nor ideological unity. On the contrary, it helps to strengthen them and to develop an active and creative way of thinking. It is natural and necessary for differences of opinion to appear in arguments on one specific problem or another. This is a normal, a healthy approach to things. It helps to understand their essence better, to surmount one-sided and subjectivistic views and accept the new. The people share an interest in the success of the project but do not agree on the means of resolving an imminent problem, and passionately try to find the proper answers and the best means of action. This is what comradely polemics are. It is important for differences and divergencies to be freely and frankly expressed within the limits of the general shared view. Otherwise the result would be nothing but formal answers and ostentatious unanimity.

It has long been noted, and everyone knows from personal experience, that what matters is not only what is being said but also how, the words and tone of voice used. Who among us has not been painfully dissatisfied with himself in this connection. What disturbs us is usually not the fact that our thought was incorrect but that it was not expressed properly, with the proper tone of voice, instead turning into an annoying squabble and, because of quick-

tempered confusion or inability to develop our arguments, failure to voice what mattered, which may result in the failure of a perfectly right project.

The tone of the criticism is an age-old subject of close attention, which has created masses of charges levelled at one-another by participants in a meeting, literary debate or journalistic polemics, not always justified at that. That which someone may consider meaningful although harsh criticism may be viewed by someone else as nit-picking, as cudgelling criticism. Some may be pleased by unsweetened blunt views, whereas others may accuse their author of excessive bluntness, a sweeping approach and polemical whiplash. No end is visible in cases of such critical rope tugging and it is as though no objective criticism criteria exist.

The method of petty fault-finding in expressions or form of speech used, accusing someone of being too sharp and using a wrong tone of voice, is frequently used with a view to slur the impression created by the criticism and to distance oneself from it through hurtful statements. Some would hasten to throw back with sulking scorn, "Noting the inadmissible tone of voice of my opponent," in which we must accept on faith the fact that the tone was precisely quite inappropriate. As to why it was bad and inadmissible we are not told. Let us not pretend that it is all that difficult to understand to what kind of tone this refers. It is as though no one has ever said or written "Let us leave the calm tone of voice to the conscience of its author," or else, "We reject your boring, sluggish and conciliatory tone of voice."

In the course of a discussion of a vital, a sharp problem, a person may make a biting or insulting remark or, in general, express himself in an unpleasant manner which, naturally is an indication of his inability to defend his views with dignity. People come to a meeting not for the sake of insulting one-another as much as possible, and any lack of restraint or edgy tone of voice could harm the discussion. Nevertheless, a statement which is perhaps unrestrained, made by a speaker excessively carried away, would frequently make a much more favorable impression compared to back-bench reiterations of meaningless statements, importantly sounding but dressed in worn-out smooth phrases. Let us bear in mind that the condemnation of a seemingly improper tone of voice which may embarrass someone or even a frankly clumsy criticism is an indication of no more than our subjective discontent and that the question on the agenda nevertheless demands an objective consideration. It is better to voice the truth clumsily, Lenin believed, than to conceal it if it deals with something serious. Therefore, it is more useful not to judge the criticism but to concentrate on the problem itself.

The general tonality, which is one of the most important components of criticism, cannot be set in advance. It is an art which must be persistently studied. Lenin always rated the tone of publications and speeches specifically, according to circumstances. He listened closely to determine if it was consistent with the content, and explained precisely and clearly when and why was it necessary to moderate the tone or, conversely, to speak out as sharply as possible. We find in Vladimir Ilich strictly negative assessments of tonality, such as irritated, threatening, accusatory, depressing, hysterical, familiar or wooden, as well as most praiseworthy, such as "I received....the first issue of RABOCHIY. It makes an excellent impression...

There is something fresh in its tone and nature of presentation. A splendid militant spirit."

How apt and expressive are his remarks: "A clumsy although angry polemicist;" "abusive like a cabby;" "polite but biting;" "somewhat weak, more biting than substantive;" "by adding a single sentence...you have disturbed the tonality of the letter, its irony. Yet this is its essence;" "I am indignant at your optimistic tone;" or "did Marx not combine war, a most passionate, dedicated and merciless war, with total principle-mindedness?"

No one's positions are strengthened by various reproaches generated by an insulting sharpness. Those who complain should be pitied for that very reason. People pretend to be insulted when it suits them, thus justifying their unwillingness to present substantive objections which, in fact, do not exist.

However, a justified sharpness should not turn into rudeness. To defend oneself is easy but to prove and convince, difficult. Some people, stung to the quick, become nervous, rave comically, become noisy and annoying and, finally, feeling their helplessness, despairingly venture into coarse attacks and open abuse. Abuse, however, does not prove a point. It is equally true that passion and conviction cannot be measured by the amount of heated words. Virtually anyone can take a pose and mouth statements for effect, but what good comes out of this?

A harsh word of condemnation is understandable and excusable if it is clearly motivated, just and factually irrefutable. As a genuinely sincere person, Lenin called things by their name. In frequent cases, in his letters to his friends he apologized in advance for abundant sharp words and asked them not to feel hurt if his criticism was sometimes not too polite, believing that being frank and forward was best. There are times when a question must be asked bluntly, and Lenin deliberately overemphasized a problem in order to expose its essence more fully and clearly.

It is hard for a sensible man to hold a long conversation with fools.
But keeping silent at all times is more than one can bear.

It is as difficult for a warm-hearted person to restrain his live feelings as it was for the ancient Greeks. It may seem as though Chichikov was a most pleasant and a most well-mannered person, yet the blockhead Korobochka made him lose all patience, to such an extent that finally, in a fit of temper, he grabbed the chair and sent her to hell. Actually, Gogol points out, Chichikov had no reason to be angry. Although he was an honorable statesman, it is Korobochka who comes out perfect.

In his work "The Road to Socialism," the Austrian theoretician Otto Bauer has written a great deal of nonsense to the effect that the expropriation of the expropriators must be orderly and controlled, i.e., without a "rude" revolution, but with the help of taxes which could deprive the rich classes of "four-ninths" of their income. "As far as I am concerned," Lenin said in his "Publicist's Notes," "after that I stopped reading and, unless it becomes especially necessary, have no intention of reading further Mr Otto Bauer's

pamphlet. For it is clear that this best among the social traitors is at best a totally hopeless learned numbskull."

Lenin was not delicate when it was a question of errors harming the working class. The tone of his works reflects the entire wealth of the human voice, with all of its modulations and transitions, ranging from indignant overwhelming anger to fine, barely perceived mockery. A captivating passion was typical of his speech. It was felt, as N. K. Krupsakaya said, even when Ilich spoke calmly. Profoundly disliking any ephemeral glitter or forced pathos, he fiercely lashed at flowery verbiage and shallow witticism, while greatly appreciating true satire, a clever joke and repartee. He himself had excellent mastery of this rich critical arsenal.

Actually, by no means is everyone always able and willing to truly distinguish between actual sharp and irreconcilable criticism and rudeness and insults. We find in the appendix to the third edition of V. I. Lenin's "Works" an indicative review by L. I. Akselrod of the book "Materialism and Empiriocriticism." The reviewer describes Lenin's polemics as rude and "insulting the aesthetic feelings of the reader." Whenever, he claims, rudeness appears in combative topical articles it may be excused: on the battlefield there is neither the time nor the tranquility to think of the beauty of one's weaponry. A big work discussing philosophical problems is a different matter. Here one should speak more softly. What the reviewer has to say about what he considers inadmissible comparisons and impolite epithets applied by Lenin to the Machists is that "It is incomprehensible how one could write something of this kind and, having written it, not delete it or, having failed to delete it, wait impatiently for the galleys from which to strike out such stupid and rude comparisons!"

How simple and easy it all is! Having used an impolite epithet and having thought about it at leisure, delete it, replacing it with a polite one, which clashes with the spirit and tone of the entire book. It is as though the tone, style and temperament are something artificial and related to the content and could be arbitrarily changed without distorting one's true attitude toward the subject. What made Lenin even more indignant was that in their writings, the Russian Machists concealed their misrepresentation of Marxism behind Marxist phraseology. Ready to wage open battle against them, Lenin thoroughly considered every single concept included in his philosophical work. Although Vladimir Ilich realized quite soon that sharp statements come out immeasurably stronger in print than in words or in private correspondence, he was not willing in the least to soften them, giving Machist works their just desert.

Marx considered impartiality the first prerequisite for any criticism. Naturally he applied this to himself also. As Frantz Mehring aptly noted, Marx and Engels cared little for a "nice tone." They did not think long before striking, but nor did they whine whenever someone struck back.

As an inflexible proletarian revolutionary, fiery publicist and great scientist, on whom innumerable abuse was heaped in the press over many years, Marx noted the fact, immediately adding that "In my view, the press has the right to insult writers, politicians, actors and other public figures."

Those who may decide that Marx takes under his protection indiscriminate statements or personal attacks are wrong. This would have been unlike him, who had mockingly written about people whose slogan is simple: he who criticizes his opponent with nothing but abuse is a good person; but he who hurls true criticism at his opponent is an unworthy person. This hardly agreed with Marx's rules, who could say about himself with full justification that he was merciless when it was a question of his personal honor or the honor of his party.

Freedom of criticism does not give the right to demean human dignity. Criticism is a social weapon, and Marx considered criticism in the press from the viewpoint of its social content, i.e., of whether it was accurate criticism of the work done by the performer in a harmful or poor manner (a writer, politician, actor). On this level, he believed, the press is guided not by respect for individuals but for reason.

In frequent instances nothing can wound ("insult," in Marx's words) a person more than the truth. Views expressed openly and boldly seem insulting for that very reason, however meekly they may have been expressed. Let us recall Lenin's profound remark: Tell a menshevik that he is a petit bourgeois democrat and you could not insult him any worse, and the more calmly you undertake to prove this to the menshevik the more enraged he becomes. Subjectively, the mensheviks considered themselves real revolutionaries, the best friends of the working class. Objectively, however, judging by the content of their ideas and results of their actions, they find themselves at the tail end of the bourgeoisie.

Truth hurts, it is harsher than the harshest words, and criticism is the merciless weapon of the truth.

The Marxist-Leninist classics promoted equality of criticism in scientific creativity and daily activities, regardless of merit, rank and title. They firmly held the view that "no individual holding a high position has the right," as Engels said, "to be treated anymore gently than others." Nothing could violate this principled view: personal sympathy for one person or another, his unquestionable reputation or party comradeship. Marx plainly wrote to one of his friends, who felt insulted by criticism, that "You, apparently, imagined that when you commit blunders you should be complimented rather than told the truth, as it would be told to anyone else."

Active social support of just criticism is a mandatory prerequisite for its unobstructed development. However, the fruitful development of criticism is the most important problem in criticism itself: a great deal here depends on its inherent qualities, such as the art of debating, daring, objectivity and aggressiveness. It is no secret, however, that in artistic creativity, for instance, the type of criticism that endures is evasive and complimentary, occasionally giving the impression that in our country great masterpieces are like flowers in a summer meadow. Such style of criticism is generated above all by the fear of hurting the self-esteem of noted and exalted authors. Need we prove that criticism loses its social importance if it trembles like an aspen leaf in front of celebrities, coming down on those who cannot bite back, as Gogol said, and willingly going to battle against the helpless.

Criticism enhances its standing when its target is high and significant. Conversely, the efficiency of criticism and the social response it triggers weaken when it is used on petty subjects, dragging itself along the margin of life's contradictions, in the backyard of social phenomena. The merit of criticism is manifested in formulating particularly strict and greatest demands toward great and very promising talents, whatever the sphere of creativity. K. F. Ryleyev wrote Pushkin on the subject of his "Gypsies:" "You can see that I keep picking, but do you know the reason? The reason is that I am judging Aleksander Pushkin's poem and I demand of him perfection." In an effort to get a frank opinion about one of his novels, Leo Tolstoy asked: "Please say it more truthfully, i.e., more sharply..." The harshness of criticism does not wreck a true, a strong talent, in the same manner that the noise of speculative enthusiasms and the ringing of solemn review chimes will not turn an ordinary book or movie into an artistic phenomenon. A speck of dust cannot be hurled high into the air, for it has little weight of its own.

No one in our country has the right to put himself above criticism or control by public opinion. The party calls for the open criticism of errors and blunders, whoever may be committing them, rather than glossing over them, and strictly punishes those who suppress criticism. Those who display lofty arrogance, peevishness and boastfulness and the aspiration to consider just remarks addressed to them as just about an attempt against the collectivistic principles of our life as advancing nothing but...international imperialism, meet with firm rejection. Playing their trump card ("what will they say about us abroad?"), they tend to identify their personal reputation, the reputation of their enterprise or (poorly working) department with the reputation of the state and socialism.

Loyal to the behests of the great teachers of the working class, our party firmly applies the rule that party members must not avoid businesslike criticism and self-criticism on the grounds that this may please our ideological foes. Marx and Engels naturally considered that the class enemies will willingly use reciprocal criticism among communists in their struggle against socialism. However they did not make a scarecrow out of this and demanded that no one stand idle in the face of bourgeois press speculations on revolutionaries' self-criticism. Engels wrote to August Bebel that "When one constantly hears your argument about the enemy, one is willy-nilly tempted to say, to hell with him."

A vivid example proving that the usefulness of open self-criticism is greater than its inevitable cost is the story of the publication of "Critique of the Gotha Program," the brilliant work by Marx and Engels. As we know, Marx was convinced that this opportunistic program was totally unsuitable and would demoralize the party. He subjected it to sharp criticism, in the course of which he substantiated the major concepts of the strategy and tactics and the immediate and long-range objectives and tasks of the working class and provided a concise outline of the foundations of the future social system.

Engels' decision to make "Critique of the Gotha Program" public initially triggered terrible anger on the part of the socialist leadership in Germany, which even tried to suppress the publication of the journal which was carrying

the work. Fear was the main reason for this administrative measure: what use would the enemy make of this publication. The fear that it would become a weapon which the communists would give the enemy to be used against them proved, however, to be groundless. The entire party, except for the opportunists, welcomed Marx's outstanding work with great joy. The maneuver to ban its publication and the effort to suppress criticism, equal to applying the law against the socialists by the socialists themselves, failed. They failed thanks to the firm and uncompromising position taken by Engels, who firmly believed that the party needs scientific theory and cannot exist without freedom to develop; even a slight disagreement, not to mention a break between the party and the science of socialism, "would be an incomparable misfortune and shame."

The publication of Marx's work, he wrote, is merciless self-criticism. It made an overwhelming impression on the enemy: what kind of inner strength could there be in such a party, which could do such things to itself! The appearance of this document in the official party organ, Engels emphasized, dulls the sting of enemy action and lets us say: look at the way we criticize ourselves, and try to follow our example!

Lenin himself well understood the inevitable cost of any open admission by the party of its errors, difficulties and complex problems. That is why he believed that anyone who engages in criticism must use a suitable method, taking into consideration the place of the party among the enemies around it. However, the way to criticize, which would exclude blatant exaggerations, is one thing, and its content, another. Malicious sallies never have forced or will ever force the communists to avoid the cost of a systematic, comprehensive and profound analysis of imminent problems. We learn from Lenin not to fear unconscientious misrepresentations by our class enemies and firmly to follow our path.

Lenin counseled that in order not to pour grist in the propaganda mill of our bourgeois opponents as a result of unquestionably necessary criticism of shortcomings, we must tirelessly see to it that such criticism deal with the essence of things. Lenin demanded that any suggestion, any analysis of the general party line, any verification of execution of decisions, or study of means of correcting errors, etc., be immediately, without red tape, subjected to a discussion and resolution by the leading, local and central, party authorities and submitted to a direct discussion by the entire party membership. According to Vladimir Ilich, the direct participation of the party members in soviet and party work makes possible the practical correction of errors, this giving criticism a real, an effective meaning.

The most attractive features of criticism are straightforwardness, truthfulness, clarity and substantiation.

Pushkin said about V. K. Kyukhelbeker's critical articles that they had been written by a learned and intelligent person; right or wrong, he always substantiated his views, "something rather infrequent in our literature."

In many respects it remains quite infrequent to this day. Let us take as an example journal and newspaper reviews, considered the most efficient and

combative genre in literary criticism. An amazing type of such reviews has appeared, offering no analysis of the very fabric of a work of art. Some people manage to structure the entire text with the help of exclamations, even when reviewing poetry, although it would be difficult to evaluate them without forcing the poet himself to interrupt our prose from time to time. Sometimes the reviewer becomes moved by the captivating melody of the stanzas, the originality of the poetic world of the author, the scope of his thinking, etc. For some reason, however, he conceals the subject of his admiration and avoids quotations which would support his flattering opinion. Undocumented charges and raptures without cause are the roots of the critical inconsistencies in which one and the same novel or film is unusually entertaining and touchingly poetical, according to one reviewer, and unbearably boring and inordinately vulgar, according to another.

Both praise and condemnation must be substantiated. Naturally, it is simpler to praise than criticize. Say that something is bad, and you must prove it. It is much easier to state firmly that it is wonderful. This requires no proof whatsoever. What powerful noise effects are created by the editors, the editor of a local newspaper said at a Primorskiy Kraykom Plenum, when they criticize a minor inaccuracy, a misplaced comma, "although no one can ever recall a refutation of a positive reference or an accusation of being overpraised. We would display such a refutation on a shelf by itself in the editorial room museum."

It would be pertinent at this point to recall Engels' remark that minor theoretical inaccuracies are inevitable in an oral address. In turn, Lenin said that even the best and most experienced orators commit blunders. Let us too admit that the universe will not collapse from an accidental error, minor oversight, or a verbal or printed slip which may be unpleasant for someone's touchiness. The skimmed milk of average ordinary views, boring repetition of elementary truths and polished supercautious formulas causes a great deal more harm. "The way a singer or violinist afraid of a false note will never trigger in the audience a poetic emotion," Leo Tolstoy said, "a writer or speaker will not create a new thought or feeling if he is afraid that something may not be entirely proved or stipulated."

Personal criticism is the sharpest and most effective. Why is it that frequently no profound analysis of the situation is provided at meetings of scientific council, assemblies and conferences? Not the least reason is because their discussions center on the shortcomings and not the individuals who committed them. General statements about shortcomings amble from one report and speech to another, without the reasons for them and faults in the style and method of work being exposed. Poorly working enterprises, departments and establishments are named with varying degrees of discontent, but the people working in such establishments, their managers, are mentioned by name much less frequently.

Some managers, concerned with their reputation, painfully react to criticism from below, thus discrediting themselves in the eyes of those around them. Excessive pride makes them deaf to the remarks and advice of intelligent people. Instead of being pleased that they are working within a healthy collective where, if necessary, the bitter yet healing truth may be spoken

openly, they begin to mistrust such people, more willingly welcoming those who praise them. Yet it is quite clear that when participants in a meeting hear a manager being praised they mentally correct the flatterer to his disadvantage and that of the manager himself.

Personal criticism is understandably hard not only for the one criticized but also for the critic himself. Not everyone can instantly learn how to criticize or accept criticism properly, be it in daily work or in the press. This makes it even more important to develop in oneself the ability to practice restraint, not to make already hurtful criticism insulting and not to yield to the temptation to hurt the dignity of the one criticized more painfully. One can hardly consider principled criticism which contains personal dislike. In that case, its social value is reduced to naught. Sneaky thrusts, biting hints at something extraneous and pinning labels can only poison the atmosphere in the collective, immediately tempting various scandal-mongers to start gossiping.

It sometimes happens that people who blame one-another for prejudices in favor of friends or specific groups, deliberate untruths and other malicious intents forget that looking for hidden buttons or reasons for criticism can only plant the seeds of suspicion and discord without actually proving anything. They are as harmful as efforts to replace a clarification of the essence of the matter with an analysis of real or imaginary shortcomings of the critic, with a view to tarnishing his reputation.

It is arguments, facts and theoretical concepts which must be subject to a critical analysis rather than secret motivations and character features. It is sometimes quite easy to prove that an error has been made. However, to prove that it was deliberate is hardly possible even with the notorious lie detector. Substituting insight for arguments and use of intuitive guesses and suspicions which are unprovable by their very nature are impermissible means. Errors are criticized most persuasively not through narrow-minded knowledge of what is taking place deep within those who displease us but by correlating a distorted picture of life with objective reality, with the real situation.

Lenin set an example for us of restraint and caution in sparing the dignity of those he criticized, an example of how, while showing respect for the conscientious searching for the truth, one must remain entirely within the boundaries of a comradely discussion in which there may be opponents but not enemies. He approached the arguments and criticisms of others exclusively from the viewpoint of the content of their views, conceiving of a victory over his opponents possible only as a result of superior arguments. Vladimir Ilich crushed mercilessly his opponents' arguments but in such a way that even a touchy person felt no loss of dignity or depression, or loss of faith in himself, but the desire to overcome his errors. We need the type of criticism which helps to advance the common project, to help correct and convince our comrades and to advance our thoughts and projects. The communists learn from Lenin how to criticize sharply those guilty of shortcomings and how to argue heatedly without, however, allowing any kind of malice or personal hostility.

While supporting equality of criticism, Marx, Engels and Lenin also supported equality of the right to criticize. If someone considers attacks against

himself groundless, he must have the possibility of answering them. Proper standards, however, forbid an exchange of criticism to degenerate into ordinary squabble of the "this goes for you too" variety. "Have you noticed," Pushkin wrote to his friend, "that all of our journal anticriticisms are based on the 'you too' principle? Bulgarin tells Fedorov, you are lying, and Fedorov tells Bulgarin, it is you who are lying. Pinskiy tells Polevoy, you are a lout, and Polevoy answers Pinskiy, you yourself are a lout. One would shout, you are a thief and the other will answer, it is you who are a thief!"..

Why conceal the fact that many are those who consider criticism a means of avenging an insult. They carry it like a sword, and to them criticism is similar to blood vengeance.

Everyone remembers Lenin's advice of putting oneself in the place of his audience and explain more and "fulminate" less. He disapproved of the aplomb of people who announce their critical judgements like oracles, explaining nothing and allowing no objections. He personally was ready to abandon his ideas if the accuracy of another view could be proven to him.

Although necessary, any sort of criticism includes a negative aspect: negation of other people's assertions and approaches. In the final account, the purpose of criticism is a constructive one. It must not be an "idle" skeptical negation which contains no interested search for a better solution, but a renovating negation which offers in exchange something different. This is a necessary prerequisite for the development and assertion of new ideas and progress in any kind of generally useful matter.

As we know, Lenin violently objected to hollow and meaningless criticism. For example, if an article consisted of nothing but rude abuse and no positive results came out of the personal views of the critic, this meant that the person lacked a feeling of party-mindedness and "clearly felt free from any kind of comradely obligations and responsibilities, like a 'free' individual representative of professorial science."

Object criticism, in which rejection and assertion blend in a state of dialectical unity, thanks to which the seeking mind is given new scope, will always be accepted by public opinion. No sympathy and support will be offered to those who, to start with, thoughtlessly hasten to assume a position marked by doubt and negation. The logic of those who approve of such a position is frequently quite apparent: if the idea is accepted, roll up your sleeves and make it happen; if it is rejected, no one has to do anything.

The constructive nature of criticism does not imply the requirement of having a ready answer to everything. Not everyone can encompass immediately all aspects of a new and difficult problem. At this point a party-minded attentive attitude must be shown toward formulated views, arguable though they may seem. No one among us can claim a monopoly on the complete truth, or papal infallibility. If the opportunity to speak out was granted only to those whose views were guaranteed to be accepted and asserted in advance, many people would have been forced to remain eternally silent, passively accepting whatever they were unable to refute because of poor information or insufficient knowledge. A person may not see how to remove an evil, but if he

notices it he has the right to mention it without fear of being snubbed. The sacramental "What do you suggest?" is the equivalent of an effort to avoid criticism, rudely to silence someone midword, to shut him up. Our people are not so deaf as to mistake criticism dictated by the sincere aspiration for justice and truth for a malicious hissing.

The habit of distancing oneself from criticism for lofty reasons, inability to hear out someone and peremptoriness obstruct a vital project. Lenin could bombard and put in his place anyone for his efforts to hinder the clarification of unresolved or insufficiently developed practical or scientific problems. He believed that cutting a theoretical discussion of a problem short with stirring shouts was a bad maneuver. Excessive self-confidence, unappealable tone of voice and scathing judgements on the subject of unusual fresh ideas and new approaches can only create a situation similar to a stalemate in a chess game, in which neither a checkmate nor a move are possible, thus becoming fraught with the danger of freezing creative thinking.

Today the party encourages criticism to be heard loudly from even the highest rostrums. Naturally, criticism is most effective when it is based on knowledge. With this in mind, the CPSU is making great efforts to improve the level of information of the people and is concerned with strengthening an authoritative, lively and effective public opinion. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo has asked the central committees of communist parties of union republics and the kraykoms and obkoms to take additional steps to increase publicity in the work of the party, state and economic bodies.

The better informed the people are, the more profoundly they understand the problems which our time sets the country, the more consciously they act and the more energetically they support the party's policies. Extensive publicity is a necessary prerequisite for upgrading the constructive life-bearing role of criticism and self-criticism in the life of the party and the state. A clear idea of the state of affairs in one's collective and in the country at large and of the real accomplishments and difficulties, economic and legal knowledge and knowledge of their constitutional rights and obligations, and of the the rights and responsibilities of official bodies and individual officials allow the Soviet people to express substantiated remarks and make rational suggestions, to aim their criticism accurately, to eliminate shortcomings and abuses and to bring order where order is violated. The free development of open comradely criticism and self-criticism is an important factor in energizing the working people, awakening their energy and will to act, upgrading the tone of all social life and accelerating our economic, social and spiritual progress.

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GUARANTEED BY THE COLLECTIVE

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[Article by Yu. Konishchev]

[Text] The opening of the party meeting at the first pipe rolling shop was delayed... And although the metallurgical workers know how to value time the rolling of the pipes being so fast that even seconds count, the reason for the delay of several minutes was considered legitimate. At the entrance to the engineering building, where the party members had gathered, a painter was hurriedly inscribing on a stand the words of a just-received telegram signed by the minister and the chairman of the sectorial trade union. It read that the collective of the pilgrim unit (the rolling mill, the forward motion of whose rollers resemble the steps of a staff-carrying pilgrim--author) had been declared the winner of the all-union competition among collectives of metallurgical machine units for the January-July 1985 period, and awarded the title "Best Pipe-Rolling Mill" and a cash bonus.

The Pipe Manufacturing Plant imeni F. A. Merkulov in Seversk, where I had come on an editorial assignment to describe the accountability and election meeting of the primary party organization, is located in one of the most picturesque areas of the Middle Urals, not far from Azov-Gora, at the sources of the beautiful Chusova. I was familiar with the area since childhood, from P. P. Blazhov's "The Malachite Box." It was here, in Polevskoy, that he had spent his childhood and it was at this plant that his father had worked. It was here that the story teller studied the noble character of the Russian worker: his bright mind, strength of spirit, ability to counter any trial and insatiable aspiration to work, bordering on magic....

The collective of this the oldest enterprise in the country, which will celebrate its 250th birthday in 4 years, sacredly honors the traditions of famous past masters, multiplying the fame of the Urals with its skillful handling of the metal. This plant largely determines the aspect of the sector with the products it ships to more than 4,000 enterprises throughout the country and to 57 foreign countries. Pipes bearing the stamp of the Seversk plant are eagerly awaited by petroleum and gas workers in the Extreme North and Far East, Central Asia and the Northern Caucasus, the makers of Zhigulis, ZILs and KamAZ automobiles, the layers of main gas and petroleum pipelines and communal service plumbers. The plant in Seversk is the only one in the

country producing especially thin electrically welded pipes for the Fregat and Kuban water spraying systems. For many years the plant has been producing its very scarce goods strictly on the basis of contracts which it fulfills 100 percent. Since the start of the 11th Five-Year Plan, the Seversk people have held leading positions in the sectorial competition among metallurgical workers; for 2 consecutive years they won the Red Challenge Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee. What makes the pipes plant even more famous is that it was here that 15 years ago an initiative, the slogan of which is "Collective Guarantee of Labor and Social Discipline," was born, stubbornly gathered strength, albeit with difficulty, and has now become widely accepted. These successes are backed by the not always perceptible yet always intensive and comprehensive daily activities of the primary party organizations which are not described as the foundations of the party and the political nucleus of the labor collective without a reason.

The current accountability and election campaign is taking place at a particular time: at the crossroads between two five-year plans, on the eve of the 27th CPSU Congress, a period of reorganization of the forms and methods of party work and the search of ways to improve the economic mechanism. The April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum described this a time of daring decisions and energetic actions. "That is why," the plenum noted, "it is so important for communist meetings to be held in a Leninist fashion, without false idealizing or meaningless discussions, summing up the results of accomplishments, gathering bits of positive experience, fearlessly exposing shortcomings, identifying possibilities and specific ways of increasing production output, upgrading economic efficiency and improving the situation."

Such was also the nature of the accountability and election conference in the pipe-rolling shop No 1 of the famous plant.

Responsible for Everyone

The pipe rollers greeted their comrades, who had set record indicators and attained levels unsurpassed in this and other sectors, with restraint yet warmly. This celebration, however, did not prevent the party members immediately to adopt a serious and businesslike attitude. The speaker himself, the experienced party leader A. Legostayev, and those who followed him carried out the discussion on the basis of a self-critical and sober analysis of accomplishments, frankly mentioning committed errors.

Strengthening the discipline and bringing order in all sectors of our life without exception is the imperative of today. It must be pointed out that working time losses caused by absenteeism at the plant are below the oblast's average by a factor of 15. Nevertheless, not all discipline violators have become extinct. In the pipe rolling shop as well, as the speaker noted, there had been 24 cases of absenteeism since the beginning of the year and more than 40 people had been sent to the medical sobering tank. The participants in the meeting noted with particular concern that there had been party members among the delinquents.

"Thus, on 11 March electrical fitter L. Putilin lost one work shift because of drunkenness," A. Legostayev said in his report. "He was expelled from the ranks of the communist party. Roller V. Ryzhkov was seen in a state of intoxication. He was issued a strict reprimand which was recorded in his party card. Four candidate party members--N. Ilinykh, V. Tamm, O. Moiseyev and T. Gorkunova--were refused party membership. The fact that the percentage of violations which occurred in the course of the year in our party organization, which numbers 198 members and candidate members, is small did not matter. The most distressful fact is that violations were committed by party members, by our comrades. This means that we have weakened our attention to problems of discipline and relied on the fact that the initiative would be unfailing. Yet this initiative must be constantly supported, directed and developed. Otherwise the movement would get out of control...."

Let us, at this point, say a few words about the history of the initiative. As in many other Ural enterprises, there were frequent cases of absenteeism and other delinquencies; the collective suffered from cadre turnover as well. However, by no means have disciplinary or educational measures applied been used in the case of all violators. A rather tolerant attitude was displayed toward some workers, not in the least because when the fulfillment of the plan was "hot" the foreman asked them to work a second shift and they agreed. In "compensation," however, they took the liberty of not showing up for work on some days, confident that the foreman would not "notice" their truancy. But in a shop every man must be accounted for! The absence of one imposes an additional burden on the others. Furthermore, more stressed work frequently resulted in gross violations of technological discipline. The desire of the administration and the public organizations to retain a highly skilled worker at the plant at all cost is understandable. However, a tolerant attitude toward gross disciplinary violations inevitably triggers a type of chain reaction of violations of this type. Could it be otherwise? The moment someone would be forgiven his truancy (for exceptional services) why would others, less deserving, not give themselves unplanned leave?....

By the end of 1969, in discussing the results of the work of their shop at shift worker meetings, the Martin furnace workers, followed by the pipe rollers, decided to upgrade, not in words but in deeds, the responsibility of every worker for the general state of affairs in the collective and promote a conscientious attitude toward the work on the part of everyone rather than the frontrankers only. With the support of their brigades, the best steel smelters and the senior pitmen volunteered to assume the heavy burden of collective responsibility for observing labor and technological discipline and socialist community standards. This bold idea formulated by the workers was extremely simple: the entire brigade assumed responsibility for work defects or substandard production. Truancy and drunkenness, the workers justifiably thought, are defects in educational work and responsibility for them should be jointly assumed. It was therefore resolved that if any brigade member would be guilty of truancy or of violating public order the entire brigade would deny itself the additional bonus owed to it from the material incentive fund.

The suggestion was extensively discussed in all brigades and shops and at a joint expanded party committee session with the participation of the heads of the other social organizations and the enterprise's administration. The

initiative was approved, but with the mandatory stipulation that collective responsibility could be assumed voluntarily by every individual member of the collective.

The new initiative entrusted the plant's labor collectives with difficult education problems in addition to their customary daily production concerns. Foremen, brigade leaders and heads of shifts and shops engaged in a more purposeful education of their subordinates. It became the rule that every month, together with the production sector aktiv, the foreman formulated a comprehensive educational work plan which included, as it should, upgrading the ideological and political standards of the workers, their labor and aesthetic education, improving relations within the collective and, finally, physical culture and concern for the young generation. Together with the foremen, party group and trade union and Komsomol organizers decided who among the workers should be visited at home for a talk, and who should be summoned for a thorough discussion at the shop. The results of these measures were regularly reported by the shift foremen at expanded conferences held by the shop chiefs. In turn, the shop chiefs informed the director on the condition of educational work in the collective on a monthly basis (according to a schedule).

"The very first results of the experiment," the accountability report read, "turned around some customary ideas as to what was good and what was bad at the plant. The interdependence between the level of performing discipline and the level of organization of the work was manifested more clearly..."

"Such interaction is the strike force of the movement, its main caliber. The initiative helped to improve end work results," shop chief A. Ivakhnenko emphasized in his address. "The initiative helps to perfect methods of organizational and educational work..."

The thought that the initiative proved to be an effective tool for the unification of the collective and the organization of its efficient and reliable work and a flexible method of involving the working people in production management is confirmed in plant statistical figures as well, some of which were cited at the meeting. For example, in 15 years of development of the initiative, working time losses from absenteeism and cadre turnover at the plant were reduced by a factor of nearly 3, and cases of truancy by a factor of 5. In shop No 1, which employs nearly 2,000 people, there were 28 cases of absenteeism in 1981, 27 in 1982, 24 in 1983, 21 in 1984, and 24 in the first 8 months of this year. It was this undesirable leap in the number of cases of absenteeism that introduced a note of concern in the report.

"We are still short of machine-tool workers, L. Yakimov, roll-turner and party group organizer, said. "That is why each case of truancy is reflected in production indicators. The shift program cannot be lowered! Therefore, someone has 'to work hard' for the truant. Furthermore the annual pay supplement of the entire brigade will be lost because of a single truant. It is true that such cases are becoming fewer. The initiative is good because it awakens the person's conscience. How to look the comrades in the eye if they are being punished because of you?..."

The party buro secretary spoke with genuine concern about the fact that the shop workers had committed four acts of hooliganism in the same 8 months and had been stopped by GAI [State Automobile Inspection] personnel for drunken driving on seven occasions. Anywhere else, in any less successful collective, such figures would have given no reason for harsh conclusions. Here, however, sobriety and discipline had become a daily behavioral norm, voluntarily honored by the workers, for which reason the collective of the cutting section, where the number of various types of violations and delinquencies had increased somewhat, was sharply criticized in the report. It was given another collective as an example--the pipe heat processing section, which employs 140 people and where only one violation of the discipline had been committed in the past 8 months.

The party organization of the pipe rollers deems it its task to struggle even more persistently against violations of labor discipline and public order and, by applying all methods of social influence in this struggle, create an atmosphere of intolerance of such actions. This, the speakers at the meeting said, is a major area of activity of all social organizations, including the commissions for struggle against drunkenness, the comrade courts and the tutors' councils.

The accountability report noted that the party buros of sections and services and the party group organizers are still working insufficiently to upgrade the responsibility of every party member for the strict observance of statutory requirements and socialist community life standards. Few reports are being submitted by party members at party group and section party organization meetings, which is very harmful to the cause of education and hinders the increased activeness of party members. The shop party members drew attention to the fact that in some sections, including that same cutting section, the party stratum is thin, which hinders the tangible increase of the party's influence in the collective.

"Why does the collective undertake to guarantee the observance of labor and social discipline," plant director O. Tantsyrev said, explaining the nature of the initiative on the eve of the meeting. "It was noted long ago, and accurately so, that, as a rule, the way a man behaves at home and in public is the way he behaves at work, and vice-versa. That is why so-called strictly production problems and problems of education must be solved together. Do you think that our situation is ideal? Unfortunately it is not. There is absenteeism, drunkenness and worse. In such cases we remember Makarenko, who said that there are no born loafers, truants and even drunkards in the world. He bequeathed to all of us to be exigently good to people. We keep learning from Makarenko's goodness and strictness. The reasons for delinquencies are many and affect the person differently. That is why we define the set of measures to strengthen labor discipline on the basis of the study of the specific situation in a specific section, shop or brigade. We identify the 'hot spots' where an adverse situation has developed for some reason and take proper steps according to the group of people we are dealing with and, trite though this claim may seem, we reach every individual..."

Yes, good seeds are sown at this plant and the harvests are good. Examples were cited at the meeting of individuals, whose poor past performance gave no

assurances for the future, who had become production frontrankers, how peace in the family was restored with the help of the collective and how fathers regained the respect of their children....

Here is a tale similar to what was recalled at the meeting.

worker at the shop. Once, however, he showed up work drunk and was sent home by brigade leader V. Zhdanovskikh. Naturally, the brigade lost its additional wage, but not a word was said to the culprit, in the hope that this would not repeat. Vladimir Ivanovich failed to appreciate this delicacy and continued to drink. In the final account, he had to be dismissed.

"I was hired at the ZhBI Plant," Vladimir Ivanovich said. "There the situation was such that nobody cared, everybody minding his own business. Nothing like at our plant. I started drinking even more heavily. Family troubles and scandals broke out. Fortunately, my former brigade comrades had not forgotten me. Gradually, I began to sober up. I felt angry at myself. I am ashamed to remember the small room in which we huddled, ate as best we could and that my son had to wear the same jacket to school for several years..."

Having firmly resolved to stop drinking, Vladimir Ivanovich went to see the shop chief and asked to be taken back in the brigade. The chief was implacable. "I don't trust you," was all he said. Fortunately, the brigade trusted their comrade in difficulty and insisted that he be rehired. This was 2 years ago. Since then Vladimir Ivanovich has been doing excellent work, without breakdowns or violations. Today his photograph is exhibited on the honor board alongside the other members of the brigade. He is waiting his turn for a private apartment. Briefly, he has become a person following the right path. His fate was decided by the brigade, which has the final word.

If violations still occur in a collective, they are committed mainly by new arrivals or by people sent here for purposes of reeducation, so to say. It is in the Seversk collective that the character of a novice or a problem person begins to be resmelted, developing in him a conscious attitude toward labor and understanding of the unity between public and private interests.

The guarantee of the collective is based on a growing need to be responsible for one's comrades, pride in the good and sadness for anything bad; it is manifested in the permanent high glow of civic attitude. Labor productivity and the feeling of the workers, production quality and the status of current plant events, new technology and an innovative attitude toward it, thrifty use of materials and generosity of spirit...all of this has been combined within this movement. Party committee and bureau sessions and plant planning meetings discuss not only production assignments but courtesy, inner culture, etc. Attentiveness, respect and mutual trust have become a habitual norm of plant life. A united and strict collective and concern for everyone encourage the people to value the respect of their comrades and the title of worker.

Here are even more indicative figures featuring the initiative: last year one-time bonuses of 641 people, totalling 8,029 rubles, were lost, but increases higher by a factor of 9, or 51,657 rubles, were earned. This

calculation convincingly speaks in favor of the material incentive for the guarantees given by the collective.

"At their meetings the party members directly assess the work of the careless worker," Yu. Petrenko, plant party committee secretary said about the discussion of the party members at the pipe rolling shop No 1. "I would not go on reconnaissance patrol with such a person." Is this harsh? Our work conditions do not forgive spinelessness. The reference to reconnaissance is because many party members at the plant feel like pioneers, constantly searching, as spearheads in the attack for what is new and progressive. One may fulfill one's norm, study at an institute or, briefly, be in good repute without being entitled to call oneself a scout of the future. This also demands the desire and courage to stand on the line of fire, to go where the old is still clinging, to fight it and to lead the others or, in a word, to advance!..."

Concern for End Results

"The young workers are proud of working in a frontranking shop, next to famed work masters," said I. Antropov, tuner of combined and special machine tools and secretary of the shop's Komsomol organization. "Unfortunately, there have been cases of drunkenness and truancy among the shop's Komsomols. We had firm talks with the delinquents and assigned to them tutors -- frontranking workers, strict but sensitive and responsive elder comrades, educators by vocation, and the situation began to improve. Today four of our Komsomol members have opened their own thrift accounts. A movement for no single defect in the 100 percent fulfillment of orders has spread among the young..."

In listening to the statements of the party members on various aspects of the collective's life it was natural to think of the firm and daily tangible connection between production and labor discipline and so-called private life of the plant personnel. In reporting on the work of the shop party commissions in charge of controlling production quality, applying scientific and technical accomplishments and the course of capital construction and mastery of installed capacities, and on the work of commission on the conservation of material resources, party member V. Pletnev reported that 728 people had participated in the economy and thrift review and 941 suggestions had been submitted. The commission members studied them thoroughly, after which, at the next party meeting, they submitted recommendations on how to save on materials and energy. The shop's party members unanimously supported the suggestions. The shop drafted a comprehensive individual account for upgrading work efficiency and quality in which every metallurgical worker deposited saved kilograms of fuel, metal and kilowatt hours of power. It is thus that the people learned to count...

As a result, noted V. Konev, senior pipe finishing foreman and chairman of the people's control group, in the first 8 months of the year the pipe rollers have already saved 2,367 tons of regular fuel and 2,330,000 kilowatt-hours of electric power. At this point they can work with saved fuel and electric power not 2 days per year, as called for by their socialist pledges, but 11 and 8 days, respectively. This means more pipes for the national economy, above-plan wells and thousands of tons of additional petroleum.

It was pointed out at the meeting that with the direct participation of the party members in the capital construction commission the new sixth line for the manufacturing of casings was commissioned ahead of schedule by the end of last year. It has a 65,000-ton annual production capacity. In order to institute stricter quality control, outstripping planned deadlines, the shop personnel installed and started up the most advanced press for testing pipes at a pressure of 1,250 atmospheres. Now pipes produced at the Seversk plant are used in pumping oil from deeper wells.

Both the accountability report and the speeches dealt extensively with the need to make use of all shop possibilities to increase output and upgrade its economic efficiency, and the fact that here a great deal depends on the initiative and enterprise of the collective itself, the successful implementation of the party members' vanguard role and the proper understanding of contemporary requirements of scientific and technical progress by everyone.

No one would have blamed the pipe rollers for stopping the morally obsolete sizing mill, dismantling it and installing a new one in its place. This is the way it has always been done, both at home and abroad. But in such a case the mill would not have produced goods so greatly needed by the national economy for 40 days. The shop party members and the mill pipe rollers resolved otherwise: without turning off the main unit, to install on a parallel basis a new mill with stronger housing. By increasing the amount of working time and lowering waste, this mill would help increase output by 7,000-8,000 casings annually. It was also resolved not to dismantle the old mill after the new one had been started up but to update it so as to meet world production standards.

Collective searching for reserves turns into a substantial increase in the production of high-quality pipes, which are, furthermore, the most inexpensive in the country and the world. Let us take for comparison's purposes the neighboring similar enterprise, the Sinarskiy Pipes Plant. Here the pipes are made of rolled skelp, which necessitates an additional processing at the section rolling mill. At the Seversk plant the metal is rolled straight out of the Martin furnace, for which reason, as A. Ivakhnenko, the shop's chief, proudly said at the meeting, the cost of its pipes is half that of Sinarskiy's and the quality is better. The shop's collective is also proud of the fact that such an original technological approach has enabled the plant to produce an additional 12,000-15,000 tons of pipes with strap seals, which are so greatly needed at the Urengoy natural gas deposits.

Technical production improvements, in which every party member and virtually all workers at shop No 1 are involved, have become a firm base for the impressive successes achieved by the pipe rollers. hundreds of rationalization suggestions for equipment reconstruction, technological improvements and the installation of new equipment have substantially influenced production profitability. Economic benefits from the application of the pipe rollers' suggestions average more than 1.5 million rubles per year. This five-year plan 82 people have already been released as a result of technical changes alone.

For a number of years the work of the Seversk plant collective has been planned and rated according to an essentially new indicator which assesses the implementation of assignments not in terms of tonnage but number of requested items and pipe varieties. As a result, fulfilling not only large but small, low-tonnage and low-metric orders is strictly taken into consideration.

The people at the meeting spoke with satisfaction about the results of the competition of the shop's collective against related workers, based on the "Worker Relay Race" principle. This is one of the main trends in the struggle for upgrading production efficiency and work quality. It makes possible the utilization of plant reserves in connecting areas and on a broader--sectorial and intersectorial--scale. It is precisely here, in the interconnecting areas, that tremendous possibilities exist of increasing social labor productivity, increasing output at the lowest possible cost and improving quality. Under contemporary conditions, with increasing production specialization and cooperation, the extensive publicity of "related" labor competition and the regular and efficient exchange of information among participants is exceptionally important. Such publicity and exchange, the shop party members emphasized, is an efficient factor in upgrading labor, creative and social activeness of labor collectives.

The Severskiy plant has established close ties with the Nizhnevartovskneftegaz Association, with which it is in competition. The "Worker Relay Race" is operational between pipe rolling shop No 1 and the Nizhnevartovsk drilling administration No 2, as well as between a number of brigades. In his address, R. Plotnikov, hot-rolling operator, described the competition between a brigade of rollers at the pipe rolling mill, headed by D. Kravets and a drilling brigade headed by foreman V. Pavlyk. They visit each-other and study the nature of their work. The benefits are numerous! Having seen the conditions under which the Tyumen petroleum workers work in the winter, back at the plant D. Kravets told the administration and the party committee: "Better for pipes with even the slightest defects to remain here than be sent to Tyumen, for correcting errors there is impossible."

Until recently, the lining of the threads was frequently damaged, particularly during transportation, as the ends of the pipes lost their original shape. This meant that they became useless, for threading them to each-other became impossible. The pipe rollers spent a long time looking for a way reliably to protect the pipes from deformation. A solution was eventually found. They were the first in the Soviet Union to apply a technology for the manufacturing of pipes with trapezoid instead of the usual triangular threads. The manufacturing of such pipes is more difficult but also more reliable. They are easier to couple inside the well. The joints of multi-kilometer long pipe columns are strengthened and breaks are sharply reduced. Currently 76 percent of the total amount of such pipes produced in the country come from the Seversk plant.

The petroleum workers complained to the pipe makers about another fault in their output: the frequent warping of the washers which protect the pipe threads. As a result, the plant applied a new technology. The threads were rolled instead of machined with a lathe, which was the traditional method. Previously, the operation involved two turners and a press operator. Now the

three operations have been combined and performed by a single worker. The quality of the threads has improved and the washer reliably protects the pipes in transport. Labor productivity has substantially increased as well.

The petroleum workers frequently complained, shop chief A. Ivakhnenko said at the meeting, that sometimes the pipes they received were slightly bent. This was unnoticeable to the naked eye, but in an underground column several meters long this microscopic curvature led the drill dozens of meters away from the right spot. The shop party members carefully surveyed centimeter by centimeter the surface of the levelers and found the reason for the defect, the correction of which was, as they say, a technical matter. Today the tuned up mechanism of the levelers operates with the highest possible accuracy and provides ideally straight pipes.

A murmur of approval spread throughout the red corner after A. Ivakhnenko read the figures of defective castings for the previous year, issued by the Ministry of Petroleum Industry: only 1.9 percent of the pipes manufactured at the Seversk plant had been judged defective, compared with 9.9 percent at the Azerbaijan pipe rolling plant, 4.9 percent at the Nizhnedneprovsk plant, 4.8 at the Taganrog plant, 3.9 percent at the Sinarskiy plant and 2.2 percent of imported pipes (Japanese and Canadian).

"No reason to celebrate," the shop chief said, cooling down the enthusiasm. "This is still a rather high percentage, meaning a thousand tons of waste. We must work even more persistently to make sure that no single faulty pipe leave the plant..."

Impressive results were achieved by the shop during the accountability period. In 7 months the volume of output increased by 18.6 percent and labor productivity by 7.1 percent compared with the same period of last year. However, the shop party members and the entire pipe rolling collective intend to do even better during the 12th Five-Year Plan. They have pledged drastically to enhance labor productivity, lower production quality and, based on the plant's assumed obligations, increase the production of pipes for the Kuban spraying system by a factor of 2.1 and for the Fregat system by a factor of 1.56. The metallurgical workers intend to make a major contribution also to the implementation of the country's Food Program. As it has in the past, the shop's collective is guaranteeing a 100-percent fulfillment of consumer orders.

Advance Further, Accomplish More

"The strength of the movement," I was told during my talk at the Polevskoy CPSU Gorkom with S. Ananov, its first secretary, N. Aksyuchits, gorispolkom chairman, and other comrades, "is that it has met with a broad response and support among the working people in the town and in all of our enterprises. Naturally, the party gorkom and the soviet and Komsomol organizations have tried comprehensively to promote the dissemination of the initiative. However, the initiative itself promoted its advantages quite well. Originating in the course of the work, in worker circles, it was understood by and close to everyone..."

The collective guarantee of social discipline changed the city's microclimate as well. No drunks are to be found in the streets, everything is orderly, the rhythm is calm and the mood is businesslike. Something else which was noteworthy in the course of various encounters was a feeling of personal dignity, inordinately developed not only among the plant personnel but also among the entire population of this healthy clean worker city....

The "Collective Guarantee of Labor and Social Discipline" movement at the Seversk plant includes 98 percent of all brigades. Today it has become widespread beyond the enterprise. In Sverdlovsk Oblast it has been adopted by more than 17,000 production brigades, totalling more than 232,000 workers in 328 enterprises. It has developed warm supporters in Krasnoyarsk Kray and Dnepropetrovsk, Kaluga, Kuybyshev and Tyumen oblasts.

Naturally, the participants in the meeting were concerned with further improving the initiative and involving in it all plant workers, particularly those in its auxiliary services, where the movement is less developed than elsewhere. The enterprise's collective, not to mention that of the shop, cannot develop the initiative throughout the union, although judging by everything, the need for it does exist, and interest in it is genuine! Almost daily the plant is visited by numerous delegations from all parts of the country to study at a closer range and in detail the experience of organizing a movement profoundly consistent with our current concerns

Last July, the AUCCTU Presidium and the USSR State Committee for Labor passed a joint decree on the initiative of the frontranking labor collectives in Sverdlovsk Oblast in the development of the "Collective Guarantee of Labor and Social Discipline" movement. One can only cheer the promulgation of this document, although the new draft of the name of the initiative, the word "social" has been omitted, despite the fact that the movement, which was born at the Seversk plant is precisely aimed at strengthening the unity between labor and social discipline. The entire point is that, by joining the movement, the worker collective guarantees the voluntary and conscious observance of the norms of socialist morality by every one of its members. Such guarantees are particularly necessary today, when the party is concerned with the comprehensive strengthening of discipline and order and the creation of a healthy moral atmosphere in all sectors of social life.

The changed titled of the valuable initiative is noteworthy for another reason as well, for the initiative is a reflection of the long years of struggle waged by the Seversk plant collective for the recognition of its movement. The sanctions voluntarily accepted by the brigade collective were the stumbling block. The pipe rollers insisted that if anyone of its members would violate social discipline, its annual bonus was to be cut by 5-10 percent, increasing to 20 percent with a second violation. Conversely, brigades which had worked during the year without violations would receive an additional 10 percent or even higher bonus.

The ups and downs of this stubborn struggle could be the subject of a long tale. Let me merely cite a comment on this instructive story, which the shop party members heard during a break in the meeting. "Whart happens to the communist subbotniks in such a case?" asked brigade leader D. Kravets.

"during such days everybody works without pay. We too voluntarily participate in the movement."

Later, in Sverdlovsk, this worker's comment was taken up by a noted scientist, Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor S. Alekseyev, laureate of the USSR State Prize.

"Here are two features which conflict with the formulation of the initiative," he pointed out. "Initially, its originators spoke not of guarantees but of the responsibility of the collective. According to all the laws it is inadmissible for an individual or a collective to assume responsibility for something they have not committed. This circumstance, however, has prevented no one of those on whom the fate of the initiative depended to find a satisfactory solution to the problem within the law, perhaps merely by changing it somewhat. Yet, some quite respected departments and organizations, it seems to me, latching on to the improper terminology, hastened to "ban" the initiative...."

Naturally, this was the simplest way of dropping the movement which had been born within the masses, on their own initiative. At this point it was greatly helped by the Sverdlovsk Obkom. In 1983 it summed up the experience on the dissemination of the movement and passed a decree on its further development. It was then that the initiative assumed its current aspect, capable of passing any legal, economic and psychological expert evaluation.

Systematic work on strengthening labor discipline and public order on the basis of obligations guaranteeing conscientious and highly efficient work and strict observance of socialist community life, the accountability report noted, contributed to the creation of stable labor collectives and to upgrading the consciousness of all working people.

Free labor brings to life ever new forms of socialist competition. Many of them, including the Seversk initiative, are assured a long life. In order that it be full-blooded, constant concern is shown here for improving the working and living conditions of the plant personnel. Every year tens of new residential buildings with improved layouts are completed for them. This five-year plan the plant's housing facilities have already been expanded by 6,000 square meters. Housing for young families, modern preschool establishments and special consumer service facilities have been built. The plant personnel have at their disposal a palace of culture, movie theaters and halls, sports stadiums, a culture and recreation park, a discotheque and sports complexes with swimming pools, eight libraries and 20 library centers on the plant's territory and red corners.

The health of the pipe makers is particularly cared for. Most shops have treatment and recovery complexes with their sauna, pool and physical therapy office. It is not surprising that here people are less frequently ill compared with other enterprises. Healthy recreation triggers highly productive work in which the individual worker and our entire society are interested.

A great deal has been and is being done so that the young people coming to the plant may feel, from the very beginning, pride in and responsibility for the word "worker." The people of Severskiy consider it their task conscientiously to train the novice in labor methods and to help him acquire a maximum amount of knowledge, skills and experience. Here thousands of boys and girls and young workers have taken various courses. Every year the enterprise spends hundreds of thousands of rubles on their technical training and on upgrading the skills of its workers. But how can one determine the benefits to production from the fact that the moment they enter the plant the young people find themselves involved in the "Collective Guarantee of Labor and Social Discipline" movement!...

In his address at the accountability and election conference, Yu. Petrenko, plant party committee secretary, quoted from V. I. Lenin's work "The Great Initiative:" "The communist organization of public labor, the first step toward which is socialism, will rest and will increasingly rest on the free and conscious discipline of the working people themselves..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 39, p 14). This type of free and conscious discipline has been most consistently and substantively embodied in the initiative of the Seversk pipe makers. The shop party members instructed the newly elected buro of the primary party organization to develop this movement in width and in depth, giving it a clear program for action, which is reduced to further upgrading the vanguard role of the party members and the combat capability of their organization. This means that one more step will be taken in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and in improving production quality and the quality of overall plant life.

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SCIENCE AND LIFE

WE AND THE PAST

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[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor Yu. Afanasyev]

[Text] Thinking of the future and aiming at the forthcoming changes are characteristic features of the overall psychological need of the Soviet people today. Together with other nations, we are thinking of how to prevent war and safeguard peace on earth. We are thinking about the main and prime task of our country: how and through what means to ensure a substantial acceleration of socioeconomic progress and to ensure improvements in the living conditions of the people. In advancing toward the 27th party congress, which will adopt a new draft of the CPSU program, we are trying to define the more distant prospects in the advancement of the main links and structures of Soviet society and are already looking at the 21st century. We must also cross the most important and very difficult line in the entire period of building socialism: we must attain a new qualitative stage of society. The main guidelines of the forthcoming changes are already visible. They were earmarked at the April 1985 CPSU Plenum and will be discussed at the party forum.

It is as though a nationwide test of conscience is taking place at a turning point in the life of society. Looking back and summing up the results of our accomplishments, we ask ourselves: to what extent were we able to justify the hopes of our fathers and grandfathers, and did we do everything possible for the noble thoughts and expectations of those who achieved Soviet power and defended the fatherland during the terrible war years to come true? In thinking of a better type of life or of the fact that our children must be better than we were, we ask: are we not unnecessarily complicating their lives as of now, are we shifting to the future problems which already now we consider incredibly difficult but which, as time goes by, and we can on be guessing here, will snowball?

We must know and be able to accomplish a great deal in order to resolve the problems which face our society during such an important period in its development. We must harness the latest scientific thoughts and the entire popular wisdom, so that the Soviet people's aspirations for the future, hopes, expectations and plans become justified.

In building the future we cannot ignore the lessons of the past, the skillful turning to the past, to history, as the collective memory of the people. It is only on this basis that the historical consciousness of Soviet society can be formed. But do we, the people who live in the 1980s, always ask the past and have we learned how to do so accurately, even in cases when this becomes absolutely necessary?

The people are born historians. A sensible turn to the collective memory is the most durable of our cultural traditions, traced back to the "Tale of Temporal Times," "Tale of the Lay of Igor," "Prince in Tiger Skin" and the songs of Dzhangar and Geser. The same tradition is embodied in A. S. Pushkin's works, which are totally imbued with the thought that "Savagery, baseness and ignorance have no regard for the past, groveling before the present only." This tradition was preserved and multiplied by the Russian revolutionary democrats. N. G. Chernyshevskiy's statement has become a truism: "One may not know or like the study of mathematics, Greek, Latin or chemistry. One may be unfamiliar with thousands of sciences and be an educated person; but it is only a person with total mental deficiency who can not love history." This tradition acquired its highest manifestation in Lenin's creative activities. "A person who behaves like Forgetful Ivan toward the history of his movement," he wrote, "cannot be a conscious worker" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 25, p 133).

Today, as we seek reserves for the energizing of the human factor, we rely on one of the most basic laws of socialism: the increased role of social consciousness which, in turn, can only be historical in its profound essential foundations. As a rather complex phenomenon with rather undetermined boundaries, historical consciousness cannot be reduced merely to knowledge of the past although, naturally, without it it would be purposeless and impossible. The science of history develops under the daily influence of the historical awareness of the epoch, which it expresses. However, in turn, it influences it most strongly. It is both its result and one of its reasons.

The principal components of historical awareness include the combined scientific knowledge developed by theory and shaped by spontaneous concepts, symbols, customs and other spiritual phenomena within which society remembers, realizes and reproduces scientifically and metaphorically its past. We could also say that in each sociocultural age historical consciousness is based on specific concepts of relative values and meaning of the past as such and on the integral concept of history. In frequent cases it is revealed directly, in the daily interests and activities of people, in art, morality, ideology and politics.

We occupy the positions of scientific, Marxist-Leninist historicism and, naturally, we aspire to make it imbue all pores of social consciousness. This is the ideal, but so far we cannot rely on the fact that not only all people in our society but even those who directly influence historical consciousness, such as writers, painters, propagandists and journalists, will be able in the most immediate future to think of the past or to depict it creatively on a contemporary scientific level. A great deal remains to be done, for not even professionally trained historians are always able to fulfill this requirement.

However, we have the right and obligation to see to it that concepts of the dynamics of society in time, rooted in the minds of the people, are essentially totally contemporary and truly scientific. This requires, above all, a profound awareness of what appears to be a very simple truth: the past is not past; it has become the present and will become the future, for history is not merely a sequence of events but processes which run through the centuries, for which reason it must be obvious to us that the concept of historical past has no meaning outside of its ties with the present and the future, and that this is a single time status, the realization of which is also a realization of time which flows through us, which moves through us, through our lives, from the past to the future of history.

In speaking of our attitude toward the past, we have in mind not only that which has taken place and no longer exists, not the past as such, in its completeness. There was history before, there is and there will be history after us. We are its transitional moment, its present. In that sense we, the living, are always in the center, at the core, on the crest of history, not outside it, not simply "after" events and conditions of history but at the zenith reached by its consequences. In other words, the present is the denouement of all that precedes it, while the denouement of this denouement lies ahead. The shifting present is the meaningful culmination of antiquity, let us say, of Peter the Great's reforms, the Decembrists' uprising or the discovery and colonization of America. This is most clearly noticeable in culture, for everyone feels the way the works of the past directly participate in our daily lives. Phenomena and structures, sometimes manifested through a great variety of previous conditions, are present in the present as on-going processes. One must only be able to see them as such, at which point, by better interpreting the present we can look into the future more confidently.

The requirements facing society concerning the science of the past have changed with the centuries. We know that the ancients considered history to be above all instructive, for it provides examples of what should and what should not be imitated. However, even Hegel realized that if it is insufficiently profoundly interpreted philosophically, its possibilities as a school of moral and political wisdom are rather limited. "...Experience and history teach," he wrote, "that peoples and governments have never learned anything from history and have not acted according to the lessons which one could draw from it."

Those who wish to recruit the author of the "Philosophy of History" as their ally in substantiating the limited educational possibilities of history usually end with these words, although in the very next sentence he states that "Each epoch contains such special circumstances, each epoch represents such an individual state that it is necessary and possible to accept from it only the solutions which proceed from that same state." The spirit of Hegel's work rests precisely in the consideration of the characteristics of each epoch, and can be perceived only by knowing the entire past of mankind!

Unfortunately, today as well the role of history is occasionally reduced exclusively to its didactic possibilities which, in turn, are conceived as the mechanical addition of positive examples. Bad examples are mentioned less

willingly. In that sense as well some modern scientists have not advanced a great deal beyond Tacitus and Plutarch.

Poorly understood history is an extremely dangerous thing. Interesting observations were made on this account by Academician Paul Valery, a talented French publicist and poet. At the beginning of the 1930s he wrote on the subject of contemporary bourgeois historiography that it ignores "relations of prime importance;" and since the selection of "facts" does not follow a scientific method, such science is a "horrible" mixture," which includes everything and can provide examples to everyone. By virtue of this fact it teaches absolutely nothing. Furthermore, it "leads to dreams, it intoxicates nations, creating in them false memories, exacerbates their old wounds, develops their grandomania and paranoia, making nations irritable, arrogant, intolerant and vain." In this sense, "history is the most dangerous product created by the chemistry of the mind."

The truly educational significance of history has always been tremendous. Under the conditions of building socialism it will grow steadily. In this connection, however, attention should be paid to many essential circumstances.

The attitude toward the past requires an integral and systemic approach. An example borrowed from the past may prove to be weak and "invalid" if taken out of its living context, out of the infinite flow of events and the particular situation in which it finds itself interwoven with numerous other events, which changes its nature, such as emphasis on a certain epoch and circumstances different from the present ones, or as a thread in a different historical fabric. The examples borrowed from the past are important and useful only when they show features of a historical system or a particular and unique collision, when they must be interpreted after an extensive penetration into another and, naturally, an objective historical situation. To us their cultural, moral and heuristic role lies in the objectiveness, the autonomy of concepts and values the translation of which into our own system of concepts and values is difficult. An "example" should begin by being a "thing for itself," so to say, and only then (and thanks to this) an "object for us."

The processes, phenomena, events and facts of the past are important to us not only as reasons, prerequisites and stages in cause and effect relationships which take us to the current stage of social development. Since the past of mankind is always social, the very causality here is different from that in nature. Unlike those in physics or chemistry, historical facts retain their meaning. They always are human facts, which record the results of the consciousness, motivations and actions of people who make their own history one way or another. That is why, as we think of the past, we ask questions regarding the meaning of our own lives and struggles. We want to know our place in history, to understand ourselves. This means, above all, to remember! In the way that amnesia, the loss of memory, destroys the individual personality, historical amnesia destroys the social consciousness and makes the life of society barbaric and meaningless. Let us recall the terrible legend of Mankurt, in Aytmatov's "Train Stop in a Snow Storm." Let us recall the crimes of the Hitlerite fascists: the first steps these barbarians took in the cities they captured was to destroy historical

monuments. One of the most cruel manifestations of the antihuman nature of fascism was killing the memory of the people.

The past is always worthy of respect, for without this society loses one of its main qualities. By no means does this, however, mean that one must love it in its entirety, that one can only admire it (such as one's national past) or that "old" is synonymous with good, or with something outstanding. What happened happened and matters still. However, the past is, above all, a topic and matter of our sociohistorical thinking rather than a subject of admiration, emotion and complacency. Naturally, we do find in the past reasons for pride and admiration, but also for shame and sadness. All of this is a matter for thought. We must respect the past in the sense that it is a reality, the real grounds of the present which, like the truth, demands respect, above all on the part of those who are trying to change their own reality. The reason for which Marx, Engels and Lenin showed such tremendous respect for historical truth-reality was because they were not utopian dreamers but realistic revolutionaries.

The past is worthy of respect as a field of application of our thinking and critical views. We see in it the greatest possible reality and consider it critically (and, consequently, so consider ourselves). This also indicates respect for the past. The idealizing of history, the sugary approach and the "harmonizing" of the past, a past which has always been complex, many-faceted, contradictory and dramatic, are unseemly and, sometimes, also not innocuous. Let us recall the requirement of Marx and Engels of using "Rembrandt colors" in the depiction of history (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 7, p 280), and their intolerance of any manifestations of manipulation of the past.

The idealizing of the past, failure to mention names in publications, neglect of the logic and essence of the past are clear marks of disrespect for it and, furthermore, one of the worst forms of forgetfulness. Whatever good intentions may exist, idealizing does not inspire. It has always been the enemy of critical reason, memory and understanding.

Let us look at "Lad" [Harmony] by V. Belov, a writer who is generally considered outstanding. As far as the antihistoricism of this book, which came out in 1984, is concerned, it begins with the title itself. When and why has such harmony existed? Should we assume that the writer had in mind the postreform northern countryside of Gleb Uspenskiy's time? Yet no conflict-free, touchingly wise patriarchal atmosphere ever existed or could exist. The mores and life structure in the prerevolutionary Russian countryside were never harmonious, without hardships, nastiness, conflicts, superstitions and ignorance. There also was a time of historical nihilism, of destruction of monuments. Now, we frequently note as a "reaction" extremes of emotion and rapture. Belov, for example, structures his book as historical-ethnographic in tonality, although its structure is essentially ideological and artistic. It is not merely a question of the fact that the author admires his own descriptions and presents an ideal image of a patriarchal way of life. Naturally, one could argue against such an ideal, but no harm is done as long as it is an expression of personal taste and no claim to historical objectivity is laid. But then, the genres here become confused: artistic

creativity is presented as scientific truth. This, however, is objectionable. An equally characteristic example is that of the revelations of the noted and talented theatrical director Ya. Lapshin. Quite recently, in discussing the artistic interpretation of our country's past in SOVETSKIY EKRAN, he stated that the characters of the Demidovs, the characters of the Ural metal work owners of the times of Peter the Great, appeared to him as zealous patriots and tireless workers in increasing the wealth of the Russian state. In Lapshin's view industriousness, talent and cunning--all features inherent in the Russian people--are embodied in the characters of these entrepreneurs. He is indignant that for a long time the Demidov name was cast under a dark spell and that the view that they were greedy acquirers had been established. He also regretted the decrepitude of the Nevyanskaya Water Pressure Tower, comparing it to the Tower of Pisa in the sense that both need human care as possessions of world civilization. The Nevyanskaya Tower, which was built at the exact angle as that of Pisa, to prove that we too were not born yesterday, is, naturally a historical monument. In terms of social value, however, it should be rather compared to the Place of Execution on Red Square, as a reminder of the dark times of oppressive inhumanity.

Historical truth. It may appear that nothing could be simpler than to "write history as it actually was." However, occasionally the greatest possible obstacles emerge on the way to honoring this seemingly simple role. The point is not only that we always come across professionally weak historians or unconscientious writers who write about the past. Much greater difficulties come from the specifics of the object of historical science, such as society in terms of time and development. The development of society is a centuries-old universal drama within which passions rage, and the individual and collective emotions and the will and consciousness of its characters are manifested. Finding in this type of specific objects of knowledge burrows invisible from the outside, dug by the "more of history," i.e., detecting laws existing within human activities, is a rather difficult task. Furthermore, since the facts of the past not only have a definite significance but also an inner meaning, their total and true knowledge presumes a moral-judgemental, emotionally colored, in addition to a scientific-theoretical, approach. Such an approach, we believe, is not entirely consistent with the criteria of strict science. As to the subject of historical knowledge, i.e., the historian himself, his attitude toward the past and contemporary social life entails equally great difficulties. Like any other person, he looks at the facts of the past most frequently through the lens of his own attitude, his sympathies and antipathies. It is also important to bear in mind that every historian is a socially molded person, for which reason he is correspondingly interested in and inevitably linked with a specific class ideology. Finally, nor can we ignore the fact that the epoch itself is not indifferent toward the past and tends to interpret it in its own way and, consequently, somewhat differently. This too is entirely natural.

In that case, however, the following question arises: how to combine concern for historical truth with inevitable personal prejudices, class ideology, and the changing circumstances and whims of the individual age? Unlike bourgeois, Marxist historical science has never been hypocritical in answering this question. There can be no "impartial" attitude toward the past, and one of the most important guarantees of objectivity is the party-mindedness of this

science. It is true that truth is indifferent to classes, but the classes are not indifferent to it. The party-mindedness of our historical science and objectiveness are compatible because Marxism embodies the outlook of a class to which the future belongs. If a person takes the side of this class he "can only," Lenin wrote, "be pleased with the successes of this class, be saddened by its failures or be indignant with those who are hostile to this class, who hinder its development by disseminating obsolete views, etc." (op. cit., vol 2, p 548).

The principle of party-mindedness, which presumes clear socioclass criteria concerning the past, remains most topical to this day. Unfortunately, we must note that until very recently violations of the requirements of Marxist methodology, methodology, inevitably accompanied by inadmissible distortions of historical truth, have taken place in historical science and, particularly, in fiction. Suffice it to recall the views expressed by some scientists concerning some kind of enlightening and civilizing mission of tsarist autocracy in Russia's national outlying areas or the progressive role of rulers and conquerors in the Middle Ages, such as Ghengis Khan or Tamerlane. The so-called Eurasian theories, with their anti-historical, nonclass, biological-energy approach to the past, were developed in direct opposition to Marxist-Leninist criteria: periods of upsurge and decline of a certain level of passion in world history, the "symbiosis between the Golden Horde and Rus in the 13th-15th centuries, etc. The passion for sensationalism on the part of some historians is very harmful. It was precisely in this aspect that a few years ago the question of the Masonry in Russia and the role of the Masons in the February revolution was raised, a version unsupported by documentary sources, which arose on the grounds of hasty and simplistic solutions.

As to the artistic genre--novel or literary criticism--here as well departures from historical truth, including manifestations of excessive anti-historicism, are no rarity, alas. The press has already criticized works which have included inaccurate and erroneous views on the nature of Russian autocracy, on Ivan the Terrible's oprichnina, and on Decembrist and Narodovoltsy genealogy. There have also been similar cases in literary criticism. M. A. Sholokhov has even been blamed for taking a class approach to the fictional depiction of collectivization in the Soviet countryside, as though the artist had recreated not the course of history or the real social drama but simply "the action of an individual ill will." In some cases there is not only an uncritical acceptance but even a praise of conservative tradition in the development of Russian social thinking, while revolutionary democratic tradition is qualified as "Western."

To a certain extent this could have been explainable with an increased interest in the past in general or, to use a recent expression, a "historical-literary explosion." Writer Grigoriy Baklanov accurately pointed out that today a great deal is being said about history, into which crowds of literary workers are rushing, and that wherever the crowd goes it tramples under foot more than it discovers. The main reason for deviations from historical truth in literature, however, is the low level of methodological standard of historical thinking and, in particular, the dampening of the sociopolitical, the class principle within it. Naturally, history needs no editing whatsoever. Everything must be remembered. However, memory of the past

cannot be passive and omnivorously impartial. Not everything which took place in the past is usable. Engels described as the most characteristic distinguishing feature of true democracy the fact that "it must reject any responsibility for a past full of poverty, tyranny, class oppression and superstition" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 4, p 386). It is entirely natural that we do not assume responsibility for the oppressive policy of tsarist autocracy, for the crimes committed by people like Purishkevich, for the reactionary nature of people like Berdyayev, or the greed and narrow class egotism of the Russian bourgeoisie.

Our interest in the past is related above all and mainly to the objective laws of social development. We sometimes read in our philosophical publications that history is particularly instructive when it illustrates the actions of these laws. But they themselves are not above history (as a certain "sociological standard" unlike the "specific- historical" level on which all local events, refinements, variants, encrustations and other theoretically "dirty" cases are considered). Had such been the case, the laws themselves would have been fictitious and lean schemes unrelated to real, always "case-specific," history. Abstractions formed by historical science, Marx wrote, "may be suitable only in streamlining historical data and determining the sequence of their individual strata. Unlike philosophy, however, such abstractions do not provide any kind of prescription or system under which historical epochs can be classified" (op. cit., vol 3, p 26).

Historical laws become compressed in the conversion from one special situation to another. They change internally in the course of such transitions, and if anyone would think that the nature, extent and mechanisms of dependence of social development on the condition of economic relations remain the same under different systems and even at different stages of the same system, he has simply misunderstood Marx. In our country even professional historians sin with historical determinism and, ignoring Marx, conceive of a law as a virtually fatal predetermination. Yet there is nothing eternal or immutable in history. This is equally true of the most fundamental laws which also change and are transformed together with the historical process itself.

This provides a lesson of incomparable importance, drawn from any type of retrogression: ever since the transition from traditional to capitalist structures and hence to socialist ones, the very method of historical dynamics, i.e., the method of changes, has changed, and looking back at the past and being nostalgic for it, clinging to it and inventing some "eternal," "constant" and, essentially, suprahistorical and immutable values has become a futile occupation. The past teaches us that we need its experience as a mobile, dialectical and initial impetus for that which we must surmount and reorganize into a new unparalleled experience. History is revolutionary. It adores to offer us surprises, some of which most bitter. It laughs at the "eternal values" of well-intentioned people, while it personally is mysterious and puzzling, with its living and changing meaning, which either gives hope to generations of people or disappoints them but, in all cases, is always aimed at the future. It and it alone is a supreme human value. It is important to remember only that history is not some kind of particular person who, in the familiar statement by Marx and Engels, "does nothing," "has no infinite wealth whatsoever" and "does not take part in any battles." "It is not 'history' but

man, the real live man who does everything, who has everything and who must fight for everything" (op. cit., vol 2, p 102). The value of history rests in the activities of the people's masses and their initiative, energy and revolutionary creativity.

All of these verities assume a particular meaning today, at the present time, when the moment at which society reaches a new qualitative condition, has become ripe. It is precisely at such times that historical dynamics appears in its most revealing nature, as the appearance and assertion of what is new and better in human social practices. On the one hand, this new is not the product of a random development of circumstances. It is internally linked with and has been prepared by the entire course of the preceding stage in the building of socialism, which it replaces in accordance with an internal immanent reason. On the other hand, this newness is not something already entirely familiar, tranquil, streamlined and the obvious continuation of the social condition. To a significant extent it remains concealed within our contemporary historical reality, seeking the specific way through which it can assume a proper place and status within it. At the present time it is particularly important to be able to see this newness and its possibilities on time and to proceed from Lenin's understanding of continuity as a mandatory progress and as the identification and resolution of new problems and the elimination of anything which obstructs progress. The significance of the creative nature of activities of all Soviet people as well is enhanced today.

More than ever before, dogmatism which, alas, is still widespread among professional historians, becomes intolerable. Everyone has had the opportunity to read "scientific studies" in which facts are violated, materials to be studied are curtailed, purged and embellished and the author's timid thoughts are drowned in a sea of what he believes are inviolable quotations, all in order to make them fit a predetermined concept. Such "works" cannot be taken for anything else regardless of tone or form, for they contain no thoughts; instead they are ruled by peremptory "conviction." Essentially, in promoting invariability and repetition of the past, such authors are promoting a passive attitude toward reality and cultivating conceptual conservatism and dogmatism. This makes their works not only useless but also tremendously harmful.

No, the past has not prepared ready made answers for us to the questions which life raises today. This fully applies to the broadest possible tasks, such as ensuring a revolutionary change in scientific and technical progress, perfecting cost accounting, developing systems for management from above and labor incentive from below, determining the optimal correlation between centralization and economic autonomy, making further progress toward social homogeneity and intensifying a differentiated approach to wages. Under the conditions of intensive development, these problems will be resolved anew, not by analogy or according to predrafted instructions or else through already tested prescriptions.

The clear vision of the sources of the features of this transitional period experienced by our society and an understanding of the prospects of the

historical process provide scope for creativity. This cannot be accomplished without accepting the view that social life is a process of establishment and development and a necessary and legitimate change of historical forms.

Here as well we must touch upon the question of the social purpose of the science of history.

The demands which the social sciences face today were most exhaustively formulated at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The principal meaning, one could say the spirit of the plenum's resolutions on this problem, as was pointed out at the December 1984 all-union practical science conference, is for the social science front to make a decisive turn toward practice, toward the problems of perfecting developed socialism above all.

Alongside the other social sciences, the science of history must become part of life more energetically. It must serve the practical needs of society more consistently and purposefully. Naturally, the question is not formulated as though all requirements without exception deserve attention and support only to the extent to which they can be put to practical use immediately for the purpose of the reorganization of the economy, the advancement of social relations and the political system, and the shaping of the spiritual sphere. Many of them, as we have long realized, are such that they can influence the solution of practical problems quite substantially, although not immediately or directly. The ratio between basic and applied research must be optimal in historical sciences as well.

However, even despite this consideration it would be accurate to say that its applied significance in perfecting our society could be substantially increased as of now, if the historians themselves would broaden and strengthen their views of the past also as being a huge laboratory for global social practice. All that human civilization has at its disposal today, including even the seemingly least significant means of economic management and mental stereotypes, did not appear all of a sudden, but as a result of a very long development. Highway networks covering vast geographic areas, small mountain paths, the mentality of the kolkhoz peasantry, distribution relations, international fairs, urban markets, the socialist way of life, the nature of rural labor, national relations and democratic centralism have, all of them, their own history.

The study of such historical realities enables us to determine the largest possible number of all possible types of relations among them, causal, functional, correlational, direct, indirect and others, to determine the specific temporal parameters of the most important components of social dynamics and, as a final objective, the identification and reproduction of the specific objective mechanism of the overall movement.

The view on history as a laboratory for social experience helps to find additional ways for the solution of contemporary problems which may seem quite distant from traditional historical concerns. This could apply to irrigation or, more generally, to the Food Program and to ecological problems of our time. It may seem at a first glance that in such cases we may do entirely without the efforts of historians. If we consider, however, that all such

problems are many-faceted and cover not only specifically scientific, technological and economic, but also social, psychological, ethnic and administrative systems, it turns out that a consideration of historical experience is a most important prerequisite for their successful solution. Virtually all ancient and Middle Age civilizations of the Mediterranean and the Orient, covering huge areas from the Atlantic through Central Asia to the Pacific were based on irrigation. The testing of the most efficient farming methods and the organization and development of the economic mechanism have lasted here 7 millenia. A great deal has been tested, refined and discovered, and it is precisely thanks to this that life goes on in many corners of earth. However, there have also been major blunders and fatal errors which have cost mankind a great deal, from the formation of huge deserts on irrigated lands to the death of civilizations based on irrigation. Knowledge of the richest experience of mankind in this connection helps to make comprehensively considered optimal decisions.

A great deal more remains to be done in order for historical science to be purposefully structured for research which could be used in resolving problems related to perfecting socialist society. The main research trends have taken years and frequently decades to develop in academic institutions, universities and other scientific and training establishments. This alone makes our own time to be considered by them quite casually. So far concentration on the determination of the social experience of the past has remained quite inadequate, considering our present needs. This has influenced VUZ curriculae, textbooks and topics of candidate and doctoral dissertations, as well as current and long-range planning of historical research and publishing. A weakening of attention to the study of the laws governing the development of the Soviet national economy, the features of revolutionary changes in the various parts of the country and changes in the social structure of Soviet society as a whole and within individual classes and strata has been noted in recent years. We must note, very regretfully, that the economic history of the USSR and other countries has not been drawing the interest of our economists recently. In this case it is the historians who must show some initiative. However, their works on the history of the national economy and economic policy have been weak and fragmentary, which has made broad theoretical summations of practical use impossible.

The insufficient attention paid to identifying social experience may be judged by the six comprehensive target programs developed by the USSR Academy of Sciences History Department. They indicate a poor concentration on new aspects in the science and clearly require further work in terms of comprehensiveness. They ignore difficult problems raised by reality and our practical development, such as the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, development of production relations, reorganization of economic management, intensification of interaction and reciprocal cultural enrichment. These and other problems must not only be refracted in historical research but also become common to all social sciences. Their scientific solution is possible today only on the basis of interdisciplinary and combined efforts of historians, economists, sociologists, ethnographers, philosophers and linguists. Clearly, such comprehensive approach can be achieved with the target programs of the USSR Academy of Sciences History Department. This will require joint efforts in establishing the practical needs of society for

results based on the studies conducted in all social sciences, and the coordination of activities between scientific institutions and party, state and social organizations.

The possibility of updating historical knowledge is clear. However, here the following circumstance must be reemphasized: historical memory is inevitably selective. At different times and under the influence of different requirements and associations, social consciousness develops a special interest in a particular age, event or individual. As I. Erenburg accurately noted, during the Great Patriotic War the heroes of the past literally moved out of the textbooks and into the dugouts. At that time, let us add, "educational history" passed the test of war. Today we read with particular attention "The Forthcoming Tasks of Soviet Power" or else try to reach the sources of the entirely special collectivistic mentality of our society and clarify the reasons for the dedication and labor enthusiasm of the heroes of the first five-year plans. In itself, the object nature of historical consciousness is entirely understandable and necessary. However, the selectiveness of social interest conceals a threat and may turn into negative phenomena if it turns into prejudice, not to mention if it were to degenerate into time-serving and opportunism.

The science of history must cover all aspects of the historical process, for the universal historical picture cannot be understood without completeness. Strictly speaking, there is no such thing as more or less "topical" past subjects. Even from the viewpoint of the "demands of the historical moment" it turns out that the phenomena of the past which were considered "distant" and "irrelevant" only yesterday may be given priority tomorrow. The urgency of some contemporary problems requires corresponding changes in and updating of research plans.

Nevertheless, we should emphasize that this is not to say in the least that topics related to a more or less distant past deserve no attention at all. Opportunism, however, is strong and many-faced. "Only that which is closer to our times deserves attention and is relevant" is an erroneous but, alas, deeply rooted view which has already led to sorry consequences in our historical sciences, resulting in the fact that some of its important areas remain actually undeveloped and fading. This applies, above all, to the study of the history and languages of the ancient Orient, the history of antiquity and some areas of the Middle Ages, including our own. Insufficient work is also being done in some seemingly most topical areas, such as the history of world culture, the socioeconomic history of Western Europe and many topics from the history of foreign social movements and revolutions. Yet these problems have traditionally been topics of particular attention in Marxist historiography. In the past Soviet historical sciences used to work on them with initiative and quite fruitfully. Now, unfortunately, something else may be noted. Many areas in our native history are being almost or totally neglected, such as the period of Peter the Great's reforms, the first Russian revolution, the mixed economy of prerevolutionary Russia, the democratic and socialist allies of the proletariat, and others. The same applies to virtually all auxiliary historical disciplines, such as epigraphy, papyrology, paleography and others. Thanks to the fruitful efforts of individual Soviet scientists, trends such as historical demography and the history of social

mentality and collectivistic frame of mind have given promising indications without, so far, becoming suitably developed.

This alarming situation may worsen in the course of time. Virtually all said trends in our historiography we have classified as stagnating or withering away are either not represented at all or else are quite poorly represented in dissertation research, which means that on the level of training higher-skill cadres this lagging is already projecting into the 21st century. Clearly, it is self-evident that a historical science which covers a sector of world history which is extremely limited in time and space will, inevitably, lose in meaning and content.

This can be prevented if we are guided by the inevitable truth that the entire past, with its classical phenomena and models, variants, deviations and local varieties, are all important. No epoch or topic is uninteresting. We must be able to approach the entire historical process and the full variety of fragments of total history profoundly, interestingly and on a contemporary basis.

The purpose of mastering the past is to implement the most important requirement of the 20th century concerning man: man must develop a global way of thinking in order to become the conscious and active inhabitant of our planet. The collectivistic foundations of our society offer real prerequisites for the gigantic successes in the scientific mastery of nature, achieved by society over the past 400 years, to be supplemented by the corresponding efforts in the management of human affairs. It is possible that by the turn of the next millenium words, such as "social engineering" will acquire real meaning and will become as ordinary and understandable to us as are biotechnology, gene engineering and cosmonautics. In this area history plays a special role. The interpretation of social progress and its future is its immediate and most important vocation, albeit not the only one. History will always remain a great educator. By involving new generations in universal values and national traditions it will help the people to become nobler, better and more far-sighted.

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UNDER THE BANNER OF INTERNATIONALISM

COMMUNISTS HOLD MEETINGS

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[Article by V. Trubnikov. Capitalized words published in italics]

[Text] A noteworthy feature of the past summer was the intensity of multilateral contacts between communist and workers' parties from a number of regions of the world. Regional meetings were held between communists from the countries of Western Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean Basin, and Arab East. An international symposium was held in Tokyo, at which communist and workers' parties from socialist, capitalist and developing states were represented. Representatives of almost 60 parties from 4 continents participated in the exchanges of opinions and experience of struggle concerning the most vital and urgent regional and world problems which require a precise response from communists.

In Paris the representatives of 18 communist and workers' parties from the capitalist countries of Europe placed on the agenda of their sessions on 12-13 June the jointly formulated, broad theme "Crisis: Analysis and Actions of Communist Parties in Every Country." They exchanged information and views on the chief aspects of the profound economic crisis experienced by the capitalist world, and by Western Europe in particular, and put forward anticrisis, alternative programs developed by communist parties to protect the interests of the workers class and the broad working masses, for whom the present crisis has become a real tragedy. More than 19 million workers and employees in the capitalist countries of Europe (12 percent of the able-bodied population) are unemployed, and their number continues to grow. The participants in the Paris meeting placed at the disposal of the communist movement and the entire workers movement extensive and important material for reflection and decision. A topical, albeit more individual aspect of the crisis situation in the countries of capitalist Europe was the subject of discussion by representatives of 15 communist and workers' parties of the region who met in June in Wuppertal (FRG). They discussed the difficult position of women in capitalist countries, who, together with young people, have become the first victims of the deepening crisis.

Another aspect of the socioeconomic crisis of the capitalist system was discussed by communists from Latin America and the Caribbean Basin at their

meeting in Havana on 12-14 June. The subject of their discussion was the colossal debts owed by the countries of this continent to the imperialist West. Foreign debts amounting to the astronomical sum of \$360 billion (or more than \$1,000 for every inhabitant of the region) and the impossibility of paying off these fettering debts have placed Latin America in a catastrophic position and have brought factors into play which are destabilizing the lives of entire countries. Concerning the problem of the debts which are the direct result of the rapacious policies of the imperialist powers and the transnational monopolies on Latin American soil, the fraternal parties stressed in a joint statement that, "if a satisfactory solution is not found, these factors could place our countries on the brink of political and social collapse." At the same time, the participants in the meeting devoted the closest attention to the dangerous situation that has taken shape around Nicaragua and throughout the whole of Central America as a result of the aggressive actions of Washington, which strives to suppress the struggle of the people in the countries of this region -- a struggle against imperialist domination and for democracy and social progress. They expressed complete solidarity with heroic Nicaragua, the patriotic forces of El Salvador, and also with the growing movement of the Chilean people for the overthrow of the fascist Pinochet junta.

Discussion at the June conference of 10 communist and workers' parties from the countries of the Arab East centered on the problems of the strategy of communists and all progressive, anti-imperialist forces in connection with the activation in the Arab world of the imperialist policy of aggression and hegemony, which pursues the aim, as is stated in the declaration of the participants in the meeting, of forcing American-Israeli domination on the region and including it in the aggressive strategic U.S. plans. The conference formulated the general appraisals and conclusions reached by its participants on the international situation as a whole and on an entire complex of topical problems relating to the situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian problem, the Iran-Iraq war, and the situation in Lebanon.

A lively exchange of opinions took place over the course of 4 days between the representatives of communist and workers' parties at the international symposium in Tokyo on the problems of struggling to prevent nuclear war and to ban and liquidate nuclear weapons. It was held in the middle of July at the initiative of the Communist Party of Japan. All of its participants, despite a certain divergence in their views on and appraisals of some issues, were unanimously in favor of decisively activating the mass movement in defense of peace, against the imperialist policy of increasing international tension and military preparations, and for the further uniting of efforts in the struggle against the growing threat of a world nuclear catastrophe. The representatives of communist and worker parties condemned the American "Star Wars" program and expressed the general opinion that preventing the militarization of outer space has now become the key issue in the struggle against the nuclear danger.

Resolving the acute and vitally important economic, social, and political regional problems which were discussed at these meetings of communists from Western Europe, Latin America, and the Arab countries ultimately depends on

whether the international workers class and the whole of progressive mankind succeed in defending and strengthening peace, reviving detente, and compelling imperialism to renounce its senseless attempts to resolve the historical dispute between capitalism and socialism with the aid of weapons. The material deprivations and sufferings of working people in developed capitalist states and the pauperization of peoples in the zone of the developing countries are equally caused by the forced pace of their exploitation by monopolist capital. The imperialist powers strive by this means not only to leave behind the economic crisis, but also to mobilize to the maximum their means and resources for the purpose of whipping up the lethal arms race for the sake of gaining military superiority over socialism in order to destroy it.

Under these conditions, apolitical attitudes, social passivity and despair, and a sense of being powerless to change anything for the better -- all strenuously supported by bourgeois propaganda -- inevitably spread among politically backward workers and other strata of the working people. V.I. Lenin repeatedly warned that among the working masses there sometimes arise -- particularly in years of exceptional fatigue and overstrain through excessive burdens and torments -- attitudes which are by no means progressive, and that the acute exacerbation of social disasters is capable of temporarily "breaking down" a certain section of the workers ("Complete Collected Works," Vol 44, p 123; Vol 26, p 380). The danger thereby arises of the social base of communists and all revolutionary forces being temporarily narrowed and of there being a move to the right in social consciousness and in political life; and the threat increases of the ruling classes moving toward totalitarian, repressive methods of government. The historical lesson of fascism's assumption of power is evidence of this. It is no secret that certain political losses incurred by communists in a number of capitalist countries have by no means been unconnected with the operation of this factor. Thus, today as never before, in any exacerbated economic, social, or political problem -- be it of a purely national, regional nature or of worldwide significance -- one can discern the organic connection between the cause of social progress and the struggle for peace. They are joined in one indissoluble knot by the logic of contemporary history. Communists take into account in their theoretical analyses and political conclusions this law of the sharp increase, in the present situation, in the influence of global factors on processes taking place in individual countries and regions.

In its appraisals of the situation in the region and of the ways of effectively counteracting imperialist enslavement of the Arab peoples, the conference of communist parties from Arab countries pointed out the direct link between the activation of American-Israeli aggression in the Middle East and the escalation on a global scale of the imperialist policy of confrontation with the Soviet Union, other countries in the socialist community, and the national liberation movement. Consequently, it is stressed in the statement by the participants in the conference that "the Arab peoples' defense of their right to a free and peaceful life is an inalienable part of the general struggle for peace throughout the world." At their Paris meeting, the representatives of communist parties from European capitalist countries stated that the deepening economic difficulties of Western Europe have, to a considerable extent, been "exported" by the United States, which having

unleashed an expensive arms race, is extorting capital from other countries -- its allies -- with the aid of high interest rates, forcing them to expand their military preparations, and bleeding their economies white, which is leading to a deepening of the crisis, with all the serious social consequences for the working people. Latin America also understands well that, by utilizing unequal economic relations, the imperialist powers extort from the states of this continent, as well as from Asian and African countries -- as F. Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, stressed -- gigantic resources which, to a considerable extent, finance the arms race these powers have unleashed. In 1984 alone, foreign capital exported \$26.7 billion as profit from the Latin American countries.

These summer meetings of communists (other collective forums were also held in addition to those enumerated) are a reflection of the trend, gathering force, which has recently appeared and is developing. During the past year, if one is to take last summer as a gauge, a whole series of regional and other multilateral meetings took place (not to mention animated bilateral contacts), at which representatives of virtually every communist and workers' party operating in the world, as well as of the majority of revolutionary-democratic organizations and movements, participated in the discussion of topical problems of the contemporary period, the exchange of experience, and the development of common evaluations of, and positions on various issues of mutual interest.

But comparatively recently, in the second half of the seventies, all the bourgeois press -- passing off what was desired as reality -- was full of speculations on the "beginning of the end" of the international communist movement, and on its "inevitable disintegration" and fragmentation. Immediately after the Berlin conference of communist workers parties from Europe, which was held in 1976, the "big press" of the monopolies printed in millions of copies and conveyed all over the world the loud phrase of a certain spiteful critic who stated that this meeting "could become historic on the condition that it is the last." The anticommunist campaign developed in those years was not, of course, accidental: The political staff of the imperialist bourgeoisie unleashed it on the threshold of the concentrated global counterattack being prepared against the forces of social progress headed by communists.

Once again life has refuted the predictions of bourgeois ideologists and politicians concerning the fate of the communist movement. And it is no accident that the overwhelming majority of the bourgeois press has tried simply to fail to mention the summer meetings of communists. Such silence is more eloquent than any words. And those mass information media in the West which could in no way ignore these meetings because of the importance of communist parties in national political life, painted a totally black picture of them in their reports, as was to be expected. A well-worn method of belittling the significance of the Tokyo symposium of communist and worker parties was used, for example, by the Japanese Kyodo Tsusin information agency. In a miserly commentary on the forum, the agency placed clearly tendentious stress on certain differences in the views of its participants, although the main thing was the fact that, on the main issues of the subject

discussed, the analytical evaluations and political positions of the fraternal parties coincided or were as close as possible.

Only very few Western political scientists have as yet decided to soberly appraise the significance of communist joint meetings and initiatives. Regarding the proposals and viewpoints collectively formulated by the Communist Party of Cuba and other Latin American communist parties concerning the situation on the continent and the problem of the foreign debts of countries in the region, the well-known American historian and publicist, Professor A. Schlesinger, urgently advised ruling U.S. circles from the pages of the newspaper THE WALL STREET JOURNAL (13 June 1985) not to brush aside the critical financial and economic problems raised in Havana. Otherwise, "if Washington drags its feet for too long," the professor warns, "it will possibly have to do business on conditions set by Latin America rather than by North America."

The past years of bitter class struggle against imperialist reaction, which banks on social revanche, have further laid bare the essence of contemporary capitalism and dispelled a considerable number of reformist illusions and utopian "left-wing projects" which had gained currency within certain circles of the revolutionary movement. They have clearly demonstrated the worth and aims of advice given to communists from the camp of bourgeois "well-wishers."

But, despite all tactical evasions, it is already clear that ideological, propagandist centers in the West -- from the solid analytical publications for the elite to the boulevard newspapers and journals aimed at the man in the street -- are once again beginning to build up the fear of "international communism." Again, just a decade ago, the same old fabrications and propagandist stereotypes, which were current in the seventies for the purpose of ensnaring the doubtful and the hesitant, are being dragged out into the daylight in virtually new wrappings.

THE FIRST STEREOTYPE. "There is now more that divides communist parties in their activities than unites them." Consequently, imperialist propagandists claim, inflating existing differences within the communist movement, any joint political actions by communists are impossible. What is more, they say, such actions threaten the parties' independence.

The entire history of the international communist movement confirms exactly the opposite. Different appraisals and different approaches to resolving problems facing the movement, which are the natural result of the objective diversity of paths of revolutionary development and of the specific situation in which each party operates, have never been any obstacle to political cooperation or to joint actions by fraternal parties in the international arena. As early as 1919, Lenin stressed that "communists who are in accord in the main," despite the existence of differences "in less important matters," can and must "act in unity" ("Complete Collected Works," Vol 39, p 255).

The practice of the contemporary class struggle and the experience accumulated by the present generation of communists also speak in favor of this approach. Polemicizing in some way with the imperialist myth creators, M. Gremetz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the French

Communist Party, said on 12 June at the opening of the Paris forum of West European communists: "In the conditions of the serious class conflicts taking place in the countries of capitalist Europe, despite differences in their situation, the working people have common concerns and interests caused by the economic and social policy and by the ideological campaigns directed against any idea of democratic progress. We are communists and consequently show solidarity with one another in the struggle against large capital, and in this struggle we find great common aims engendered by our idea."

As far as observing the principles of party independence and full equality of parties is concerned, this is ensured by an extensive arsenal of flexible methods of organizing multilateral cooperation which are at the disposal of communists and which have been considerably enriched in recent years. This makes it possible in every specific case to select the forms of developing cooperation and solidarity which correspond most of all to the degree of unity of positions and mutual understanding of fraternal parties on the matter in question, and also to concrete, long-term aims and tasks.

Now the communist movement, as available experience shows, has good potentials for developing -- on the basis of proletarian internationalism and respect for the positions and views of all parties -- fruitful, healthy, and active political cooperation, the principles of which have been worked out and widely put to the test in the course of the tens of multilateral meetings that have been held.

THE SECOND STEREOTYPE. "Instead of fruitlessly shutting themselves off in their own circle in sectarian fashion, communists are increasingly placing their hopes in forming a new, broad political alliance with all left-wing forces on a national, regional, and global scale." Such false arguments also fail to stand up to criticism.

Communists have indeed always been and still are convinced advocates of unity of actions with all to whom the interests of social progress and the strengthening of peace are dear. They have never avoided the uniting of all left-wing forces and anti-imperialist, democratic movements. At the same time, as Lenin taught, they preserve this class, ideological, and political independence, their own voice, and their own image as a revolutionary proletarian party, without merging with heterogeneous "broad alliances."

Again and again life confirms that it is precisely communists that are the force in the national and international arena capable, on the basis of scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis, of working out and proposing a constructive, realist program for resolving the most urgent problems of the contemporary period, by proceeding from the vital interests of the workers class and all working people. Without the revolutionizing initiatives from communist parties of a national, regional, and world-wide nature, which reflect the historic mission of the international workers class -- the class at the center of the contemporary era, initiatives which are in opposition to the counterrevolutionary plans and aspirations of the imperialist bourgeoisie, it is impossible to imagine the prospect of the social ascent of mankind and the preservation and strengthening of peace. Communists can and are capable

of raising the banner of anti-imperialist struggle wherever other parties and movements for one reason or another give up or show hesitation and indecision.

The Havana initiative of Latin American communist parties, previously discussed, can serve as a fresh example attesting to the role of communists in the contemporary world and to the importance of their collective actions and their understanding of effective ways of forming the broadest possible alliances with all left-wing forces and anti-imperialist, democratic movements.

The timely and decisive raising of the most acute problem facing the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean Basin-- the problem of cancelling the foreign debt and establishing a new international economic order -- by the fraternal parties participating in this conference immediately met with an active response among the most diverse patriotic and democratic forces on the continent. At the end of July - beginning of August a "continental dialogue" was held in Havana -- a representative meeting of 1,200 state, political, and public figures from 33 countries in the region. A participant in the dialogue, the prominent Argentinian public figure, Oscar Eduardo Allende, for example, appraised the powerful united movement of the Latin American public that has arisen as a result of the Havana communist initiative as follows: "The problems of the foreign debt have been discussed by Latin Americans before. But the fact of the matter is that representatives of parties and movements from various countries have examined these problems in a closed fashion, as if shutting themselves off from one another. It is only now, thanks to Cuba's timely initiative, that communists and social democrats, Christian Democrats and radicals, and people with the most diverse political beliefs have gathered together in one hall. In this stronger coordination of positions on the problems of the foreign debt lies our strength."

In the present troubled time, when the terrible danger of an all-destructive nuclear catastrophe hangs over the world and when imperialism continues to develop its "crusade" against socialism, life sets communists the task of meeting more frequently, comparing their views and appraisals, and coordinating their actions. This is the order of the day. And, as the summer dialogues between communists attest, it is making itself more and more urgently felt within the international communist movement. As far as the CPSU is concerned -- the party of consistent internationalists -- as was stressed at the March (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "those who share our opinions abroad can be sure: in the struggle for peace and social progress, the party of Lenin, as always, will closely cooperate with the fraternal communist, workers, and revolutionary democratic parties and will work for the unity and active cooperation of all revolutionary forces."

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CRITICISM AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

FROM THE HISTORY OF THE STRUGGLE OF U.S. COMMUNISTS AGAINST RACISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 85 (signed to press 3 Oct 85) pp 123-124

[Review by D. Lisovolik and V. Ulasevich of the book "Fighting Racism. Unity for Equality, Justice, Trade Unionism, Democracy, Peace." By Gus Hall. International Publishers, New York, 1985, 304 pages]

[Text] Comrade Gus Hall, the noted personality in the American and international communist and world movements and secretary general of the U.S. Communist Party, will be 75 on 8 October.

For more than 25 years Gus Hall has headed the party of American communists, which is firmly standing on Marxist-Leninist and internationalist positions, and his party membership exceeds half a century.

Gus Hall is known in the United States and far beyond it as a courageous, dedicated and firm fighter for the interests of the American working people and a passionate fighter for the peace and happiness of the peoples on our planet. This labor and party leader developed such qualities in the course of sharp class battles, in the struggle for the democratization of American society, in the battlefields of World War II, in jail and in the political and ideological clashes during the periods of cold war and witch-hunting.

As a patriot and internationalist, Gus Hall has tirelessly spread the fiery revolutionary words of the communist. He has fought consistently and persistently for strengthening unity among all anti-imperialist forces and the further unification of the international communist movement.

Gus Hall is widely known also as the author of numerous articles, studies and books in which he profoundly develops Marxist-Leninist theory in terms of contemporary reality in the United States and throughout the world. Many of his works, such as "Ending the Cold War," "The Revolutionary Worker Movement and Modern Imperialism," "Energetic Swindling" and others, have been published in the Soviet Union.

Gus Hall's new book "Fighting Racism. Unity for Equality, Justice, Trade Unionism, Democracy, Peace" came out in the United States recently. In reviewing this work, the editors congratulate its author, whose articles have

been frequently published in KOMMUNIST, on the occasion of his noteworthy birthday.

The history of the U.S. Communist Party is one of dedicated and continuous struggle against exploitation, oppression, reaction, fascism, militarism and violence and for the socioeconomic interests and democratic rights of the working people and the entire American people. The struggle waged by the American communists against distorted phenomena in American social life, such as racism, discrimination and oppression of national minorities, is an inseparable part of this history of contemporary reality. It has been waged ceaselessly and in all areas, every since the party was founded: in politics, economics and ideology; it is being persistently developed in the trade unions, state and public organizations, schools and universities and among the broadest population strata.

Noted leaders of the U.S. Communist party, such as William Foster, Eugene Dennis and Elizabeth Flinn, have played a tremendous role in this struggle, and an equally tremendous contribution to it has been made by the present generation of leaders of the American communists, such as Gus Hall, Henry Winston, James Jackson and others.

The book under review by Gus Hall, U.S. Communist Party secretary general, which was published by International Publishers in 1985, has become a new sharp ideological weapon in this struggle and an indictment of imperialism.

The book is a collection of his speeches at party congresses and plenums, newspaper and journal articles, public addresses, excerpts from books and pamphlets and other materials written after the war. Although all of them belong to the same author, one could quite legitimately describe them as representing the collective thinking of the entire party.

The collection covers the almost entire 40-year span, which enables us to trace actual events as they developed. Many of the articles were written in the immediate aftermath, during periods of sharp battles for the civil rights of the black population, the freeing of Angela Davis and other victims of racism and discrimination, for equality of ethnic minorities and against the genocide of American Indians.

This broad chronological span also offers a unique possibility of analyzing, as practical experience was accumulated and summed up, the intensification of the party's theoretical interpretation of this trend of the struggle, the formulation of its programmatic concepts, and change of tactics, according to which, with each stage the party members were assigned specific tasks.

The ruling U.S. circles, who are concerned with the so-called "human rights" in the socialist countries, are trying today to present matters as though racism and discrimination are a thing of the past and that in a "democratic" country such as the United States there are no reasons for concern about violations of democratic rights and freedoms. Gus Hall's book is a convincing refutation of such apologetic myths. How unless through racial discrimination and class oppression could the fact be explained that the unemployment level is the highest among the black and colored population, that it is precisely

the highest percentage of such strata that subsist below the poverty level and that it is precisely among the blacks, Mexican-Americans, Puertoicans, American Indians and the other oppressed and humiliated ethnic minorities that one finds the largest number of users of night shelters and that millions among them are illiterate and hungry?

On the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory, Gus Hall provides a thorough study of racism American-style and profoundly exposes its class roots and the interaction between the struggle against it and the general democratic struggle waged by the working people. He makes extensive use in his works of the very rich experience in resolving the national problem in the Soviet Union. Convincingly and with vivid examples he proves the all-round blossoming of national life of all ethnic groups under socialism.

As the book clearly proves, the U.S. Communist Party is making a considerable contribution in the struggle against racism and discrimination and for equality, justice and human dignity of all citizens regardless of racial and ethnic affiliation. It considers it its duty tirelessly to expose this evil of the exploiting system and its nefarious influence on the various aspects of life in American society, to promote the elimination of racial and ethnic prejudices and to contribute to changes in the views of Americans who, in Gus Hall's metaphorical expression, are still under the influence of racism, "the most dangerous poison."

Gus Hall's book firmly rebuffs those who still believe that racism is an innate human feature, who spread pessimism and who claim that one should tolerate racism and discrimination, for which reason it makes no sense to even try to do something against this terrible phenomenon of injustice.

The main task of the communists, a thought which runs throughout his book, is to raise in the struggle against racism increasingly broader circles of the American people--blacks and whites, Puertoicans and immigrants from Asia and members of all oppressed ethnic minorities. In exposing the unbroken link between the inhuman theories and practices of racism and the entire capitalist system of exploitation and oppression, the American communists are waging a systematic and persistent struggle for the unity of the working class and for increasing activities against the common enemy--monopoly capital. That is why the struggle against racism, as the American communists see it, is the most important organic part of the struggle against the exploiting classes. In this respect as well, Gus Hall's book is not only a sharp ideological weapon but also a manual for action in the communists' daily practical activities.

The publication of Gus Hall's book is exceptionally relevant today, when the struggle waged by the progressive public in defense of L. Pelletier, Harris and other victims of American justice, which is zealously serving capitalism, is broadening, and when demands for guaranteeing human rights not in words but in deeds and for ensuring, above all, peace on earth and true equality, freedom and democracy, are being heard increasingly loudly. This work is a contribution to the struggle waged by the peoples in other countries, who are experiencing the racial a national oppression of imperialism. The thoughts and concerns it expresses are in keeping with the ideas of the struggling people of South Africa, who are engaged in a decisive fight against the

shameful apartheid system, the main support of which is Washington with its man-hating political course.

The leitmotif of this outstanding work by the leader of the American communists is that there is no place for racism on our planet. "Today," Gus Hall emphasizes, "objective conditions exist for achieving major successes in this struggle. This book is dedicated to progress toward this objective."

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SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 85 (signed to press 3 Oct 85) pp 125-126

[Text] "Soyuz Nash Nerushimyy" [OurIndestructible Union].
Compiled by A. Yu. Kolinko and S. A. Kuznetsova. Politizdat
Ukrainy, Kiev, 1984, 326 pp. Reviewed by G. Cherneyko.

The topic of friendship and fraternity among the peoples of the land of the soviets is inexhaustible. This book, compiled by the Ukrainian republic publishing house for political literature and the editors of KOMMUNIST UKRAINY, is a new confirmation of this fact (Note: the journal KOMMUNIST UKRAINY was awarded the 1983 KOMMUNIST prize for the profound interpretation of this topic).

The work is based on articles published in the journal by representatives of all union republics: party and soviet workers, ordinary working people and production leaders, scientists, men of culture, people who had never written before that and professional journalists and literary workers.

In his preface to the collection, A. Myalovitskiy, the journal's editor in chief, emphasizes that "The unification of all nations and nationalities within a single multinational socialist state multiplied their creative possibilities, accelerated the development of each Soviet republic more than ever before, and turned the feeling of belonging to a single family, instilled by the party, into a powerful motive force for progress by Soviet society, a life-bearing source of its inexhaustible creative energy and a prerequisite for all present and future victories" (pp 17-18). This is also the topic of the very rich factual data contained in the book.

The collection is divided into three parts: "In the Workdays of Great Construction Projects," "Victory Is a Shining Word" and "And Labor Turns Into Beauty," linked with the ideas of the universal historical significance of the processes of the establishment, shaping and development of the new social and international community, the Soviet people. Chronologically, the work is a collective story of the events which determined the fate of all nations and nationalities in our country, from the fiery days of the revolution to the present. In terms of scope, it is a sui generis analysis of virtually all aspects of life and activities in the multinational Soviet society.

The authors note that it was Lenin's genius and the party's policy, which blended together the unity of objectives, thoughts and actions of the Soviet people, that were at the sources of the great fraternity of peoples.

The book shows the historical accomplishments of the country during the period of industrialization and agricultural cooperativization and the cultural revolution through the lens of international unity. There are exciting stories on the building of the first canals, plants and electric power stations during the first 5-year plans and the organization of the first kolkhozes.

The Great Patriotic War, in the flames of which our unconquerable fraternity was hammered out and tempered, was a severe test of the patriotism and internationalism of the Soviet people. The feelings of ideological closeness and belonging to a single family united even more strongly during those stormy years the members of more than 100 nations and ethnic groups, those who fought at the front, the partisan detachments and in the underground and those who worked in the rear. Many touching pages describe their courage, firmness and heroism.

Most of the materials in the book describe the fruitfulness of the comprehensive cooperation and interaction among individual labor collectives and entire rayons, oblasts and republics during the postwar period. In resolving the common problems of communist construction they exchange accomplishments in the use of new and progressive labor methods and share experience in the organization of the socialist competition.

Concern for the interests of the entire country has become a characteristic feature of the Soviet person. It is precisely this lofty feeling of involvement with common concerns that made our historical accomplishments possible and ensured the successful development of each nation and nationality, large or small. The Soviet land was renovated thanks to the socialist system and the party's Leninist national policy, which opened broad opportunities for the development of the talents and capabilities of all Soviet people, rallying them for the sake of achieving the main objective: building a new society.

The fact that the general picture of the establishment and consolidation of the international fraternity is described through the fates of individuals is an unquestionable success for the publishers. This makes the collective story not only reliable but also deeply emotional. Each single page is a call to the reader to strengthen and multiply the friendship and fraternity among the peoples. "The new bright communist future which we are building every day, which we are creating through our toil, will be the more splendid, bountiful and vast the better we know one-another, the more energetically we exchange values, both material and cultural, and the stronger our union becomes, in thoughts and actions" (p 279).

Such is the conclusion of the compilers and authors of this interesting and valuable book, a conclusion which will be shared by the readers as well.

"Nepobezhdenny Eretik: Martin Lyuter i Yego Vremya" [The Unconquered Heretic: Martin Luther and His Time] by E. Yu. Solovev (Introductory article by Academician T. I. Oyzerman). Molodaya Gvardiya, Moscow, 1984, 288 pp. Reviewed by Dr of Historical Sciences A. Shtekli.

The 500th birthday of Luther, one of the great sons of the German people, was extensively marked in the GDR and other countries. Luther's role as the initiator of the Reformation and his contribution to world culture were assessed in many articles and books, naturally from a variety of ideological positions.

The most significant among the publications on this topic in the Soviet Union was the popular science work by E. Yu. Solovev, a noted specialist in the history of philosophy. This is the first Soviet biography of Luther (published in 75,000 copies).

Marxism considers the Reformation "bourgeois revolution No 1" and the peasant war in Germany its "critical event" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 21, p 417). This explains the interest shown by Soviet scientists in the theoretical study of this age, in terms of its socioeconomic content (the works of A. N. Chistozvonov on the origins of capitalism and the stage classification of bourgeois revolutions) and its philosophy (a collective compiled study directed by T. I. Oyzerman).

According to Engels, the age of the Renaissance and the Reformation needed giants, and "created giants of thoughts, passions and character, comprehensiveness and learning... Luther cleaned the Augian Stables of the church and the German language and created the modern German prose...(op. cit., vol 20, p 346).

Luther, who came from the common people, daringly opposed the Roman Catholic Church dogmas and system. His famous 95 theses openly and angrily condemned the corruption of the clergy and the vicious practice of selling indulgences. At a time of particular intellectual ferment caused by economic changes and the aggravation of the political situation in Europe, these theses "had an inflammatory effect, like a bolt of lightning hitting a powder keg" (op. cit., vol 7, p 392). Luther's addresses became a banner in the struggle against Rome's rule and for the ripening revolution which, under the conditions of the times, took the form of religious reformation, which reached its extreme aggravation with the Peasant War.

Protestantism began with Luther.

The book by E. Yu. Solovev describes the way Luther's criticism of church dogmas and institutions cut the ground from under the feet of the clergy who claimed status inviolability. The Christian, Luther argued, does not need priests as intermediaries in order to save his soul, faith sufficed. His passionate polemics, which exposed the clergy which parasitized on the people, vast knowledge and courage earned Luther tremendous popularity. It soon became clear, however, that the "freedom of the Christian" he had proclaimed could be interpreted differently, on the basis of class interests. The lower

strata, who had seen in the new doctrine a justification of their desire for freedom from feudal oppression, were ready to use force. Such "carnal" interpretation of faith frightened Luther: taking the side of the burghers and princes, he became the ideologue of a moderate burgher Reformation. This was revealed with particular clarity during the Peasant War: Luther called for the merciless killing of the rebels.

While criticizing Luther's limitations, Marx and Engels emphasized his important role in European social and cultural development. On the eve of the anniversary, E. Honecker noted that "given the conditions of his time, Luther was able to start a movement which had a broad revolutionary influence on society."

On the basis of Marxist assessments and interpretation of the rich factual data gathered by previous biographers, Solovev has tried to provide an objective idea of Luther's dedicated life and his greatness and limitations. We see a truly titanic figure, outstanding in its originality, although quite conflicting. The skilfully selected details allow us to feel the spirit of the times.

While noting the merits of this work, we must nevertheless blame the author for the fact that one of the most important conflicts of the period--the confrontation between Luther's burgher-moderate reformation and the reformation of the people, the struggle with Muntzer, who was the greatest personality in the Peasant War (see K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 7, p 356) and his ideas--are described formalistically and briefly. Other shortcomings exist as well. As a whole, however, this talented book is, as justifiably noted by Academician T. I. Oyzerman, a meaningful Marxist work.

In itself, the fact of the publication of a new biography of Luther in a large edition is quite noteworthy. We consider this not only a sign of respect for one of the great sons of the German people but also an indicator of the increased cultural demands of the Soviet readership. Despite huge editions, unheard of in the West, bibliographic works on past philosophers are bought out instantaneously. Molodaya Gvardiya is performing a major and useful service with vision and initiative.

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