

JPRS 70009

20 October 1977

U S S R

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 13, SEPTEMBER 1977

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A
Approved for Public Release
Distribution Unlimited

U. S. JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE

Reproduced From
Best Available Copy

20000315 102

REPRODUCED BY
**NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE**
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

181

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22151. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available through Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio, 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET	1. Report No. JPRS 70009	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST No. 13, September 1977		5. Report Date 20 October 1977	
7. Author(s)		6.	
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201		8. Performing Organization Repr. No.	
		10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.	
		11. Contract/Grant No.	
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above		13. Type of Report & Period Covered	
		14.	
15. Supplementary Notes Translations from KOMMUNIST, theoretical journal of the CPSU Central Committee, Moscow, published 18 times a year.			
16. Abstracts The report contains articles on political, economic, military and social developments and problems within the USSR and as they relate to communist and other countries.			
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors USSR Political Science Sociology Propaganda Economics			
17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms			
17c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 5C			
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 181
		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price PC A09

20 October 1977

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 13, September 1977

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year). Where certain articles, reprinted from other Russian-language sources, are not translated, indication of this fact is made in the table of contents.

CONTENTS	PAGE
In the Central Committee of the CPSU	1
On the Comprehensive Solution of Problems of Ideological-Educational Work by the Orsk CPSU Gorkom	4
Mankind's Dawn (Nikolay Tikhonov)	8
Great 60th Anniversary and Triumph of Internationalist National Policy (Sh. Rashidov)	20
Internationalist Education of the Masses (E. Shevardnadze)	39
Personification of True Humanism (P. Skulin)	58
Let Us Actively Assist the Process of Production Concentration (O. Filatov)	60
Working People's Participation in Production Management (V. Mel'sitov)	66
Providing All Conditions for the Use of Creativity Resources (P. Oshchepkov)	72
Source of Innovation (G. Sergeyev)	76
Kolkhoz Family Budget (A. Polozova)	82
Budget of a Worker's Family (A. Agafonova)	86

CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
Statistical Reference	90
(
Civilization and Humaneness	99
Major Reserve in the Pedagogical Arsenal	
(Dm. Kabalevskiy)	120
)	
Socialist Revolution in Russia and France	
(Georges Cognot)	123
He Who Did Not Become a Dictator	
(N. Ivanov)	137
Big Business: Increased Moral Degradation	
(S. Epshteyn)	152
Russia and the Peoples of the Transcaucasus	
(M. Morozov)	164
From the Sources of Conquering the Atom to an Industrial Sector	
(D. Blokhintsev, A. Krasin)	168
From the Book Shelf	172

PUBLICATION DATA

English title : TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST, No 13,
Sep 1977

Russian title : KOMMUNIST

Author (s) :

Editor (s) : R. I. Kosolapov

Publishing House : Izdatel'stvo "Pravda"

Place of Publication : Moscow

Date of Publication : Sep 1977

Signed to press : 5 Sep 77

Copies : 968,000

COPYRIGHT : Izdatel'stvo "Pravda", "Kommunist",
1977

IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 77 pp 3-4

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Politburo considered the results of the friendly meetings held in the Crimea in July-August 1977 between L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on the one hand, and E. Honecker, Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the GDR State Council, G. Husak, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee general secretary and president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, J. Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee, E. Gierek, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, N. Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, T. Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic, and Yu. Tsedenbal, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, on the other. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo fully approves the talks held by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and deems the results of the Crimean meetings important and useful to the further development of all-round cooperation between the CPSU and the Soviet state, on the one hand, and the fraternal parties and countries, on the other, and to the coordination of their actions in the international arena.

The exchange of information on the implementation of the programs earmarked at the 25th CPSU Congress and the latest congresses of the BCP, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Polish United Workers Party, Romanian Communist Party, and Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, indicated that, closely interacting in the implementation of plans for the building of socialism and communism, the members of the socialist comity are successfully resolving their constructive problems, increasing their economic potential, advancing socialist social relations, and upgrading the prosperity and cultural standard of the working people. The friendship and unity among the peoples of the socialist countries are strengthening.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo expresses its profound gratitude to the heads of the fraternal parties for their expressed high assessment of the draft of the new USSR Constitution which codifies the fact of the building of a developed socialist society in the USSR, and for the international solidarity which the communists and working people of the fraternal countries are demonstrating in connection with the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In turn, the Soviet communists and all Soviet people are watching with comradely interest the creative efforts of the peoples of the fraternal countries in building developed socialism, and are warmly saluting their successes.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo ascribes prime importance to the agreements reached in the Crimea on problems of the further development of cooperation between the USSR and the fraternal countries, the intensification of intraparty ties and intergovernmental relations, and the broadening of cooperation through public organizations and cultural exchanges. Agreements on the formulation of long-term bilateral plans for production specialization and cooperation, closely linked with long-term target programs within the framework of CEMA, are of major significance.

The exchanges of views on a broad range of international problems which took place in the course of the Crimean meetings confirmed the resolve of the members of the socialist comity to continue their close interaction in the struggle for reaching their joint objectives consistent with both their individual national interests and the common international interests of the socialist comity and of all the forces of peace and progress. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo emphasizes the importance of the conclusion expressed during the talks to the effect that despite the attempts on the part of reactionary imperialist forces to hinder the normalizing of the international climate the process of the reorganization of international relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence is continuing. This is confirmed, in particular, by the successful preparations for the Belgrade meeting of representatives of countries which attended the Hensinki conference.

Yet, decisive actions must be taken by all progressive and peace-loving forces to prevent a new spiral in the arms race and to further the cause of disarmament. In this connection the CPSU Central Committee Politburo notes with satisfaction that the common line followed by the socialist countries toward intensifying detente and extending it to all continents was reasserted at the Crimean meetings. Under the present circumstances the ideas and specific proposals contained in the declaration of the November 1976 Bucharest conference of the Political Consultative Commission of Warsaw Pact Members retain their full significance.

The significance of intensifying the interaction between socialist countries and the national-liberation movement was noted in the course of the talks. This is particularly important now, when imperialism and reaction are trying to weaken the unity of progressive forces and use a variety of occasions for pitting one against the other and for undermining the sociopolitical gains of countries following a socialist oriented course.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo deems useful the discussion of topical problems of the international communist movement which indicated that the participants in the Crimean meetings held common positions. Stemming from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the CPSU will continue to struggle systematically and adamantly for the development of fraternal cooperation and solidarity among communist and workers' parties on the basis of the universally recognized norms governing relations among them, reasserted at the Berlin Conference of European Communists.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo passed a number of decrees on specific matters stipulating practical measures for the implementation of the agreements achieved in the course of the friendly meetings between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the heads of fraternal parties and states.

5003

CSO: 1802

ON THE COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION OF PROBLEMS OF IDEOLOGICAL-EDUCATIONAL WORK
BY THE ORSK CPSU GORKOM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 77 pp 5-8

[CPSU Central Committee decree]

[Text] In its promulgated decree the CPSU Central Committee noted that the Orsk City Party Organization, guided by the decisions of the 25th party congress and the instructions of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, achieved positive results in implementing the tasks of economic and social development and communist education of the working people. The activities of primary party organizations and party groups were energized. They are paying greater attention to ideological-political, labor, and moral education. The coordination of efforts in this matter by soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, economic organs, and mass information and propaganda media has improved. Participation of leading cadres and specialists in political work has become the norm.

The party committees pay daily attention to the molding of a scientific outlook, an active position in life, and lofty moral qualities in party and Komsomol members and all working people. The mass study of Marxist-Leninist theory, documents of the 25th CPSU Congress, and works by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev was organized. The draft of the USSR Constitution is being discussed and preparations for the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution are being made with high political and labor activeness on the part of the population. A specific labor training system has been developed in the city. Socialist competition, the movement for a communist attitude toward labor, and dissemination and utilization of progressive experience have been developed extensively. The best traditions of the working class are being carefully safeguarded and developed. High labor enthusiasm is being maintained and 97 percent of the able-bodied population is employed in the national economy.

Compared with 1971 the number of graduates of working youth schools tripled; the number of workers with secondary education rose 40 percent and of specialists with higher education, 43 percent. A total of 86 percent of the working people covered the first cycle of universal economic training.

The party organizations are displaying particular concern for the labor education and vocational guidance of the youth and for developing in them a profound understanding of the role of the working man and the desire to join the ranks of the working class. In 1976 about 55 percent of secondary school graduates became workers; 38 percent of 8th grade graduates entered vocational-technical schools. Four thousand tutors, including 25th CPSU Congress delegates Comrades G. N. Bykov, N. S. Korchagin, T. I. Savina, and Hero of Socialist Labor Sh. B. Zhumatayev, are helping in the production and political growth of the young workers and in promoting their worker's honor and professional pride. The personal example of party members, 85 percent of whom are employed in material production, plays an important role.

The ideological and educational activities of party committees and organizations is contributing to the development of production and social activeness of labor collectives, to the implementation of the five-year plan, and to upgrading work effectiveness and quality. On the basis of 1976 results Orsk was awarded the Red Challenge Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU, and Komsomol Central Committee. The 1977 plans and socialist pledges are being successfully implemented. The reconstruction of operating enterprises is being adamantly promoted, accounting for as much as 90 percent of the capital investments. Measures are being implemented to improve the labor organization and conditions. The Yuzhuralnikel' combine mastered an automated system for controlling technological processes, reached the highest sectorial indicators for equipment use and insured the production of 95 percent of the nickel and 78 percent of the cobalt with the state Emblem of Quality. Following the example of the Yuzhuralmash plant, the enterprises are setting up related comprehensive brigades working on the basis of a single order with wages based on end results. This has contributed to the growth of labor productivity by an average of 15 percent. The number of labor discipline violations has been reduced in the city and law and order are strengthening.

Party organizations, and collectives of enterprises and construction projects are systematically helping the sovkhozes they sponsor to improve their economic activities and political and mass cultural work among the rural population.

Yet, the CPSU Central Committee noted that shortcomings exist in the ideological-political education activities of the city party organization. In a number of cases it is poorly linked with production affairs and with the shaping of a communist morality and lofty spiritual interests of the people. Social, professional, and age characteristics of the various population categories are not always taken into consideration; the necessary concern is not displayed for insuring the high quality and effectiveness of implemented measures. Cadre turnover is being reduced slowly in the city and the struggle against drunkenness is weak. Some problems of cultural-consumer construction are being resolved slowly. Workers in the service industry, auxiliary shops, and small collectives are not subjected to the necessary influence. Insufficient attention is being paid to work at places of residence and to influencing the behavior of the people outside work.

An atmosphere of principled exactingness toward the workers has still not been created at some enterprises. Tasks related to the growth of labor productivity, reduction of production costs, and production of high-quality goods are not being implemented.

The CPSU Central Committee assessed positively the activities of the Orsk City Party Organization on the comprehensive solution of the ideological-education problems and made it incumbent upon the gorkom, CPSU raykoms, and primary party organizations to insure the further upgrading of the effectiveness of ideological work on the basis of the systematic implementation of the stipulations of the 25th CPSU Congress, to be always concerned with the practical observance of the condition of organic unity among the ideological-political, labor, and moral education of all population groups, the adamant raising of the working people in a spirit of communist ideamindedness, Soviet patriotism, and proletarian internationalism, to develop in them a clear class position and high political vigilance, and to wage an aggressive struggle against manifestations of alien ideology and morality.

All party-political work must be subordinated to mobilizing the working people to welcome properly the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and to fulfill the plans and socialist pledges for 1977 and the five-year plan.

It was recommended to the party organizations to shape purposefully in every person a communist attitude toward labor and the people's property, the feeling that he is the master of his country, and high-level culture and self-discipline. The spirit of innovation and creative initiative of the masses and socialist competition must be comprehensively supported and developed in order to upgrade production effectiveness and labor quality. Constant attention must be paid to the creation of conditions for rhythmical and highly productive work. The general educational and professional standards of the working people must be upgraded in accordance with the tasks of scientific and technical progress.

The CPSU Central Committee directed the attention of the party gorkom and raykoms to the need considerably to intensify moral education. It is important for the activities of party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations and ideological institutions, and economic management actively to influence the assertion in the minds and behavior of the people of the moral code of the building of communism and the understanding of the unity between the rights and obligations of USSR citizens. A decisive struggle must be waged against drunkenness, hooliganism, indifference, passiveness, and all violations of communist morality norms, mobilizing to this effect the full force of public opinion. Individual work with the people must be improved continually. Adamant efforts must be made for managers at all levels to take into consideration in their management practices not only economic but educational aspects, to be attentive to the people, to live with their concerns and interests, and to be examples of unity between words and actions.

The party, Komsomol, and trade union organizations, and the soviet and economic organs must intensify the communist education of the youth and their political, labor, and moral tempering. Particular attention has been directed to the need to upgrade further in this respect the role of the family, the school, and the labor collective. It has been suggested to make fuller use of the influence of workers' dynasties and of youth tutors. The authority of the teacher must be enhanced comprehensively since, by virtue of his social position, he is closely linked not only with the students but with their parents and has a big arsenal of means for educational influence on all population categories.

The organization of the leisure time of the working people and of political and mass cultural work at places of residence must be improved. Culture palaces, clubs, libraries, movie theaters, and sports facilities must be used with maximal effectiveness, regardless of departmental affiliation, to meet better the growing spiritual requirements of the urban population. Scientific and technical and artistic creativity must be developed more extensively and mass participation in physical culture and sports must be promoted.

The CPSU Central Committee has made it incumbent upon the CPSU gorkom and raykoms to insure the further improvement of the work and practice of long-term and current planning and of the system for controlling the implementation of the planned measures. The systematic training of cadres and of the aktiv in methods insuring the comprehensive approach to ideological work must be organized; they must be equipped with the best experience and knowledge of the scientific foundations of political education. Ties with the masses must be strengthened comprehensively. Remarks and suggestions submitted by the working people must be operatively reacted to. A responsive attitude must be adopted toward their needs. A decisive struggle must be waged against those who suppress criticism, and against conservatism and red tape.

The CPSU Central Committee has suggested to the Orenburgskaya Oblast Party Committee to continue to provide the necessary assistance to the Orsk City Party Organization in steadily improving the communist education of the working people.

5003

CSO: 1802

MANKIND'S DAWN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 77 pp 9-18

[Article by Nikolay Tikhonov]

[Text] The entire world is noting the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The first state of the workers and peasants in the world was born on 7 November 1917, when the great Lenin proclaimed the following: "The workers' and peasants' revolution, the need for which had been always mentioned by the Bolsheviks, has been made" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 35, p 2).

It occurred in a country about which Lenin, who knew it excellently, wrote in his time, filled with angry indignation: "No country in Europe other than Russia has remained a country in which the popular masses have been plundered to such an extent in terms of education, enlightenment, and knowledge" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 23, p 127).

World War I brought new and unparalleled catastrophes, wreckage, hunger, and death at the front of millions of people. Yet, it was in such a country, under the most difficult circumstances, in the darkness of a seemingly endless night of suffering that the dawn of salvation rose, a dawn proclaiming not only a new day for Russia but a new era in the life of all mankind.

At that time there were no people on the planet other than Lenin and his supporters, whether state leaders, experienced in political life, or philosophers who studied the periods of historical life of the peoples, who had a clear idea of what had taken place in Russia and what would happen to it in the future. Yet, a gigantic change had occurred in the life of mankind. The October Revolution exceeded in terms of power and significance any turn in the destinies of the peoples ever recorded in history. No event in thousands of years of existence of mankind could be compared with the phenomenon of the October Revolution in the world arena.

Since that day everyone had to take into consideration the existence of the Soviet state, a state unparalleled in terms of form and content. The soviets which appeared with inordinate speed throughout the huge country rallied endless masses of people. The soviets, which brought the new word, and which helped in the destruction of everything which was old, obsolete, and oppressing, captured the hearts and the minds, and became the real power of the people.

Anyone who experienced the fabulous development of events and who was unable to remain on their margin could not remain indifferent to the events he was witnessing. Like many adolescents at the time which preceded the October Revolution, I lived with the premonition that in the final account something tremendous and unusual had to happen, to turn upside down all foundations of life, to overthrow the oppression of exploitation and injustice, and to bring freedom to the people. The approach of the revolution was felt even more strongly by the fact that events were growing tragically and that bloody social clashes were occurring in front of us: I experienced the now legendary events of 1905. I witnessed Bloody Sunday and the hopelessness of World War I, and the death of friends and comrades.

However, the greatness of the October Revolution was like an ocean which flooded the streets of all cities and whose waves entered each house and apartment, forcing their inhabitants, refreshed by the sudden element, to realize the events.

Everyone was spontaneously excited, discussing life, the future, the state, the world. It seemed as though the entire country was speaking out after long years of silence about everything the people thought about and could not stop talking about. Not everyone welcomed the fundamental laws formulated by the October Revolution. In the trials of the beginning civil war, the new trials to which town and country were subjected, torn by destruction, the wild violence of the whites, and ubiquitous hunger, the people loyal to the October Revolution were forced to gain the type of energy and strength of the legendary heroes in the face of which all heroes of antiquity would pale.

In this new darkness of battles and threats to the new life the people nevertheless realized that the October Revolution would win, for it was impossible to go back to a life of oppression and poverty. I remember how in the days of the offensive of Yudenich's gangs on Petrograd, in order to clear space for the Red Army batteries the workers themselves burned down the ironically named Schastlivaya [Lucky] Street near the Putilov plant, with all its houses and goods, saying the following: "If we win we would not live in these slums. We would build the type of houses we like; should the whites win we would hang. So, it will be best to wreck them once and for all..." The poems I wrote since my childhood years expressed the spirit of freedom influenced by the revolutionary democrats. In the October period I wrote a book entitled "Crossroads of Utopias." Asked about its title I explained: "We see today the encountering between the

utopias of the dreamers-rebels of the past and the utopias being implemented." It was clear to me that the great duel had to bring victory. I wrote then, "either a new day with an unparalleled radiance or another unparalleled night."

What the Great October Revolution brought was new, great, and unique. For the first time it promoted doctrines which were superior to all moral postulates of the past and to the moral rules of all religions, not to mention all the laws of "divide and rule" formulated by capitalism.

No one of the then bourgeois "rulers of the minds" in the fields of philosophy or politics realized that a world had risen in the East which would become stronger than all their armies, book frauds, and all their false selfish activities.

Only the best progressive minds of the world gave their due both to the Great October Revolution and the great Lenin, the leader of the revolution. Thus, the old rebel Bernard Shaw said squarely to the indignant bourgeoisie: "If others follow Lenin's method a new era would open to us. We would not be threatened by destruction and doom. A new history would begin for us, a history which we could not even imagine today. If the future is with Lenin all of us could rejoice. If the world were to follow the old path I would depart from this earth sadly."

The wise Romain Rolland wrote the following about Lenin: "I am not familiar with any other such major personality in Europe in this century. Through his will he steered confidently and firmly crossing the chaotic waves of the human ocean and his ineradicable traces will long remain visible. Through all tempests he steered his ship, sails unfurled, toward the new world.

"Lenin is the greatest man of action and the most disinterested person in our century."

The noted Anatole France signed an appeal to the proletariat and the intelligentsia which stated: "Expose the bloody-hypocritical coalition of the international reaction and the financial aces directed against Soviet Russia. It was only because the Soviet republic sanctioned the seizure of the power by workers and international solidarity, and only because it embodies true rather than pseudosocialism, only because of that has it been subjected to such raging slanders and hatred on the part of capitalists and their bodyguards."

In awakening Asia, Jawaharlal Nehru, the inspired patriot, said of the October Revolution: "...I had no doubt that the Soviet revolution had greatly moved forward human society, lighting a bright flame which could not be extinguished. It laid the foundations for the new civilization toward which the world could progress." He also said that "In our days to many famous British government leaders Lenin is a monster and a bandit. However, millions of people consider him the savior and the greatest man of the epoch."

As the victories of the Russian proletariat which had earned the sympathy of all progressive people on earth--simple workers, working people, scientists and writers--grew, all enemies of the people without exception and frantic supporters of capitalism poured on the Soviet people slander, filth, curses, and threats. They wrote books complaining that "Russia had abandoned us," and that it had to be "rescued" as a former ally. "One must act and act without delay to rescue those unfortunate people who have lost their way and are in the hands of our enemies and force them to come to us for their own and for our salvation." This was written by Doumergue, the right wing French politician, and was emulated by abusers and slanderers from all European capitals.

However, the attacks were not on paper only. We saw in our country intervention forces--in the north, the south, the west and the east. They engaged in their bloody affairs helping their mercenaries--the white generals.

All such haters and their masters totally lacked the gift of prophecy. They wished their victory so much that they set deadlines for the doom of the Soviet system: in the first weeks they were very short; then, they were given in terms of months and years. Time, however, refuted their predictions. They died of hatred and helplessness while the Soviet state lived and, with striking tirelessness, marched forth along the difficult path of new trials.

Meanwhile, to rephrase Gogol', things became clear throughout the world. They became not only clear but everything which Lenin had said in his time had become true. The entire world of the oppressed, however far their country may have been from Moscow, answered the voice of the Soviet Revolution. The tremendous popular masses awakened and came to life. In China, India, Japan, the African colonies, the Middle East and South America, we heard friendly voices greeting us.

Moscow became the sacred city to the representatives of all nations seeking good friends in the struggle against the oppressors. They came to Moscow to learn the art of revolutionary struggle. They came with grateful hearts to bow to Vladimir Il'ich Lenin in his mausoleum.

The October Revolution awakened the peoples of all continents. The so-called colonial empires which sucked the riches and the health of their subjects in their overseas possessions and lived with the thought that their rule was endless, gradually fell. But the end came. It came because the battle international of the working people was born with the Great October Revolution. It awakened the class awareness of the toiling masses, raising them to the struggle, and the conquerers were expelled by the rebellious peoples from their countries.

October--the dawn of mankind--illuminated the earth ever more vividly. The heroes which ended their life on earth were replaced by new outstanding people who created outstanding accomplishments. Books had to be written

about everything which had taken place since the Great October. In order to prevent our foreign enemies from saying that no one had taken the place of the classics of the old prerevolutionary literature after the October Revolution someone had to describe these past 60 years. Yet, the peoples on earth know that together with the October Revolution there grew and strengthened a great Soviet literature whose books are known the world over, a world which is not brimming with malice as are the "sovietologists" hostile to us.

I already mentioned that since adolescence I had a vague feeling that the decisive day for settling accounts with the entire old world was approaching. The literary environment surrounding me was imbued with the same feeling. I saw that within it there was a growing rebellion of the spirit against unbearable oppression. Indeed, the October Revolution was welcomed by such heterogeneous outstanding Russian poets as Aleksandr Blok, Vladimir Mayakovskiy, Valeriy Bryusov, Sergey Yesenin, Nikolay Aseyev, Dem'yan Bednyy, and others.

Each nation which was member of the former tsarist empire had its revolutionary poets who made the socialist homeland famous. Let us name Maksim Ryl'skiy, Pavlo Tychina, Yakub Kolas, Yanka Kupala, Khakimzade Khamza, Sadriddin Ayni, Avetik Isaakyan, Galaktion and Titsian Tabidze, Gamzat Tsadas, Dzhambul, and Suleyman Stal'skiy.

I recall the way Fedin, Leonov, and Aleksey Tolstoy, the originators of Soviet literature, spoke at the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers about the Leninist attitude toward talent and the literature of socialist humanism. I recall Maksim Gor'kiy's famous words on the victory of Bolshevism expressed at the congress: "What do I see as the expression of the victory of Bolshevism at the writers' congress? The fact that those among them who considered themselves nonparty people and 'vacillating' recognized with a sincerity whose full extent I do not dare to doubt Bolshevism as the only militant guiding idea in creativity, in writing."

Naturally, the destruction of the old world did not take place so rapidly as to enable the writers immediately to march across its ruins. Yet, the new hero, the contemporary, the person who had accepted the October Revolution, was already present in our lyrical poetry. Vladimir Mayakovskiy's lyrical character is the most loyal son of the revolution described in his "Poems on the Soviet Passport." His attitude toward history, nature, and people is a continuation of traditions as well as the display of new features in the character of the member of the socialist society.

I noted in the past that together with the Soviet people the Soviet writers had covered the entire distance in the creation of the new man. Our literature described everything with which the country lived and for which it struggled, and the way it won and developed and raised a human nature previously unknown to the world. Did it not reflect the years of trials, troubles, and exploits of the civil war, and the accomplishments of the

heroes of the first five-year plans? Did it not encompass the picture of collectivization--this difficult historical process which demanded of the Soviet people a clear understanding of what was happening, when the entire class of pettyowners disappeared from the stage of history? Do we not have the beautiful literature of the Great Patriotic War in which such a large number of talented and warmly patriotic works created by writers in the many languages of the peoples of the USSR described to mankind the exploits of the Soviet people who paid with their blood for the freedom of European and other nations? Are the poems of those fiery years not living today, having lost nothing of their passion and poetic power?

Our literature gave the world the type of character molded by Soviet reality from the very first days of the October Revolution. He is a positive character. He is a fighter for freedom, the enthusiastic builder of the new, the scout of the future. He is a daring, happy, noisy person fearing not even death.

Soviet literature speaks of life, happiness, valor, glory, and the youth of people. It calls for joining the broad world discovered by the daring and good people, a world in which there is no false morality and no oppression by a society which has proclaimed money as its idol. The life-asserting force of Soviet literature has been created by such a tireless energy and incredible love for life and by such a desire for the good and happiness of everyone that these features have become part of the flesh and blood of the member of our society. During the most terrible trials experienced by the Soviet people socialist humanism was stronger than the horrors and triumphed over pain and mortal danger.

I realize that the people abroad about whom Western writers write are also humane in their own way, understanding goodness and sympathizing with their friends' misfortune. However, the mentality of the Soviet person is different from the inner feelings of the Western man. One must be a new person in a new society to acquire such features of the Soviet character which are not immediately obvious. Once Feliks Edmundovich Dzerzhinskiy said: "It would not be worth living if mankind was not illuminated by the star of socialism, the star of the future. For the 'I' cannot live unless it includes within itself the rest of the world and the people." Soviet literature is the combat weapon of the people, the assistant of the party. It fights not only against the enemies of socialism but the vestiges of capitalism, and everything which hinders the growth and progress of the character toward true humanism.

A continuous and fierce struggle is being waged in the contemporary world between the two ideologies--communist and bourgeois--assuming a great variety of aspects. It would be difficult to imagine a writer agreeing with both sides. We are eager. We wish to learn about the soul of the peoples, to find out how they live. We want to find out what it is that they are contributing to mankind's civilization. We are in constant touch with the writers on all continents. However, we do not accept abstract

ghosts instead of live heroes, and we cannot agree with the type of world of creative decay and deliriousness sent to us by the bourgeois ideologues like harmful and poisonous mirages.

The October Revolution laid the foundations of a new civilization. The years passed and the entire country changed from far away Kamchatka to Brest, and from the Arctic ice to the southern seas and deserts. Not 100,000 tractors of which Lenin once dreamed but an incalculable number of a great variety of agricultural machinery reached our fields. Plants and factories were built in previously remote places. Cities spread, new roads were laid, institutes, hospitals, and schools were built.

With the energy of the pioneer, the man "illuminated by the star of socialism" laid the path of Soviet civilization, reorganizing all life and illuminating with the light of the new life the darkest corners of a once backward country. Dneproges grew. The planned development of the Northern Seaway was undertaken. Incalculable riches were extracted from the ground and cities were built. The country learned how to build, to invent, and formulate plans for the future.

It was in vain that, sometimes ironically and sometimes frankly threateningly, our enemies tirelessly insulted our achievements, disbelieving them, and continuing to expect a catastrophe which would allegedly doom the Soviet Union. They urged on fascist leaders against our country. How happy were the rulers of the markets when Hitler's black hoards predatorily attacked the homeland of socialism. Once again they set deadlines for the doom of the Soviet state.

The Hitlerite army already had combat experience and an unheard of quantity of weapons, tanks, airplanes, and generals feared by the entire capitalist world which considered their troops invincible. The planet held its breath watching the mortal battle between the past and the future. The socialist country routed the armored fascist hoards. The myth of the invincibility of the Third Reich was swept off. The thunder of the victories at Moscow, Stalingrad, and the Kursk Arc, and the uninterrupted defeats of the Hitlerites and their allies forced the minions of fascism who based all their hopes on them to acknowledge that no member of the camp of the oppressors could resist the new civilization and the liberation army.

All the horrors of the Hitlerite aggression could not frighten and defeat the Soviet people. During the war I participated in the defense of Leningrad and I remember the following case: a Leningrad girl kept a diary during all the long months of severe siege. Some of the brief entries describing the suffering, death of friends, cold, and hunger, and the fact that there was no water or light, included the following: "Last evening, 'Anna Karenina;' last night, 'Madame Bovary;' tonight, the entire night, 'Tikhii Don' [And Quiet Flows the Don]." "How could you read at night without light?" she was asked later. She answered: "I did not read. I recalled books I had read before. This helped me to fight death." Such was the strength of the spirit of this girl.

I remember the time a fascist shell exploded among the sacred graves of Marsovo Polya. The fragments scattered. One of them hit an inscription on the monument and erased the word "mankind." Yet, however frequently the fascists erased this word, mankind won. It showed to the entire world the horrors of their concentration camps, the atrocities of the Gestapo, the bloody terrorism, and all crimes committed against humanity.

It might have seemed that such a terrible phenomenon as war could be considered excluded from the life of the peoples for a long time if not forever. In most countries national committees for the defense of peace were set up. Such a committee was founded in Moscow as well. The Soviet people unanimously signed the Stockholm appeal. A law on the defense of the peace was passed in the USSR.

Even at the time when the American imperialists unleashed the so-called "cold war" the people of the Soviet state worked with such enthusiasm and persistence that they not only rebuilt everything destroyed by the war but went far ahead along the path of progress. The country continued to learn. The Soviet Union accounts for one quarter of all scientific workers in the world. The Soviet people learned how to build nuclear power plants and icebreakers, and most complex computing machines. They built powerful hydroelectric plants along the rivers, developed the dead space of the arctic, restored to life waterless deserts, discovered new ground resources such as petroleum, natural gas, ores, and underground seas, and boldly penetrated outer space, sending their satellites and guiding interplanetary ships, guiding the Lunokhod from the earth, and photographing Mars and Venus. Let us not forget that the first man who made a space orbit around the globe was Yuriy Gagarin, a citizen of our homeland. Of all the women in the world, a Soviet woman alone--Valentina Tereshkova--flew in outer space...

Soviet civilization is growing and strengthening. We built a developed socialist society.

Today the entire Soviet people are discussing the draft of the new USSR Constitution. This is the historical result of everything accomplished in the past 60 years whose anniversary will be celebrated by the peoples the world over.

As a document this draft is of the highest significance. Each of its articles is a people's gain. The very first of them is proudly solemn: "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of the whole people expressing the will and interests of the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia, of all nations and nationalities of the country."

Innumerable meetings, sessions, and plenums have been held to discuss the draft of the constitution. Nothing similar has ever occurred in any capitalist country. In many countries the common man has no concept of the

content of his constitution, for its articles protect the interests of the privileged classes, and the power of the property owners and the wealthy. However thoroughly one may read such a constitution one will not find the right to work, the right to rest, or articles dealing with health care.

These rights are guaranteed in the draft of the fundamental law now under discussion. The Soviet working person attentively reads the text of the draft of his constitution, thinks about it, and seeks more precise formulations of one or another article, knowing that this is a constitution of the people and that he is responsible for everything it contains. He is proud of the trust of the Communist Party which has drawn the broadest possible masses into the discussion of the draft. "The CPSU exists for the people and serves the people," reads Article 6. This is confirmed by our entire life, by the present.

Each article in the draft of the constitution has been tested through the life of the people. It is based on the people's profound experience and formulated with the type of precision, simplicity, and thorough checking inherent in the people's language. This outstanding contemporary document, enriched by the nationwide discussion, will become the fundamental law of our life, reflecting, as in a mirror, the essence of the unity between the state and the individual in the historical process of the building of communism.

The draft of the new constitution includes a special chapter on the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union; its Article 28 clearly stipulates that in the USSR the propaganda of war is banned by law. I welcome this with particular emotion, for I have been the chairman of the Soviet committee for the defense of the peace ever since its establishment, and I have served this outstanding cause for many years. For some reason I remember the old English town of Sheffield which, in its time, banned the holding of the peace congress. However, I also recall the fact that it was the Sheffield masters who hammered out the "Stalingrad sword" from their famous steel, a sword which was presented to the defenders of the heroic city on the Volga, to people who defied death for the sake of peace the world over, in the name of the freedom and independence of the peoples.

I also remembered the answer which the Sheffield workers, the steel-makers and miners, gave the Donetsk masters metallurgists and miners: "We pledge steadily to work for banning the atom bomb and all mass destruction weapons and for reducing armaments. Long live the friendship between the workers of Britain and the Soviet Union! Long live peace!"

I believe that this is the way the workers of all countries think about the peace. No bans imposed by politicians will make them think otherwise.

I recall something else too. This happened at the Helsinki meeting, long before the day in which the heads of 33 countries in Europe and of the United States and Canada signed in that city the final act of the European conference...

At the meeting, in the huge (Messukhalli) Hall, a tall strong green pine stood above the delegates at their tables. A small wooden box for starlings was nailed to its trunk, giving the tree a sort of homey appearance.

People from all parts of the world sat in the shade of this romantic tree. Old friends, veterans of the movement, with years of trials behind them, met here; here new members of the movement with enthusiastic looks and speeches filled with the zeal of youth met for the first time. There were representatives of distant continents. Communists and pacifists, Buddhists and Quakers, Social Democrats, and members of the National Congress Party sat side by side in a friendly discussion.

The meeting ended. The members of the presidium left, while the tall straight pine remained. I asked my Finnish friend, an outstanding person, the wise a good Felix Iversen: "What will happen to the pine--this tree of friendship among the peoples?"

He smiled and answered: "It will follow everyone in all parts of the earth!" I understood his words in the sense that the participants to the meeting would take to their native lands the memory of this tree. Soon afterwards, however, in Moscow, I received through the Committee for the Defense of the Peace, a small parcel. It contained a thick resinous bit of wood--a cut of that very pine which was in the meeting hall.

Somewhat later, when I flew to India on business for the peace movement, I saw in the home of an old lover of beauty, a known public figure and fighter for peace, among the many splendid examples of Indian folk art, a modest bit of wood on a Kashmir colorfully decorated plate, sharply standing out among the surrounding objects.

The host said: "This is a souvenir from Helsinki. It is the friendship tree which I took from Finland. Here, in Delhi, it reminds me of the good friends in that distant northern country."

"Peace! Shanti!" the host said. "I know of no better word on earth. It sounds good in all languages. Peace and friendship is what the peoples need. Let peaceful people live and work in the shade of the universal tree of friendship!"

Quite recently, in May 1977, the world assembly of the builders of a durable peace was held in Warsaw. Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, the tireless fighter for peace, sent a greeting to its participants. He wrote: "Considerable successes have been achieved in the struggle for peace and international security. The main thing is that we have been able to push back the threat of a world war, to weaken the confrontation, and to strengthen the policy of peaceful coexistence among countries belonging to different social systems...This means, above all, to work for containing and terminating the dangerous arms race. That is why it is important to

increase our vigilance concerning imperialist intrigues, and expose attempts to mislead the people with propaganda campaigns aimed at concealing those who are truly responsible for the arms race."

Soon afterwards, however, the entire world was amazed by Washington's unexpected step, the decision to undertake the production of the cruise missile and allocate funds for the development of a neutron bomb. It is planned to deploy this mass destruction weapon in the Western European countries.

On 9 August 28 communist and workers' parties addressed an appeal to the peoples to oppose the decisions of the U.S. government. The appeal emphasized the barbaric nature of the new weapon aimed at the cold-blooded destruction of millions of people.

A protest movement against this new criminal step taken by the Pentagon and the military-industrial complex aiming at earning billions in the manufacturing of this deadly mass destruction weapon rose throughout the planet, including the United States.

Along with the decision to produce warheads, an unparalleled campaign was launched in the press and on the radio and the television explaining the "humane" purpose of the neutron bomb. One could have thought that this was a real benefit for mankind, for the bomb is a "clean" weapon. It does not destroy homes or property but merely kills everything living, for which reason it could be considered a "guarantee for peace." This is not the raving of an insane person in an adventure novel. It is proclaimed openly for everyone to hear.

However, also published were views of scientists who refute the "humane" properties of neutron bombs concerning the fast death of everything alive and the fact that after the bombing troops could immediately occupy any city and all its buildings, sweeping off like garbage the dust of the population who have died a "clean" death. The scientists state that death does not occur immediately in the least, that the people die in pain, and that dangerous fallout will remain for many years. Even the old wolves in the pack of Bundeswehr generals stated that such a bomb would make the FRG a new atomic super-Vietnam and that all hopes that there would be no retaliation were groundless.

All these actions which triggered the concern and indignation of mankind have nothing in common with the lofty objectives proclaimed in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The capitalist world wishes to mark the 60th anniversary of the Soviet system its own way. Campaign after campaign is being launched in the West against the USSR in order to belittle in all possible ways the universal significance of the development of the new civilization and the merit of the Soviet state in the struggle for peace, and for the independence and freedom of the peoples. No fabrication, slander, or horrifying

stupidity has been excluded from the propaganda thus developed of late. What is the purpose of the campaign launched by official Washington on the subject of alleged "violations of human rights" in the socialist countries? The hypocrisy of the bigots who have bribed pitiful professional mourners from among all kinds of rabble of refugees and traitors is indescribable. These feigned moanings directed against us are heard in the capitalist world where to this day work is a cursed necessity while idleness is the triumph of the successful, where there are millions of unemployed, where millions of people of all colors are leading a hungry life, and where arbitrariness and violence flourish.

The politicians in power would like to interfere at all cost in the domestic affairs of the sovereign members of the socialist comity, and hinder their peaceful development and influence on peoples fighting for their independence and freedom. All the propaganda efforts of the owners of capital clearly reveal their poorly concealed fear of the achievements and the growth of the powerful socialist camp and, above all, of the Soviet Union!

What a great deal of effort has been spent by these gentlemen using all possible means to block the development of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism which crush them. How happily they grab any opportunity for weakening the forces of communism. Nor do they stop at direct actions such as, for example, the decision now to make the neutron bomb. It seems that it is aimed at the military threat presented by the Soviet Union and may be such a guarantee of peace as to carry the picture of the universally known dove of the world peace movement!

They need detente and disarmament least of all. However, the forces of life are more powerful than all neutron bombs and cruise missiles. Finally, do the people in America itself wish so much the death of millions of people in that same Europe? Do they fail to realize that the atomic catastrophe which would kill millions of people would not spare their own homes and families? Could it be that the insane owners of capital really think that the world is aspiring toward conscious suicide? Or else, do they wish to frighten the people to such an extent that, horrified, they would accept all their threats and surrender to the kindness of the winners--the gold bags?

This will not happen! The world will survive and exist! Its thought is aimed at the future when, in the final account, the power of the priests worshipping the yellow devil and of their mercenary servants will be destroyed.

The Great October Revolution inaugurated for mankind the path to a new civilization! The dawn of mankind will flare up. I have faith in mankind and its unparalleled time of blossoming and peace!

GREAT 60TH ANNIVERSARY AND TRIUMPH OF INTERNATIONALIST NATIONAL POLICY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 77 pp 19-34

[Article by Sh. Rashidov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee]

[Text] Six decades ago the main event of the 20th century occurred in our country--the first victorious socialist revolution in history, a revolution which radically changed the course of development of all mankind and laid the beginning of its transition from capitalism to socialism on a universal scale.

The Great October Revolution revealed in its entirety the universal-liberation mission of the working class called upon to build a new communist society. One of the most important aspects of this historical mission of the proletariat is its international duty--the establishment of the fraternal unity and equality among nations and their creative cooperation. "The proletariat alone," F. Engels wrote over 130 years ago, "can eliminate national isolation. The awakening proletariat alone could establish a fraternity among different nations" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch" [Works], Vol 2, p 590). The experience of the October Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet society offer convincing proof of these words. As the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution" emphasizes, it was precisely "under the banner of internationalism that the victory of the October Revolution was achieved, the positions of the first socialist state strengthened, the world socialist system appeared, the comity of socialist states is strengthening and developing, and the international communist and workers' movement is growing and uniting."

The USSR is the country of fraternal cooperation among over 100 nations and nationalities who form in their unbreakable unity a new historical community--the Soviet people. The life of the Soviet people is a vivid example of the systematic implementation of the inviolable principles of proletarian internationalism.

The victory of these principles in the Soviet Union is of outstanding international significance. It is a powerful factor of social progress exerting a tremendous fruitful influence on the liberation movement of the working people in the capitalist countries and the destinies of the peoples the world over. Naturally, the historical experience of the Leninist national policy of the CPSU and the establishment of proletarian internationalism as the outlook of the peoples of our country are drawing the close attention of anyone caring for the present and the future of mankind. The greatness of this experience is being realized ever more completely by the Soviet people and their foreign friends as they approach the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution and as they unanimously approve the draft of the new USSR Constitution which sums up the impressive results of the development of the Soviet state.

1

The internationalism deeply inherent in the working class acquired its theoretical expression in the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Embodied in a logically streamlined scientific ideology and politics, proletarian internationalism imbues the entire content of the theory and practice of scientific communism. The aspiration toward international solidarity grew with the increased numerical strength and organization of the proletariat, the broadening of its international relations, and the enhancement of its class awareness.

Inflexible loyalty to internationalism is characteristic of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist parties. A formal attitude toward the principles of internationalism and their acknowledgment in words only, which has been the sin of a variety of reformist parties, is alien to them. "Internationalism in fact," V. I. Lenin wrote, "can be only one: selfless work for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and support (propaganda, sympathy, material) of the same struggle and the same line and of it alone in all other countries without exception" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 31, p 170). This means that from the viewpoint of Marxist-Leninist theory internationalism expresses the correct understanding of the correlation between the national and the international in the life of the peoples, and the dialectical unity between national and international interests within the revolutionary movement. Internationalism does not mean any belittling of the national or pitting the national against the international. It expresses the harmonious combination of these two aspects of social relations.

The revolutionary nature of the proletarian association is manifested, above all, in the joint struggle waged by the workers in different countries against the common enemy and for the common cause--socialism and communism. This is the main quality of proletarian internationalism compared with the other varied and exceptionally important forms and manifestations of international solidarity by the progressive forces. Internationalism is a reliable weapon in the hands of the working class and the communist parties,

firmly cementing the combat unity among the three main flows of the revolutionary process of our time: the world socialist system, the international workers' movement, and the struggle for the national and social liberation of the oppressed peoples.

The assertion of proletarian internationalism is one of the most important aspects of the revolutionary reorganization of the world. Naturally, this task is in the center not only of the practical but the theoretical work of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

In recent years the theory of proletarian internationalism, as the entire Marxist-Leninist doctrine, has been considerably enriched through the decisions of the 24th and 25th congresses of our party and the CPSU Central Committee plenums, and the theoretical and political activities of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the outstanding Marxist-Leninist.

Substantial progress was made in the study of the establishment and development of the new historical community--the Soviet people, in the development of the Leninist ideas of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, and the characteristics of their dialectical interrelationship under the conditions of a developed socialist society; in the study of the factors and conditions governing the establishment of the features of internationalism in the Soviet way of life at the present stage; in summing up the results of the party's activities in the molding of the new man--the builder of communism, the patriot of his socialist homeland, and the systematic internationalist; in interpreting the problems of the ideology, politics, and practice of the international revolutionary-liberation movement and the strengthening of the positions of world socialism.

Naturally, this is far from a complete description of the creative activities of our party, its Central Committee, and, personally, L. I. Brezhnev in enriching the theory and practice of proletarian internationalism and intensifying the struggle against all forms of chauvinist and racist ideology.

The CPSU considers the problems of internationalism in terms of the fact that its development takes place at three levels as dictated by reality: improvement of socialist production and all social relations, and further blossoming of the friendship among the peoples of the USSR in the joint struggle for communism; continual strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the socialist states; and strengthening of the solidarity among all revolutionary forces of our time in the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism. These three aspects of the single process of the struggle for the triumph of proletarian internationalism on an international scale are closely interrelated. Yet, each of them has its specific content, specific tasks, and separate ways for their implementation.

Creatively enriching the principles of proletarian internationalism, our party is firmly guided by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the national problem. It relies on the historical experience of the international communist movement and on its own rich experience in the creation of a multinational socialist state.

2

When we speak of the accomplishments of the Soviet people, we always turn mentally to the October Revolution--the great line from which the chronicle of the history of the Soviet state was started.

The establishment of socialist relations among the peoples of our country began with the October Revolution as well. The Great October was not simply a landmark for this new historical process. It was a real school for proletarian internationalism. The revolution developed under the banner of the general emancipation of the exploited and the oppressed, and the destruction of all national and social oppression. The famous "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia," issued in November 1917, began with the following fiery words: "The October Revolution of workers and peasants began under the common banner of the emancipation."

Freeing itself from slavery, the Russian proletariat played a decisive role in the liberation of the peoples of our country as well. The October Revolution marked the establishment of the battle cooperation among the working people of all nationalities rallied under the leadership of the working class and the Leninist party.

The Great October Revolution was a school for internationalism not only for the peoples of Russia but for millions of proletarians and working people in foreign countries. It triggered an unparalleled upsurge in the movement for international solidarity among the proletariat. "Hands off Soviet Russia!" was the slogan under which the workers of the world acted in defending the young socialist republic from the imperialist predators. Tens of thousands of members of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia of foreign countries courageously fought in the ranks of the fighters for the cause of our revolution. It was thus that in the crucible of the revolutionary struggle against world capitalism the combat forms of international cooperation among the consistent supporters of democracy and progress were born and strengthened. The defense of the first socialist state and the unification of all the forces of social and national liberation became the main task of the internationalists.

The Great October inaugurated a new epoch in the history of proletarian internationalism. Its front broadened tremendously. Its effectiveness increased manifold. Its theory and practice were enriched with a new content and assumed new aspects.

In this case the historical circumstance that the Russian working class, headed by the Leninist party, became the ruling class after the revolutionary victory, was of decisive significance. The Soviet system represented the governmental base for proletarian internationalism. Its principles became the principles for governmental policy within the country and abroad. The party's systematic implementation of the Leninist national policy insured the total legal equality of all the peoples of our country and created the possibility for their unification based on "complete trust, clear awareness of fraternal unity, and entirely voluntary agreement" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch," Vol 40, p 43).

On the eve of the October Revolution, elaborating the foundations of the party's national policy, Lenin wrote: "Freeing themselves from the bourgeois yoke, the toiling masses will aspire with all their strength to an alliance and merger with the big and progressive socialist nations..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 30, p 36). This brilliant prediction has been fulfilled. The aspiration of the working people of all nations and nationalities of the former Russian empire to unite was insurmountable. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was founded in December 1922. The voluntary unification of the republics within a single state was fully consistent both with the interests of each nation as well as the overall revolutionary objectives of all working people in the USSR. It was of tremendous significance to the accelerated reorganization of society on a socialist basis and to the upsurge of the national economy and the strengthening of the defense power of the Soviet state.

The process of socialist internationalization of the economic and cultural life of the peoples paralleled the state-political unification. Thus, the victory of the October Revolution gave birth to the process of the establishment of the Soviet people as a new historical community.

The international base of proletarian internationalism broadened as well. New conditions and opportunities appeared for the intensification and development of the international relations between the Soviet people and the working people of other countries.

The awakening of the oppressed peoples of the colonial East under the influence of the October Revolution became an important historical fact. This tremendously enhanced their role in the liberation movement and demanded of the communists the further elaboration of the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics on the national problem. "We," Lenin emphasized, "indeed act today not only as representatives of the proletariat of all countries but also as representatives of the oppressed peoples...The Communist International has formulated the following slogan for the peoples of the Orient: 'Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!'" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 42, p 71). This appeal concretely expressed the idea of international solidarity under the new historical circumstances, when the national liberation forces actively joined the revolutionary process, and when the unity of action among socialism, the

international proletariat, and the anticolonial movement developed. Tempered in the flames of three revolutions and blended with the blood of the best sons and daughters of our homeland in the defense of the gains of the October Revolution and in the civil and Great Patriotic wars, and strengthened in the joint struggle for the building of socialism, the friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union became one of the most important motive forces of society and a source of the power and strength of our socialist state, as well as a great force accelerating the victory of communism.

3

The entire history of building socialism in the USSR brilliantly confirms the correctness and vitality of the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian internationalism. The building of socialism took place through the joint efforts of all nations and nationalities in the country. From the very first days of the October Revolution, the Communist Party promoted Lenin's program stipulations on the national problem, aimed at achieving the total equality among all nations and nationalities. The party took into consideration the fact that juridical equality alone was insufficient. True fraternity, which would eliminate mistrust among nations forever, could be established only as a result of joint and harmonious socioeconomic and political development on the path to socialism.

The Leninist plan for building socialism stipulated among the main directions the industrialization of the country, agricultural collectivization, a cultural revolution, and the equitable solution of the national problem as it was left behind by capitalism. The party's course of accelerated economic, sociopolitical, and cultural development of previously backward national outlying areas, and of their transition to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage, was of particular importance. This transition became possible only thanks to the tremendous comprehensive and selfless aid given by the great Russian and the other peoples of our country.

As we know, on Lenin's suggestion, the republics whose nations in tsarist Russia were doomed to vegetating and backwardness were given factories and plants. Engineering and technical personnel, skilled specialists, and best cadre workers were assigned to them from other parts of the country.

The heroic years of socialist industrialization radically changed the entire aspect of the central Asian republics. Here big modern cities--important industrial and cultural centers--were built. Big metallurgical, ore-mining, and heavy machine-building enterprises were built; deposits of iron ores, ferrous and rare metals, petroleum, natural gas, chemicals, and coal were discovered. After 50 years of existence of the USSR the volume of industrial output rose over 500 times in the Tadzhik SSR, over 400 times in the Kirgiz SSR, nearly 240 times in the Uzbek SSR, and over 130 times in the Turkmen SSR.

Industrialization laid a solid foundation for the socialist reorganization of agriculture. Unlike the central parts of Russia, collectivization in Central Asia had a great deal of peculiarities and occurred in extremely complex circumstances. The still remaining vestiges of feudal and even patriarchal-tribal relations constituted major obstacles on the path to socialism. Comprehensive collectivization called for the creation of preliminary conditions and transitional forms. In particular, the party had to begin by implementing a land and water reform which played an exceptionally important role in the regrouping of class forces in favor of the new social system.

The cultural revolution was a powerful lever in surmounting backwardness. According to the party its essence was the radical renovation of the spiritual life of the people and the conversion of all cultural resources into the property of the people. The exposure of the working people to knowledge and to the treasures of domestic and world science, literature, and art, and the establishment of the ideas of scientific communism in social awareness opened infinite scope for the spiritual and moral development of all the peoples of the Soviet state.

In Central Asia cultural construction was undertaken under the conditions of the illiteracy of the overwhelming population majority. Even though in the past our peoples had nurtured many outstanding scientists, philosophers, and poets such as Ibn Sina, Biruni, Farabi, Khorezmi, Navoi, Ulugbek, Makhtumkuli, Mukimi, Furkat, and others, the high cultural achievements remained inaccessible to the broad popular masses. Great efforts had to be made to develop cultural construction, raise the educational level, and train cadres. Large units of members of national republics, oblasts, and okrugs were trained in the higher educational institutions of the biggest centers in the country. In the republics themselves tens of universities and institutes were opened. By the will of the party the socialist cultural revolution spread to the most remote areas.

As a means for international communication the Russian language was of tremendous importance to the course of the cultural revolution. Its study and dissemination enabled millions of working people to become exposed to the achievements of world science and culture. Literature and art, national in form and socialist in content, were developed on the basis of this richest possible foundation. Relying on the progressive traditions of the past, they mastered and creatively enriched the culture of the fraternal peoples of the USSR, depicting the Soviet way of life from the positions of socialist realism. The international nature of literature and art and the reciprocal exchange of creative experience had a beneficial impact on the development of new forms and genres of artistic creativity in the republics of Central Asia. A large number of talented writers, composers, painters, architects, and motion picture and theater workers developed here. Inspired by the party's attention and concern, the cultural workers of the Central Asian republics created many good works

needed by the people, imbued with a spirit of high idea- and party-mindedness, vividly recreating the pathos of communist construction, and praising the heroic toil of the Soviet people.

The experience of the cultural revolution in central Asia is a vivid example of the way the noble principles of proletarian internationalism were implemented in practice in the spiritual life of the Soviet peoples.

Thanks to the party's wise policy, the new societal social structure developed step by step. Under the Soviet system the working class of once backward Turkestan grew into a tremendous force, rallying all working people in an inviolable alliance, enabling them to surmount the vestiges of the colonial-feudal past, build a new Soviet way of life, and become imbued with the most progressive Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The incredibly severe trials, sadness of losses, and privations which were brought by the war unleashed by fascism were a stern test of the effectiveness of proletarian internationalism and of the strength of the friendship among the peoples of our country and of their moral and political qualities. This was a test for our entire governmental and social system. The Soviet people passed it honorably. The war wrecked the hopes of world imperialism for the breakdown of the socialist state and the resumption of national quarrels. The great Russian people, and all the nations and nationalities in the Soviet Union rallied even more closely around our party and its Central Committee, displaying their inviolable unity and firmly defending the homeland.

The sons and daughters of the Uzbek people courageously fought the German-fascist aggressors in the same ranks as the representatives of all Soviet peoples and all fraternal republics.

The working people of Uzbekistan, like the entire Soviet people, hammered the victory over fascism in the rear as well. During the war hundreds of big industrial enterprises and scientific and cultural institutions were moved to the republic which accepted over 1 million people evacuated from the frontal zones of the country, including hundreds of thousands of children. Uzbekistan gave the front arms, ammunition, equipment, food, clothing, and shoes. It sent to the areas liberated from the fascist aggressors tractors, trucks, combines, and agricultural specialists. This was the most vivid manifestation of the true internationalism of the Uzbek people and of its loyalty to the sacred friendship among the peoples.

In this lengthy and most difficult of all wars the Soviet people accomplished an exploit unparalleled in the life of mankind. "It was able not only to defend its freedom and independence but to make a decisive contribution to the rescuing of European and world civilization from destruction by the fascist barbarians," states the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution."

The great international exploit of the working class and the toiling peasantry inspired the peoples of our country to wage a selfless struggle for the great Marxist-Leninist ideals and ignite in the hearts of the working people the inextinguishable flame of friendship and fraternity, Soviet patriotism, and proletarian internationalism. No storm could put out this fire. Its powerful flames are shedding a light on the path to communism for the peoples of the multinational Soviet country.

4

The main result of the selfless constructive toil of the Soviet people is the developed socialist society built in our country. It is characterized by a qualitatively new level and scale of output, by combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system, and by a decisive turn toward the use of intensive methods for achieving an economic upsurge. This enables us directly to resolve the problems of building the material and technical foundations for communism, for advancing socialist social relations, and for gradually developing them into communist social relations. Characteristic of mature socialism are the strong social and ideological-political unity among the working people, their boundless loyalty to the socialist homeland, and their noble communist ideals. The building of developed socialism brought about the further intensification and enrichment of the traditions of international cooperation among the working people of our country. "This is a society of mature socialist social relations in which a new historical community--the Soviet people--was formed on the basis of the rapprochement among all social strata and the juridical and factual equality of all nations and nationalities," states the draft of the new USSR Constitution.

We are justifiably proud of the outstanding examples of true fraternal cooperation and mutual aid among all nations and nationalities and among all republics, krais, and oblasts in the country. Dneproges and Turksib, the Fergana Canal and Komsomol'sk-na-Amure, the development of the virgin lands of Kazakhstan and Golodnaya Steppe, the rebuilding of Tashkent, and the building of the Baykal-Amur main line and of the KamAZ are all the factual and great results of Soviet socialist internationalism.

Thousands of economic and cultural threads link the Soviet peoples. The working people in the Soviet state are joining efforts in economic construction. With every passing year reciprocal supplies of various commodities shipped from some republics to others are growing. In our country there is no republic not sending to Uzbekistan, for example, the results of its work. There is nor corner in the Soviet Union where people are not using goods produced in Uzbekistan.

Speaking of the variety of forms of international cooperation among the peoples of our country, let us emphasize the particular importance of the daily joint work by the Soviet people in multinational collectives of

industrial enterprises, construction projects, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and various institutions. The new relations among people and the new mentality of the Soviet person are developed precisely in the course of daily labor activities for the good of the beloved homeland and in the course of the mass socialist competition.

In our country there is no division between national and international interests. They coincide, they blend. That is why the internationalism of the Soviet people is organically combined with vivifying Soviet patriotism which has become their life norm.

Patriotism presumes a feeling of national pride. In our days it has been further developed and has acquired a new content. "Now, 50 years after the founding of the USSR, we can speak with full justification of the broader concept, of the great patriotic feeling of our people--of the nationwide pride of the Soviet person." These words expressed by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev sum up one of the most important results of our struggle and our victories on the path to the building of communism. They represent a truly great accomplishment of the Leninist national policy and the Soviet way of life.

The entire way of life and attitude of the people changed radically with the victory of the socialist system. A new man developed possessing a broad outlook, lofty ideals, and noble feelings of Soviet patriotism, socialist internationalism, collectivism, comradeship, fraternity, and loyalty to social duty. The Marxist-Leninist outlook and the noble principles of the moral code of the builder of communism are the foundations of the spiritual life of our people and their ideological weapons in the struggle for a new world.

We must not forget, however, that recurrences of bourgeois ideology are still encountered in our country and that we must fight them energetically. Our opponents would like to see some forces opposing socialism within Soviet society. Unable to find them, false bourgeoisie propaganda promotes a handful of renegades, of so-called dissidents, or, more accurately, of anti-Soviets, and of accomplices or agents of imperialism. Naturally, the behavior of such people triggers the angry protest of the Soviet people and mass demand to apply toward them the most firm measures stipulated by the law. This is our revolutionary duty--the duty to defend the gains of the Great October and of Soviet patriotism.

Mature socialism--a truly democratic society, a society of real humanism and social optimism--opens new horizons for the ever greater ideological-political unification of the Soviet people. The further strengthening of the unity of our people is objectively based on the party's struggle for the triumph of communism. The decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, and the addresses by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev which, on the positions of creative Marxism-Leninism, offer a profound scientific analysis of all basic aspects of party activities, sum up tremendous practical experience, and earmark new prospects, have become a battle program for the implementation of this historical task.

The inviolable friendship and fraternity among all nations and nationalities is one of the main achievements of the social and national policy of the Communist Party. However, this is not to say that national differences have already disappeared in our country or else that the nations have merged. The nations and nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union retain their characteristics, features of their national character, language, and best traditions. They have all possibilities for achieving the further upsurge of their national cultures. The inviolable right of nations and nationalities in our country to free and independent development is codified also in the draft of the new USSR Constitution. In his report "On the Draft of the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," presented at the May 1977 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "As a whole, the draft's treatment of problems of national-state structure insures the truly democratic combination of the common interests of the multinational union and the interests of each of its constituent republics. It insures the all-round blossoming and steadfast rapprochement among all nations and nationalities in our country."

Uzbekistan's present industrial aspect is determined by its power, chemical, petroleum, coal, gas, ore, metallurgical, gold-mining, electrical engineering, aerospace, and electronic industries, and its multisectorial machine building. All in all, the republic has over 100 sectors engaged in industrial production, totaling 1,500 enterprises.

In the republics of the Soviet East modern agriculture represents a multisectorial highly mechanized production facility and is, above all, the cotton base of the country. The working people in the central Asian republics consider the steady increase in the production of cotton and the supply of our homeland with an ever growing amount of "white gold" their patriotic and international duty. They shall fulfill this duty honorably.

Uzbekistan is making a great contribution to this noble project. Several years ago the 5 million ton level in the cotton harvest was outstripped. Last year, the first year of the 10th Five-Year Plan, the republic achieved an unparalleled success in all history in the battle for cotton. It gave the country 5,338,000 tons of "white gold." Many other crop-growing and animal husbandry products were produced as well.

At the present time the central Asian republics have practically reached a 100 percent literacy level. About 50 percent of the population consists of people with higher and secondary (complete and incomplete) education. In our republic alone there are today more specialists with higher and secondary specialized training than were found in the national economy of the entire Soviet Union at the end of the 1920's. Academies of sciences in which thousands of scientists are fruitfully working have been created in all central Asian union republics. They are making a major contribution to the development of Soviet and world science and to scientific and technical progress.

In his greetings to the participants in the international conference on "The Experience of Socialist Transformations in the USSR and its International Significance," held in October 1972 in Tashkent, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted that "Our experience in creating a single multinational Soviet socialist state gained world recognition. It is providing support and giving strength to all fighters for social and national liberation. The Leninist principles governing the establishment of a governmental alliance among free nations--the principles of the equality of all nations and nationalities, national self-determination, and the voluntary unification of nations--have been fully confirmed by the course of historical developments. They are having a beneficial impact on the development of the liberation struggle of the peoples against imperialism."

Interest in this experience has greatly increased today, when the people's masses of former colonies and semicolonies which have gained political independence are seeking answers to the complex social problems raised by life. The progressive forces in the young developing states are realizing that the only true path to progress is the path of socialist orientation.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist states are providing all-round support to the developing countries in their struggle for the implementation of their legitimate aspirations, for their total liberation from imperialist exploitation, and for the right to control their own destinies.

Along with the other republics Soviet Uzbekistan is giving comprehensive aid to the young liberated countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America which follow the path of independent development. Thousands of national economic specialists are participating in the building of industrial and agricultural projects, and training national highly skilled workers cadres in 48 different countries. About 2,000 students from 63 different countries are attending the higher and secondary specialized schools of Uzbekistan. Specialists from Afro-Asian countries are undergoing practical training or are engaged in postgraduate studies in many of the republic's VUZ's and scientific research institutes.

V. I. Lenin predicted that our country, including the republics of the Soviet East, will become the promoters of the ideas of the October Revolution in Asian and African countries. In his letter "To the Comrades Communists of Turkestan" he noted that the establishment of proper relations with its nations will be "of a significance which could be described as gigantic, as universal-historical, with no exaggeration" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, p 304).

The great and instructive example of the Uzbek, Kazakh, Tadzhik, Turkmen, Kirgiz, and other Soviet peoples who converted to socialism bypassing the capitalist stage enables the Marxists-Leninist to draw important theoretical conclusions on the ways and means of social progress in the developing countries.

In our days the further intensification of the world revolutionary process is characterized by the changed ratio of forces in the world arena. The power of existing socialism has multiplied the possibilities of the working class, the nonproletarian toiling masses, and the oppressed nations in their struggle against imperialism, reaction, neocolonialism, and racism. The positions of the communist parties which appeared under the influence of the October Revolution have strengthened immeasurably. The scale of effective solidarity among all revolutionary forces of our time has broadened.

Under the new historical circumstances the realm of action of the ideology and policy of proletarian internationalism--this main pivot of the entire varied system of relations among democratic and anti-imperialist forces--has broadened exceptionally greatly.

The commonwealth of fraternal socialist states is a most important gain and a qualitatively new stage in the development of proletarian internationalism after the October Revolution. The inviolable battle alliance among communist parties, their single outlook and objectives, and their comprehensive cooperation on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of international solidarity, respect for equality and sovereignty, and comradely mutual aid are most important factors in the unification of the socialist countries.

The friendship among the peoples of these countries is becoming ever closer. This is assisted by the extensive and comprehensive economic, scientific and technical, and cultural cooperation within CEMA, economic cooperation and integration, and major joint actions in the struggle for peace. Life is creating ever new forms of international interaction in the big united and equal family of socialist states. In particular, the international socialist competition among millions of builders of the new world inspired by a single objective has become its qualitatively new stage. This is an initiative of tremendous significance and with a great future.

Along with the blossoming and strengthening of the sovereignty of the socialist countries, the constant growth of common elements in their politics, economics, and social life is being felt ever more tangibly. A gradual equalization of development levels is occurring. This process of steady rapprochement among socialist countries is manifested quite clearly as a pattern. It is based on the internationalism of the working class, and the coordinated policy of the fraternal parties of the members of the socialist comity.

In his "Theses for the Second Congress of the Communist International" Lenin noted that the victory of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in at least several progressive countries could

have a decisive impact on the entire world policy (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 165). The socialist world is having a growing influence on the working class and the toiling masses of the capitalist countries. It is contributing to the enhancement of their revolutionary awareness and encouraging them in the active struggle against reaction, imperialism, neocolonialism, and racism.

Proletarian internationalism is inseparable from universal antifascist and anti-imperialist solidarity. The international working class which acts on the basis of truly revolutionary and internationalist positions is the main and decisive force in the struggle against all reaction and for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Under the influence of the ideas of the October Revolution and the extensive dissemination of Marxist-Leninist theory, the level of spontaneous solidarity of the workers which developed in the initial stages of the proletarian movement has been long surmounted. In our days, thanks to the successes of socialism and the efforts of the communist parties, proletarian internationalism has become a powerful factor in the conscious and organized anti-imperialist struggle. It has become a powerful revolutionary force of our time. Its principles have conquered the broadest possible masses. It is precisely in this that the Marxists-Leninist see the visible prerequisites for its total future triumph.

Through their activities the CPSU and the other fraternal parties are contributing to the growth of the attractiveness of proletarian internationalism and to the beneficial influence of its principles on the entire course of the world's revolutionary process. The ever closer contacts maintained between our party and the left-wing socialist and revolutionary-democratic parties and organizations in capitalist and developing countries are a clear confirmation of this. The CPSU and such parties are exchanging experience in the revolutionary struggle, in the organization and political education of the people's masses, and in the field of social change on a truly equal basis. They also launch major coordinated actions in the international arena.

Present historical practice offers a number of outstanding examples of the way progressive representatives of nonproletarian strata, regardless of their social origin, stand under the banners of internationalism and reinforce the ranks of the great revolutionary army not in words but in action. The sincere acceptance of the ideas of internationalism on the part of people of nonproletarian origin yet holding progressive and democratic convictions, naturally, does not mean any belittling of the class autonomy of the proletariat and its party or a revision of any Marxist-Leninist stipulation. It is a question of broadening the social foundations of internationalism under contemporary conditions through the conversion to anti-imperialist positions, under the leadership of the working class, of considerable masses of the working population and the intelligentsia.

Obviously, neither the old nor the present critics of proletarian internationalism are pleased by the fact that it is precisely the working class that has been called upon to play the role "not simply of one of the classes in bourgeois society but a hegemony role, i.e., the role of the guide, the leader," Lenin wrote. "...The political ideas which appear within the movement are of a nationwide nature, i.e., they affect the basic, the most profound conditions of the political life of the entire country" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 21, p 319). That means that the ideology and policy of proletarian internationalism is the basis for the solidarity among all revolutionary forces of our time.

Our party has always considered that it is the sacred duty of every Marxist-Leninist to defend and strengthen proletarian internationalism as the most important practically tested principle of revolutionary activity. "The entire development of the world's revolutionary movement," states the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution," "confirms the fact that the observance of the common principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the most important prerequisite for strengthening the positions, and for increasing the prestige and influence of each communist party, and for the successful implementation of its duties to the working class of its own country together with its international duty."

Proletarian internationalism is, above all, an extremely clear and principled class position. It is the ideology and policy of the revolutionary proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist parties which, armed with the truly scientific understanding of the laws governing social development, have mastered the scientific theory of the universal-historical process.

The enrichment and development of new forms of international solidarity and the broadening of their realm of application do not mean, however, that proletarian internationalism has become "obsolete" and that it requires a revision or a radical change in its principles. The Marxists-Leninists provide a clear and unequivocal answer to those who try to engage in such a revision or to abandon such principles by substituting for them foggy and loose considerations, people who love, to use Lenin's words, "holiday walks in the gardens of internationalist verbosity" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 26, p 199), willy-nilly promoting doubts as to the revolutionary nature of the working class. The speculative nature of the revisionist assertions is entirely obvious, for in its struggle for the socialist reorganization of the world the working class is the most systematic defender of democracy, the rights of the peoples to self-determination, social progress, and the vital interests of the working people. The process of expansion of the social base of internationalism does not mean reducing it to the level of the narrowly national or provincial-regional understanding of developing problems but, conversely, enhancing the leading fighters against imperialism and reaction to the level of the Marxist-Leninist class self-awareness which has never stopped paying attention to the world's revolutionary process at large.

In this connection, under present conditions it is extremely important to insure the proper combination between the national and international in the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary forces and, above all, of the communist parties. This becomes even more necessary considering the complex and contradictory circumstances which have developed today. On the one hand a turn has been initiated toward detente. A struggle is developing for the reorganization of the entire system of international relations and for normalizing the political climate on the planet. On the other, the arms race is continuing. Here and there, fascism is raising its head again. The social antagonisms within capitalism are becoming more severe. Under such circumstances even the smallest retreat from the principles of international solidarity inevitably harms the struggle waged by the working people for their rights and interests.

The contemporary imperialist bourgeoisie is trying to adapt itself to the new situation and restructure its counterrevolutionary policy. A trend is visible toward a certain coordination in the actions of imperialist countries in international affairs. This is confirmed by the subversive activities against democratic regimes in Chile, Angola, and other countries. This is also confirmed by the current anticommunist and anti-Soviet hysteria launched by reactionary forces throughout the world. Recent events confirm yet once again the correctness of Lenin's view to the effect that in the epoch of imperialism "priority is given to the antagonism between the internationally merged capital and the international workers' movement" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 25, p 264). In our days, when this antagonism is continuing to intensify, imperialist strategy could be effectively countered only by a united front of fighters for peace, democracy, and social progress.

The unity among revolutionary forces under the conditions of detente which offers additional opportunities to fight imperialism and neocolonialism assumes particular importance. The Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems indicates to all peoples on earth the only true way out of the bloody chaos of war to which they were led by the exploiting system and to the factual prevention of a new world war.

Achieved after many years of adamant efforts, detente is a factor of tremendous historical significance. However, the dialectics of the political confrontation is such that it is precisely whenever the revolutionary masses are achieving their biggest successes that the hostile forces try at all costs to build obstacles on their path to socialism. It is no accident that it is precisely of late that the most reactionary circles in a number of imperialist countries have launched a campaign against detente. Also fully explainable from this viewpoint are the attempts undertaken by the Maoists to convince the working people that peaceful coexistence and detente hinder their struggle against exploitation and thus disorient the masses. The falseness of such claims is clear. Historical reality itself indicates that detente not only does not hinder the revolutionary process but, conversely, contributes to its further development.

It is precisely under the conditions of detente that new outstanding victories were gained at the different fronts of the struggle waged by the international working class and the national-liberation forces. This was clearly confirmed by the historical victories of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Angola, Mozambique, and a number of other Asian, African, and Latin American countries. It would be no exaggeration to say that the accelerated solution of the most vital socioeconomic problems facing the overwhelming majority of countries freed from colonial dependence is possible only by restricting the fatal arms race, converting military budgets to peaceful constructive purposes, closing down military bases, and creating collective security areas, i.e., strengthening the peace on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Strengthening the unity among all revolutionary forces is an object of tireless concern on the part of the communists, the more so since world imperialism mainly relies on dividing them and pitting them one against the other. The main objective of the anticommunist and anti-Soviet campaign is to drive a wedge between the socialist countries, divide the working class, undermine the unity of the international communist movement, and separate the main flows of the world's revolutionary process.

The Berlin conference of communist and workers' parties of Europe foiled the estimates of the class enemy. One of the main stipulations of the document it adopted, unanimously approved by all participants, states that the communist and workers' parties "will develop their internationalist comradely voluntary cooperation and solidarity on the basis of the great ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, strictly observing the equality and sovereign independence of each party, noninterference in domestic affairs, and respecting the freedom to choose different ways in the struggle for progressive social changes and for socialism."

This means that the struggle for socialism in its own country and the responsibility of each party to its own working class and people are inseparably linked with strengthening the reciprocal solidarity among the working people of all countries and of all progressive movements and peoples in the struggle for freedom, strengthening the national independence, and true democracy. Such a position refutes false claims of a so-called "decline" of internationalism, proving its further creative development under contemporary conditions.

The imperialist ideologues are using a number of speculative arguments "to prove" that the communists have a negative attitude toward the defense of the national interests of the peoples, allegedly supporting the positions of "national nihilism." Yet, why is it precisely now that bourgeois propaganda is so zealously defending the nationalist ideology in Afro-Asian countries? Because its main objective is to divide world socialism and the national liberation forces, and to plant between them the seeds of mistrust and hostility.

However, bourgeois nationalism is losing ground. An insurmountable process of the growth of the struggle waged by the peoples for independence into a struggle for social liberation has already been initiated in the developing countries. Here the ideas of internationalism are becoming ever more widespread. Gradually, ever new forces are joining its banners even though many of them are still halfway there. The Marxists-Leninist have always strictly differentiated between the chauvinistic nationalism of the imperialist bourgeoisie and the national-patriotic ideas and aspirations of the peoples of the former colonial and dependent countries.

The prospects of the struggle at the domestic national fronts are becoming ever more closely intertwined with the general course of the revolutionary movement in the world. This is based on the internationalization of social life and the increased role of the international factor. The share of global problems is rising in the policies of all parties: struggle for peace, support of popular liberation movements, solidarity with fighters against imperialism in other countries, and joint actions against the strategic plans and tactical maneuvers of the reaction.

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution" particularly emphasizes that "The solidarity of the working class and the communists of all countries in the struggle for common objectives, and their support of the struggle waged by the peoples for national liberation and social progress, voluntary cooperation among equal and independent fraternal parties, and organic combination of the national and international interests of the working people in their policies constitute proletarian internationalism in action. Such internationalism has been, and remains, a powerful tried weapon of the communist and worker's movements."

The Great October Socialist Revolution was made by the working class, by the peoples of Russia, under the leadership of the Communist Party, headed by its leader Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. All the accomplishments of the Soviet people in building a new society, the successes of the world's communist and national-liberation movements, and the triumph of the principles of proletarian internationalism are linked with Lenin's immortal name. Lenin's patriotism and his infinite love for the fatherland and his people, and his struggle for freedom and happiness to which he dedicated his entire life were imbued with proletarian internationalism. Lenin's patriotism, transformed by the scientific proletarian outlook, was internationalism in its highest and most noble manifestation! No one has done so much for the international working class and for all working and oppressed people in the world as Lenin. All his thoughts and actions were turned to them. Concern for them did not abandon him for a minute. Lenin's banner, ideas, and life are a source of inspiration to the true fighters for the cause of the working people throughout this earth. This banner is carried highly by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its battle staff--the Leninist Central Committee.

In our country there is a tremendous upsurge in the labor and political activeness of millions of toiling people. The working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and people's intelligentsia warmly and unanimously approve the decisions of the May 1977 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet electing Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The preparations for the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution coincide with another noteworthy event--the nationwide discussion of the draft of the new Soviet Constitution. This constitution will be of historical significance to the domestic life of our country. Its adoption will also be an event of tremendous international significance. It will enrich the treasury of the experience of world socialism and will clearly show the entire world the way the Soviet state is developing and promoting socialist democracy, practically resolving the problem of involving the broadest possible popular masses in the daily administration of social affairs, and the extent to which the rights and freedoms of the citizens of the socialist world are broad and varied.

Implementing the historical decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the great Marxist-Leninist principles, our country is confidently marching toward the full triumph of communism. It is welcoming the great anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the bloom of its powerful forces. The greatness of this major event of the 20th century is becoming ever more obvious to the entire world with every passing year and every historical step. The combat call launched by Marx and Engels "Workers of the World, Unite!" and the Leninist ideas which inspired the fighters of the October Revolution to their great revolutionary exploit are alive and conquering.

5003

CSO: 1802

INTERNATIONALIST EDUCATION OF THE MASSES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 77 pp 35-49

[Article by E. Shevardnadze, first secretary, Georgian Communist Party Central Committee]

[Text] I

Enriching the treasury of creative Marxism-Leninism with new most important conclusions and concepts, and with the comprehensive practical experience gained in the course of the political and organizational activities of the party in all fields of communist construction, the 25th CPSU Congress paid particular attention to problems of the Leninist national policy, the dialectics of the international and the national at the developed socialist stage, and the education of the masses in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism.

Implementing the Leninist principle of unity between theory and practice and of linking political tasks with the daily practice of communist construction, our republic's party organization is conducting its entire work on the implementation of the Leninist national policy and the internationalist education of the masses at the contemporary stage in accordance with the decisions of the 25th party congress, the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, and the Central Committee decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution."

The May 1977 CPSU Central Committee Plenum became a noted landmark in the life of the Soviet peoples. The plenum considered and recommended for nationwide discussion the draft of the new USSR Constitution which, along with guaranteeing the great gains of socialism, requires the strict observance of the Leninist principles of socialist internationalism.

The recently held plenum of the Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee considered the results of the May CPSU Central Committee Plenum and earmarked organizational-party and ideological measures related to the discussion of the draft of the fundamental law of the USSR in our republic.

The USSR Constitution is both the constitution of the state of the whole people--the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics--and of the 15 sovereign union republics within it along with 38 national-state formations representing various forms of autonomy. The new historical community--the Soviet people--consists of one quarter of a billion citizens, representing over 100 nations and nationalities in the USSR. However, they represent also a single social monolith, a single historical phenomenon with a single economy and culture, single Soviet way of life, and single ideology.

The draft of the constitution proclaims the sovereign rights of each nation on a new quality basis in accordance with the achievements of mature socialism. It defines the constitutional position of the USSR. The union republic, the draft states, implements independently the state power on its territory (with the exceptions indicated in Article 72). It has its own constitution structured in accordance with the constitution of the USSR and taking into consideration the characteristics of the republic.

The union republic participates in resolving problems within the jurisdiction of the USSR, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Soviet government, and other union organs. This is on the one hand. On the other, it contributes to the exercise on its territory of the rights of the USSR. It implements the decisions of the organs of state power and administration of the USSR. The USSR protects the sovereign rights of union republics.

Soviet Georgia is one of the founding republics of the Soviet Union. The Georgian people and the republic's party members warmly thank the CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo, and, personally, Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, Central Committee general secretary, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and chairman of the Constitutional Commission, for the great rights codified in the draft of the constitution. Great trust creates great responsibility and great enthusiasm, leading the working people to new exploits in the name of the great objective which rallies all our peoples, in the name of building a bright future--communism.

The draft of the constitution stipulates that the citizens of the USSR are equal in the eyes of the law regardless of origin, social and property status, national and racial affiliation, sex, education, language, attitude toward religion, type and nature of occupation, place of residence, and other circumstances. The Soviet citizens of different nationalities and races have equal rights in all fields of economic, political, social, and cultural life. The exercise of such rights is insured by the policy of all-round development and rapprochement among all nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union, and the raising of the citizens in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and in the possibility to use their native language and the languages of the other peoples of the USSR.

We closely link all our work related to discussing the draft of the constitution with the activities of the party organizations for the patriotic and internationalist education of the masses and with the history and practice and theory of resolving the national problem in the Soviet Union.

II

The Georgian Republic party organization is steadfastly guided by the doctrine of the founders of scientific communism--K. Marx and F. Engels--who formulated the foundations of the theory of nations and national relations, and by the great legacy of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin who developed further this theory.

The republic's communists are armed with a scientific, specific, and internationalist program of action as formulated by the 25th CPSU Congress and in three party decisions we consider historical: on the Tbilisi City Party Committee, on measures for the further development of the Georgian national economy, and on the work of the republic party organization. An atmosphere of creativity and construction and a healthy moral and psychological climate have been created in the republic in which an unparalleled labor and political upsurge of the masses prevails.

On the basis of these decisions the Georgian Communist Party, its Central Committee, and the republic's party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol, and economic organizations elaborated a specific system of measures aimed at improving further the education of the masses in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and are implementing it successfully. On the one hand, we consider the solution of this problem an important and structural part in the education of the new man--the builder of communism; on the other, it is an important prerequisite for the creation of the material and technical foundations for communism and for the further advancement of socialist social relations.

Discussing the way the Tbilisi City Party Committee is implementing the CPSU Central Committee decree on the work of the party organization in L'vovskaya Oblast, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted at the 25th congress that proper conclusions were drawn from them. The party organizations undertook more initiative-minded and extensive work for the patriotic and internationalist education of the working people. This statement by the Central Committee general secretary inspired the Georgian communists, like all working people in the republic, to work for new great accomplishments.

The proper interpretation of the instructions of the party's Central Committee, the dialectical combination of all-union with local problems, and the consideration of the specific nature of the times enable us to resolve on a scientific basis the problems of Leninist national policy.

The leadership of the Georgian party organization directs the party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, and the soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations to undertake the profound study of the accountability reports of the CPSU Central Committee to its 23d, 24th, and 25th congresses, along with other congress materials and CPSU Central Committee decisions.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev is making a tremendous contribution to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the theory and practice of national construction in the USSR and the cause of the international and patriotic education of the masses. His addresses published in the five-volume work "Leninskim Kursom" [The Leninist Course] equip the party with modern strategy and tactic in the building of communism, including the ideological area.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has formulated most important theoretical concepts on the new historical community--the Soviet people, the internationalization of social life under developed socialist conditions, and the feeling of national pride of the Soviet person--concepts of decisive significance to the further blossoming and rapprochement among nations and the ideological tempering of the masses in a spirit of socialist internationalism. His speeches on the occasion of the centennial of V. I. Lenin's birth, and the 50th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, developing and intensifying Marxist-Leninist theory and practice of national relations, are particularly important both theoretically and practically.

The members and candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the Central Committee secretaries, and the noted party and governmental figures are making a great contribution to the theory and practice of proletarian internationalism, and to the blossoming of and rapprochement among socialist nations. We must also note the great work done in this respect by the central committees of communist parties of union republics, and by kray, oblast, city, and rayon party committees and primary party organizations.

The Georgian communists are acting on the basis of the specific historical conditions of mature socialism: the establishment of the new historical community--the Soviet people--the growth of the state of dictatorship of the proletariat into the state of the whole people, the transformation of the CPSU from a revolutionary party of the working class into the party of the whole people, and the strengthening of the social-class homogeneity of the Soviet society. This logically leads to the task of making the style, ways, and means of our work for the internationalist education of the masses consistent with the requirements of the time and, above all, for strengthening its scientific foundations. At the same time the party members are resolving a number of specific local problems, characteristic of our republic at the present stage of development, as formulated in the decisions of the party's Central Committee on the Georgian party organization, at the 25th CPSU Congress, and at the 25th congress of the Communist Party of Georgia.

Three types of Soviet national statehood operate in our republic: the union republic, the autonomous republic, and the autonomous oblast. Decades of historical experience have proved that the establishment within the Georgian SSR of the Abkhaz and Adzhar autonomous republics, and of the Yugo Osetinskay autonomous oblast proved to be the best form of national-governmental structure for the peoples of Georgia, a guarantee for the tempestuous development of their economy and culture, and an important means for the implementation of the party's national policy. In turn, the autonomous republics and the autonomous oblast are multinational administrative-territorial formations. Members of tens of different nations and nationalities live and work in them.

The draft of the new USSR Constitution grants autonomous republics and oblasts extensive rights in resolving most important development problems. All nations, classes, and social population strata are represented in the legislative, executive, and other state power organs of the Georgian SSR. Not only on the basis of their structure but, above all, their spirit and nature, such organs of state power are the living embodiment of socialist democracy, whose further development, as the draft notes, is the main direction in the development of the political system of the Soviet society and the manifestation of the Leninist ideas of the friendship among the peoples and socialist internationalism.

The republic's working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and people's intelligentsia are international in terms of spirit and structure. The Georgian working people include members of about 80 nationalities. The workers employed in the republic's national economy include about 600,000 Georgians, over 125,000 Russians, 95,000 Armenians, 57,000 Azerbaydzhanis, 10,000 Abkhaz, 38,000 Osets, 18,000 Ukrainians, and others.

III

Internationalism is one of the granite foundations in the forming and development of socialist social relations which grow into communist social relations, in building the material and technical foundations for communism, and in the education of the new man--the builder of the future.

The draft of the USSR Constitution pays particular attention to the economic system of the Soviet state. The mature socialist economy is the material foundation for the new historical community--the Soviet people. Soviet Georgia considers it its international duty maximally to increase its contribution to strengthening the single national economic complex of the country.

Under the Soviet system Georgian industrial output rose over 161 times. The pace of development of agriculture, construction, transportation, communications, and consumer services has been impressive. The republic's national economy and economic and industrial potential confirm the effectiveness of the Leninist principles of internationalism. We have reached a new, higher level thanks to the Leninist friendship among the peoples.

The upsurge of the Georgian economy is based on the application of the socialist principles governing the location of production forces and, particularly, on the specialization and comprehensive development of the republic's economy in accordance with its natural and economic characteristics.

The Georgian party organization is doing everything possible to develop at an accelerated pace the industrial sectors related to the all-union specialization. This includes the extraction of manganese ores and the production of various alloys with them, the production of several types of rolled steel, including various sizes of petroleum pipes, the production of technological equipment for the food industry and of big transportation and electrical engineering machinery, metal-cutting machine tools, and others. Based on the all-union division of labor, Georgian agriculture is specializing in the production of goods needed to meet all-union requirements, either raw or industrially processed, particularly green tea leaves, citrus fruits, grapes, fruits, tobacco, oleaginous plants, and some medicinal plants.

The further development of all-union specialization is our prime international duty, a matter of national honor.

The socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of labor, which determines the high living standard of the working people of all nationalities, plays an important role in the relations among republics based on the principles of internationalism. The Soviet state scientifically controls the distribution of the national income with a view to resolving the urgent all-union and union-republic problems in their organic unity. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures for the Further Development of the National Economy of the Georgian SSR" is a clear embodiment of this principle.

We know that by virtue of a number of reasons exposed at plenums of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, meetings of the party aktiv, and the 25th Georgian Communist Party Congress, several years ago a negative trend developed in our republic of a slowdown in the growth rates of the national economy and a relative decline in the level of economic development. As always, on that occasion as well we were helped by the Leninist CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet government, and the other republics. It is precisely fraternal support and cooperation that makes us strong.

Several billion rubles have been allocated as orientational capital investments for the construction of new and the expansion and reconstruction of existing projects between 1976 and 1980 alone. The plans call for the construction, reconstruction, and modernization of tens of projects in the various sectors of the republic's national economy on the basis of the efficient allocation and reallocation of the national income. This is possible only under socialism, in a society in which internationalism is the very foundation of all realms of life.

Let us take as an example the dynamics of the growth of the national income in the Georgian SSR over the past 15 years: whereas in 1960 it totaled 2.1 billion rubles, by 1975 it had already reached 5.4 billion. Such are the factual results of the implementation of the Leninist national policy and of strengthening the friendship among the peoples.

The republic's party organization is promoting the maximal growth of labor productivity and the strengthening of the foundations of our economic system. Higher labor productivity is the main source for raising the national income. About three-fourths of it go to consumption or, including outlays for housing and sociocultural construction, approximately four-fifths.

One of the vivid manifestations of internationalism is the steady increase of capital investments in the Georgian national economy. Whereas in the 7th Five-Year Plan they totaled 3.1 billion rubles, in the 10th Five-Year Plan they will total 7.1 billion rubles.

The life-bringing power of internationalism and the great friendship among the peoples resulted in the appearance of new cities and new economic sectors on the republic's map. The city of Rustavi, where members of about 30 nationalities live, work, and compete side by side, is the creation of the hands, hearts, and minds of all Soviet peoples. The entire country is building the Inguri GES, the pride of the republic. The Madneul'skiy ore-concentration combine, justifiably described as the bridgehead of Georgian nonferrous metallurgy, was completed quite recently. Petroleum extraction--a new economic sector--is the offspring of the joint efforts of international collectives, including petroleum workers from the Kuban', Azerbaydzhan, Checheno-Ingushetiya, Bashkiriya, Tatariya, and other regions in our great state.

Each unit of industrial, agricultural, and other output produced by the republic's national economy and the spiritual values created by the talent of the people are the result of the intellectual and physical labor of members of different nationalities united in strong labor collectives.

IV

The republic's party committees promote on a daily basis the international education of the working people at enterprises, establishments, organizations, and places of residence, paying particular attention to the youth. In this respect great experience has been acquired by the Tbilisi, Rustavi, Poti, Zugdidi, and other city and rayon party committees.

For example, the Kutaisi City Party Committee is doing fruitful work in the field of international education. International friendship days, whose participants were members of enterprises in the republic and cities throughout the country competing with the Kutaisi working people, held at the end of last year, turned into a real celebration of the fraternity among nations.

A theoretical conference on "The National Policy of the CPSU is a Policy of Equality and Friendship Among the Peoples" and a scientific conference on "The Great Leninist Friendship of the Peoples of the USSR is a Source of Strength and Power for our Country," involving the participation of pedagogical institutes in Baku, Kirovabad, Leninakan, Pyatigorsk, and Kutaisi, were held. Reports were read at enterprises and establishments on the Leninist national policy and topical problems of international education in the light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. Meaningful evenings dedicated to international friendship, university student and secondary school youth demonstrations, trips to sites of revolutionary, combat, and labor glory, and so on, were sponsored.

On the initiative of the Kutaisi City Party Committee every year Soviet literature days and Mayakovskiy poetry days are sponsored with the participation of representatives of many republics in the USSR, as well as weeks dedicated to Moscow, Riga, Yerevan, Kishinev, Kirovabad, Saratov, Leninakan, Ural'sk, and other cities. Delegations of propagandists are exchanged between Kutaisi and Leninakan (Armenian SSR) who teach classes within the political education system.

Various forms of internationalist education are practiced by the Makharadzevskiy Rayon Party Committee. For almost 40 years close fraternal friendship has linked its people with the working people of Genicheskiy Rayon, Ukrainian SSR, and Oktember'yanskiy Rayon in the Armenian SSR. This is depicted through the exhibits at friendship museums set up with public participation in Shroma and Natanebi villages. Regular theoretical and practical science conferences, topic evenings, lecture cycles, and socio-political readings on problems of international education are sponsored in the rayon's villages. For the past few years people's universities of friendship among the peoples have been successfully operating in Natanebi Village and the Layturi settlement.

The party organizations are raising the young people in the spirit of the great internationalist traditions characteristic of the working people of this rayon.

As early as the first Russian revolution the peasants of Bakhvi Village proclaimed in their manifesto that "We, Georgians, Russians, Armenians, and Tatars, are all brothers. We shall not quarrel with one another regardless of the government's hopes. Our demands are not specific Georgian demands. They are the demands of all of Russia. We are joining our Russian brothers."

Here is what V. I. Lavrent'yev, a native of Genichesk, recalls of the difficult years of the Great Patriotic War: "I, a wounded man, was welcomed as a brother in Shroma Village, and healed. Melinka Mzhavanadze was like my own mother."

A monument has been erected in that village. It is a statue of an elderly Georgian woman and her adopted Russian son. This monument represents the vivifying force of internationalism.

The Georgian party organization ascribes particular importance to socialist competition as a school for the education of the working people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism. The republic has developed an efficient system for managing the competition and a movement for a communist attitude toward labor. A republic commission is managing the socialist competition, headed by the Central Committee first secretary. Similar commissions have been set up at oblast, city, and rayon party committees, ministries, departments, and labor collectives. The area covered by the socialist competition has broadened and new competition methods have been created. Soviet Georgia is competing with Azerbaydzhan and Armenia, while Tbilisi, the republic's capital, is competing with Yerevan, Baku, and Riga, the capitals of fraternal republics.

The international ties linking the rural working people are strong and extensive: over 200 Georgian kolkhozes and sovkhozes are competing with farms in other republics.

V

The Georgian Communist Party is loyal to the revolutionary and internationalist traditions of the transcaucasian Bolsheviks whose works were rated highly by V. I. Lenin. In his letter to A. M. Gor'kiy, he wrote that "Both in our country and in the Caucasus Georgian, Armenian, Tatar, and Russian Social Democrats have worked together, within a single social democratic organization, for over 10 years. This is not a mere statement but a proletarian solution to the national problem. It is the only solution" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 48, p 162).

With every passing day the international relations among the party organizations of transcaucasian republics are strengthening. The formulation and implementation of plans for joint ideological measures by the central committees of the communist parties of Azerbaydzhan, Armenia, and Georgia have become a good tradition. Great attention is paid in such plans to the internationalist education of the working people. The plans call for the joint celebration of outstanding anniversaries and anniversaries of noted leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, exchange of lecturers groups, holding joint theoretical and practical science conferences and scientific sessions of republic academies of sciences and branches of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, meetings among international friendship clubs of transcaucasian VUZ's, and a number of other measures.

Cadre exchanges bring nations and nationalities closer to each other and serve the ideas of internationalism. This is a reciprocal school for party activities, a school teaching the Leninist work style. Alumni of the

Georgian party organization work in the central organs and establishments of the country and in other union and autonomous republics. Meanwhile, leading party, state, and economic positions are held in our republic by the best representatives from the center and from other republic and oblast organizations. This is not simply an exchange of cadres but an exchange of the richest possible experience acquired by the fraternal republics.

In connection with the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and the nationwide discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution agitation trips in the transcaucasian republics were organized with the participation of highly skilled lecturers, scientists, production leaders, artists, and amateur art activists who met with labor collectives of enterprises and construction projects in Azerbaydzhan, Armenia, and Georgia, and visited nearly 20 cities and rayons, including the republics' capitals, Kirovabad, Yevlakh, Sumgait, Kirovakan, Leninakan, Sukhumi, Batumi, Kutaisi, Gori, and Zugdidi, and Gardabanskiy, Tumanianskiy, Tskhakayevskiy, and Zestafonskiy rayons.

A joint internationalist education plan for 1977-1978 was formulated and approved by the Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee, the Political Administration of the Red Banner Transcaucasian Military District, and the Transcaucasian Border District. Its implementation will enable the republic's party organizations to maintain and develop close contacts with army party members. The plan calls for joint conferences-seminars, and conferences with the participation of representatives of the party and soviet organs, the Georgian Komsomol Central Committee, the republic's ministries of education, and higher and secondary specialized education, the State Vocational Education Committee, the army political organs and military commissars, DOSAAF, the Knowledge Society, and the creative unions, on matters related to improving military-patriotic and internationalist education in the light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU congress.

Commanders and political workers are participating in the work of people's universities, international friendship clubs, museums, and combat and labor glory premises. Cycles of lectures were developed on preparing young people for military service. Pamphlets, books, motion pictures, and television and radio journals are produced, and transcaucasian automobile races are organized.

The party and Komsomol political education system and the system for the economic training of the working people play a major role in the international education of the working people. Over 400,000 students attend the courses and seminars, studying problems of Leninist national policy. The instruction is given in seven languages--Russian, Georgian, Abkhaz, Oset, Armenian, Azerbaydzhani, and Kurdish.

The republic's Communist Party Central Committee ascribes particular importance to the role of the press, radio, and television in the international education of the working people, of the young people in particular.

Exchanges of newspaper sections and entire issues of republic and city newspapers, and joint television and radio broadcasts by transcaucasian republics on problems of the education of the masses in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism have become traditional.

The Georgian party organization is carefully safeguarding the best national, revolutionary, combat, labor, patriotic, and internationalist traditions. An expanded decree was passed on measures to assert the new, Soviet internationalist traditions and in the struggle against harmful customs. The republic commission set up by the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee on the promotion of new Soviet ceremonies and rituals in the lives of the working people has been an effective organ for the patriotic and international education of the working people.

Obsolete traditions are being replaced by new Soviet customs, rituals, and ceremonies, and sociopolitical celebrations consistent with the Soviet way of life and norms of communist morality, based on the vivifying principles of socialist internationalism. They include communist subbotniks, dedication of workers and kolkhoz members, celebration of heroes and veterans of the revolution and the civil and Great Patriot wars, labor dynasties, harvest holidays, labor glory anniversaries, and days dedicated to grain growers, tea growers, animal husbandry men, and others, praising communist labor and promoting a conscientious attitude toward public interests. The joining by school students of the Octobrists and the Pioneers, the presentation of Komsomol cards, and the youth's oath taken at the monument to Vladimir Il'ich Lenin have become great ceremonies. We celebrate Soviet Passport Day, and Soviet army and navy draftee day. New literary holidays in honor of the brilliant poet Shota Rustaveli, the great writer-internationalists Il'ya Chavchavadze, the outstanding poet Vazha-Pshavely, and many others have increased in popularity.

The republic's Central Committee, the obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, the primary party and Komsomol organizations, and the trade unions, the schools, the VUZ's, the family, and the public are helping in the extensive dissemination of such celebrations, rituals, and ceremonies filled with great internationalist content.

At the same time we oppose obsolete customs of a religious nature spread among a certain segment of the republic's population.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee has instructed the scientific, creative, and cultural-educational institutions in the republic to draw up on a high ideological-political and emotional-aesthetic level scenarios for nationwide national, civic, and social-production ceremonies with a view to the dissemination of the Soviet way of life noted by Soviet collectivism, patriotism, proletarian internationalism, and the ideals of communist humanism, a way of life which contains social optimism and the ideas of friendship and fraternity among the peoples.

Republic and local committees have been set up for the dissemination and introduction of new ceremonies and rituals in the lives of the working people. They include representatives of interested ministries and departments, scientists, men of literature and the arts, members of the working class and the peasantry, party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, creative unions, jurists, psychologists, ethnographers, and folklorists. The republic's academy of sciences has set up a center on sociocultural traditions entrusted with the drafting of scientific recommendations for the introduction of new Soviet ceremonies, rituals, and holidays.

The Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee propaganda and agitation department has also set up a public opinion council which, along with other tasks, engages in specific sociological studies related to internationalist education, and issues scientific recommendations on their improved guidance by the party.

VI

One of the most essential features of internationalist education is raising the working people in a spirit of belonging to the Soviet people--the new historical community--and developing in every working person a statesmanlike attitude toward his work.

In the course of its activities for the implementation of the national policy, the Georgian Communist Party is guided by the concept that two trends--the blossoming of and rapprochement among nations--are inherent in socialism. These trends have become clearly apparent in all realms of life, including culture. The culture of any people in the USSR is a structural part of the socialist culture of the new historical community of people.

The mature socialist stage, noted by the highest manifestation of internationalism, has brought about the unparalleled flourishing of Georgian science, literature, and art, and of the spiritual culture of the Georgian people and of all peoples inhabiting our republic.

In a number of indicators of the development of science and culture Soviet Georgia has emerged the most progressive positions in the world. Today the republic has over 24,000 scientific workers. The number of general educational schools has risen to 4,214, teaching students in a variety of languages.

A real revolution has taken place in book publishing: We publish books, newspapers, and journals in the Russian, Georgian, Azerbaydzhani, Armenian, Abkhaz, and Oset languages. There are regular radio and television broadcasts in various languages. Georgian, Russian, Armenian, Abkhas and Oset companies perform in the republic's 23 theaters.

Ascribing great importance to the spiritual interaction among the peoples of the USSR and, particularly, to the reciprocal exchange of the achievements of national cultures, which also includes literary translations, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and Georgian SSR Council of Ministers passed a special decision on increasing translation work in the republic. A special center for the translation of the best literary works of fraternal peoples has been set up by the republic's writers' union.

The Druzhba theater of the Georgian SSR Theater Society, is one of the most important methods for promoting the internationalist ideological and aesthetic education of the masses. Its purpose is to promote cooperation among different creative collectives in the Soviet Union, and to strengthen relations among the theater publics of union republics and socialist countries. In accordance with this program we have been visited by many famous theater companies in the country. The Druzhba theater is also contributing to the dissemination of Georgian art in other republics.

In 1973 the republic's academy of sciences set up in Tbilisi a museum of the friendship among the peoples--a scientific and propaganda center for the internationalist education of the working people. It has collected unique exhibits of great scientific and ideological significance. The museum is also a training center. By joint decision of the Georgian Komsomol Central Committee, and the ministries of education and higher and secondary specialized education every secondary school and university student, Pioneer, and Komsomol member must become familiar with its exhibits and expositions. The museum sponsors permanent exhibits and meetings with veterans of the revolution and the civil and Patriotic wars. It offers courses for students attending general educational schools in history, literature, and other subjects, and helps the schools to organize international friendship clubs and museums.

The republic is working on making the Military Georgian Highway a memorial of the friendship among the peoples. This is the road of friendship between the Russian and Georgian peoples through which the ideas of the Great October Revolution came to us.

Monuments to outstanding figures of the Russian and Georgian peoples, great revolutionaries and great military men who defended the freedom and independence of our great homeland will be erected along the entire track. Recreation areas and memorial sites will be organized named after Pushkin, Griboyedov, Lermontov, and Gor'kiy. The building of the friendship highway has been timed to coincide with a noteworthy anniversary in the history of the Georgian people and the entire Caucasus--the 200th anniversary of the signing of the Georgiyevskiy Treaty which marked the beginning of the voluntary unification of Georgia with Russia, to be celebrated in 1983.

We are ascribing great importance to 10-day or 1-day celebrations of the culture, literature, and art of the fraternal peoples, sponsored in the republic. Recently we celebrated very successfully Soviet literature, Ukrainian literature, and Russian poetry days. A gathering of Soviet writers was held at which the literary creation of the character of the communist, of our contemporary, of the patriotic and the internationalist was held.

The academies of sciences of Azerbaydzhan, Armenia, and Georgia have elaborated a comprehensive plan for improving scientific research and exchanging scientific achievements, including achievements in the humanities which are the foundations for the patriotic and internationalist education of the masses.

VII

Success in internationalist education depends on the extent to which the principles of the scientific and class approaches, unity of word and deed, and unity of theory and practice are implemented.

In this connection I would like to discuss some problems of theory and history.

Lenin, the brilliant leader of the revolution, the Communist Party, the Russian working class, the Russian people, and all the peoples of our country played a decisive role in resolving the national problem in Georgia.

We sacredly protect our friendship and brotherhood with the great Russian people and value and respect the outstanding role they played in strengthening the friendship among the peoples of the USSR and the socialist countries, and in the life of all progressive mankind.

The 175th anniversary of the factual unification of Georgia with Russia was celebrated recently. The joint scientific session held this year among the Georgian SSR academy of sciences, the republic's writers' union, and the scientific council of Tbilisi State University marked the beginning of extensive preparations for the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the friendship and fraternity between the peoples of Georgia and Russia.

Historiographically the unification of Georgia with Russia has always been considered a progressive phenomenon. However, occasionally it has been described as a "lesser evil" in describing the familiar historical alternative. Obviously, the scientists and leaders who put this term in scientific circulation were unable to find better words to express all aspects of the meaning of this great event.

The question is that the word "evil" is unsuitable in terms of the history of the friendship between the Russian and Georgian peoples, whatever its context. An evil is an evil, regardless of whether it is lesser or greater. In the final account, the adjective "lesser" does not change the nature of the matter. It would be more accurate, therefore, on our part to abandon this term. This does not conflict with the requirements of party-mindedness and with other Marxist-Leninist methodological principles governing the history of science

Analyzing the reasons for the unification of Georgia with Russia, some authors consider the same orthodox faith as the main reason. In fact, however, making a historical decision, the best sons of the Georgian people did not have religious factors alone in mind. There have been many cases in history in which strong countries have absorbed and destroyed weaker ones regardless of a common faith.

To the Georgians, as to other nations which faced the need for a choice, the main and determining factor which led them to join the Russian people should be sought in the nature and character of the Russian people which had developed over a number of centuries.

Inherent in the Russian people and their spiritual world is a sharp feeling of social justice. It developed in the course of the historical battles against the feudal lord, tsarism, and the land owners and the bourgeoisie, in the course of which the Russian people matured and became glorious.

The Russian people also have a very acute feeling of national freedom and national equality. This too has its historical explanation. These features were born and strengthened in the battles against foreign aggressors, in the 300-year struggle against the Tatar-Mongol yoke, in the battles against the Swedes and Napoleon's armies, and against the German and many other aggressors.

The fact that the Russian people settled on a huge territory with inexhaustible natural resources played a major role in the formation of the Russian character. The entire world is familiar with the genius of the Russian people, so generously manifested in their history and culture. All this developed in other peoples feelings of sincere love for and faith in the Russian people. They were not wrong.

History faced the Georgian people, like other peoples, with the task of mastering the achievements of world civilization, science, and art which are of vital importance to the existence of the nation. As our far-sighted ancestors presumed, the road to these spiritual treasures could be covered only with the help of the great Russia. No other choice was possible in the medieval darkness, backwardness, and physical and spiritual decadence.

Russia played an unforgettable progressive role in the destinies of the peoples of the Caucasus and the adjacent area. Durable and long awaited peace came. We are legitimately proud of the fact that Georgia has made a worthy contribution to this historical process, and that the Georgians honorably fulfilled the mission of friendship and fraternity assigned to them by history. Our people have always been on the side of the great Russia whether in times of severe trials or great victories. This trend became a firm law of our life.

We well remember the historical role which the Russian people played in the molding and development of the Georgian nation, and in unifying splintered and wrecked Georgia which had reached the brink of extinction.

In the course of 2 centuries of friendship and fraternity with Russia, Georgia did not lose its national features in the least, as our enemies abroad claim. On the contrary, it was able to retain and develop the characteristics of a nation such a common language, territory, economy, mentality, and culture.

In bad times, in hours of severe trial, Russia and the great Russian people gave us their helping hand. Neither the Georgian people nor the land of Georgia will ever forget this.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee is doing everything possible to improve the teaching of social subjects dealing with matters of the unification of Georgia with Russia. The most important aspect here is to establish the proper political, scientific, and pedagogical emphasis so that the growing generation will be directed toward everything that is bright, progressive, and contributing to strengthening the friendship and fraternity among our peoples. The basic emphasis must be placed on their common interests and joint liberation struggle. In the course of youth education we must direct the attention precisely to that which united us.

We are justifiably proud of the fact that the nations and nationalities in the USSR have never remained in the debt of the Russian people and the comity of Soviet peoples. There are no people in the world who would have done so much for the happiness and prosperity of others, sincerely and selflessly, sometimes at the cost of great sacrifices, as the Russian people. Acknowledging the historical role of the Russian people in strengthening the socialist family of Soviet peoples, the party properly rated and enhanced all the peoples and republics of the Soviet Union. It did everything possible for the fruits of the talents and capabilities of each nation and nationality to blend like an inexhaustible stream, within the treasury of world civilization. The friendship among the peoples of the USSR is the friendship of worthy and equal nations. It is based, above all, on the cementing role which the Russian people play in our union. We must continue to safeguard like the apple of our eyes our friendship and fraternity with them. The Georgian communists, and the communists in all fraternal republics deem this to be their duty. The

political and social interests of the peoples, and the feelings of reciprocal sympathy, friendship, and fraternity must always be an inviolable power strengthening the economic, political, social, and spiritual foundations of our state and society.

We, Georgians, like all other peoples of the USSR, are happy and proud of the fact that we have many loyal friends and brothers: Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Azerbaydzhanis, Lithuanians, Moldavians, Latvians, Kirgiz, Tadzhiks, Armenians, Turkmens, and Estonians, representing over 100 nations and nationalities.

The CPSU program stipulates that the party guarantees the further free linguistic development of the peoples of the USSR and the full freedom of any Soviet citizen to speak, and raise and educate his children in any language, allowing no privileges, restrictions, or coercions in the use of one or another language.

Mastering one's native language and a second language, above all and most frequently Russian, is the main type of polyglot education both in the country at large and in Soviet Georgia. The Russian language has become the voluntary language for international communication, as a language capable of fulfilling this function to the greatest extent. In our republic we formulate the question as follows: Along with one's native language everyone must master Russian--the language of fraternity among all the peoples of the USSR, the language of the October Revolution, the language of Lenin.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee passed a decree on improving the teaching of Russian in the republic's schools, on the requirement to study it starting with the first grade in the national schools, and the training of teaching cadres. It is our profound conviction that educating fully trained cadres of national economic specialists and cultural workers would be impossible without serious mastery of the Russian language.

At the same time, we must enjoy all other languages and dialects. We welcome the blossoming not only of the Georgian but of the Abkhaz and Oset languages and their literatures. We are pleased by the fact that in Georgia the children of Russians, Azerbaydzhanis, Armenians, and members of other nations are able to study just as freely and extensively the foundations of the sciences in their own languages as the children in the schools of the RSFSR, Azerbaydzhan, Armenia, and other republics.

This is a great international achievement which we safeguard properly.

Internationalism alone enables us to express and defend the true interests both of our people and of all other peoples; essentially, nationalism is betrayal of the national interests of both one's own people and of all other peoples. Today in our country nationalism does not have a social

base. Individual cases of nationalistic onslaughts and feeble impulses are, as a rule, a consequence of careerism or self-interest on the part of some unbalanced elements.

We must remember that recurrences of nationalism and chauvinism may appear wherever socialist ideology surrenders its positions and wherever the work of the party organizations is not ideologically and politically consistent with the stipulations of the party's bylaws and program, and the decisions of its 25th congress. The struggle waged by the republic's party organization against negative phenomena is fully consistent both with the national interests and the international duty of our people.

The Leninist national policy of the CPSU excluded from the life of the Soviet nations and nationalities and from the practice of international relations barriers and obstacles hindering friendship among the peoples, such as social and national oppression promoted by tsarism, international discord, national egotism, mistrust among nations, fear of losing one's national character and national characteristics, and so on. This represents great happiness.

Socialism established among the peoples relations of mutual trust, respect, and mutual aid--in a word, the most humane, most democratic, and most progressive relations based on the principled foundations of proletarian and socialist internationalism.

Developing Lenin's theory of nations and national relations, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes that the process of rapprochement among nations could be neither artificially accelerated nor hindered. Both trends--the blossoming and rapprochement among nations--are objective. They could be studied and, on this basis, controlled. However, no one can eliminate them. Therefore, any attempt at emphasizing only the blossoming of nations with a view to blocking the process of rapprochement with other nations could only result in national seclusion and isolation. At the same time, however, nor could there be a question of artificially merging nations and promoting their accelerated integration regardless of their need to blossom.

Rapprochement among nations covers all realms of life--economics, politics, culture, morality, mentality, and existing traditions. This is an active process which, however, has nothing in common with assimilation, not to speak of a forced assimilation claimed by our ideological enemies.

We are strong with the fact that socialism created a new type of patriotism which presumes not only love and respect for what is national but also loyalty to what is socialist, international, Soviet, of the whole people. Nationalism does not consist merely of features which distinguish one people or nation from another but also those which have been acquired in the course of the building of communism, and which unite the different nations and nationalities in our country. It is, above all, a new, a Soviet way of life which is both international and national.

The nationwide features of the new historical community--the Soviet people--are also becoming national. Such is the dialectics of the blossoming and rapprochement among nations, the dialectics of their international development.

To a Russian the homeland today is not only the RSFSR but all Soviet republics; to the Georgian, it is not only the Georgian SSR but the entire USSR, the draft of whose constitution includes among the fundamental laws of our life, along with other values, the principles of socialist internationalism.

With the adoption of the new constitution our life and reality will become even more beautiful and attractive both to us and to the working people the world over.

The draft of our constitution is a historical document of the stage of mature socialism, a charter of free, peace-loving, and democratic socialist nations and nationalities of the USSR.

The working people in Soviet Georgia, who welcomed the draft with great enthusiasm, will do everything possible to make a maximal contribution to the building of communism--the most just international society on earth, for the sake of which the new constitution of the Soviet state is being adopted.

Our party is a party of internationalists-patriots. Our society is a society of patriots-internationalists.

We, communists, are loyal to the legacy of the great Lenin. Lenin's doctrine of nations and national relations illuminates mankind's path to the future, to the bright future of the universal triumph of the ideas of proletarian and socialist internationalism.

5003

CSO: 1802

PERSONIFICATION OF TRUE HUMANISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 77 pp 50-51

[Article by P. Skulin, candidate of philosophical sciences]

[Text] Unquestionably, the new USSR Constitution will have both practical and theoretical value. It must sum up all historical accomplishments of our people, the first to lay the path to the bright communist future. Reading the draft of the constitution, now under discussion, we note with satisfaction that this is an outstanding document in terms of the depth of its content. It reflects both the general principles of the socialist system as well as the basic features of developed socialism, its humanistic nature, the democracy of the Soviet state, the increased role of the Communist Party, and the situation of the individual possessing the broadest possible rights and freedoms. In other words, it encompasses in their totality and interrelationship the social foundations and all aspects of Soviet societal life. All this was done, as we know, in accordance with the stipulations of the 25th CPSU Congress which earmarked the nature of the content of the draft of the constitution and the method for its elaboration.

Yet, we should point out that the draft does not provide a proper constitutional codification of the Soviet socialist way of life. The preamble alone mentions its advantages which are becoming ever more apparent at the developed socialist stage. Is this sufficient? It should hardly be limited to such a brief mention.

The way of life is, in its essence and totality, determined by the socio-economic foundations of the form of human activities. That is why it should be especially mentioned, perhaps in a separate article and, above all, in connection with the activities of our state of the whole people aimed at strengthening and improving the Soviet way of life.

Favoring this suggestion is the fact that in the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th party congress our way of life was factually described as the summed up manifestation of the great revolutionary achievements of the Soviet people. It was listed among the three main

historical results of the development of the Soviet socialist society in the 6 decades which have passed since the victory of the Great October Revolution. The task of the systematic development of the socialist way of life was formulated at the congress along with those of further economic and political development, and insuring, on the basis of the expansion of the economy and increased production effectiveness, the ever fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people.

An extensive characterization of the Soviet way of life as a basically new social phenomenon was provided at the 25th CPSU Congress by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. Let us recall it: "An atmosphere of true collectivism and comradeship, unity, and friendship among all nations and nationalities in the country, strengthening day after day, and moral health which makes us strong and firm are the vivid aspects of our way of life and the great achievements of socialism which have become part of the flesh and blood of our reality.

Legislatively codifying all these great accomplishments, and formulating and asserting the inviolable socioeconomic and political rights and freedoms of the individual, the draft of the new constitution depicts a many-sided view of the Soviet socialist way of life. That is why the following should be entered in the constitution: "The state shall be concerned with the strengthening and further advancement of the Soviet way of life which embodies in the activities and relations among people the principles of true humanism: collectivism, comradely cooperation and mutual aid, friendship among all nations and nationalities in the country, patriotism and internationalism, organic combination of public with private interests, all-round development of the individual, and the satisfaction and enhancement of his needs."

5003

CSO: 1802

LET US ACTIVELY ASSIST THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION CONCENTRATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 77 pp 52-56

[Article by O. Filatov, hero of socialist labor, general director of the Leningrad Svetlana Association]

[Text] As we know, the basic method for the development of production forces is the process of production concentration, specialization and combination, and its ever greater socialization. A characteristic feature of this process at the mature socialist stage is replacing the enterprise as the main material production nucleus by the association.

Restoring on a new basis the sectorial principle in economic management, at its September 1965 Central Committee Plenum and 23rd CPSU Congress the Communist Party emphasized that these ministries must be qualitatively different from the previous ones and provide a new sectorial management. Their task is to deal, above all, with long-term problems of development of their sectors, and with the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, leaving to the middle level operative problems of production management and concentrating the enterprises under their jurisdiction into production associations. This stipulation was based on the experience acquired by the big metallurgical and petrochemical combines, light industry firms, and a number of associations set up in Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast. Delegates to the 24th and 25th party congresses pointed out that the conversion of various types of associations into a basic cost accounting Soviet economic unit was necessary in order to insure the further development of our country on the path to the building of communism and the solution of the many problems related to upgrading public labor productivity and insuring the growth of the material and cultural living standards of the people.

The correctness and fruitfulness of this party course was confirmed by life itself. An example of this is provided by the activities of the Svetlana association which manufactures electronic equipment. The practical experience of our association and the problems it faces and the ways to resolve them confirm the effectiveness of the creation of big associations. They are qualitatively new structural subdivisions of the

national economy and organizational means for production management and for the formulation and implementation of comprehensive plans for economic and social development. In the eighth and ninth five-year plans, for example, our average annual rates of growth of output and marketing exceeded 12 percent while labor productivity equaled 14 percent. In the past 5 years capital returns rose 50 percent.

We made a successful start in the 10th Five-Year Plan as well. The association's collective fulfilled its 1976 plan ahead of schedule, on 27 December. Compared with 1975 the volume of output rose 18.1 percent; labor productivity rose 15.6 percent and capital returns, 6.2 percent. Hundreds of thousands of rubles' worth of above-plan goods were produced. This year as well the collective is outstripping its planned assignments.

The comprehensive plans for the economic and social development of the collective are an important instrument in the organization and management of subdivision activities within the association. Established in 1966, they organically combined problems of economic and technical growth of output with problems of the collective's social development. They became the specific base for upgrading the labor and social activeness of the working people. The association's collective is a blend of highly educated, politically knowledgeable, and professionally trained people engaged in the solution of complex problems of development of electronic technology. It seems as though only recently a considerable percentage of our output consisted of classical electric vacuum goods. Today they have yielded to microelectronics. With every passing year this ratio will change at an ever faster pace. Toward the end of the five-year plan the production of goods based on microelectronics will approximately triple. All these successes have been achieved on the basis of production concentration and specialization and the corresponding improvement of its organizational forms.

At the initial stage in the creation of the association (1962-1965) a number of measures aimed at the concentration and specialization of homogeneous services and production facilities, and the shaping of a united and stable collective were implemented through the efforts of the administration and the party and public organizations. The association became a single full juridical person while its plants and organizations lost their rights as autonomous enterprises.

The search for and use of optimal ways for the organization of production and management continued in the course of the second stage (1966-1970). The decision of the ministry's collegium granting the Svetlana association, in March 1966, the rights of a sectorial main administration was an essentially new and progressive base for the energizing of this process. The conversion of the association to a more advanced two-step management system (ministry-association) sharply increased responsibility for managing the firm's enterprises and organizations. The possibilities for the application and utilization of really scientific cost accounting broadened considerably. In turn, this enabled us to handle better material, labor, and financial resources aimed at developing the production process further.

The new stage in the association's development began in 1971. The collective was given the task of drastically reducing the entire cycle of development and mastering the production of new goods and of upgrading their quality. We reached the conclusion that this could be achieved only by converting to more advanced methods for the organization and management of the production process and the scientific subunits. In the process of the creation of new goods under the conditions of the traditional separate existence of scientific research institutes and design bureaus the production process as well breaks down into two separate parts. Concentrated in the first are scientific research and experimental design; the second involves preparations for the production and serial manufacturing of the goods. Consequently, on the one hand, frequently great hindrances arise at the connecting points between science and production in terms of the implementation of scientific and technical ideas and, on the other, a duplication of design and technological production preparations occurs which results in a drastic extension of the "development-mastering" cycle. Furthermore, with the traditional relations between scientific research institutes and design bureaus, on the one hand, and the production process, on the other, the developers of new equipment bear no direct responsibility for economic production indicators. Yet, it is no secret that the implementation of assignments on upgrading the volume of output and production effectiveness largely depends on the quality of scientific research and experimental design.

In 1971 a new structural link was established between the superior management level (the association's general director and the director of the head plant) and the basic plant shops and branches--the scientific-production complexes (NPK), specializing on the basis of material features; at the present stage of development, in our view, they provide the fullest possible combination of science with production. The scientific-production complexes are single structural subdivisions of the head plant. Along with the development of new goods they are directly entrusted with responsibility for the implementation of the planned assignments for the production of finished goods and for maintaining all technical-economic indicators. They implement their activities in accordance with the plan assignments approved by the association and operate on the basis of intraplant cost accounting. The NPK concentrate in their hands the functions of design and technological preparations for both experimental and serial industrial production. The association carries out the remaining stages of technical preparations on a centralized basis. The auxiliary shops and services are also under the association's centralized management.

The establishment of NPK made it possible to convert to related planning of scientific research and experimental design operations (NIOKR) taking into consideration the unbroken "research-production" cycle and insuring the selection of truly topical themes based on the establishment and best utilization of the factual possibilities of developers of new goods in order to insure the fullest possible satisfaction of customers' requirements. The results of scientific research and experimental work are implemented in serial production on the basis of the accelerated cycle with the combined or parallel implementation of their individual stages.

Practical experience confirmed the correctness of establishing scientific-production complexes within the association. This qualitatively new organizational form factually insures the organic combination of science with production and offers extensive possibilities for upgrading the labor productivity of scientific and engineering and technical workers, thus creating objective prerequisites for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. Thus, from 1971 to 1976 the association mastered the serial production of a considerably bigger number of new types of electronic equipment compared with the previous period. The share of new goods produced for no more than 3 years rose, within the overall volume of output, from 19.7 percent in 1974 to 24.1 percent in 1976.

The advantages of making the association the basic cost accounting cell of our economy are universally known: they were proved both theoretically and practically. Nevertheless, this process is developing extremely slowly. Above all, there are many associations which, for a variety of reasons such as their small size, distance among their enterprises, variety of goods produced, and so on, are unable to make a qualitative leap in the field of production concentration and specialization, its further mechanization and automation, and improved production quality.

Therefore, noting the particular importance of including in the draft of the new USSR Constitution the chapter on "The Economic System" we deem it necessary that the following should be added to it: "The state insures all the necessary conditions for the successful development of the process of the further socialization of output, its concentration, specialization, and combination, and of the organization of production and scientific-production associations regardless of their departmental and administrative affiliation."

This addition would provide a constitutional base for surmounting departmental and parochial interests which, we believe, are today the main obstacle on the path to the fastest possible implementation of the party's course of production concentration, specialization, and combination. The creation of big, complete, and compact associations, capable of rapidly utilizing the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with a view to upgrading the technical level and effectiveness of output, the quality of output, and the upsurge of labor productivity, adamantly requires the consolidation of most existing ministries. In our view this is the simplest and, perhaps, the most important reason for this real social need: few of the present ministries have a sufficient number of subordinate enterprises in big industrial centers (with the exception of Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, and some others) to be able to organize within such centers and within their own sector an effective association. Yet, the departments are unwilling to surrender any of their "own" enterprises to an association under another ministry not only for subjective but objective reasons as well such as, for example, the impact which such a step would have on the overall volume of output, the budget funds, and so on. Yet, enterprises under a number of ministries produce similar and, frequently, identical

commodities or separate units for identical commodities. Let us take as an example the ministries of electronic industry, radio industry, communications industry, and instrument making, automation, and control systems. It is clear that on the basis of the enterprises of these four ministries more effective associations could be set up throughout the country compared with those organized separately by each one of them.

Naturally, the creation of the most favorable conditions for the acceleration of the process of production concentration, specialization, and combination is not limited to the surmounting of departmental barriers. It requires the improvement of the entire system of production planning, management, and incentive, as was emphasized at the 25th party congress. The problem is that the present procedure governing planning and accounting for the volume of output and marketing is such that it is economically unprofitable to sectorial industrial ministries and local power organs to set up associations. As a rule, in both their plans and reports production associations show their volumes of output (gross) and marketing based on finished products, including intrafirm circulation--reciprocal supplies among association plants and organizations. Here the output is not recorded twice while ministries take into consideration the volume of output (the gross) and the marketing by simply adding up the indicators of the respective enterprises, which means a double adding of the output supplied by enterprises based in intraministerial cooperation. Therefore, the creation of associations results in the reduction of the ministry's gross output and marketing in terms of rubles.

A similar situation develops in relations between associations and out-of-town firms operating in other oblasts. Our experience has indicated that it is economically profitable to the production association to specialize them in the manufacturing of parts and assemblies rather than finished products. Such specialization saves on capital investments, reduces the time needed for mastering new capacities, increases labor productivity, and reduces production costs. However, in this case the entire output of the branch is considered intrafirm turnover and, in accordance with statistical accountability, is not included in the oblast's volume of gross and marketed goods.

In neither case does the national economy lose anything. On the contrary, it benefits a great deal. However, this conflicts with departmental and local interests. Clearly, it would be expedient to assess the end results of the economic activities of industrial ministries, their production associations, and the industry of oblasts and republics on the basis of different indicators which would eliminate such contradiction, using, for example, the net output indicator.

The establishment of a broad network of big production associations and their conversion into truly basic social production nuclei would make it possible, in turn, to make profound qualitative changes in the system of social production planning and management. Let us assume that instead

of tens of thousands of enterprises, our industry would set up ten times less production associations which will become the basic primary management units. This will mean that the number of planning-accounting units will be reduced tenfold in national economic planning and accounting. The number of sites within the management systems of industrial ministries and departments will be reduced by the same percentage. This will give us the real possibility to improve centralized planning and management of industrial output on the basis of expanding the relative autonomy of production associations as primary management units. So far, measures in this respect have failed to yield the necessary results since small enterprises are objectively unable to exercise their economic rights. The situation of big production associations is different. For example, the Svetlana association will be responsible for the development of technology and output in a number of directions. It will provide the design of prototypes based on contemporary requirements and will organize the production of goods for the national economy. Business relations with Glavsnabsbyt and with our ministry greatly improve the association's material and technical supply and marketing. Thus, the marketing of over 70 percent of the goods produced by our association is based on direct relations. In the case of such commodities the association takes into consideration social requirements and determines the volume of output in coordination with the ministry and the USSR Gosplan.

Therefore, the big production associations may, at such a level, implement a considerable share of the functions of insuring the planned and proportional development of the national economy now entrusted to the ministry and the USSR Gosplan. As our experience proves, such associations are the best system for the organizational unification of science with production and a reliable tool for the successful solution of the problems formulated at the 25th party congress.

The problem of the small enterprises, which is of major national economic significance, will obtain its optimal solution with the acceleration and expansion of the process of establishment of production associations regardless of existing departmental and administrative affiliation. While losing their rights as autonomous enterprises they will not be closed down but reorganized as specialized association branches operating on a modern production level. Furthermore, as practical experience shows, it will become possible to create in the small cities and settlements new, dimensionally small but technically progressive specialized branches. This process is of tremendous socioeconomic significance. It will enable us, first of all, to make use more fully and productively of manpower reserves; secondly, to insure the higher effectiveness of capital investments in industry; and thirdly, to accelerate the socioeconomic development of small towns and settlements.

WORKING PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 77 pp 57-60

[Article by V. Mel'sitov, fitter at the Turbomotornyy Zavod Production Association, Sverdlovsk]

[Text] The main aspect which we note with satisfaction in the draft of the new USSR Constitution is the further intensification and expansion of our socialist democracy.

Article 16 of the draft is a clear example of this. It reads: "The collectives of working people and the public organizations participate in the management of enterprises and associations, and in resolving problems of the organization of work and life, and the use of funds allocated for the development of production and for sociocultural needs and material incentive."

As one thinks of the content of this article one realizes the great gain of the October Revolution mentioned here. Having eliminated the exploitation of man by man, the socialist system made the working people the true masters of their country. It guaranteed the working people the right to resolve by themselves the basic problems of production development in the interest of the growth of the people's prosperity. However, the right to ownership entails a great deal of obligations as well. It creates a feeling of personal responsibility for the quantity and quality of one's labor, and for the work of one's section, shop, and enterprise. It is precisely this that explains the fact that the technical, organizational, social, and economic production development problems which determine the success of any enterprise are always in the focal point of attention of every collective and working person. It is precisely this that explains the desire to contribute to their practical solution. The tremendous scale of the socialist competition is a clear confirmation of the interest expressed by all working people in reaching the highest possible results in their joint labor and their participation in production management.

I have worked at the Ural'sk Motor Turbines Plant for nearly 30 years. I consider my skill--instrument fitter--interesting and creative. Receiving a new assignment I always try to think of the type of attachments which will enable me to upgrade labor productivity. After fulfilling the Ninth Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule I undertook the obligation of completing 2 years' work by the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

For many years I have participated in the social life of our collective. Currently I am member of the association's trade union committee. Based on my own experience I could say that no single matter affecting the work of the sector, shop, enterprise, or entire association is resolved without the participation of the collective and the public organizations. Many factors contribute to this. Good work is being done within the association by the permanent production conferences, the council of the primary organization of the scientific and technical society, the council of the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers, the council of innovators, public design bureaus, norming bureaus, public cadre departments in the shops and the plant, and others. Great attention is always paid to problems of the technical development of enterprises and to upgrading effectiveness discussed at workers' meetings and conferences held by our enterprise's collectives. In the course of such discussions existing shortcomings are criticized and specific suggestions are made whose implementation enables us to improve production activities.

The plant's party organization plays a leading role in involving the working people in production management. Directing the activities of all public organizations, doing educational work, and explaining the objectives and tasks of the party's policy at the present stage, the plant's party members closely link this policy to the solution of the specific production problems facing the collective. At the same time, as the promoters of new labor initiatives, actively supporting valuable suggestions and undertakings of the plant's workers, the party members provide an example of conscientious attitude toward labor and constant concern for the common cause.

When the socialist pledges for the second year of the five-year plan were being discussed by all collectives within the production association, the workers who addressed the meeting spoke of reserves they discovered and jointly earmarked the means for their utilization. This resulted in the adoption of a counterplan. An additional item was introduced in the plant's obligations: "To fulfill the marketing plan for the second year of the five-year plan ahead of schedule and market before the end of the year goods worth 1.3 million rubles, including goods worth 800,000 rubles to be marketed by the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution." These obligations were adopted at an expanded session of the trade union committee with the participation of the heads of shops and sections, representatives of public organizations, and leading production workers.

Our enterprise is multisectorial. Thermofication and gas turbines, motors, power units, silage combines, and many other commodities it manufactures are well known both in our country and abroad. Over 50 percent of the certifiable goods have been awarded the state Emblem of Quality. Currently the entire collective is struggling to upgrade steadily the percentage of such items. As we know, quality depends on the level of technical innovation of the goods, and on the way of their manufacturing. The attention of all plant workers is focused on both these aspects. The members of the scientific and technical society and the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers have done a great deal to upgrade production quality. They actively participate in the development of new machines and in improving their manufacturing technology.

The primary organization of the scientific and technical society has over 2,000 members rallied in 34 sections--design, technological, economic, and others. They are headed by a council which includes specialists in various areas, highly qualified engineers, economists, and workers. This council, operating on a voluntary basis, performs the same function as the technical-economic or scientific-technical councils at other enterprises. Its activities are largely determined by the trend of the technical and economic development of the association. All technical and economic characteristics of each new commodity whose production has been planned are thoroughly and comprehensively studied at the council's meetings. In the course of the discussions suggestions are being made aimed at upgrading its reliability, durability, power, and economy, and at improving its manufacturing technology. Naturally, many such machines would not have been highly rated by the consumers without such an extensive public discussion of technical designs of new machinery and without the specific suggestions which make possible considerable improvements in the initial variant. Our 100,000-kilowatt thermofication turbines were the first among the big items to be awarded the country's Emblem of Quality. The group of workers and designers which created them was awarded the Lenin prize. Today the plant is producing the biggest thermofication turbines in the world developing a 250,000-kilowatt capacity. In the past their technical design was also considered at a meeting of the scientific and technical society council and was approved.

Plant inventors and rationalizers are making a substantial contribution to upgrading production quality and the growth of economic effectiveness. Last year alone about 500 workers submitted rationalization suggestions many of which were applied.

In our enterprise permanent production conferences enjoy great prestige. Those attending them discuss most important problems of production work and pass resolutions on the subjects. The following problems have been discussed: installation of new equipment, upgrading production quality, seeking and utilizing production reserves, improving labor conditions, strengthening the labor discipline, and many others. The administration helps the conferences in their work and organizes the implementation of their decisions.

Good work is being done by the permanent production conference of the second machine shop whose collective is among the best collectives in the association competing in honor of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution. Recently the members of this production conference have dealt extensively with problems of the installation of new equipment, improving the organization of labor, and improving labor conditions. The suggestions adopted by the conference for the mechanization of labor intensive operations will make it possible to release workers engaged in heavy physical work and will result in considerable savings.

In order to be able to participate in production management one must be familiar with production economics. Most of the workers, engineering and technical personnel, and employees in the association are taking various types of economic training. They study the foundations of the socialist economic system and the party's economic policy, foundations of planning, organization of labor and production, cost accounting, and others. Upgrading their ideological and theoretical level, the seminar and course students gain practical skills as well which enable them to make knowledgeable use of methods for upgrading effectiveness and provide an economic substantiation for their suggestions.

In our collective political and economic training has become an important factor for involving the working people in production management. It is directly linked with practice and with the specific tasks of the technical, economic, and social development of the enterprises.

The topic "Socialist Competition. Implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan" triggered a great deal of interest in the dies and attachments shop where I work. In the course of the study specific measures for upgrading effectiveness and quality were considered. Weighing their possibilities, most students assumed stricter obligations in honor of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution. Fitter A. A. Kur'yan, lathe worker A. A. Grishin, and borer V. I. Ledovskaya resolved to fulfill their two-year plans by 7 November. They pledged to produce faultless goods and to help their comrades to fulfill and overfulfill their obligations.

The working people in our country are its masters and they are the sole owners of all capital goods, of the entire public wealth. That is precisely why their participation in production management is manifested in their thrifty and economical attitude toward the use of capital goods. Thrift and lowering outlays of material and manpower resources are one of the main sources for increasing the public wealth and for the growth of the people's prosperity.

As throughout the country, the workers in our plant are actively fighting for economy, thrift, reducing outlays of raw materials, materials, and electric power, and making better use of the equipment. Until recently there were overexpenditures of cutting tools at the rotodynamic shop. The workers of the section headed by the old foreman A. V. Kislitsin

suggested and applied a progressive method for cooling the cutters using air and nitrogen. This increased their resistance three to four times. V. V. Stepanov, a fitter-electrician serving machine tools with digital programing saved 4,293 kilowatt-hours of electric power in the first 17 months of the 10th Five-Year Plan. He achieved this by improving the program for the machining of the parts, which made it possible to reduce the time spent in their manufacturing. Many workers have established such savings accounts. This year alone 1,505 new ones were opened at the plant. This quarter their savings totaled 315,000 rubles.

I am looking at the "Comprehensive Plan for Technical Progress, Scientific Organization of Labor, Production, Management, and Social Development of the Plant for 1977." Its some 200 pages include hundreds of various measures. Every turbine motor builder knows perfectly the way this plan was drafted, for he himself participated in its elaboration and discussion. Many workers could find here their own suggestions, including suggestions already acted upon.

The comprehensive plan has a major section entitled "Upgrading the Material Prosperity of the Plant's Working People." Our enterprise works well and is systematically fulfilling the state plan and socialist pledges. The state Emblem of Quality has been awarded to 21 commodities. All this enables us to acquire substantial funds which are used for bonuses to production workers and for sociocultural measures. The comprehensive plan stipulates the following: "To withhold for the material incentive fund 4,315,000 rubles; to allocate monetary funds from the sociocultural measures fund of the plant and from social security for purchasing cards for rest homes, sanatoriums, boarding houses, and tourist bases, worth 200,000 rubles; to allocate 190,000 rubles for the improved nutrition of the working people; to use 32,000 rubles of the sociocultural measures funds and 38,000 rubles from the trade union committee's funds for the purchasing of sports inventory and technical and fiction works. All these amounts, kopek after kopek and, frequently, more than the amount planned, are used in accordance with the comprehensive plan. This is strictly controlled by both the administration and the trade union committee. Hundreds of thousands of rubles are spent on bonuses to leading production workers in accordance with the association's bonus regulations. Each of them was thoroughly studied by the trade union committee and cleared with it, and made effective only over the signature of the trade union committee chairman.

The association's collective achieved noteworthy successes in upgrading production effectiveness and quality. Working and living conditions are improving and the level of prosperity of the working people is rising with every passing year. We were able to achieve such results only thanks to the extensive development of the socialist competition and of the most widespread and effective form of participation of the working people in the management of public production. The task now is to improve further the organization of the competition. Many elements of formalism in the

implementation of the publicity and comparability principles remain unsurmounted. Competitiveness must be increased, as there are still frequent cases in which, as we say in our plant, production workers are competing not against others but against their own obligations. We have concluded contracts on creative cooperation with a number of scientific research and planning-design organizations. Unfortunately, not all of them are being implemented fully and promptly. Yet, this has an adverse effect on the utilization of the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress in production. Control over the implementation of reciprocal obligations must be strengthened and closer cooperation organized with a view to upgrading the responsibility of both scientific and production collectives for the implementation of such contracts.

In a word, a great deal of work remains to be done in this field and we must always remember that it is of tremendous governmental importance. The management of the socialist economy is based on the principle of combining centralized management with the economic autonomy and initiative of enterprises and associations. Involving the working people in production management mobilizes all their inexhaustible constructive energy for achieving the supreme objective of the Soviet state--the building of a classless communist society.

5003

CSO: 1802

PROVIDING ALL CONDITIONS FOR THE USE OF CREATIVITY RESOURCES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 77 pp 61-63

[Article by P. Oshchepkov, honored man of science and technology of the RSFSR, honored RSFSR inventor, professor, and doctor of technical sciences]

[Text] The draft of the new USSR Constitution--a document of tremendous historical importance--reflects the substantial changes which have taken place in the past decades in all realms of social life. A single powerful national economic organism has been developed and is successfully operating in a country totally dominated by the socialist ownership of capital goods. Its development is based on the combination of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of mature socialism.

Yet, it may sound like a joke but at the time of the birth of the new socioeconomic system, during the revolutionary year of 1917, the peoples of Russia were essentially illiterate or semi-illiterate. The Great October Revolution changed everything radically in the country and our homeland is approaching its 60th anniversary full of creative forces, with rapidly growing economic, technical, and scientific possibilities, demonstrating just about daily outstanding successes in all realms of constructive and creative activities. The country has universal secondary education. In 1977 about 2 million people graduated from higher and secondary specialized schools. Today even our enemies are unable to deny the fact that this is one of the greatest accomplishments of socialism.

If we speak of scientific and technical creativity (which to me is most familiar) we should name a number of radical changes in the conditions of its implementation to be able to realize to the fullest extent the tremendous significance of a number of essential stipulations in the draft of the USSR Constitution. These changes are the following:

The front of scientific research and experimental design developments has become so broad presently that in terms of the amount of involved resources it has become factually comparable with the national economic sectors;

The further development of the country's economy and culture is becoming ever more dependent on the scales and level of scientific development;

The number of simultaneously resolved scientific and technical problems has greatly increased and is continuing to expand geometrically, for each resolved problem entails the formulation of a number of new ones while the success achieved in this connection is extended partially or totally to other, occasionally totally unrelated, areas of new developments;

New opportunities have appeared for obtaining simultaneously a large number of solution variants for any technical problem by combining already known various elements, assemblies, parts, and structures;

Extensive possibilities developed for the use of new achievements in the study of natural phenomena and laws simultaneously in different scientific and technical areas (a vivid example in this respect are isotopes, radio-electronic items, polymers, semiconductors, and many others);

A trend toward consolidating production scales has become clearly apparent (today a number of industrial machine units and systems have reached such dimensions as to make them comparable with entire plants built not so long ago in terms of capacity and productivity);

The steadily developing process of consolidation of technical projects and engineering systems leads now to the concentration of tremendous material facilities and engineering and technical thinking on the implementation of a single objective (nuclear reactors, air liners, main pipelines, power centers, and many others);

The number of specialists engaged in scientific and technical creative work is now in the millions and is continuing to grow;

The volume of information needed for creative work, and the volume of scientific and technical data coming daily from various sources has reached such a size that their rational absorption is possible only with the help of special information and reference services;

Different developers organically combine a number of individual and collective priority projects which are frequently even not directly related to the creation of a given installation or system; a modern complex project (any major technical system, for example), naturally, becomes the combination of a number of discoveries and inventions;

The exceptional increase in the number of interrelated elements within a single project under construction, the quality and reliability of any one of which frequently determine the performance of the entire respective installation or machine unit; the increased dynamic load carried by individual assemblies and parts and the high speeds of development of a number of production processes determine the need for work on problems such as technical diagnosis;

An increase in the role of new disciplines such as introscopy, introholography, and others, combined with the extensive use of computers, in resolving various problems of technical diagnosis.

Basically, the conditions prevailing in our country for the use of the possibilities related to such changes are favorable. Article 26 of the draft of the new USSR Constitution clearly states on this subject that "In accordance with the needs of society the state insures the planned development of science and the training of scientific cadres and organizes the utilization of the results of scientific research in the national economy and in other realms of life."

The supreme objective of social production under socialism, as Article 14 of the draft of the constitution states, is the fullest possible satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual needs of the Soviet person. "Relying on the creative activeness of the working people, socialist competition, and the achievements of scientific and technical progress the state insures the growth of labor productivity, increased production effectiveness and work quality, and the dynamic and proportional development of the national economy."

Our creative associations of the scientific and engineering and technical public, and our inventors and rationalizers must, in turn, comprehensively contribute to this progress. They represent a great force. The sources of creativity everywhere stem from the thick of the people's masses and, as V. I. Lenin wrote, "The live creativity of the masses is the basic factor of the new society" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 35, p 57).

To us, scientific workers and inventors, Article 47 of the draft of the constitution is of particular interest. It stipulates the following:

"In accordance with the objectives of the building of communism the citizens of the USSR are guaranteed freedom of scientific, technical, and artistic creativity. It is insured through the extensive development of scientific research, invention and rationalization activities, and the development of the arts. The state provides the necessary material conditions to this effect and supports voluntary societies and creative associations.

"The rights of authors, inventors, and rationalizers are protected by the law."

This article is of exceptional importance to the further and even more effective development of creative work in these areas in our country. However, it would have been fully justified and substantiated to amend the final line as follows: "The rights of authors of scientific discoveries, technical inventions and rationalization suggestions, and original works in the fields of literature and the arts are protected by the law."

This would be essentially true and logical, for our country was the first in the world to introduce since 1947 the system of the state registration of discoveries and to protect the right of authors in the fields of the natural and technical sciences.

As we know, on 14 July 1967 a convention was adopted at the Stockholm diplomatic conference on intellectual ownership at which scientific discoveries were included as a separate legal object along with the copyright of authors of works of literature and the arts, and the rights of inventors. This convention was ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet on 19 September 1968.

With its decree No 584 of 21 August 1973 the USSR Council of Ministers ratified a legislative regulation on discoveries, inventions, and rationalization suggestions which particularly singled out the legal norms governing discovery authorship (see Sec II of the regulation). Section I of the regulation (par 2) reads as follows: "The right to discoveries, inventions, and rationalization suggestions is protected by the state..."

Bearing in mind the tremendous role of fundamental discoveries on the basis of which new trends in technology, pioneering inventions, and improvements are created, the suggested text of Article 47 of the draft would contribute to the further development of creative initiative in the broad circles of the scientific and technical public in our country.

5003

CSO: 1802

SOURCE OF INNOVATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 77 pp 63-67

[Article by G. Sergeyev, hero of socialist labor, honored RSFSR rationalizer, fitter at the motors electrical equipment plant, Kaluga]

[Text] The plant where I work numbers hundreds of rationalizers and inventors--practically 1 out of 12 working people. These are people engaged in creative research, tirelessly fighting for scientific and technical progress, and for upgrading production economic effectiveness. Their activities greatly change the nature of labor and give it a new creative content.

My comrades-rationalizers and I were pleased with the attention which the draft of the new USSR Constitution pays to the technical creativity of the working people. Article 47 of the draft speaks of the freedom of technical creativity, guaranteed to the citizens of the USSR in accordance with the objectives of the building of communism, supported by the extensive development of invention and rationalization activities and the creation of the necessary material conditions. This is a convincing proof of the tremendous economic and social significance of the technical creativity of the working people at the present stage in the development of our society.

The building of the material and technical base of communism is directly linked with the development of the scientific and technical revolution. We must recall that its success and its beneficial impact on the economy and on all aspects of social life cannot be insured through the efforts of the scientific workers alone. "Involving in this process of historical significance all participants in public production and all units within the economic mechanism," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, at the 25th congress, "is assuming an ever greater role."

The contribution made by the working people of our country to the acceleration of technical progress is increasing with every passing year thanks to the tremendous scale of the socialist competition for effectiveness and quality in which the mass movement of rationalizers and inventors

plays an important role. The All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers, which rallies them, numbers about 9 million members. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan the economic effect of the application of rationalization suggestions and inventions was about 20 billion rubles. This figure provides a clear idea of the contribution which production innovators make to the development of the national economy.

However, this does not limit the results of technical creativity which is no less important in terms of social developments.

The draft of the fundamental law stipulating the task of our state in the field of the building of communism states: "The state shall be concerned with improving labor conditions and reducing and, subsequently, totally eliminating heavy manual labor on the basis of complex production mechanization and automation."

Hundreds of thousands of inventors and rationalizers have undertaken the solution of this important problem at the country's industrial enterprises, sovkhozes, and kolkhozes, and in construction and transportation. Thanks to the fact that they are well familiar with the practical conditions of the production process and are aware of its bottlenecks, their initiative frequently substantially contributes to the work of scientific research institutes and design bureaus (and, sometimes, fills its gaps).

The elimination of manual operations changes the nature of the work. Managing modern, highly productive, and complex equipment requires more than a knowledge of the sequence in which buttons are to be pressed. In order for such equipment to yield high economic returns one must study thoroughly, improve its work program, and determine its optimal work systems. All this demands of the worker knowledge and initiative.

However, the creative content of labor is intensified and labor itself becomes ever more interesting and attractive whenever the worker assigns himself the more complex objective of improving the equipment. Such an approach to the work offers infinite possibilities. It is precisely this approach that is characteristic of today. This is clearly confirmed by the mass nature of the rationalization and invention movement.

The freedom of technical, scientific, and artistic creativity guaranteed by our socialist system is a necessary prerequisite for the comprehensive development of the individual and the molding of the new man. The ever greater saturation of labor with a creative content is of tremendous social significance. Thanks to this labor is becoming a prime vital need.

The working people are offered all opportunities to insure the further development of technical creativity. The cultural-educational and vocational-technical standards of the working people are rising steadily. The state is concerned with creating conditions for the fruitful activities of production innovators.

As in many other enterprises, our plant pays particular attention to the work of rationalizers and inventors. It is based on a plan. The content of individual creative plans drawn up by workers and engineering and technical personnel is closely linked with the most topical problems of production development. Problems of the competition among rationalizers, on the implementation of their obligations, and on organizing the help they require are considered at workers' meetings, and party committee and plant committee sessions.

Ten years ago a creative laboratory was set up at the plant and I was asked to head it. Within that time we created a semiautomatic machine for coiling the armatures of electric motors used in the manufacturing of power equipment for the VAZ [Venyukovskiy Fittings Plant], an automatic machine for the winding of series bobbins of current-and-voltage regulators, which was awarded the gold medal of the Exhibit of Achievements of the National Economy, an automatic machine for cutting and trimming of ends of electrical insulation wire, an assembly line for the manufacturing of motorcycle tumbler switch panels, and other prototypes of highly productive equipment. All this made it possible to increase labor productivity two to three times and achieve substantial results. The main result which we were able to achieve thanks to the creation of the laboratory was the sharp reduction in the time needed for the practical application of technical innovations. The distance from a technical idea to an industrial prototype was reduced maximally, for the latter is manufactured directly "from the paper," i.e., immediately after the elaboration of the technical project, bypassing the intermediary blueprint stage, and the long travel from one office to another. The industrial prototype of the automatic machine for winding the armature of an electric motor with an odd number of slots and with terminals based on the number of sections was developed 6 months after the technical assignment was received. Yet, 6 months is a very short time for developing such a machine tool. For many years it had been impossible to mechanize the manual operations it eliminated. I believe that the practical experience of our laboratory could be used by other enterprises as well.

Let us particularly emphasize here the significance of creative association in resolving various production problems. One could hardly exaggerate the influence which close contacts among workers, scientific research institutes, and industrial enterprises have on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. Such contacts reciprocally enrich theory and practice, and contribute to strengthening ties between science and production, and to the birth of new technical ideas and their fastest possible implementation. Our plant maintains creative relations with many scientific research and design organizations and, above all, with the sectorial scientific-research institute (NIIavtopribor). A great percentage of the developments which include rationalization suggestions and inventions by plant innovators is implemented in cooperation with the institute. With the participation of the institute's personnel a new circuit for tension regulator was developed for KamAZ-manufactured motor vehicles, as well as

other technical innovations. We receive extensive practical assistance from the personnel of the sectorial institute along with scientific and technical information. This enables us to determine the promising directions to be followed in our technical field and focus our efforts on them.

Let us mention yet another area in which creative cooperation is developing successfully: agriculture. In recent years a great deal has changed here. Technical facilities available to kolkhozes and sovkhozes have increased. The level of agricultural mechanization has risen. Today kolkhozes owning more tractors, combines, and other agricultural equipment than even big machine tractor stations had are no exception. Our plant sponsors 13 kolkhozes in Meshchovskiy Rayon, Kaluzhskaya Oblast. We participated in building fodder shops in them with the necessary equipment. In cooperation with other plants we are manufacturing potato-harvesting combines, and so on. Here the plant's rationalizers have found a new field of work. They have created appliances facilitating the work of kolkhoz members, developed new mechanisms, and improved some types of equipment. Rural rationalizers were given the necessary assistance as well.

Thinking of the profound processes reflected in these and many other facts of life in our enterprise, one can imagine, once again, the tremendous social significance of the technical creativity of the working people. Surmounting disparities between mental and physical labor and between town and country, and converting agricultural labor into a variety of industrial labor are all processes occurring in the mature socialist society, enriching the content of labor. At the same time, they are accelerated under the influence of the growing activeness of the working people.

Taking into consideration the tremendous importance of technical creativity we must involve in it new detachments of working people and insure the high effectiveness of the results of the creative activities of production workers. Thousands of collectives and tens of millions of working people have actively joined the struggle for effectiveness and quality and for the fulfillment of the 10th Five-Year Plan. Particular attention must be paid in the socialist pledges of all participants in the competition and in the counterplans of enterprises to the elaboration of rationalization suggestions, raising labor productivity, and improving the quality of output on the basis of equipment and technological improvements. The possibilities available here are truly infinite and the attention of every participant in the competition must be focused on their utilization.

The activity of rationalizers and inventors is particularly fruitful when it is based on the creative cooperation between scientific and production workers. However, we should not forget another aspect of the socialist competition--competitiveness. Scientific research and planning and design organizations must sponsor more frequently open contests on topics developed by their collectives. Practical experience has indicated that such competitions offer many valuable technical ideas and offer the possibility to select the best among the many solution variants. Above all, they draw to the elaboration of major problems of scientific and technical progress a larger number of production workers--rationalizers and inventors.

I have visited a number of enterprises and studied the work of innovators. They are doing a great deal of useful things for the production process. Frequently, however, the results of their work are applied too slowly. There have been many cases in which the number of unused rationalization suggestions, "transferred" to the subsequent year, grows and piles up. Not to mention the economic damage, such a practice causes serious moral harm. The desire to engage in the development of technical innovations, occasionally requiring great outlays of time and effort, disappears if no results are visible.

Clearly, from this viewpoint the system of planning and economic incentive needs further improvements. Above all, we must insure a more accurate assessment of the economic results of rationalization suggestions and inventions which must be included in the plan of the shop and the entire enterprise. Currently some economic managers try to develop a certain reserve without indicating in full the labor productivity which may be reached as a result of the application of developments created by innovators. The material incentive of the collectives of shops and enterprises must be made more dependent than it is now on the overall economic results obtained on the basis of technological improvements. Finally, the plan for the growth of labor productivity must be based not on the level reached but on a certain anticipation. Such measures would not only accelerate the implementation of rationalization suggestions but would increase the interest of the enterprises in the more extensive development of technical creativity and in involving in it all participants in the production process.

The USSR Constitution, whose draft is being currently discussed by the entire nation and which has been fully approved, must become, as pointed out by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the core of the code of laws of the Soviet state currently being drafted. Obviously, the code of laws will also include legislation on the activities of rationalizers and inventors. Developing the constitutional stipulations, the code should stipulate measures contributing to the further growth of mass technical creativity and the accelerated utilization of valuable rationalization suggestions and inventions.

In our country technical creativity has long stopped being the occupation of individuals. It involves the active participation of millions of people. Nevertheless, I am deeply convinced that their number could be increased manyfold and that every worker, engineer, and employee could engage in technical creativity. One should not think that this mandatorily requires specialized training or any kind of rare ability. What is needed here is to surmount a certain psychological barrier. Modern equipment is quite complex. Frequently, several collectives of scientists, designers, and planners participate in the development of a machine tool, a machine, or a machine unit. One would think that maximal efforts have been made to achieve the best possible results. However, we should bear in mind that so far mankind has not created a single machine which was

not subsequently improved or with which the development of technical thinking stopped, having reached its limit. Working for a while with new equipment, the production workers have the possibility not only to be the first to assess its positive aspects but to determine its faults. This enables them, uniting their efforts, to eliminate shortcomings by improving on the design further and, sometimes, to create a new design. Particularly great opportunities exist in the field of replacing manual labor. My experience and that of my comrades have convinced me that many rather complex problems of mechanization and automation have the simplest solutions. However, in order to find them one must search.

Particular attention should be paid to the young generation of the working class. Graduates of vocational-technical schools, yesterday's 10th grade students who are now engaged in production work are greatly interested in technology. They try to learn more so that they themselves could make a contribution to its development. This attraction for everything new and desire for creative research must be thoroughly encouraged by involving the young people in the rationalization and invention movement. Tutors could play a major role in involving the young workers in technical creativity. At the same time, a taste for such work must be developed since childhood in the general educational schools. This would require a change in the type of work classes, more frequent competitions, and more extensive participation of production innovators in education work in the schools. Considering the significance which technical creativity has acquired among the working people today neither effort nor time should be spared for such work.

5003

CSO: 1802

KOLKHOZ FAMILY BUDGET

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 77 pp 67-70

[Article by A. Polozova, beet grower at the Rossiya Kolkhoz, Mokhovatka, Ramonskiy Rayon, Voronezhskaya Oblast]

[Text] When the draft of the new constitution was being discussed in our brigade and, subsequently, at a general meeting, all of us were thinking of the future of our homeland. The present gives us confidence in the future. Our people had to invest a tremendous amount of work for this previously backward country to reach its present economic power. Its wealth--plants, electric power stations, mines, blast furnaces, machines, tractors, and combines--was created by the working people of town and country. The main thing is that all such resources work for their owners--the Soviet people--and are used by them to upgrade the prosperity of the Soviet people. This is what free labor precisely is--labor without exploiters, labor for oneself.

Our family lives in Mokhovatka village (Ramonskiy Rayon, Voronezhskaya Oblast), in the Rossiya Kolkhoz. I have spent almost my entire conscious life working in the kolkhoz fields. I know how highly labor is valued in our society and I am proud of contributing all I can to the common cause.

Twelve years ago, on the request of the oblast statistical administration, I began to record the family budget. Every month I enter in detail data on our monetary income and expenditures, use of products, private auxiliary farm, and many others. Within these 12 years the family's income rose steadily. Wages increased and the payments and benefits from the social consumption funds to the families increased. However, even without a comparison among such budget data one could see how much better and more secure our lives have become. Let us recall what we began with in the first postwar years. Many settlements and villages had been burned to the ground and half the men did not come back from the war. Neither tractors nor farm equipment had been left in our kolkhoz.

It was not easy to rebuild the public farm and to settle again. Initially kolkhoz income was low, coming essentially from the auxiliary plots. With every passing year the state helped us with money, equipment, construction materials, and seeds. Thanks to this aid the kolkhoz gained strength and the kolkhoz family became well-to-do. Our eldest son Nikolay still remembers the old hut. The youngest--Sasha--was born in 1961, after we had already built a new house of bricks and a steel roof. We built a four-room house thinking of raising a large family. Unquestionably, without the help of the kolkhoz we would not have succeeded. We were allocated materials and transportation facilities. A new life began inside the new walls. It was precisely during those years in which I kept records that the greatest possible changes occurred in the family's living standard.

In 1965, as presently, our family consisted of six members: father- and mother-in-law, both of retirement age, my husband and I, and two sons. My husband was a tractor driver while I grew beets. My husband's annual earnings were 775 rubles while I earned 400 rubles. Together with the income from the private plot (576 rubles) and the pensions, our total income was 1,980 rubles. I had no complaint: everything that a home should have was there, everyone had his daily and Sunday clothes, and there was never a shortage of milk, butter, meat, and sugar. Yet, had someone told me then how the family would live 12 years later I would have probably not believed him.

The party and government decisions, the March 1965 CPSU Central Committee Plenum above all, contributed to the fast upsurge of agriculture. The rural working people began to be supplied with an ever greater number of machines and mechanisms, and chemical fertilizers. The kolkhoz members became more interested in increasing yields per hectare. Today, like the workers, we have a monthly guaranteed wage. Thanks to the growth of social production effectiveness kolkhoz and kolkhoz member income began to increase rapidly. In 1970 our income already rose to 3,199 rubles, i.e., it was 50 percent higher than in 1965. Our joint earnings--mine and my husband's--exceeded 1,937 rubles per year. My husband was awarded bonuses on a number of occasions for conscientious work. In addition to fixed wages, the kolkhoz gave us, field workers, additional payments for the overfulfillment of norms and for harvesting a good crop. The auxiliary farm provided over 1,000 rubles and we sold surplus meat, milk, and vegetables. The family's expenditures increased as well. We spent 1,096 rubles for food. Compared with previous years we bought greater quantities of meat, sausages, ham, sugar (being a beet grower I buy sugar from the kolkhoz at 38 kopeks per kg), pastry, candy, cakes, vegetal oil, herring, and canned goods. The other products--vegetables, fruits, milk, eggs, butter, and a considerable amount of meat--came from the auxiliary farm. Still in 1970 we spent 769 rubles in clothing, fabrics, and shoes. Newspaper subscriptions cost 22 rubles. We purchased some furniture and household items for 224 rubles. At that time we purchased a television set as well.

In 1976 four out of six family members were working: Sasha was still attending school, the in-laws were receiving their pensions, and our senior son Nikolay who had finished school became a driver. Together with his wife Tanya, a graduate of the agricultural technical school, he worked at the kolkhoz. Our joint income in the past 3 years has averaged 5,219 rubles per year--2,000 rubles more than in 1970. Expenditures rose accordingly. In 1976 we spent twice as much on food as in 1965.

Last year we made more purchases of clothing, shoes, and furniture. We bought a washing machine. By then we already had a tape recorder and a refrigerator, while the boys had bicycles. All in all, in 1976 we spent 2,344 rubles on durable goods (compared with 855 in 1965). We installed steam heat and cooked on a gas range.

I have not included here all family income and expenditures. Taking everything into consideration how could one fail to see how much the state and the kolkhoz have contributed? My husband's parents received a pension. The children attended school free of charge, all this paid by the state. My son's wife attended an agricultural technical school. Every month the kolkhoz gave her a 15 percent addition to her government scholarship. Following the birth of a child Tanya was given paid leave by the state. My granddaughter will soon be 1 year old and will go to the nursery. By decision of the kolkhoz board we shall pay no more than 12 rubles per month. In one year we shall pay 144 rubles. Yet, since the cost per child in the nursery is 443 rubles per year the kolkhoz pays the 299 other rubles out of its own funds. When our elder son was attending a course in Voronezh the kolkhoz gave him a scholarship of 60 rubles per month.

Let us take the private plots as another example. We work them using kolkhoz equipment. In spring the kolkhoz plows, harrows, and brings the seeds. In the autumn it harvests the potatoes. This costs us no more than 7 to 8 rubles. Yet, what time and efforts we save. The kolkhoz sells those who raise cattle hay and straw at cost. This is five or even eight times cheaper than buying fodder on the free market. During agricultural campaigns the kolkhoz members do not eat at home. They receive hot meals directly in the field. A three-dish meal costs us 35 kopeks while the balance of 40 or even 50 kopeks is paid by the kolkhoz. All this means personal savings of funds and time, and, therefore, additional income.

Rural trade has expanded in recent years. We benefit from various communal services as well. The kolkhoz's central homestead (2 km away from our Mokhovatka--Novozhivotinnoye) has a consumer service house where one could have clothing and shoes made. It has a reception center for dry cleaning and various repair workshops. This is quite convenient avoiding many trips to the rayon center or to Voronezh.

At this point, calculating the overall income of the family, we shall see that in 12 years it has nearly tripled. Understandably, such an income increase has substantially changed the living standard of the family. Its

prosperity has increased greatly. Urban residents frequently visit the village, and my fellowvillagers constantly visit their relatives and friends in the city. It could be said that differences in town and country living conditions have become less noticeable than they were 10 to 12 years ago. Yet, the city itself did not stagnate and within that time the living standards of workers and employees rose considerably. This means that the living standard of the rural working people became closer to that of the city residents as a result of the faster growth of the prosperity of the rural population even though the prosperity of all working people increased.

Article 22 of the draft of the constitution states: "The USSR is systematically implementing a program of converting agricultural labor into a variety of industrial labor, expanding in the rural areas the network of public education, culture, health care, consumer services, trade, and communal economy networks, and transforming villages and hamlets into comfortable settlements."

We, the rural workers, see the way this program elaborated by our party is being implemented. For this reason we totally approve and support it.

Higher labor productivity is the source of increased income both for the kolkhoz and the kolkhoz members. Already now most of our operations have been mechanized. The kolkhoz has many tractors and other agricultural equipment. A new cattle-feeding complex is under construction which means that animal husbandry is being converted to an industrial base. True, crop growing is still behind. Beet growing involves a great deal of manual labor and labor productivity is rising slowly. Let us remind once again the scientists, designers, and chemists that the chopper we are still using should long have been relegated to a museum.

Next year our second son will graduate from the 10th grade. My husband and I do not even want to consider the fact that he may leave his native village and go somewhere and then come home a specialist. Aleksandr himself does not consider it. Today the kolkhoz offers the young people all possibilities for creative work no less interesting than in the laboratories of research institutes and shops of industrial enterprises.

5003

CSO: 1802

BUDGET OF A WORKER'S FAMILY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 77 pp 70-73

[Article by A. Agafonova, carder at the Glukhov cotton fabrics combine, Noginsk]

[Text] Thanks to the implementation of the Communist Party's policy and the steady upsurge of the socialist economy, the living standard of the people in our country is improving with every passing year. Real family income and prosperity are growing. The draft of the constitution states that the socialist system insures increased rights and freedoms and the steady improvement of citizens' living conditions with the implementation of the programs for socioeconomic and cultural development. The accuracy of these words is confirmed by our entire life. The social and economic rights we possess have saved the working people forever from exploitation, poverty, unemployment, worry for tomorrow's piece of bread, and work merely for the sake of surviving. These rights protect human dignity and insure freedom and equality. They give anyone who works the possibility to benefit from the results of his work. This is the greatest gain of socialism.

Universal concern for the prosperity of the individual and the concern of the individual for the prosperity of all is a law of life in our society.

I have felt this concern throughout my life. It was particularly precious in the hard times I experienced. There were many such times. I lost my mother early in life. Father and brother did not come back from the Patriotic War. We were four in the family when I, at the age of 12, became the eldest. The state and the Soviet people became concerned with all of us. I do not know what our lives would have been without such aid and concern. We grew up, studied, acquired skills, found work, and raised families. Now we in turn have adult children and grandchildren. We are well-to-do, we work, and we are pleased with our work.

I remember other difficult times. My husband died in 1958 and I was left alone with two small children. We were not abandoned. We were given then a good room, closer to the combine, and the children were sent to

kindergarten. Fellow workers visited us frequently, and helped with housework. For several consecutive years the factory committee gave us material assistance. I did not apply for it but was told that this was the rule. Should I mention how important such comradely involvement and support were to me? Time passed. My son finished secondary school and my daughter finished a technical school. All that time I worked at the combine as a carder and reached the highest grade. I tried to devote all my efforts to the work. As a winner in the socialist competition I was awarded the order of Lenin. I have participated in social work: for 20 years I was sector trade union organizer; I was factory committee member for 3 years and city soviet deputy 3 times.

Naturally, as a mother I am proud of having raised and educated my children and, as a worker, of the high assessment of my work. The reason I remember this is because of the feeling of gratitude I experience reading the articles in the draft of the constitution discussing social and economic rights. In my view they express the concern of society for each one of us. It is a concern for the life and health of the person and his prosperity, and for filling his life with work and exposing him to creativity, knowledge, and culture.

Concern for the people reflects the essence of social relations in mature socialism. Man with his needs and interests has always been and remains the center of attention of the policy of the Communist Party and Soviet state. With every passing year an ever greater volume of consumer goods is being produced in the country. Housing construction, and the network of hospitals and higher educational institutions is expanding. The number of medical institutions, hospitals, movie theaters, and others is rising. Consequently, with every passing year the needs of the working people are being satisfied ever more fully and their rights are exercised more completely. Concern with man is displayed everywhere. Let me refer to my personal experience. What did I and the other city soviet deputies do? We resolved problems of building schools and housing, development of public health and urban amenities, improving the work of the trade network and consumer services, and many others. We dealt with the daily affairs of the city determining the level of prosperity of its citizens and their possibility to exercise ever more fully their social and economic rights. The work of the factory's trade union organization is yet another example. Whatever the factory committee may be discussing in terms of improving housing conditions, allocation of cards for sanatoriums and rest homes, or the fulfillment of labor safety and protection plans, or else the organization of youth leisure time, all of us know that all this is being done for the good of man.

I shall use my family as an example of the way the social and economic rights entered in the constitution influence the living standard. For the past several years, month after month, I have kept records of our income and expenditures using a special form which I shall consult.

We are four in our family. Three are employed: I am a carder at the Glukhov textile combine; my daughter is an economist while my son-in-law is an equipment engineer. We live in a two-room apartment (43 square meters) with all amenities. From 1965 to 1976 inclusive the family's annual income rose from 3,054 rubles to 5,272 rubles or, per family member, from 1,018 to 1,318 rubles per year. In 1965 my son and I worked while my daughter attended school.

Wages are our main source of income. In 11 years they rose from 2,253 rubles earned by the family in 1965 to 5,128 rubles in 1976. My annual earnings rose from 1,053 to 2,131 rubles, i.e., they doubled. What is the reason for this growth? First, I was given a substantial supplement as a result of increased wage rates. Second, I upgraded my skill as a carder and was given a higher grade. Third, my earnings and those of my fellow workers, based on the quantity and quality of output, rose as a result of our use of new machines. Previously our shop produced 8 to 9 tons of roving per shift operating 141 Platt machines. Today we are producing 11.5 tons with the help of 37 R-192-3 machines produced by the Tashkent Textile Machine-Building Plant. I operate two of them and my output has more than doubled while its quality has improved considerably.

Every year our state allocates huge funds for the development of public education, health care, pensions, scholarships, and others. These funds substantially increase the income of all families, the more so since income from social consumption funds comes in a great variety of forms. Let me list those we have been able to compute in drafting our budget. Payments and benefits received from the state for our housing, cards to rest homes, Pioneer camps, and tourist trips, paid leave to my daughter to take care of her child, sick leave, free education in school and technical school, and scholarships. Such a list could be extended. All in all, in 11 years income from social consumption funds has totaled about 10,000 rubles. This amount should be considered minimal since we have been unable to determine a great deal of other benefits.

Let us now talk of expenditures--the other part of the family budget. My daughter and I reached the following estimates of our expenses: from 1965 to 1976 out of a total income of 52,522 rubles we spent 19,644 rubles on food (37.4 percent); 15,887 rubles (30.2 percent) were spent on durable and household goods; 1,300 rubles were spent on rent (2.5 percent), while over 10 percent--5,691 rubles--went on additional payments for cards and trips to rest homes, rallying centers for tourist trips, and the cost of movies, theaters, books, and subscription and purchase of newspapers and journals.

All that time state retail prices of basic commodities remained stable. The production of consumer goods rose considerably. Their variety has increased and their quality has improved. This means that the real population income grew and that the living standard of the families, including ours, rose. The people began to live better.

In 1976 our family spent 60 percent more on food than in 1965. We eat better: to begin with, variety improved, including today over 50 different types of foodstuffs; second, we have begun to consume more meat, milk, and dairy products, fish, vegetables, and fruits. Today, for example, in 1 month we buy 3 to 4 kg more meat than in 1965.

In recent years we have spent more on durable goods. In 1976 we purchased such goods for a total of 2,069 rubles. We have renovated almost all of our furniture, purchasing convenient and modern pieces instead of the old cumbersome ones. We bought a sideboard, a sofa, a table, chairs, a three-leaved mirror, kitchen equipment, and others. The apartment has become more spacious and cozy. The major purchases included a refrigerator, a television, and a radio. Compared with 1965 we spent 2.5 times more money on books, records, newspapers, and journals. We have a library of about 200 volumes--sociopolitical literature, the collected works of L'v Tolstoy, Saltykov-Shchedrin, Chekhov, Kuprin, Mayakovskiy, and Sholokhov, and other books. Thanks to greater household amenities, housework is taking less time. As a result every member of the family has more free time used for self-education, reading, sports, and others. For example, today I pay more attention to my two grandchildren.

In the family we try to follow the following rule: Buy not what we want but what we need. Therefore, our budget is not in the red. In other words, debts and expenditures are fully compensated by income. Yet, were we able to observe the rule? Recently, going through my closet, I saw that there was no need to buy some types of clothing. This is not to say that we must reduce to a minimum the satisfaction of our needs. On the contrary, I think that they must be satisfied to the fullest, naturally, speaking of sensible needs.

Everyone is familiar with our negative attitude toward philistinism and the cult of objects. Unfortunately, there are still individuals who focus mainly on their own material prosperity and who try to take for themselves more and give society less. Everything begins with small things: people begin to like objects more than such objects deserve. In order to struggle against this, along with raising the young people in a communist attitude toward labor, we must develop in them good taste and a feeling of measure. We must develop in the young people intolerance toward all forms of manifestation of philistinism, spiritual callousness, and money grubbing. There will be an abundance of material goods under communism, used, as V. I. Lenin predicted, for the satisfaction of the sensible needs of every member of society and for the all-round development of the individual.

5003

CSO: 1802

STATISTICAL REFERENCE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 77 pp 73-77

[Unattributed report]

[Text] The USSR Central Statistical Administration conducts systematic budget studies. The information received is used in planning the development of the country's national economy and the elaboration of measures aimed at upgrading the population's living standard. Only one feature distinguishes the budgets of two families--that of kolkhoz member A. I. Polozova, a resident of Mokhovatka Village, Voronezhskaya Oblast, and A. I. Agafonova, worker at the Glukhovsk cotton fabrics combine in Noginsk compared with the tens of thousands of family budgets studied. At the turn of the century Zemstvo statistical studies were made in these areas. The data then obtained on the living standard of families of workers and peasants in prerevolutionary Russia were published at the time (see A. I. Shingarev, "Vymirayushchaya Derevnnya. Opyt Sanitarno-Ekonomicheskogo Issledovaniya Dvukh Seleniy Voronezhskogo Uyezda" [The Dying Out Countryside. An Attempt at a Medical-Economic Study of Two Settlements in Voronezhskiy Uyezd], second edition, St. Petersburg, 1907; I. M. Shaposhnikov, "Byudzheth Rabochikh Odnoy iz Fabrik Bogorodskogo Uyezda v Svyazi s Pitaniyem i Zabolevyemost'yu" [Budget of Factory Workers in Bogorodskiy Uyezd in Connection with Nutrition and Morbidity], Moscow, 1910). Following are some facts taken from these publications and from materials of the USSR Central Statistical Administration.

In 1900 the living standard of the peasants of Novozhivotinnoye and Mokhovatka was characterized, as writes A. Shingarev, by poverty, impoverishment, and severe need. Following their emancipation, the residents of both villages were given the so-called poverty allotment: a total of 320 desyatins of poor sandy soil for 395 people. At the time of the study per capita land ownership was 0.8 and, including arable land, 0.14 desyatins. Many were forced to lease land from the land owners. The peasant families used primitive tools; 38.4 percent of the farmsteads had no horses; 45 percent had no cows, 24.2 percent had no cattle, while 13.3 percent had no livestock whatever. The average yields per peasant family (three-four people) per year were 5 to 15 poods of rye and 3-10 poods of millet. The already miserable income of most peasants was eaten up by numerous taxes and high land lease payments.

The peasant's nutrition was distinguished by its extreme poverty and monotony. Grain products predominated. In 1900 out of 161 surveyed families 77 consumed no sugar whatever; 48 consumed beef, 40 consumed mutton, 88 consumed pork, 123 consumed lard, 78 consumed bacon, 59 consumed milk, and 74 consumed cow butter. The average daily consumption of foodstuffs did not exceed 2,250 calories per person. This was a case of chronic malnutrition.

In both settlements the peasants lived in small huts covered with straw with a dirt floor and a big stove which covered one-fourth of the premise. There were almost no furniture and utensils. Sacking, clothes, and straw were used as bedding. Clothing and shoes consisted of homemade shirts, sarafan, armiak, and bast sandals.

Before the revolution not one person in the two settlements had higher or secondary education and only 9 percent of the population was literate. Systematic malnutrition and unsanitary conditions were the reasons for widespread communicable diseases--tuberculosis, trachoma, typhoid fever, scab, and others. Many years the mortality rate in these villages was higher than the birth rate. Infant mortality was particularly high. "Wherever in 5 out of 10 years the mortality rate exceeds the birth rate and wherever only 3 out of 1,000 people reach adult age only one step separates life from death," A. Shingarev concluded. Seven years later he wrote the following in the preface to the second edition of his book: "Today, as before, the population remains at the final stage...following which its steady withering away begins."

The Rossiya Kolkhoz on whose lands Novozhivotinnoye and Mokhovatka stand, is a multisectorial technically equipped farm with over 8,000 hectares of land. The average kolkhoz member has over 5 hectares of land, 4 of which are arable. The kolkhoz is electrified and has developed animal husbandry where the basic operations are mechanized. At the beginning of 1977 the farm had 55 tractors, 30 grain and sugar beet harvesting combines, 25 trucks, and a large number of other agricultural equipment. In 1976 the kolkhoz's gross income was 1,841,000 rubles, triple the 1965 figure.

The kolkhoz members' income rose correspondingly. Wages are in excess of 5 rubles per man/day, i.e., they doubled within that period. Payments and benefits received from state social consumption funds average today 300 rubles per family. Every kolkhoz family has its own auxiliary farm from which in 1976 it obtained (on an average, kg) the following: potatoes, 4,472; vegetables, 784; meat, 181; and 1,683 liters of milk, 1,158 eggs, and so on.

According to family budget data the population of Novozhivotinnoye and Mokhovatka, surveyed by the USSR Central Statistical Administration, consumed in 1975 on a per capita average about 4,000 calories, or 80 percent more than in prerevolutionary times. The following table shows the quantitative and qualitative changes in the nutritional structure (per capita per year in kg).

	1900	1966	1976	1966 (% of 1900)	1976 (% of 1900)
meat and meat products	13.5	40.2	58.1	3 times	4.3 times
milk	80.7	180.5	218.2	2.2 times	2.7 times
butter	0.3	1.1	1.8	3.7 times	6 times
eggs (pieces)	26	208	316	8 times	12.2 times
sugar	0.3	30.9	46.2	103 times	154 times
fish and fish products	2.4	10.8	21.4	4.5 times	8.9 times
vegetal oil	0.9	2.1	2.3	2.3 times	2.6 times
potatoes	85.6	163.9	135.4	192	158
cucumbers, tomatoes	1.0	41.5	23.2	41 times	23 times
grain products	222.0	147.8	147.1	67	66

Living conditions as well have changed drastically. The kolkhoz members live in comfortable homes (the average housing area per family is 60 square meters), with central heating, electricity, gas, and radio. The homes of 96 percent of the families are stone or brick. All homes have slate or iron roofing. The average per capita housing area is 13.5 square meters with a common housing area of 17.6 square meters.

The increased income of the kolkhoz members brought about considerable changes in the structure of individual consumption. In 1976 alone the average family purchased over 20 meters of fabrics, 11 pairs of shoes (including 5 pairs of leather shoes), and spent more on the purchase of ready-made clothing. Today nearly all families have television sets; two-thirds of the families have radios, and washing and sewing machines; 50 percent of the families have refrigerators and bicycles; several families have motorcycles and passenger cars. The average family spends 30 percent of its budget on durable goods.

Thanks to the considerable improvement in living conditions and permanent medical services, communicable diseases have been eliminated. Morbidity has declined sharply and the natural population growth has increased.

These facts show that the forecasts made by A. Shingarev on the future of Novozhivotinnoye and Mokhovatka, extended by the author to practically all of the Russian countryside, were wrong. Naturally, this was not because the author had exaggerated. The facts he cited on the situation of the peasants were well known at that time and their accuracy was unquestionable. It was the Great October Socialist Revolution that intervened in the fate of the dying countryside, giving it a new direction.

The living conditions of the workers in tsarist Russia were hardly different from the peasants'. Poverty, hunger, disease, and poor living conditions were the permanent fellow travelers of the overwhelming majority of workers' families. According to I. Shaposhnikov, who made a survey of 324 budgets of workers in a weaving factory in 1909, the income of most families was so low that it was spent almost entirely (98.4 percent) in "maintaining the physical existence," on the "minimum which is needed only for the satisfaction of most vital needs." "Expenditures for cultural and educational purposes," the author noted, "are insignificant." The monthly wages averaged as follows: men, 18.7 rubles and women, 12.1 rubles; the average annual income per family member was 90 rubles or 25 kopeks per day. This already miserable income was substantially reduced by numerous fines and requisitions. Years on end most families were unable to repay their debts.

The main expenditures were the following: food, 57 percent; housing, heating, and light, 15 percent; clothing, underwear, and shoes, 10 percent.

In 1909 food per member of the family (in kg) was the following: meat and meat products, 12.7; milk and dairy products (in terms of milk), 53; eggs, 8; fish, 2 kg; sugar, 4.2; vegetal oil, 10; potatoes, 86; vegetables, 28; grain products, flour, and groats, 136. The extremely poor nutrition of the workers' families worsened steadily as a result of higher food prices and rents. In terms of calories nutrition was far below the norm.

The calamitous situation of the workers and their families was worsened by the poor housing conditions. The high cost of premises was conversely proportional to their quality.

The workers suffered from cruel exploitation. Labor conditions of capitalist enterprises were extremely bad. Textile workers worked in premises where basic sanitary norms were violated. Poor lighting, constant dust, high temperature, poor ventilation, and the lack or unreliability of safety attachments, to which we must add the excessive length of the working day and the extreme intensiveness of the work, exposed the life and health of the workers to constant danger.

Factory physician V. V. Ekk, who studied accidents at one of the spinning-weaving factories from 1896 to 1908 showed their ascending trend. Working in poorly lit shops where moving was difficult because of the packed looms, weavers and spinners, urged on by the fear of losing some of the already minimal earnings or the job itself, were forced to repair, lubricate, and clean the looms without stopping them. This resulted in frequent severe accidents. Since it was a question of profit, capitalism was merciless when it came to the health and life of the worker.

Medical statistics then registered truly sinister figures on cases of tuberculosis, anemia, chronic bronchitis, and other severe illnesses. According to I. Shaposhnikov, 65.9 percent of the men and 78.0 percent of

the women he surveyed suffered from such diseases. Like other authors who studied at that time the health condition of the workers, I. Shaposhnikov directly linked the proliferation of diseases among them to the difficult living conditions, low wages, exhausting labor, and impossibility to obtain medical aid.

Dooming the working people to cruel exploitation, rightlessness, unemployment, hunger, poverty, and disease, the rule of the bourgeois-land owning system led to the physical degeneracy of the population.

The data of the studies conducted in 1908-1909 by factory physicians show that by then this danger had become real. Over 50 percent of the children born to workers' families died before the age of 5. The longer the pregnant woman worked at the factory prior to the birth of her child the higher became the mortality.

Physician M. D. L'vova, who studied girls aged 12 to 14, working at one of the weaving factories 9 hours daily, found most of them suffering from anemia, and severe disturbances in the activities of the respiratory organs and the cardiovascular and nervous systems. Furthermore, nearly all of them showed clear deviations in terms of growth and figure and deteriorated physiological development.

In his article "On the Degeneration of the Factory Population," factory physician N. N. Pis'menny wrote: "Physically underdeveloped parents give birth to weak offspring and there is nothing amazing in the fact that the parents themselves die prematurely, frequently failing to reach old age. Thus, it is precisely the four uyezds in Moscow Guberniya in which the biggest "industrial giants" are located--Bogorodskiy, Bronnitskiy, Podol'skiy, and Serpukhovskiy--that show the lowest population age by guberniya of 26 years and 7 months...and are distinguished by a scarcity of permanent elderly population..."

Most of the data cited here on the living conditions of factory workers applied to Glukhov enterprises and textile factories located in the former Bogorodskiy Uyezd (some of them became part of the present Glukhov cotton fabrics combine). However, in terms of living conditions nothing essential distinguished Bogorodskiy Uyezd from any other uyezd in the Russian empire where the population was subjected to capitalist exploitation.

The economic laws of capitalism are the same everywhere. What was occurring in tsarist Russia was merely a repetition of what was occurring in other countries where capitalism had begun to develop far earlier. "...experience proves to the thoughtful observer," said K. Marx in "Das Kapital," "how rapidly and profoundly capitalist production which, from the historical viewpoint was born only yesterday, has already been able radically to undermine the vital strength of the people and the way the degeneracy of the industrial population is slowed down only by the steady absorption of impact vital rural elements and how even the rural workers are beginning to wither away..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 23, p 279).

Entering the struggle against the bourgeoisie with a view to the elimination of capitalist exploitation, the proletariat fulfills a great humanitarian mission, saving the future human generations. In the entire history of mankind there is no act of greater social justice than a proletarian revolution which overthrows capitalist power. The universal-historical significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution is that it radically changed the living conditions of the toiling masses, and marked a profound qualitative transition from exploitation to free labor, from total rightlessness to the possession of extensive political, social, and economic rights, and from impoverishment to continually rising prosperity. Any corner of our country or any enterprise could be taken as an example of the tremendous changes in the living conditions of the working people which took place under the Soviet system. Let us cite some data on the former Glukhov factory.

The Glukhov cotton fabrics combine is one of the biggest enterprises of its kind in the world. Currently it employs over 18,000 people. The combine produces finished fabrics, yarns, coarse fabrics, and other items worth tens of millions of rubles per year. The combine's collective actively participates in the socialist competition for high effectiveness and quality. It is one of the initiators of the "Thousand Contract." It is always concerned with technical retooling, improving the organization of the work, applying progressive experience, and using all available reserves for reducing outlays, increasing labor productivity, and upgrading production quality. The combine's workers have achieved considerable successes in upgrading the economic effectiveness of the production process. As has been the case with all the enterprises in our country and the entire socialist economy, its growth was the basis for upgrading the prosperity of the working people and raising their real incomes.

From 1965 to 1976 the combine's general wage fund rose from 16.8 million to 27.8 million rubles; family income rose 67 percent while the average monthly wage rose 60 percent, exceeding 140 rubles. As a rule all able-bodied family members work. The average annual income of a family with two working members is 3,500 rubles. The overall family income, including payments and benefits from the social consumption funds exceeds this amount considerably, equaling nearly 4,300 rubles.

The consumption of comestible products by workers' families at the Glukhov combine is characterized by the following data (average per family member, in kg):

	1966	1976	1976 in percent of 1909 of 1966	
meat and meat products	59.7	83.9	6.6 times	141
milk and dairy products including butter	299	379	7.2 times	127
eggs (pieces)	239	287	36 times	120
sugar	37.9	37.1	8.8 times	98
fish and fish products	18.5	25.2	12.6 times	136
vegetal oil	7.0	7.3	72	104
potatoes	119.7	112.5	130	94
vegetables	71.1	91.5	3.3 times	129
fruits	35.0	34.2	—	98
grain products, flour and groats	123.6	106.1	78	86

Thanks to extensive construction the housing conditions of the combine's workers are improving. On 1 January 1977 the combine's housing facilities totaled 286,000 square meters worth 46.4 million rubles. In the Eighth Five-Year Plan 760 families obtained housing; of these 660 families were given individual apartments; in the Ninth Five-Year Plan the respective figures were 3,149 families and 3,000 families. The rent does not exceed 3 percent of wages and covers only one-third of the expenses borne by the state for housing maintenance. There are about 9 square meters of housing area per family member in the comfortable apartments occupied by the Glukhov textile workers. Out of 100 families 91 have television sets, 85 have radios, 78 have refrigerators, 75 have washing machines, and so on. Expenses for durable goods, according to budget data, account for about 30 percent of the wages.

The state's expenditures for protecting the health of the working people, paid leave, education, and improved working and living conditions are increasing with every passing year. A considerable percentage of the social consumption funds is allocated among the workers of the Glukhov textile combine directly through the enterprise, through the sociocultural measures and housing construction fund. The fund's assets are used to improve the cultural-consumer and medical services offered the combine's workers, the purchasing of cards for rest homes, sanatoriums, and tourist bases, the construction, expansion, and capital repairs of housing, clubs, and children's preschool institutions, reinforced nutrition of children in kindergartens, nurseries, and Pioneer camps, and so on. The cost of taking care of the combine workers' children in children's institutions rose from 6.5 million rubles in the Eighth Five-Year Plan to 7.5 million rubles in

the Ninth. In the last two five-year plans over 4 million rubles were allocated for the rest of the working people. Great attention is being paid to the working people's health care. A new prophylactic establishment is under construction and each factory has its health center. In the 10th Five-Year Plan no less than 900,000 rubles will be spent on further improvements of medical services.

Thousands of people working at the combine, virtually everyone, receive benefits and payments from social consumption funds. Most of the people working at the combine are women. In the past 10 years social insurance expenditures, including paid leave to mothers nursing their children, have exceeded 20 million rubles. Many labor veterans are continuing to work at the combine's factories. In addition to their wages they receive their full pensions. Every year over 1 million rubles are paid out for such purposes.

Thousands of Glukhov textile workers are attending school. In addition to the permanent courses which have already trained some 12,000 people, many are attending the branch of the All-Union Correspondence Institute for the Textile and Light Industries, training courses offered by the textile institute, the night textile technical school, the vocational-technical school, the working youth school, and other educational institutions. In the 10th Five-Year Plan the combine will spend about 3.5 million rubles in assisting students attending vocational-technical schools.

Great attention is being paid to the further improvement of working conditions. Between 1967 and 1976 3.7 million rubles were spent on labor and equipment safety measures. Hundreds of ventilation systems, 43 air conditioners, and several thousands various instruments and attachments have been installed. The plan for organizing and equipping medical and resting premises was implemented in full. The combine's design department set up a group to draw up plans for shop interiors and factory departments. The results of the competition for the promotion of industrial aesthetics, involving the active participation of many collectives, are summed up every month.

In the Eighth and Ninth five-year plans the combine implemented extensive measures for the comprehensive mechanization and automation of production, as a result of which capital assets were largely renovated. The share of manual labor was reduced. Labor productivity increased and the qualification standards of the workers rose.

The improved prosperity of the combine's personnel and the steady improvement of labor conditions beneficially influence the attitude toward the work. The political, social, and labor activeness of the entire collective is rising. Every participant in the production process tries to increase his contribution to the common project. This is confirmed by the scope of the socialist competition. A total of 18,080 people--97 percent

of all combine employees--are participating in the movement for a communist attitude toward labor. The title of communist labor shock worker has been awarded to 8,462 combine workers, and that of communist labor collective to 8 shops, 11 shifts, 9 sectors, and 334 brigades.

The combine's collective assumed higher socialist obligations in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. A total of 7,800 workers pledged to fulfill their 1977 assignment by the time of the anniversary; 3,521 pledged to fulfill their two-year assignments, and 135, their three-year assignments. A total of 542 brigades, 52 shifts, and 23 shops pledged to fulfill their 1977 plan ahead of schedule while 261 brigades pledged to fulfill their two-year plan ahead of schedule.

5003

CSO: 1802

CIVILIZATION AND HUMANENESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 77 pp 78-89

[Review of letters]

[Text] "In accordance with the communist ideal of 'free development of each is a condition for the free development of all' the Soviet state sets as its objective to broaden the factual possibilities for the development and application by the citizens of their creative forces, capabilities, and talents, and for the all-round development of the individual." (Article 20 of the draft of the USSR Constitution)

"Civilization and Humaneness" was the title of the article by Yu. Azarov (see KOMMUNIST, No 8, 1976) which discussed the scientific and practical significance of the creative heritage of V. Sukhomlinskiy, the outstanding Soviet pedagogist, in the light of the topical tasks of contemporary school education.

As we know, the Communist Party pays great attention to these tasks. High levels of culture, education, social consciousness, and inner maturity of the people are as necessary for the building of communism as a corresponding material and technical base. "Communist education," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress, "presumes the steady improvement of the public education and vocational training systems. This is particularly important now, under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution which will give labor a different nature and, perhaps, a different labor training."

The article triggered a large response on the part of the readers--teachers, scientific workers, men of culture, and members of the engineering and technical intelligentsia. The authors of such letters included A. Aleksandrov, honored RSFSR school teacher (Chelyabinsk), Ya. Bentsion, director of the Alma-Ata institute for the advancement of teachers, L. Bondarev, instructor at Donetskaya Oblast party committee, G. Volkov, professor at the Scientific Research Institute of National Schools (Moscow), O. Davydova,

Russian language and literature teacher (Moscow), V. Kopayev, teacher (Kirishi, Leningrad Oblast), honored RSFSR school teachers T. Markina (Moscow) and Ye. Molostvov (Chuvash ASSR), N. Naumov, retired, former head of the main administration of schools, RSFSR Ministry of Education, Yu. Omel'chenko, candidate of historical sciences and senior scientific associate at the Ukrainian SSR Scientific Research Institute of Pedagogy (Kiev), F. Pimenova, extracurricular work organizer (Novgorod), M. Potashnik, candidate of pedagogical sciences (Moscow), M. Rivkind, professor at the Irkutsk polytechnical institute, engineer I. Filipovich (Reutov, Moscow Oblast), and others who thank the editors for the useful article in which V. Sukhomlinskiy's pedagogical legacy was properly rated and defended from unjustified criticism.

"The attempts of individual pseudotheoreticians who are trying to promote an artificial argument about an outstanding pedagogist of our time, pitting him against other representatives of Soviet pedagogy, should be considered groundless and openly harming communist education," writes A. Kudryavtseva, senior teacher at the Moscow Oblast Pedagogical Institute imeni N. K. Krupskaya.

"Talks to the effect that Sukhomlinskiy was too specific, that his experience was applicable to rural schools only, and so on, have led, in the final account, to the fact that some school managers and local public education organs took this as an order to forget Sukhomlinskiy's legacy and his name began to disappear from the agendas of pedagogical councils, conferences, and meetings, i.e., from school practice," states in his letter M. Potashnik, head of the pedagogy office of Moscow's city institute for the advancement of teachers.

Most of the teachers who sent letters were unanimous in the opinion that Sukhomlinskiy's books and, above all, "Serdtse Otdayu Detyam" [I Give My Heart to the Children] should become manuals for Soviet educators, along with the works of M. K. Krupskaya, A. V. Lunacharskiy, S. T. Shatskiy, A. S. Makarenko, P. P. Blonskiy, L. S. Vygotskiy, and A. I. Meshcheryakov.

In the past 10 to 15 years the works of V. Sukhomlinskiy have been published in millions of copies without meeting demand. Yet, the Soviet readers are selective, intelligent, and strict critics and their positive attitude is a proper indication of the fact that such books help them to resolve the vital problems of raising the growing generation.

People who have nothing in common with pedagogical work are also attracted to the literary legacy of the Pavlyk teacher. Following is a letter by E. Kareli, candidate of technical sciences, head of the laboratory at the Tbilisi scientific research institute for instrument making and automation of the Elva scientific-production association: "What makes his books precious to us? Problems of children's education are not resolved only in the school but in the family as well. Sukhomlinskiy's writings are addressed to the hearts of both educators and parents. His ideas contribute

to the organic unification of the two. His writings are a living source of goodness and judgment. It is a pity that he has not been fully discovered: the five-volume collection of his works (three already published) are being published in the Ukrainian language. They should be published in Russian as well in a mass edition."

A different viewpoint is found in the letters by professor and doctor of pedagogical sciences B. Likhachev, director of the Scientific Research Institute for Artistic Education of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences (Moscow), V. Kovalevskiy, candidate of pedagogical sciences (Donetsk), and A. Frolov (Arzamas) who disagree with Yu. Azarov's views. Thus B. Likhachev claims that the article "could play a negative role in the case of pedagogical science and practice...Reading it the impression is created that the development of Soviet pedagogy is depicted as a kind of spontaneous process moved only by a few outstanding individuals. Such errors are extensively used by the ideological opponents of socialism."

This answer deserves a comment. The moral example, personal experience, and pedagogical ideas of Makarenko and Sukhomlinskiy, discussed in the Article by Yu. Azarov, in fact had and have a powerful impact on the development of Soviet pedagogy, whatever our ideological opponents may claim. Vague words about "a kind of spontaneous process moved only by a few outstanding individuals," which totally fail to reflect the factual content of the article carried in KOMMUNIST should, obviously, remain on the conscience of their author.

"We do not need an ikon, we do not need education prescriptions. We need practical papers laying no claim to presenting impeccable thoughts," writes V. Kovalevskiy, opposing the "detected faulty tendency to present each of Sukhomlinskiy's statements as absolute and unquestionable, and as the lastest word in pedagogical thinking."

Yet, the article provided no reason to make a fetish of Sukhomlinskiy's legacy even though, naturally, any positive assessment could easily be converted into its opposite if pushed to the limit.

"...No pedagogist has as yet engaged in a profound critical analysis of Sukhomlinskiy's scientific work," writes A. Frolov. "It is entirely natural that creative discussions are not only desirable but necessary in establishing Sukhomlinskiy's role in the development of Soviet pedagogical science. Makarenko's contribution to pedagogy, as we know, was established not through directives but through discussions. Here we see something different: against a background of rather monotonous and already boring enthusiasm, all that it took was the appearance of several critical remarks to trigger immediately 'the indignation of the public.' On this matter the supporters of humanism and humaneness should have remained on the level of their principles and aspirations."

Whereas we could agree with the first half of this extract, as, indeed, Sukhomlinskiy's legacy has not been subjected to pedagogical research, the second part is puzzling: could we speak of "boring enthusiasm" when the pedagogical press so far has not expressed on Sukhomlinskiy's subject the major assessment which he truly deserves? The readers note that such an assessment was made for the first time by KOMMUNIST.

Pedagogy is creativity. However, this is a creativity closely linked with the achievements of predecessors and colleagues and never pitted against them.

"To us, educators, the question is not whether to accept or reject Sukhomlinskiy, or whether to accept or reject his views and experience," writes T. Ovcharenko, German language teacher at Moscow Special School No 52. "The answer could be only positive, even though not comprehensive, for we cannot fully duplicate all his methods. That which is acceptable under rural conditions would be difficult to implement in a city. One thing is unquestionable though, Sukhomlinskiy's experiment is instructive, interesting, attractive, and original, while his concept is deep and fresh. It should be studied, interpreted, independently applied, improved, and developed."

A number of readers emphasize that V. Sukhomlinskiy's books truly make them think, stimulate the imagination, and trigger in the teachers the desire to develop a critical attitude toward their own work which, unfortunately, could not be said of some theoretical-pedagogical publications.

A letter to the editors was also sent by V. Stoletov, president of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences Presidium. It states that the school is the fertile soil on which the outstanding creators in pedagogical science have been and are being raised; it is precisely rich school experience that nurtured the thoughts of the talented teacher V. Sukhomlinskiy. The literary summation of his experience is valuable because the author, relying on everything best acquired by Soviet pedagogy, and by the entire great domestic culture, provided original solutions to specific problems of ideological-political, moral, and labor education.

"The molding of a Marxist-Leninist outlook, Soviet patriotism, socialist internationalism, true collectivism, and humane relations among people, and the indivisibility between physical and aesthetic ideals in moral education," the author states further, "have all been reflected in the many faceted life of the Pavlyk school. However, together with the numerous readers who have studied V. Sukhomlinskiy's articles and books with a view to extracting the meaning of this experience, once in awhile, scientific workers seek in the same texts formulations they consider inapt. They zealously compare such formulations found in works written in different years and, something even more striking, on the basis of such 'findings' try to ascribe views alien to their author. The teachers do not need arbitrary, speculative, and impractical schools of interpretation of the texts

of the deceased scientist but the profound mastery of his works as applicable to the specific solution of contemporary problems of education...By publishing Yu. Azarov's article 'Civilization and Humaneness,' the KOMMUNIST editors are actively contributing to the careful attitude toward a valuable pedagogical legacy and are directing the scientific workers to the utilization of the school as the main base for scientific research in the field of education.

"The USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences Presidium intends to do the following: 1. Publish in the 'Pedagogical Classics Library' series a scientific edition of the main works by V. A. Sukhomlinskiy, USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences corresponding member; 2. To include in the agenda of the Scientific Council on Methodological Problems of Pedagogy problems of the utilization of the pedagogical legacy and data from contemporary school practice for the comprehensive study and solution of topical pedagogical problems; 3. To use thoroughly and comprehensively experimental schools as a first stage in the approval, advancement, and further development of initiatives launched by regular school teachers; 4. To help comprehensively scientific workers engaged in the study of V. A. Sukhomlinskiy's pedagogical legacy and in its utilization for the solution of topical pedagogical problems."

Clearly, it is no accident that the letters reflect concern with the condition of pedagogical theory and practice whose purpose is to mold the personality of the young Soviet person and insure the all-round development of his creative forces and social and individual features. The Leninist party and the practice of the building of communism have formulated stricter requirements toward the young Soviet generation entering life. At the same time, under contemporary conditions, unresolved problems within the public education and communist upbringing systems are more apparent than ever before.

The authors write of the need to find an urgent solution to such problems based on the demands of the times.

"Any creatively thinking educator, ready to dedicate himself entirely to the children, is concerned mainly not with who will his students be but what they will be," writes T. Ovcharenko, expanding his thought. "Each one of us tries to make the Soviet school a permanent and true alma mater for the young people, giving maturity to harmoniously developed individuals in terms of our communist understanding. For example, we are worried by frequent manifestations of egotism in children, their indifference to the troubles of people close to them, their deafness to other people's pain, and their inability to react to beauty and be indignant at hideousness, i.e., we are concerned by the emotional narrow-mindedness and loss of general culture. Parents are largely to be blamed in this connection, when they place material higher than spiritual values. Yet, why conceal it, we, educators, frequently without coordinating our reciprocal actions, focus our main efforts on pumping into the students all kinds of information on our

own subject and develop in them the ability to use mathematical, physical, chemical, and other concepts. We give them a certain amount of knowledge of a foreign language and are proud of the fact that our graduates are accepted by Moscow State University, Moscow State Institute of International Relations, and other VUZ's, believing that our objectives have thus been achieved. Alas, too late do we begin to complain that suddenly we see in our Newtons and Lobachevskiys the features of the egotist, the consumer, and the careerist. A person has entered life emotionally underdeveloped, incapable of either fully accepting or dedicating himself to it. In this connection the example given by Sukhomlinskiy is worthy of emulation. He was concerned above all by problems of individual education, of developing the character and the personality, with shaping communist convictions, and developing the emotional culture of the adolescents. Many of his concepts have been practically tested by my colleagues in their work with children, even though, naturally, their work method was different, for this depends on the specific situation and the type of personality of the child and the educator...Each one of us could find in the rich arsenal of pedagogical means his own occasionally unique tools if he has the desire to work creatively rather than by the book. This is the aim of V. Sukhomlinskiy's example."

While observing the essential target stipulations and mandatorily meeting the common and basic requirements of the curriculum, the work of the educator consists of his active, live and, in the final account, always unique communication with the students, the class, the school collective. Their interaction constantly formulates counterproblems for which most frequently pedagogical literature has no prepared answers. Such answers must be found separately, the way objective truth is sought. Here again a fixed stereotype could not help. "Pedagogical practice," writes Prof A. Kosmodem'yanskiy, the well-known specialist in the field of theoretical mechanics, "steadily draws from the spiritual life of society the ways and means for its own advancement. It would be ridiculous to rely only on established concepts of pedagogical theory. They become obsolete the moment theory begins to 'stew in its own juice,' removing itself from reality, becoming ever more timid...As a rule, progress is achieved through daring. It was precisely daring that was the creative feature of the work of both A. Makarenko and V. Sukhomlinskiy."

Such is today the experience of V. Shatalov from Donetsk, I. Volkov from Reutov, F. Mikhaylov from Leningrad, N. Kapishnikov from Mundybash Village in Kemerovskaya Oblast, and other teachers-innovators whose successes were noted by our press. It would be wrong to demand of each one of them a "complete system," or a prescription ideal for all cases. Their experience, however, is added to the treasury of the common experience, and it is only in a dialectical interaction with it that new developments may be achieved in Soviet pedagogical theory. "The conservatism of one or another official, whether in their departmental apparatus or scientific institution, is found in the desire to retain the status quo and safeguard themselves," notes Ye. Sandrakova, senior instructor at the chair of mathematics,

Moscow Engineering-Physics Institute. "The self-preservation instinct triggers aggressiveness against innovators while observing, as a rule, a proper form: 'methodical extremism' is emotionally condemned. Passionate warnings are issued against 'pedagogical miracles and sensations' (while ignoring facts confirmed by reality). The 'solid foundations of what has already been achieved and gained' are absolutized. The exaggeration of the 'controversial' or 'limited' nature of a new experience frequently hides the essence of the matter. Above all, it is aimed at safeguarding routine and the blind use of cliches. Quite naturally this leads to the artificial lowering of requirements and the awarding of higher grades..."

It is entirely understandable that the example of V. Sukhomlinskiy, who promoted his line passionately and temperamentally, and who did not fear to oppose established views, would trigger occasional hostility.

"He was frequently accused of engaging in ivory tower pedagogical work," writes R. Bogomolova, grammar school teacher. "Characteristically, judging by their published works, the critics themselves brought nothing essentially new to education or useful to educational practice. Yet, nothing could be accomplished on the basis of skepticism alone. Looking at Sukhomlinskiy's experience without prejudice, and without arbitrarily exaggerating one or another detail, one could easily see a purposeful pedagogical system which gives us systematic and purposeful help, neglecting no minor and petty matters but leading the children's collective and the individual child along the steps of morality...Does this mean that, adopting the useful parts of the experience of the Pavlyk teacher, we stop our own research? Not at all. Speaking of Sukhomlinskiy, we mean less Sukhomlinskiy himself than the direction he indicated (and practically followed) in the further development of the school--the school as an institution for education and not only for learning."

In his article Yu. Azarov stated that it has become characteristic among scientific-pedagogical workers to pit Sukhomlinskiy against Makarenko. Such an unjustified contraposition of two outstanding educators is frequently manifested in the fact that Makarenko's theory is interpreted only as the theory of the collective, while the Pavlyk teacher is "charged" with exaggerating the "individual" approach. This was confirmed yet once again in B. Likhachev's letter: "As to the insufficiently substantiated and controversial views expressed in V. Sukhomlinskiy's works, there is no need to look for them. They are obvious. They were manifested in the doubts he expressed on the subject of the educational possibilities of the children's collective, the acknowledgment of the illusory nature of attempts to set up a single schoolwide collective, and in a certain pitting of verbal education--the organization of children's activities and respect for the children--against exactingness toward them."

Such a view is firmly rejected, for example, by Academician I. Petryanov-Sokolov: "I am highly amazed and indignant at pitting Sukhomlinskiy against Makarenko. This is either an obviously tendentious subjective viewpoint or

a misunderstanding of vitally important problems by people claiming to be highly scientific. Both educators aspired toward a single objective and resolved the same problem: the raising of the new man, the individual of a socialist and communist type, but in different historical circumstances. In this connection I would like to direct the attention of the public to the need for the formulation of an efficient program for relations toward our children. At the beginning of the Soviet system the following slogan was legitimate: Let us create conditions for a happy childhood. This slogan played its positive role. Its implementation was related to the solution of the general political problems of our party--the shaping of new relations at work and in life, and upgrading the material and cultural prosperity of the people. Today, in the developed socialist society, when the necessary conditions have been secured for the Soviet children, the slogan which would properly orient both the public and the entire system of pedagogical influences should be different: to raise a spiritually rich, highly moral, and socially active generation, exposing it both to labor and to knowledge. In other words, it should be a slogan calling for a working happy childhood. Therefore, the slogan should mandatorily include function which makes of every person a full citizen."

The solution of this problem is possible only by implementing the principle of dialectical unity between the collective and the individual. Their metaphysical contraposition is inadmissible, as there is no insurmountable division between them. They interpenetrate and interdetermine each other.

As A. Golubev, senior scientific associate at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, properly notes, the one-sided pitting of the private against the public, and ignoring their unbreakable link and their interdependence inevitably lead to extremes and distortions not only in theory but in practice. On the one hand, giving primacy to a narrowly conceived social aspect leads to a concept of society as a sum total of expediently functioning individuals (simple "nuts," or "elements" of a complex mechanism or "system") whose behavior needs petty outside regulation (hence the absolutizing of exactingness). On the other, the break between the individual and the social, and the pitting of the first against the other lead to the primacy of a just as narrowly conceived private aspect, to the concept of an individual as something self-satisfying, as an absolutely free, irresponsible, and autocratic individual to whom society is merely an opposing external environment...In reality, as has been repeatedly emphasized by the Marxist-Leninist classics, the individual and society are correlated concepts maintaining a state of dialectical unity, interpenetrating and somehow intereducating each other, so that the individual would be a type of "compressed" and "concentrated" society, while society would be a "supplemented," "expanded" individual.

This view was expressed by V. Berezin, candidate of pedagogical sciences: pitting Makarenko against Sukhomlinskiy on the basis of the "poles" of the collective and the individual, civilization and humaneness, and exactingness and trust, is groundless for in reality no "polarization" between them

exists. Instead, there is a live dialectical contradiction an essential aspect of which is the unity of opposites. "The article convincingly proved the groundlessness of the superficial and antiscientific pitting of the theoretical legacy of one outstanding Soviet educator against that of another."

"Naturally, we recognize collective education," notes T. Ovcharenko, "as well, for the totality of the student's social qualities is developed only within the collective and through the collective. However, we are not in favor of the type of collective in which the personalities of our students have been leveled off, a collective consisting of faceless, identically looking children, obeying the conductor's baton of the teacher. We are in favor of a collective of individuals, comprehensively developed, even though different but with a rich content, even though this is the most difficult winding road to be taken by an educator. Here again, V. Sukhomlinskiy's experience is priceless to the educators."

Summing up the statements concerning the artificial pitting of the Pavlyk teacher against the author of "Pedagogicheskaya Poema" [Pedagogical Poem], we must agree with E. Goryukhina, docent of the Novosibirsk pedagogical institute, that this is a manifestation of a factual confrontation between dry "academism" separated from life, and live creativity. "This is a manifestation of weakness," she writes, "for the dogmas and systems are supported only by peremptory shouts and far-fetched arguments, blowing a verbal pseudoscientific fog. The pedagogical Olympus could condescendingly look at the way some specialists far removed from the schools plunge into theoretical empiricism. Yet, should someone dare draw up original summations relying on his specific teaching experience, matters become different... Here two methods of pedagogical thinking clash. One is dialectical, taking into consideration the thousands of changes which have taken place in recent years in the schools and in the children; the other is dogmatic, a 'pedagogy' for all times, writings, and so on. Understandably, Sukhomlinskiy may have irritated a few people who, in order to conceal their shaky grounds, decided to pit him against Makarenko... This is characteristic of those who try to move pedagogical science only in the quiet of scientific research institutes, in annual planned articles, without having direct contacts with the schools."

Yu. Kozyrev, candidate of economic sciences and senior scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research, draws attention to the groundlessness of artificially pitting the class against the universal aspects in V. Sukhomlinskiy's legacy.

Ltn Gen I. Lisov agrees with him. "Many components exist in the course of the molding of the personality," he writes. "The education is ideological, moral, labor, natural scientific, internationalist, and legal. It is an education dealing with civic-mindedness, discipline, and self-discipline. Finally, it is physical and heroic-patriotic. However, all these components are effective only when they interact with each other and are directed not only to the mind but to the heart of the child. Is this not what we gather from Makarenko's and Sukhomlinskiy's pedagogical legacy?"

Objectively the Soviet school tries to develop in every student a strong alloy of knowledge, communist convictions, and ability to engage in practical action. The party has indicated the way to achieving success: the comprehensive approach in the organization of the molding of the new man--insuring close unity among ideological-political, labor, and moral education based on the individual and group characteristics of the students. The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Implementation by the Orsk City Party Committee of the Comprehensive Solution of Problems of Ideological and Education Work" emphasizes the need to intensify the communist education of the youth and their political, labor, and moral training. Particular attention is paid to upgrading further in this matter the role of the family, the school, and the labor collective. A suggestion is made to make fuller use of the influence of workers' dynasties, and youth tutors; and comprehensively to enhance the prestige of the teacher who, by virtue of his social position, is closely linked not only with the students but with their parents and has extensive means for exerting an educational influence on all population categories.

Physical and mental health play a great role among the necessary factors considered in the education of the students. Whatever latest methods and technical facilities may be received by the schools to intensify the training process, concern for the physical and moral training of the student remains topical. "It is not easy to raise a courageous and strong-willed person," writes I. Lisov. "It is very important to develop in the child the desire to become strong, firm, and courageous, and to make him understand that he will need such qualities throughout his life in his studies, work, sports, and defense of the homeland."

The author of this letter spent many years at managing all-union competitions among Pioneers and secondary school students in the fields of hiking, sports orientation, and military sports games. All of them are in the open, in rugged areas, frequently in adverse weather conditions, in rain and wind. "I have never heard the boys and girls ask that the competition be interrupted and that everyone move to the closest boarding school or dormitory. It was the adults--heads of sports delegations--who more frequently complained of the difficult circumstances, demanding warm premises or the elimination of some types of competition. However, we cannot develop a courageous character, discipline, collectivism, responsibility, civic-mindedness, responsiveness to nature, and a protective attitude toward the monuments of our culture without putting a person under circumstances in which he could display such qualities. Training and competition, military-sports games, and hiking trips, particularly in places of revolutionary, combat, and labor glory, take place precisely under such conditions, forcing everyone to mobilize his physical and moral forces. However, this would be insufficient without teachers, and home room and physical culture guides, and Pioneer leaders giving the tone. Each of them must possess the skills of a sports organizer as well."

It is entirely natural that in their letters the readers have launched a discussion exceeding the question of the fate of Sukhomlinskiy's creative legacy, for the further destinies of the building of communism are most directly linked with the molding and raising of the young generation.

The purpose of the Soviet school is to awaken interest in the independent acquisition of knowledge and to develop a taste for knowledge and an organic need for increasing such knowledge constantly. What is the best way to achieve this? "Attempts are being made to resolve many problems of school education by the study of the material in the curricula," writes L. Zhilina, candidate of philosophical sciences. "This suppresses the original activeness of the curious mind of the child, dulls curiosity and interest and, with them, the need for knowledge and work. Should a child acquire a single powerful thought (which, perhaps, may subsequently determine his entire career), as a rule this occurs outside the classroom. In my view, this should concern both educators and authors of pedagogical studies, for the personality begins to be molded as we mold the need for everything which constitutes the active aspect of the personality. I would like to emphasize that it is a question not of any specific need but of an overall totality of needs, recalling K. Marx's words that "...Various needs are internally interrelated within a natural system..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 23, p 368). This makes legitimate the systematic and overall approach to the solution of the problems of communist education on the basis of a single socioeconomic program. The all-round developed person must have harmonious cultural needs. Such should be the ideal in pedagogical practice, based on theoretical summation of practical experience and scientific development...As a person acquires spiritual wealth he develops a stronger desire to have it. However, one should not rely on spontaneity. The educators must skillfully depict to the student the content of the true, the socially significant values, trigger his interest in them and, at the same time, reveal the nature of false "values," developing an immunity against the latter..."

The USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences has scored some achievements in improving the training method and bringing its content closer to the tasks of social and scientific and technical progress at the present stage. As to the problem of personal education, we note here a substantial lagging of scientific developments behind practical requirements. This has been pointed out by the authors of a number of letters. "Education," we read in the letter by A. Golubev, "should in no case be reduced to edification, suggestion, or instruction, or to a sum total of positive and negative examples, illustrations, and so on. The flow of imperative suggestions easily tires the nervous system which, needing rest, either excludes them totally, or gives them a negative aspect. This could be avoided by actively including developing thinking in the practice of the life of the child in which the child interprets each one of his steps, comparing it with the rest of the world."

Sukhomlinskiy's legacy is valuable here again. He taught the children to see the highest moral sense in seemingly simple actions--a considerate attitude toward a piece of bread, a good word to one's mother, concern for a sick friend, and concern for a bird or the twig of a tree. It is very important for the children to master as early as possible this "algebra of ethics," preparing themselves for the fact that in the future they will have to resolve the most complex "equations" of human relations which would require, metaphorically speaking, "higher mathematics."

Moral education presumes the harmony of the mind with the heart, believes B. Nemenskiy, the famous Soviet painter and secretary of the board of the USSR Painters Union. "All of us, members of the middle and senior generation, are concerned with some failures in molding the ideological and moral criteria among the youth and, correspondingly, with their behavior. It might seem that today nothing similar neither should nor could exist. Yet, it does...The one-sidedness of the general education process leans toward logical knowledge and profoundly underestimates the development of artistic-graphic thinking. This is the reason. Paradoxical though it might seem, practically all forms of art with their specific nature of thinking and awareness of the world have been factually excluded from school training. I recall the apt statement by a Ukrainian mathematician: 'The natural sciences behave toward literature and the arts and, partially, philosophy and the humanities, like intoxicated winners...' The statement is graphic and true. Turning natural scientific subjects into a fetish (century of the atom, outer space, cybernetics!) has concealed the strictly human nature of education which includes highly aesthetic values. Lev Tolstoy was right when he said that the sciences prove the truth while art contaminates with the truth. When it is a question of the attitude toward the world of nature, society, and man, frequently the power of imagistic and artistic thinking used in developing such relations exceeds the power of proof and of logic. Failing to develop in the children such a way of thinking, we lose their souls. At that point they are molded by forces alien to us. We can improve the public education system only by harmonizing the structure of the content of the education in which science and art must be considered equally important components. Any attempt at a nonradical (i.e., extracurricular) solution of the problem would be groundless. It is necessary to find the economic, pedagogical, and organizational possibilities for the adoption of decisive measures so that in the foreseeable future we could insure the comprehensive development of every alumni: graphic art and music should be used from the first to the last grade, guaranteeing for such subjects a scientifically justified number of class hours and contemporary technical training facilities and, above all, professionally trained educators, as good as those teaching traditional subjects."

In fact, the public education organs surrender the aesthetic and artistic development of children and adolescents to the element of the individual initiative of the parents or the students themselves. The extracurricular institutions offering artistic education to children are in a state of constant (even though not always openly expressed) conflict with the school

as a result of the pressure it exerts on the students with its load, ignoring their individual creative interests. Its pedagogical system literally ignores the fact that any socially significant meaningful interest developed in the adolescents should be supported and encouraged, rather than suppressed to suit unilaterally understood requirements. Both parents and children expect of the educators and of the school as a whole a creative rather than formal approach to the solution of any problem raised by life. As to the all-round aesthetic development of the adolescents, it must be considered the most important (frequently irreplaceable) lever for ideological education. It is organically needed in the training of specialists for any national economic sector. Technocracy and empirical practicalism are favorable grounds for the growth of false "values," and for all types of pseudoart, so intensively cultivated today by bourgeois ideologues. An artistically undeveloped and aesthetically ignorant person could indiscriminately use all types of spiritual surrogates and, through them, absurd consumer, individualistic, and frankly bourgeois ideas and moods alien to us. That is why B. Nemenskiy's words are very just: "The time has come to realize that even the most skilled scientific and technical training without a corresponding moral-aesthetic development, leads to dangerous pragmatism, professional narrowness, moral relativism (cynicism), and ideological instability or, should we speak only of the person's professional value, to uninspired creative banality."

The communist ideal of the individual presumes its full spiritual life, ability to feel deeply and profoundly, and to be comprehensively and harmoniously coordinated with nature and society. The best way to achieve this is by directly including the adolescent in the creative process and insuring his independent participation within it and his spiritual-emotional communication in the course of resolving one or another problem."

Aesthetic education broadens the person's possibilities in any, even the most narrow and specialized, realm of activities. Its main value is the development of an overall perception of the world, and molding high spiritual criteria in assessing any phenomenon a person may encounter in life. "Everyone needs inspired creativity," writes Yu. Aksenov, a painter and educator, "whatever his field. The hand able to create according to the laws of beauty always works conscientiously. I am well familiar with this after 25 years of experience in working with popular talent. There is a bird in every child which must be awakened to fly!"

Yu. Druzhkin, graduate student at the State Music-Pedagogical Institute imeni Gnesinykh, is concerned with the music education of school students. "The tremendous educational role of music is universally known. Music has a harmonizing influence on the entire inner world of man which is manifested also through the energizing of superior cognitive abilities included in the process of the perception of music and the involvement of the adolescent in the cultivation of superior and truly human emotions and through a feeling for reciprocal human attraction and mutual affinity awakened by music both in the performers and the listeners. Alas, music

is in the last position in the education and upbringing of the youth. Most of the so-called singing classes are conducted on an extremely low level. Sometimes the teacher teaching this subject lacks proper training..."

"I am concerned with the musical 'thistle' which is covering more and more with weeds the field of our rich musical culture, whose soil took centuries to develop," states N. Kapishnikov, teacher in Mundybash. "The modern cacophony extensively widespread among the youth thanks to the latest technical facilities has a stupefying effect on molding the personality. It is time to understand that music is not entertainment but an inseparable component of our spiritual life and that we cannot fail to be concerned with its quality. Tastelessness is like a defenseless heart. A musical education, among others, has the purpose to develop in it immunity against baseness, cynicism, and naked evil. Music ennobles the feelings while socially useful labor strengthens them. Therefore, I consider the combination of expedient activities with aesthetic values the key to the molding of a highly moral generation..."

We can only agree with the authors of such letters. The aesthetic education of children and adolescents is not an auxiliary task, a more or less secondary concern of the contemporary school, or "luxury," but one of the key elements in molding the Soviet person. The condition of aesthetic and artistic education in the school and in pedagogical institutions should be made consistent with the requirements of the developed socialist society.

Thus, a clear contradiction is found in school life: a gap between the need for a comprehensive solution to problems of education and upbringing, in their organic unity, and the factual content of training and educational practice which lacks such unity.

The efforts of the school and the family are focused mainly on the intellectual development of the children. The developing mind of the adolescent is overburdened by the need to memorize a substantial (and growing) amount of information with an abundant variety of various details. Frequently the teachers ignore that which is outside their subject and ignore the fact that the students have other subjects, Komsomol and Pioneer work, attendance of creative and sports collectives, and others. The amount and structure of the load carried by the students remain practically uncontrolled. A certain "balanced" condition develops spontaneously in which the adolescents must either overtax the forces of their still not totally formed, growing, and, therefore, insufficiently strong organism, or else dodge, subjecting to unnecessary trials their equally still unformed developing moral constitution.

For years on end the press has discussed school overloading. However, no scientific solution to this problem has been found in organizing the training process. This has resulted in comprehensive complaints of overexertion of adolescents and of the lowering of their cognitive energy.

In particular, this was the subject of the complaint expressed by a mother of two children, engineer S. Dragunova (Krasnogorsk, Moscow Oblast) who points out that, as a rule, the children spend little time in the fresh air and in engaging in sports and the arts. "Sometimes I think: What is the worth of a grade '5' or '4,' if it is achieved at the cost of depriving the students of the most important development factor--their childhood. The inseparable qualities of childhood have always been great energy, thirst for activity, spirit of competition, imagination, and noble thrusts. All this is deformed to suit the narrowed school objectives, the result being very sad--narrowness of the mind and the heart...Such a faultily pedagogical 'production' occurs precisely in the field of human activities in which requirements concerning quality and effectiveness should be the strictest."

The author of this letter justifiably points out the "narrowness" of the purpose of such a training process whose assessment criteria consist merely of superficial report "indicators" convenient in terms of office management but unsuitable in terms of the factual and qualitatively very complex matter. It is the objective interests of the student rather than official objectives and concerns of school workers that must become the cornerstone.

Strictly speaking, the entire time of the students must be studied scientifically in accordance with independent school work outside the classroom, social obligations, participation in amateur art, sports, and the need to be exposed to general culture (visits to theaters, concerts, museums, reading of fiction, and so on). We must also take into consideration mandatory home duties. It is precisely the overloading created by the school and various types of measures (sometimes seemingly "necessary" yet pedagogically unjustified) that leads compassionate parents to free the children from household chores, as a result of which they develop as egotists and softies, with excellent knowledge and active social work which can never compensate their personality shortcomings.

"Amazing though it might seem, despite the entire stress caused by the school load, the knowledge gained at school frequently turns out to be insufficient for entering a higher educational institution," writes M. Gorshkov, docent of the Second Moscow Medical Institute. "Students who have developed an interest in a subject and who dream of entering one of the best VUZ's in the country begin to study in addition to their curricula, starting with the eighth grade, attending preparatory courses or working individually with the teachers. Tutoring has begun to develop excessively. Municipal bulletin boards and the local press carry a number of ads offering private lessons. Is this normal?...Who is to be blamed here: the inadequate quality of school training or the imperfection of the enrollment system used by the VUZ's?...The problem has existed for many years. Yet, has anyone tried to resolve it? Is it possible that theoreticians in the field of school education fail to see the social faultiness and antieducational nature of this phenomenon? The problem of developing civilization and humaneness is inseparable from the solution of such problems."

Success in training and education is determined, above all, by the quality of the teacher's training--his educational level, his own level of civilization and humaneness, and his ability to adopt a pedagogical approach to the class as a whole and to the individual student. The authors of the letters to the editors are worried by the fact that young teachers who, as a rule, have good knowledge in their specialized subjects, frequently lack the necessary pedagogical skills or the required theoretical-pedagogical standards. The pedagogical institutes teach mainly school subjects (mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, foreign languages, and so on), but not the complex nature of the "material" which the VUZ graduates will work with, or the "technology" in shaping out of such "material" a certain type of personality. Teachers are poorly trained in educational activities. It is not astounding that most new teachers are merely mathematicians, physicists, chemists, biologists, and so on, but not always educators. Is this not the reason for which, the moment they graduate, sometimes they hasten to find themselves jobs outside the school?

The situation has developed in such a way that the pedagogy chairs in pedagogical VUZ's are not the main, the central departments in terms of all others, and that pedagogy itself, as a subject, finds itself in the position of a "step-daughter"--occasionally it is taught on a formal basis without giving the students an idea of its true significance so that, outside the VUZ, it cannot be used as an effective working tool. In the course of their development the young teachers must rely basically on their own practical experience, sharpness, inventiveness, and the practical experience of elder comrades. This, however, is insufficient.

Under contemporary conditions pedagogical and pedagogical-psychological thinking, based on a general philosophical and scientific culture, should be raised to a new incomparably higher level. The respective courses in pedagogy and psychology should be saturated with the latest scientific achievements, while the method used in presenting them to the students should be consistent with their factual significance. Without this even the most skilled "subject" training would not make a person an educator.

The system for the training of education cadres needs substantial improvements as a whole in accordance with the future development of Soviet society. The pedagogical VUZ's expect of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences suitable aid.

V. Stoletov, president of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, states in his letter that the elaboration of an education concept applicable to developed socialist conditions is the focal point of the academy's current work program. Soviet pedagogy has the necessary favorable possibilities to accomplish this. Such a concept would be used as a theoretical and practical manual for research and for the solution of specific problems of improving the content and methods of education, labor training, and vocational guidance of the students, the molding of a Marxist-Leninist outlook, and others. The efforts of the collectives of scientific

pedagogical institutions are aimed at the elaboration of methodological problems of education, history of the development of pedagogical thinking and public education in the USSR, education planning, organization, and economics, the psychological-pedagogical aspects of the education of students in the different age groups, problems of didactics and specific methods, development of national schools, age physiology and school hygiene, and so on. Generally speaking, this is a broad front for work. Certain successes have been achieved.

However, members of the teaching public express a number of critical remarks and wishes concerning pedagogical science. Their main reproach is that this science is becoming ever more self-contained.

"I, for example, am constantly amazed by a section in our reports entitled links with the school," writes E. Goryukhina. "Who has established the size of this tie? What is its content in the work of a teacher in a pedagogy VUZ?...You may conduct an investigation among the students, arrange indicators, obtain the correlation coefficients you need, introduce a mathematical aspect, and limit yourself to vague statements on possible practical solutions sometime in the future. This would entirely pass for 'ties with the school,' even though no improvement whatever would be achieved in the training process.

"Scientific workers and higher school teachers have begun to develop an arrogant attitude toward the activities of the teacher, neglecting the live and unique educational process and treating views on current school concerns as gross empiricism...Could scientific pedagogy help the school by removing itself from it? Is this not the reason for which a teacher would consider many scientific-pedagogical works currently published less important than Sukhomlinskiy's articles and books, since he taught class every day and each of his words is backed by direct observation, planned action, and resolution of specific urgent problems. The view that the school is the 'bottom' while science is the 'top,' in the middle of which stands the method worker who holds the 'tool' for translating basic ideas into practical action is a major error. Was this not the reason for the fact that pedagogical theory is somewhat behind school practice and that, speaking frankly, many pedagogical researchers capable of issuing most 'authoritative' recommendations are unable to implement them should they happen to be in a classroom. In the course of their academic 'ties with the school' they lose their teaching skills and, apparently, their correct orientation in the world of pedagogical hypotheses...The process of the study of school life and of the building, the creation of such a life should merge."

To what extent are publications of the results of activities of pedagogical scientific research institutes used as the basis of teaching methods? The majority's view is the following: minimal, even though the teachers closely study the conclusions drawn by pedagogical science and its works, determining their value with the help of practical criteria. Classroom experience is

the basis for checking hypotheses, and correcting and improving theoretical concepts and method recommendations. This should be acknowledged as unquestionable. Yet, a certain percentage of scientists supports opposite views: hypotheses should not be checked through pedagogical practice but, conversely, practice should fit speculative concepts and a priori interpretations.

A study of defended dissertations in the field of education would indicate that a considerable share of them deal with methods for the teaching of various subjects. The same is characteristic of the works of candidates for scientific degrees planned for 1976-1980. The list of such works, as submitted to the Council for the Coordination of Research in the Field of Pedagogical Sciences of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, includes virtually no basic research topics. The unresolved nature of a number of general basic pedagogical problems makes such research shallow.

What do we see in this list? An abundance of specifics, as though accidentally formulated questions and the absence of a systematic, program-target approach to the solution of the general problem of communist education and upbringing, and problems of the scientific organization of the work of teachers and students, and of the school process--its content and form--as a whole. Here the objection could be that the works of candidates for scientific degrees do not cover the entire front of pedagogical research. This is indeed so. Yet, however, it is precisely those who aspire to high scientific skills who should truly demonstrate the high level reached by this science and its front lines. Yet, even a cursory glance would note in the approved list the following typical topics: "The Education and Upbringing of Women in Prerevolutionary Armenia (from the End of the 18th Century to the 1920's)," "The Tadzhik-Uzbek Education Movement at the End of the 19th Century and its Influence on the Spreading of Education Among the Tadzhik People;" and "The Development of the General Educational School on the Territory of the Caucasian School District Between 1948 and 1918." Why, in fact, do the authors of such dissertations want a scientific degree in the field of education rather than, let us say, history?

Here are others: "Reflection of Social Phenomena in the Drawing of Children in the Senior Preschool Age Group;" "Foundations for the Study of Verbs in the Native Language Course in the Fourth to the Sixth Grades of Karakalpak Schools;" "Theoretical Foundations for the Study of Native Grammar in Uzbek Language Schools;" "Interrelationship Between Triggered Electric Activeness of the Brain and Regional Brain Blood Circulation in Ontogenesis;" and "A System of Electric Power Measuring Instruments for the School's Physics Laboratory." Perhaps their authors should apply for a scientific degree in the fields of the arts, linguistics, physiology, or technology...

What generally significant pedagogical discoveries do the candidates expect as a result of their work on topics such as "A Method for Using a Geographic Map and Globe in Natural Science Class in the Third Grade," "Determining the Level of Difficulty of Graphic Problems in the Teaching of Basic Projection," and so on?

The expediency of the study and discussion of such topics in journals and books is unquestionable. However, do they meet contemporary requirements for works leading to superior qualifications in education? It is proper to note that a scientific degree presumes a certain professional excellence. However, does such excellence exist if the candidate has resolved no more than a specific local problem, not to mention to fact that such a problem is sometimes unrelated to the science of education? For example, what would a doctoral degree on "Training of Workers Cadres in the Moldavian SSR (1945-1975)" contribute to pedagogical skills?

A scientific degree must be a proof of the scientific and professional-practical skills of the educator-researcher, and of his ability to resolve not only narrowly abstract problems but vital problems related to improving the training and educational process in the light of the tasks stipulated in the program documents of the CPSU, and problems raised by the practice of communist building itself.

Even a simple glance at the topics of over 1,400 (!) dissertations planned for the current five-year plan clearly shows that the direction of this research is left to develop spontaneously. Most topics are chosen, apparently, arbitrarily, either on the basis of individual inclinations or by virtue of other reasons.

The topics do not include comprehensive work on problems of the communist education of youth, or problems of unity among ideological-political, labor, and moral education. Nor does the plan include a special section on the adoption of a comprehensive approach to educational problems or else topics dealing with problems of the comprehensive approach. Extremely few studies are contemplated on topical problems of training and education in the rural schools (only two candidate dissertations on this topic are planned for the period through 1980).

Nor is there a proper coordination among scientific research, as a result of which there is an unjustified duplication of topics. Here are examples: "The Military-Patriotic Education of Secondary School Students" (Karelian pedagogical institute), and "The Military-Patriotic Education of Adolescents" (Vitebsk pedagogical institute); or else: "The Moral Education of Students Within the Boarding School and Extended Day Schools" (Azerbaijdzhan pedagogical institute) and "Molding Moral Convictions in Adolescents Under Boarding School Conditions" (Kherson), and so on.

The readers' letters state that acquired educational experience should be summed up on the basis of a fundamental theoretical study not limited to a narrowly conceived self-enclosed pedagogy but relying on the achievements of philosophy, sociology, psychology, and all sciences studying the nature of man, the collective, and society, and the laws of thinking and knowledge. This calls for upgrading the general methodological standard of theoretical works.

The theory of communist education could not be satisfied either with the study and summation of the creative heritage of outstanding scientific and cultural figures nor with the search for invariants in the successful experiments of individual teachers and educators. Formulating the objectives and the ways and means for molding the young generation is based on the overall Marxist-Leninist theory of the development of human social relations. Directing pedagogy only toward its own "professional areas," and individual pedagogical experience leads, as a rule, to its separation from the factual conditions of social development and their specific manifestations in school life. The development of one or another social aspect cannot be properly imagined outside a theoretical concept showing the process of development of the society. That is why, as properly claim V. Davydov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, and Docent F. Mikhaylov, candidate of philosophical sciences, "Today a deliberate orientation toward the results of the study of the laws governing the social development of our society under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution is exceptionally important to pedagogical theory." These authors consider that the main purpose of the article published in the journal is to bring to light this most important term.

Today not only a scientific and technical retooling of material production but changes in the very nature of the work and in preparations for the work are taking place in society. It is precisely the creative capabilities of man and his independent and initiative-minded participation in the organization and implementation of a variety of social, economic, technological, and other processes that become determining in terms of the existence and reproduction of contemporary means of human life. This truly revolutionary change in social development is of exceptional importance to all training and educational practices.

"The creative capabilities of man," write V. Davydov and F. Mikhaylov, "are developed only by factual work which requires of everyone to stress his own capabilities and will power and the ability to join in the process of the factual implementation of this work. This organically encompasses the experience and knowledge of comrades and teachers, and the experience and knowledge of the creators of culture, 'codified' in their work. The collective appears and strengthens in the course of joint efforts in the implementation of a common project. It is precisely V. Sukhomlinskiy's legacy that contains intuitively found methods for organizing the life of the children with meaningful labor contacts."

The discovery and study of such forms which are developed in the daily practice of the most creatively active teachers, and their study within the overall context of the Marxist-Leninist theory of social development and the theory of the molding and development of the individual would be a truly noble task for scientific educators. On this level practical teachers would have in the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences not an opponent but an ally or an assistant, a fellow worker, in the search for effective ways for the purposeful molding of a comprehensively developed personality.

Under the conditions of universal secondary education, the readers note, we must concretize the educational objectives of the school and make them consistent with the volume and content of curricula, training methods, and the organization of extracurricular work, and elaborate an effective system for the assessment of training and educational activities.

Bearing in mind that the problems of communist education and training of the Soviet youth are resolved not only within the school system but by other departments and public organizations as well, the need exists for the formulation of a nationwide coordination plan which would reflect a long-term program for the molding of the new man in accordance with the historical formulations of the CPSU.

The party and the people have profound respect and gratitude toward the great army of Soviet teachers who dedicate their efforts and knowledge and the full warmth of their hearts to the training and education of the growing generation. Tomorrow, at the new stage of the building of communism, today's school students will purposefully resolve major social and political problems. The school is a factor in the further upsurge of the education and culture of the Soviet people and their future and even greater accomplishments. That is why it faces strict requirements. The interaction between pedagogical theory and practice must become closer. The system used in organizing universal secondary education must become more flexible so that the school may meet more fully the progressively changing requirements of our dynamic century. The USSR Ministry of Education and the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences must listen to the critical voices expressed in the party and Soviet press on a principled basis, and from the positions of complete interest in improving the work.

Editorial note:

Yet another letter was received after the present survey had been prepared for printing, sent by the outstanding Soviet composer, Lenin Prize Laureate, and Hero of Socialist Labor D. B. Kabalevskiy. The full text of the letter follows.

5003

CSO: 1802

MAJOR RESERVE IN THE PEDAGOGICAL ARSENAL

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 77 pp 90-92

[Letter to the editors by Dm. Kabalevskiy]

[Text] The article by Yu. Azarov "Civic-Mindedness and Humaneness," dedicated to V. A. Sukhomlinskiy's pedagogical views, carried by KOMMUNIST, was extremely timely. I read this article with tremendous satisfaction, as it directed the attention to the most important problems of socialist pedagogy.

V. A. Sukhomlinskiy's theoretical concepts and practical activities and tremendous literary legacy have been placed today by reality itself in the center of the interests of our pedagogical public. The attitude toward Sukhomlinskiy enables us to judge the way of thinking of those who display this attitude.

Naturally, it would be foolish to pit Sukhomlinskiy against other outstanding Soviet pedagogists. However, it is impossible not to see the fact that, embodying the progressive pedagogical ideas of the distant and recent past and enriching them with the tremendous and meaningful experience of our days, better than any other educator Sukhomlinskiy asserted through all his activities, works, and vitality the most important ideas expressed by K. D. Ushinskiy to the effect that pedagogy should be described not as a science but as an art relying on science, a very vast, complex, noblest, and most necessary of all arts.

Yes, Sukhomlinskiy's pedagogy is high art and he himself was a true creator. His pedagogical concepts resemble an endlessly developing symphony in which there is no traditional pattern but which is dominated by the unity of inspiration and irrefutable logic. Each episode in this pedagogical symphony breathes creativity and, at the same time, is a necessary link in the logical chain of proofs revealing and asserting its main idea. Yu. Azarov properly said of V. A. Sukhomlinskiy's literary-pedagogical legacy that "That which has been created by the hands of the working people is a true hymn of human beauty and labor."

Is it therefore amazing that Sukhomlinskiy's personality, activities, and views attract all educators who try to think creatively; who try to achieve through their work something new and better; who see as their task not only to teach the entire class something but, above all, to help unravel and mold the personality of everyone within this class, thus molding a live and richly individual collective? Sukhomlinskiy's pedagogy attracts educators who, like himself, have faith in the spiritual forces of their students and treat them with truly human respect.

According to my observations Sukhomlinskiy is either rejected or, at least, accepted with all sorts of amendments, seeking in him all possible flaws, ranging from petty stipulations to major ideological faults--above all on the part of educators incapable of the creative perception of the world and of creative thinking, not to speak of creative activities. In their view education is no longer education without a teeth-gripping, super-scientific jargon; if dry "information" yields to the living, creative word; if the material is not broken down according to strictly regulated chapters, paragraphs, and items; if it exceeds too daringly the limits of conventional "rules" and "exercises." Sukhomlinskiy and formalism are incompatible.

I felt particularly sharply Sukhomlinskiy's tremendous help and support at the beginning of the 1970's, when I was attracted by the complex yet truly urgent problem of reorganizing music classes (and, more broadly, art classes) in general educational schools. Sukhomlinskiy's "discovery" brought great happiness to me. His books which I read as they were published helped me to consolidate many of my musical-pedagogical views, taught me a great deal, and inspired me, becoming the source for my pedagogical thoughts and, if I may express myself so, the source of my pedagogical emotions.

I took V. A. Sukhomlinskiy's statement that "musical education is not the education of a musician but, above all, the education of a person" as the epigraph of the new music curriculum for general educational schools. I also used as an epigraph to my new book "Kak Rasskazyvat' Detyam o Muzyke" [How to Tell Children About Music] his words "The art of education means, above all, the art to speak, to address oneself to the human heart." I also completed the book with Sukhomlinskiy's words: "The word can never explain completely the entire depth of music. However, without words we could not approach such a most refined realm of knowledge of the senses."

I consider particularly valuable Sukhomlinskiy's idea of the unity between the ethical and the aesthetic in the education of children. In itself, naturally, this is not a new idea. However, Sukhomlinskiy imbued with it literally all aspects of his pedagogical concept more systematically and convincingly than ever accomplished so far by any educator. Study, work, science, art, relations between children and adults in school and at home, anti-religious education, classes in political information, trips to the forest, and children's creativity--there seems to be no field of curricular and extracurricular life in which Sukhomlinskiy has not shown that morality is the supreme criterion in assessing the human personality and all its activities and that in morality the ethical and the aesthetic are indivisible.

The unity between the ethical and the aesthetic are revealed most completely in the exposure of children to art. The characteristic of art and its essential distinction from scientific subjects is precisely the fact that any truly artistic work mandatorily includes not only an aesthetic but an ethical principle. No power could separate them. This is confirmed by an infinite number of examples, beginning with the initial exposure of the child to art in the preschool years and ending with the greatest peaks of great art.

Only a hopelessly ossified formalist could "study" with the children (let us borrow examples from music) even elementary simple children's folk songs such as "Don, don, don! The cat's house is a fire!" or "Our quail is getting old," divesting them of the ethical principle. Try to separate the ethical principle from the aesthetic in songs such as Beliy's "Eaglet," Knipper's "Polyushka-Pole," Pakhmutova's "The Pipe Player Walks Ahead," or else various yet equally meaningful bigger works such as Glinka's "Ivan Susanin," Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, or Prokof'yev's "Zolushka!"

There is an ethical charge in any work of art. However, we must not forget that such a charge could be not only positive but negative. That is why the development of a high aesthetic taste and of an "immunity against triteness" is a most important task not only of aesthetic but, above all, moral education. Here again nothing could take the place of art. A single Prokof'yev waltz from "War and Peace" in the course of which Natasha Rostova meets Andrey Bolkonskiy could give boys and girls immeasurably more than dozens of new reports and talks on spiritual purity, love, and morality...

I will never describe music as the "best" art among other arts. However, music has a particular quality which distinguishes it from all other arts: The ability to lead simultaneously any number of people along the same channel indicated by the composer, while leaving, at the same time, within everyone the possibility to find within its channel his own self, to experience something particularly close to him. Is this not the reason for which when man feels very good or, conversely, very bad that it is precisely music that he chooses among all arts? Is this not the reason for which music holds a leading position among all the arts in times of mass celebrations? Is this not the reason for which in the sad days of parting with those close to us nothing can replace music among all the arts? And, to repeat this yet once again, listening to the same music millions of people find themselves within it, find their own thoughts and feelings and their individuality.

That is why there could be no full education of the personality with such most important aspects as civic-mindedness and humaneness without art and, particularly, without music. The musical culture of the masses is a gigantic and far from exhausted reserve of the people's spiritual forces.

5003

CSO: 1802

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA AND FRANCE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 77 pp 93-102

[Article by Georges Cognot]

[Text] The communists, the working people the world over, all people who care for freedom and social progress, are solemnly celebrating the 60th anniversary of the biggest event, of the most radical turn in the contemporary epoch--the October Socialist Revolution--made under the leadership of the great Lenin, a revolution which opened a new era in the history of mankind. The aspect of the world changed in October 1917 and the foundations of age-old injustice trembled. For the past several years this great event which put an end to the worldwide and undivided rule of capitalism has been considered as the starting point of the contemporary epoch even in the bourgeois textbooks used in the French higher schools.

Sixty years ago the French authorities, the press, and all other information media enjoying the monopoly of the word were engaged in a frantic campaign against the Bolsheviks, declaring their successes accidental and short-lived. The Clemenceau Government was doing everything possible to suppress the internationalist tendencies within the French working class, resorting to the basest police provocations. Concluding on 23 December 1917 a treaty with Great Britain on the division of Russia into spheres of influence, it soon afterwards launched a military intervention against the young Soviet Republic.

Addressing an international conference held in Atlantic City in October 1919, Eugene Schneider, one of the biggest owners of French metallurgical plants, stated: "Russia is agonizing." The French bourgeoisie was ready to assist with all its forces what it believed to be the last "convulsions" of Bolshevism. It wanted to drown it in blood as it had done once with the Paris Commune.

Yet, it was in vain that the French Government and bourgeoisie were resorting at that time, starting with 1917, to the coarsest lies and slanders in an effort to defame the Soviet system and represent it as a fellow conspirator of German imperialism without pangs of conscience. It was in vain that they

promoted Wilson's ideology in an effort to hinder the dissemination of Lenin's ideas.

It would be unnecessary to repeat here the memorable history of refusal on the part of military personnel to serve in the French interventionist army, in whose defense Marcel Cachin spoke in the Chamber of Deputies, or to repeat the story of the broad movement of stevedores and of the entire French working class under the slogan of "Hands Off Soviet Russia!" It would be unnecessary to depict extensively the heroic death of Jeanne Labourbe. The pages of this epoch, recording the historical victory of proletarian internationalism, will always touch an emotional response in the hearts of the working class.

All the efforts of the enemies of the October Revolution were fruitless and their hopes failed.

The October Revolution won and thus turned into reality the expectations of all working people and all progressive men who dreamed of a new society based on fraternity. The October Revolution proved that the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is not eternal and that a system based on the exploitation of man by man could be in fact eliminated.

The October Revolution also proved that the secrets of the greatness of a nation are contained in socialism, and that socialism is the source of strength of the peoples and of their economic, political, moral, and defense power. It was no accident that real socialism built in the USSR played a decisive role in the defeat of the fascist aggressors in World War II and in the liberation of all European countries which, like France, had crumbled under the strikes of the "Lightning War" like card houses. Defeating the Hitlerite military machine, the Soviet Union made it possible for our people to save themselves from shameful slavery and resume its place among the sovereign nations. Even such a fierce opponent of communism as Leon Blum wrote in 1945 that "The heroism of the Red Army and the Soviet people triggers the admiration and gratitude of all French people worthy of that name."

What great changes have occurred in the world since 1917! Western "Sovietologists" asked, as in the 23 November 1976 LE MONDE newspaper: "What does the strength of the Soviets consist of?"

A short yet meaningful subtitle in the same paper states: "Everything is in order with Soviet technology." It would be difficult to claim the opposite when Soviet workers and engineers are building in the French city of Issoire the biggest and most modern hydraulic press in the capitalist world. The 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses earmarked inspiring prospects and tasks: To insure the organic combination between the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and the advantages of the socialist production method, to upgrade production effectiveness, to improve the utilization of the country's economic potential, and to implement all these measures on the basis of the creative initiative of the masses. The stable and dynamic development of the Soviet economy is steadily multiplying the national resources and insuring the growth of the people's prosperity, oriented toward ever greater social objectives.

Today there is no longer a single socialist country but a world socialist system. The successes of the socialist countries in the economic, social, and cultural realms are changing to an ever greater extent the ratio among class forces in the world arena in favor of socialism and democracy.

On 12 September 1882 F. Engels wrote to K. Kautskiy that the victorious proletariat cannot impose upon any foreign people any happiness without undermining its own victory. He noted that the force of the example of victorious socialism will be tremendous. This prediction has come true. Under the pressure of the masses, after a lengthy and fierce struggle, the ruling classes in most capitalism countries were forced to grant the working people certain new rights.

The international movement of the working class and of the democratic and peace-loving forces has increased considerably. The October Revolution determined radical changes in the organization of the people's masses.

Communist parties were organized. The Communist International, organized in March 1919, played a tremendous role in the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist doctrine and in the intensification of the workers' movement in our country. A militant party, a party of a new type was established, basing its work on the theory of scientific socialism developed by Lenin, a party unifying this doctrine, strong with the unity and discipline of its ranks, a party based on democratic centralism.

Occasionally it is considered fashionable to question the very idea of the establishment of the Komintern. Naturally, the Komintern as well was unable to avoid the left-wing infantile disease, and it committed a lot of errors after Lenin's death. However, all the positive aspects of its activities far outweighed the errors committed.

At the crest of the upsurge of the labor movement the congress of the then French Socialist Party, convening in Tours, in December 1920, passed a resolution by majority vote (3,252 out of 4,575) in favor of joining the Komintern. In his report to the Second All-Russian Congress of Mining Workers, on 23 January 1921, Lenin joyfully greeted the results of the Tours Congress: "...We...have won over the majority...all of them have accepted our theory, all the best workers, all the best leaders" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 42, pp 253-254).

Since that time the communist movement has grown and strengthened. The communist parties have become a determining factor in political life in a number of capitalist countries, including France. They are in the vanguard of workers and democratic forces.

In the lifespan of a single generation the very broad national-liberation movement brought independence to the tremendous majority of former colonial countries oppressed and plundered by imperialism. Many of them choose a socialist orientation. The victory of the Great October Revolution marked the beginning of the crisis of the colonial system. It was not in vain that

as early as December 1920 the colonialist (Morino), the mayor of Philippville, in Algeria, addressing the French Chamber of Deputies, spoke of the danger of the liberation movement caused by the "wind blowing out of Moscow."

Unquestionably, the struggle against colonialism was consistent with the rich humanistic traditions of the French democratic and labor movements. However, even workers' leaders such as Guede and Jaures, while fighting colonial oppression, were not aware of the scientific theory of imperialism. Colonialist trends dominated the United Socialist Party which existed until 1920: "France's civilizing mission" in the colonies was usually accepted as something self-evident and obvious.

Whereas at its December 1920 constituent congress the French Communist Party passed a resolution exposing colonial imperialism, and whereas in the 1920's it fought against the colonial wars in Morocco and Syria, and if in the 1950's and 1960's it mobilized the working people in the fight against the dirty wars in Algeria and Vietnam, all this was due to the fact that at the time of its creation the Communist Party sharply broke with opportunism on whose behalf Millerand launched at the turn of the century the cynical slogan of "sensible development and utilization of our (sic!) colonial possessions."

At the constituent congress of the French Communist Party a young Indochinese delegate, who subsequently entered history under the great name of Ho Chi Min, said: "We see in joining the Third International the direct obligation of the socialist parties to ascribe, finally, a proper significance to the colonial problem." Violently mocked by the opportunistic minority, the communist Vaillant-Locouturier spoke of the great significance of the liberation struggle waged by the people of the Orient and of Lenin's ideas of linking this struggle with the struggle waged by the proletariat of the main imperialist countries.

Since then history has fully confirmed the correctness of the revolutionaries and mocked those who believed in their own right to speak ironically of the ability of colonial peoples to wage a struggle. The October Revolution carried in its banners the liberation of all peoples of the world.

Thus, the influence of the October Revolution was of decisive significance to the French workers' movement. As Maurice Thorez said in 1957 "It pulled it out of a state of decay and helplessness in which it found itself starting with the 1914 imperialist war. It elevated and revived it." However, he noted, the creation of a workers party of a new type also took place "in accordance with the characteristic features of the proletarian movement and political circumstances in France."

Claiming that in 1920 the communist "faction" of the French workers' movement allegedly "abandoned its dignity" and national traditions, revisionist historians distort the reality in the interest of the anti-communist campaign.

Taking the side of Leninism, which is the Marxism of the epoch of the revolution, the Marxism of the 20th Century, the French progressive workers

revived the best and the greatest traditions of national history, the traditions of 1871, of the June 1848 revolution, and of Babouvism. It was precisely this that the outstanding historian Albert Mathiez, an active communist at that time, tirelessly emphasized. Despite all exaggerations and confusions allowed by Mathiez, we must not forget that the parallel he drew between Jacobinism and Bolshevism was, essentially, correct. Lenin too said that the revolutionary social democratic is a Jacobin, inseparably linked with the proletarian organization and aware of his class interests.

The French workers and democratic movement enjoyed long revolutionary traditions and the young majority did not reject these traditions in the least but took them up. Under the vivifying rays of the Russian revolution the old tree sprouted new green leaves.

It was no accident that in 1919, in his "preface to the pamphlet by Henry Gilbeau 'Socialism and Syndicalism in France During the War'" Lenin showed the deep roots of the Third Communist International, and the preparations for its creation, different among the individual nations, depending on their historical characteristics, adding that "One must know the deep roots of the Third International to be able to understand its inevitability and difference in the ways it was reached by the different national socialist parties" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 38, p 297). Lenin was right: Communism was not arbitrarily adapted to the French workers' movement. In our country it had its "deep roots" and "specific preparations."

The decision taken at Tours was neither unexpected nor accidental. It was the result and the completion of the development of the entire previous French workers' movement, and a typical example of a historically ripened event.

It cannot be denied that in France the very fact of the existence and activities of a communist party continues to have a great influence on the country's political life, and that the communist party has become an impressive power today, a big mass party exerting a decisive influence. This profound rooting of the communist party in social life would have seemed strange had its establishment been an accidental event rather than a historical necessity and a natural result of the development of French society. In 1920 the international influence of the October Revolution and French revolutionary traditions harmoniously blended.

The French working people who supported socialism proclaimed in Tours that they were no longer willing to tolerate the equivocal policy of discredited leaders and the now open opportunism of the right-wing and the conciliationists statements of the centurist hindering the struggle against opportunism. However, in this matter again bourgeois and revisionist historiography distorts the meaning of the 1920 congress as was done by the opportunistic minority immediately following the historical meetings in Tours. It is trying to depict them as a kind of generation struggle in which the young won over the old; ignorant but indefatigable novices allegedly took over from honorable pioneers and experienced veterans of the movement.

In reality, the revolutionary majority included a number of experienced fighters among the front-line veterans such as Paul Dailliant-Couturier and young workers such as Maurice Thorez. Fabrication cannot face simple truth: The congress in Tours was a victory by the revolutionaries of three generations--the old cadres, the participants in the 1914-1918 war, and the young workers--over the supporters of class cooperation.

Thanks to the October Revolution the French workers' movement and its leaders resumed a militant feeling, a feeling of responsibility, a spirit of party mindedness, opposing dilettantism and skepticism and the idle expectation which were all too frequently characteristic of the representatives of the old social-democratic movement.

Marxism was no longer approached primarily from the mechanistic and passive viewpoints, as a doctrine of the automatic destruction of capitalism. The role of the subjective factor, and of the revolutionaries' personal participation and dedication was reacknowledged. Human awareness and behavior began to be considered not only as the product of the environment and of historical development but as an active force influencing history itself.

Following the example of the Bolsheviks and the advice of the Communist International, in 1924-1925 the young French Communist Party restructured its organization based on the production principle, and created cells at enterprises, breaking with the electoralist¹ tradition of organizing the work only on the basis of territorial characteristics.

Thanks to this influence the party realized the importance of working with the masses and the policy of a single front which opposes, on the one hand, the opportunistic practice of passiveness and free play and, on the other, sectarianism and left-wing phraseology inherited from anarcho-syndicalism and petit bourgeois revolutionarism. The French Communist Party learned from the Bolsheviks that it must always fight on two fronts: Against the opportunistic suppression of the principles of the class struggle and the non-recognition of the leading role of the working class, denied by reformism to this day, as well as against sectarian narrow-mindedness and dogmatism.

It learned from the Bolsheviks to take into consideration the entire importance of the agrarian problem which was ignored by the opportunistic socialist party until 1914, as well as the question of the alliance with the non-proletariat toiling masses as a whole.

Until 1914, unquestionably, the socialist party was right in linking socialism with the blossoming of freedom and democracy. However, it erred in ignoring the main problem of the workers' movement: "The political expropriation of the bourgeoisie," as defined in 1885 by Paul Lafargue, when it sacrificed

¹ Electoralism (a neologism stemming from the French word "electoral") is the tendency of subordinating the party's policy to achieving electoral successes.

the interests of the class struggle for the sake of electoralist opportunism and considered the actions of the masses only as an auxiliary tool in the parliamentary struggle, regarded as the latest word of "tactical wisdom."

The experience of the October Revolution taught that the state power seized by the working class and its allies should be used for socializing main capital goods and trade while simultaneously changing the very objective of the production process, henceforth aimed not at extracting profits for the oligarchy but at satisfying the needs of the people's masses, and at the harmonious and free development of all working people.

In France the enemies of the October Revolution depicted it as an act of barbarism. However, the delegates at the Tours Congress realized in their tremendous majority that the focal point of the revolution was the problem of man, his ennoblement and happiness. In his speech at the congress Marcel Cachin justifiably described the Bolsheviks as "The only bearers of humanism in the world."

In our days it is becoming ever more difficult to conceal the obvious fact of the blossoming of the individual in the USSR, the scope of the cultural interests of the Soviet people, the wealth of their spiritual life, and their open view on the world. For example, LES NOUVELLES LITTERAIRES, the Paris weekly, emphasized, in its 22 January 1976 issue, that works by French writers are warmly welcomed in the Soviet Union: "To make a survey of French culture in the Soviet Union would mean to cover it with flowers...The halo of our great writers remains inviolable there..." "A critical viewpoint," he adds, could be heard only among...the counterrevolutionary emigres. Another Paris newspaper, even in a strictly anti-Soviet article, was unable to conceal its admiration of the fact that "the average Muscovite purchases 16 books per year, which is very impressive."

The noble humanism of the Soviet people was manifested in the struggle for peace with particular emphasis and clarity.

Lenin's Decree on Peace--a brilliant manifestation of humanism--profoundly touched the French workers. They warmly supported this first act of the victorious people who proclaimed the aggressive imperialist war a crime and, in Lenin's words, was called upon "to help the peoples to intervene in matters of war and peace" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch," Vol 35, p 16).

The Lyons Metallurgical Workers' Trade Union was not alone when it exposed, on 17 February 1918, the "inability of bourgeois forces to resolve major national and international problems," emphasizing that "the metallurgists proclaim their agreement with anyone who accepts the statements on peace by the Russian revolutionaries who have announced that such peace could be based only on the right of nations to self-determination without annexations and reparations, and that it must be the peace of the peoples." In the same district, on 14 February, in the town of Givors, the head of the Trade Unions Association of the Loire Department enthusiastically greeted the Russian Revolution in his speech to 1,500 people; the question of the need for an uprising with a view

to putting an end to the imperialist war was discussed extensively; strikes calling for peace broke out.

Throughout the entire history of mankind strengthening the peace has been linked with the struggle for social and political progress, and for freedom and education. It was not accidentally that Immanuel Kant wrote his philosophical treatise "On Eternal Peace" at a time when the gains of the French Revolution were being consolidated, and when the peoples were expressing new hopes. Naturally, in the 20th century the banner of peace was raised by the October Revolution. This time, however, the system of exploitation of man by man was overthrown and, thanks to this, the aspiration to lasting peace did not remain merely a noble illusion shared by philosophers or a beautiful dream of the peoples. The Soviet State and the other socialist states turned this aspiration into reality.

The October Revolution brought to life a new type of international relations. It made possible the type of foreign policy which recognizes the sovereignty of big and small peoples and condemns war as a means for settling disputes. It proclaimed the struggle for peace throughout the world its basic principle. Foreign policy stopped being the privilege of a handful of representatives of big capitalism and became a matter for the entire people. Ties of continuity link the Decree on Peace, passed at the Second Congress of Soviets, with the Peace Program formulated at the 24th and developed at the 25th CPSU Congresses.

In our days the main objective of the peoples in the world is the struggle for an end to the arms race, intensification of detente, strengthening security and international cooperation, and struggle against reactionary and militaristic forces which undermine detente and yearn for a return to the cold war. These forces are active in France as well whose excessively inflated military budget is absorbing huge funds which could be directed to the solution of major economic, technical, social, and cultural problems facing the nation. Naturally, these major tasks affect, above all, the communists who are the spiritual sons of the October Revolution and the representatives of the most humane, most optimistic, and most noble and life-asserting outlook. It is natural and legitimate that the tremendous efforts dedicated to the preservation of the peace, characteristic of our times, were launched on the initiative of the Soviet Union. They brought about an initial positive result mainly thanks to the growing prestige and influence of the Soviet State and the entire socialist comity.

The struggle for peace is inseparable from the nation's struggle for independence and sovereignty. The French Communist Party opposes the trend toward the country's increased Atlantic dependence. It opposes connivance with the intent to establish in western Europe the hegemony of West German imperialism which is presenting itself as a "model" and is arrogantly stating through the voice of Jurgen Offenbach, writing in the STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN that "West Germany is Europe's America." The communists believe that the fate of France must be decided by France itself, by the French people. They favor an independent and active France which would reject any interference and transnational integration.

Much has changed compared with the situation 60 years ago and the current situation in France is different from that of Russia in 1917.

The building of socialism was carried out by the Soviet people with the greatest possible dedication, at the cost of tremendous deprivation in a country with a multi-tiered economy in which the patriarchal small peasant economy coexisted with capitalism which had reached its monopoly stage. Once the socialist revolution had begun, Lenin frequently pointed out the difference between developed capitalist countries and averagely developed Russia. This situation prevailing in the Soviet State brought to life the specific forms of the transitional period. Tremendous efforts were needed to surmount economic and cultural backwardness, not to mention the elimination of the ruinous consequences of World War I and the imperialist intervention of 14 countries. In the 1920's and 1930's the USSR was like a besieged fortress. Inevitably, this aggravated the struggle both within the country and abroad, waged against the opponents of the building of socialism. The exceptional difficulties surmounted by the Soviet Union underscore even further the greatness of its accomplishments.

In our days the ratio of forces in the world has changed in favor of socialism and to the detriment of capitalism. The French working class must convert to socialism through forms consistent with the conditions of its country. Suffice it to think of the level reached in the development of production forces to understand the need for new ways. "All nations," Lenin wrote, "will reach socialism. This is inevitable. However, not all of them will reach it entirely identically, and each country will introduce a variety in terms of one or another form of democracy or dictatorship of the proletariat, or the pace of socialist reorganization of various aspects of public life" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 30, p 123). In another work Lenin, this giant of thought and action, also cautioned us as follows: "Do not reduce...our revolutionary science to a simple paper dogma. Do not debase it..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 9, p 304).

As early as 1946, on the basis of Lenin's ideas and in accordance with the changed ratio of forces, in his famous interview granted to THE TIMES, Maurice Thorez stated that, naturally, each nation follows its path and that the French people too will find their own path of transition to socialism. A tactic cannot be built only on the basis of common truths and a single system. It must stem from the study of objective conditions, factual political circumstances, and ratio of class forces.

In the words of Comrade Waldek Roche, who replaced Maurice Thorez as French Communist Party secretary general, "To be a Marxist and a revolutionary means to make use of different ways and means of struggle under different historical conditions" (TETRADI INSTITUTA MORISA TOREZA, No 7-8, p 253). Like Marxists in all other countries, the French Marxists cannot mechanically copy the experience of the USSR or of other socialist states.

In the past 60 years the single revolutionary process has become richer, more varied. The successes of existing socialism, of the workers and democratic

movements in the capitalist countries, and of the national-liberation movement weakened imperialism and presented it with serious difficulties.

The ratio of forces changed in our country as well. In a country such as France the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism is paralleled by an upsurge in the struggle waged by the broad masses and the growing desire to change the existing state of things. The development of state-monopoly capitalism under the conditions of a progressing instability creates objective prerequisites for the broadest possible anti-monopolistic alliance among all classes and strata suffering from the domination of the financial oligarchy. Today the possibility of having a left-wing government with communist participation is a reality for France, triggering happiness in some and fear in others. The popular masses are realizing ever more clearly the possibility of a leftist alternative and of a different logic of economic development as the result of several parties cooperating within the government.

We are living under the conditions of an intensified struggle against the system of state-monopoly capitalism as a whole, stronger trend toward unity among leftist forces, and ripening of the necessary prerequisites for the democratization of social life. The French Communist Party is dedicating all possible efforts to create an alliance among the French people on the basis of a joint program, whose nucleus will be the alliance of leftist forces.

As the toiling popular masses are exposed ever more frequently, through their own experience, and particularly under the circumstances of the present crisis, to the disgusting capitalist provocations, the belief is strengthening that capitalism has found itself at a dead end and that the attractiveness of socialist ideas and ideals is growing.

The changes experienced by France are taking place under circumstances of a general crisis of state-monopoly capitalism which is continuously aggravating and covering all realms of social activity.

An economic crisis has been raging for the past several years against the background of a general crisis, throwing the French economy back and triggering not only galloping inflation and dizzying price rises but a growth of unemployment which is an ineradicable evil of the capitalist system. According to expert forecasts unemployment may increase in 1977. The economic crisis deprives the youth of work and of the joys of life. To the petit and middle peasantry it means bankruptcy and the threat of expropriation, forcing the peasants to seek help, increasing pauperism and depreciation of the national currency.

Ortoli, the former chairman of the Brussels Commission of European Communities, states that the economic crisis "is not an intermediary stage" and that "one should not hope for a speedy end." The policy of so-called strict economy hits at the non-monopoly social strata, above all hired labor, without affecting the "rights" of the oligarchy to exploit and speculate, and without affecting the profits of big capitalism. In a society describing itself as the "consumers' society," millions of people live in a state of poverty

depriving themselves of prime necessities. Unemployment is deliberately increased through measures of production rationalization and concentration which lead to a reduction of jobs and are the almost only realm of new capital investments while stagnation prevails in all other areas. Characteristic of the current stage of capitalist decay is a new combination of chronic inflation with mass unemployment. France is experiencing simultaneously both inflation and economic decline.

A moral and cultural crisis is added to the economic crisis. Education and scientific research are unable to eliminate the pressure of insurmountable obstacles. Access of the working people to education is becoming more complex. Ever more frequently students face barriers hard to surmount. Science has been subordinated to the selfish and limited interests of the monopolies and its horizons are narrowing. Faith in science is being undermined. Irrationalism is spreading. Replacing rational knowledge with "intuition," "inner feeling," and "contemplation of universality" is preached. The mass information media are being degraded and subjected to an ever greater extent to the dominance and manipulation of the authorities. Culture has been turned against the people. To an ever greater extent the intelligentsia is experiencing the same difficulties and feelings as the masses of manual workers. The number of intellectuals opposing reaction and cultural stagnation is growing.

The sovereignty of the people, equality, and individual freedoms are threatened with the growth of poverty and insecurity. The exploitation and dehumanizing of labor are increasing. Democratic material guarantees are weakening with every passing day. Yet, any concept of freedom, deprived of material support, is the equivalent of writing a check without a bank account. The lack of economic democracy emasculates the content of political democracy.

The authoritarian and personal nature of the regime is increasing. The parliament plays the role of a pseudo-democratic shield behind which the government and the high officials calmly engage in arbitrary actions. Monopoly capitalism is trampling democracy and replacing it with bureaucratic centralism. It considers politics the continuation of business by other means.

Under such circumstances the working class and the popular masses are increasing their political activeness and are fighting for a democratic solution to the crisis, a solution which would open the path to socialist changes. The French Communist Party gives priority to strengthening the movement of the peoples' masses. In 1976 the French Communist Party gained over 105,000 new members. The party's policy became more aggressive and more initiative-minded. The party ascribes decisive significance to unity of action in the working class.

The acknowledgement that new, broad possibilities for sociopolitical development exist is not related to any fatal predetermination. The possibility for progress is attained not automatically but in the course of

a sharp struggle between the supporters of anti-monopoly democracy, which would be a major step forward to achieving true democratic socialism, and the forces of the oligarchy. Within the democratic camp itself explanatory work is being done and a struggle is being waged for a clear demarcation between revolutionaries and reformists, and those who support, to one or another extent, confused petit bourgeois theories and, in some cases, continue to defend the ideological positions supported by Leon Blum at the Tours Congress. The most reliable guarantee of success in establishing an alliance of the people of France and the implementation of a joint program is the development, increased prestige, and strengthened ranks of the communist party whose influence among the leftist forces in the country must become sufficiently strong. Suffice it to look at the situation in the capitalist part of Europe to note that wherever the social democrats try to avoid an alliance with the communist party in the administration of a country no radical change takes place and the capitalist system remains.

The strengthening of the French Communist Party presumes, above all, its active and constant work in all fields of social life, in plants, establishments, schools, urban centers and rural areas, with a view to defending the interests and demands of 16 million working people experiencing innumerable difficulties and living in poverty. As Georges Marchais, French Communist Party secretary general, emphasized, nothing can be gained without struggle: "An occasional participation in elections is insufficient in terms of changing the situation. One must also struggle...The path we intend to follow is that of developing the broadest possible movement by the popular majority, democratically expressed in the electoral struggle and through general elections" (L'HUMANITE, 6 May 1976).

The communist party does not limit its tasks to the implementation of a joint program. It is the party of socialism in France, fully consistent with the fact that it is the party of the working class which plays the role of a motive force and of vanguard in the struggle waged by all people's masses, as was clearly stated in the document adopted at the 22nd French Communist Party Congress.

Socialism organically proves the expansion of democracy and the growing participation of the popular masses in politics. The French Communist Party particularly emphasizes the problems of the individual and the state and of political and civic freedoms. The French Communist Party is the only French party to formulate and submit to public discussion a charter of freedoms, proposing that it be included in the preamble to the constitution. The conclusions drawn at the 22nd French Communist Party Congress stipulate that at all stages in the movement toward socialism and the development of socialist democracy the people will be called upon to express their views and that the honest observance of the universal electoral right, trampled by the current French electoral laws, will be mandatory for anyone in accordance with the best traditions of national history. The strengthening of the people's sovereignty is one of the revolutionary-democratic tasks. Its implementation will insure the working class, in its exercise of power, the type of role

consistent with the factual position it holds in the life of the country and will lay solid foundations for the alliance among the French people; such an alliance could strengthen only on the basis of respect for the social, philosophical, and other differences marking the various strata which make up the French people.

The course taken by the French Communist Party should not weaken in any way its solidarity with the other communist parties, particularly those which are already leading their peoples on the path of socialism. Furthermore, as Maurice Thorez always pointed out, the working people in our country owe the fact that a peaceful and democratic transition to socialism is possible in France to the heroic efforts and selflessness of those who radically changed the world in 1917 and in the years that followed. They owe this above all to the pioneers of socialism, the fighters of the October Revolution. One of the manifestations of the fruitful impact of the Russian Revolution is that it predetermined the variety of ways for achieving socialism based on the different types of societies and national variants, while observing the general laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The study of the characteristic features of the socialist system and their implementation in the socialist countries shows that not all such features have been fully achieved in the practical life of one or another country. Examples of unresolved problems, omissions, and errors in various areas could be cited; they are detected and criticized by the communist parties of those countries themselves. Is the Marxist-Leninist doctrine not critical by its very nature? Furthermore, the socialist system is young, it is only 60 years old, and it would be thoughtless to believe that it has already revealed all its positive possibilities.

It should not be astounding, therefore, that occasionally arguments arise within the French Communist Party on some aspect of reality in one or another socialist country and that critical remarks are expressed; in precisely the same manner one should not be amazed by the fact that different viewpoints may develop among the communist parties. The exaggerated and tendentious use of differences in viewpoints within the international communist movement is one of the favored methods for subversive work by anti-communism which tries to pit the progressive forces in the capitalist countries against the socialist states.

Anti-communism is doing everything possible to present socialism as the opposite of freedom, as was done by the Paris L'AUREOLE in its 30 November 1976 issue with the article entitled "Henceforth the Choice Is Clear; Oppressing Collectivism or Modernized Liberalism." In order to fight the French leftist parties, the newspaper essentially raises the well-known slogan of the West German reactionaries: "Freedom Instead of Socialism!" Only total ignorance of modern history would lead someone to forget that capitalism, whose offspring was fascism, is the enemy of freedom.

The treacherous anti-communist maneuvers are no more successful than the anti-Soviet slanders in 1917. Today anti-communism, unable to conceal its reactionary

and anti-historical insides, is forced to defend itself. Modern history, to which Lenin is always "more alive than the living" is developing under the sign of the revolutionary movement of the working class and the toiling masses.

The forest cannot be hidden by the trees. Neither the French workers nor all French democrats could forget the fact that social progress and the cause of peace and freedom throughout the world owe their existence to the socialist system and, above all, the Soviet Union. They admire the Soviet communists who were the first to free a great nation from exploitation, hunger, poverty, and ignorance. They remember with gratitude and emotion the 20 million Soviet people who died in the war against fascism and for the freedom of the peoples of Europe. They know that the Soviet Union gave invaluable aid to the movement for national and social liberation which developed in all parts of the globe, from China to Cuba, and from Vietnam to Angola. Nothing could conceal the tremendous growth of the international role played by the Soviet Union. A radical change in the ratio of forces would have been impossible without that which was brought into motion by the October Revolution, that which the Soviet Union is today.

The light of the October Revolution illuminates and will always illuminate the path followed by the working people and by the entire people of France in the struggle for democratic development and social progress and for socialism, which is a guarantee for equality, freedom, the blossoming of the individual, and a new, bright life.

5003

CSO: 1802

HE WHO DID NOT BECOME A DICTATOR

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 77 pp 103-112

[Article by Professor N. Ivanov, Leningrad]

[Text] In the stormy 1917 this nonentity was looked upon by the enemies of the proletariat as a triumphant leader riding a white horse and "rescuing" Russia. He was praised as "chosen by God," and a "tool of destiny." In the revolutionary camp General Kornilov was given a diametrically opposite assessment. "He is the Russian version of a bourgeois Cavaignac," V. I. Lenin wrote ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 194). As we know, Kornilov gave birth to Kornilovism--a conspiracy between the Russian and international imperialist reaction of August 1917, aimed at establishing in Russia a terrorist military dictatorship and suppressing the ripening socialist revolution through the crudest methods of violence.

V. I. Lenin brilliantly predicted not only the appearance of a Russian Cavaignac, even before Kornilov began to claim this role, but his historical destiny as well. This is confirmed by a number of works he wrote in the spring and summer of 1917, particularly by the outstanding article "What Is the Class Origin of the Cavaignacs to Come?", carried by PRAVDA on 16 June. The French general Cavaignac, who drowned in blood the June 1848 uprising of the Paris proletariat, "was no accident and his 'advent' was not an isolated event," the article stated. He was the representative of the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie and the promoter of its policy.

Lenin pointed out that the objective historical grounds which triggered the French counterrevolutionary conspiracy existed in the Russia of 1917. Such "grounds" were created, on the one hand, by the bitter counterrevolutionary nature of landlords and capitalists and, on the other, by the total inability of the Eser and menshevik petite bourgeoisie to pursue an independent policy, its fear of trusting the revolutionary proletariat, and its subordination to the rich classes. "Where a swamp exists devils will be found. Where a weak hesitating petite bourgeoisie exists, fearing the development of the revolution, the appearance of Cavaignacs is guaranteed," was the conclusion Lenin drew ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 32, p 346).

Lenin's article indicated with extreme clarity the means to surmount bourgeois counterrevolutionary conspiracies. Rallied around its combat revolutionary party, the working class could repel the armed reactionary actions.

However insignificant the personality of General Kornilov may have been, the struggle waged by the Leninist party against the Kornilov movement and Kornilov conspiracy played an important role in the preparations for the Great October Revolution and is of great international significance. A vivid confirmation of the viability of this pre-October lesson was heard from the rostrum of the 25th CPSU Congress, in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's words on the Chilean tragedy: "...It powerfully reminded us of the fact that the revolution must be able to defend itself."

The intrigues of this candidate for the role of a military dictator began in the very first days following the overthrow of tsarism. The leaders of the bourgeois-landlord counterrevolution were considering various generals. They chose Kornilov. On the insistence of the monarchist Rodzyanko, chairman of the Provisional Committee of the State Duma, Kornilov was appointed commander-in-chief of the Petrograd military district. This is necessary, Rodzyanko cabled headquarters, "in order to save Petrograd from anarchy and terror, and support the Provisional Committee which is rescuing the monarchic system" ("Velikaya Oktyabr'skaya Sotsialisticheskaya Revolyutsiya. Khronika Sobytiy" [The Great October Socialist Revolution. Chronicle of Events]. In 4 vols, Vol 1, Moscow, 1957, p 39).

In circumstances marked by the growth of the revolution, Kornilov was unable to implement the plan for immediate "brutal clearing" of Petrograd with the help of "reliable" military units. The reaction was forced to substitute temporarily the tsarist violence over the masses with political violence, using, as Lenin wrote, "fraud, flattery, verbiage, millions of promises, petty charity, and unimportant concessions, while retaining what mattered" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 31, p 158). However, Kornilov's readiness to engage in counterrevolutionary executions was highly rated by all reactionaries. At the 5 April 1917 secret conference of representatives of monopoly capitalism, military circles, and owners of the reactionary press, held in Petrograd, he was named candidate for the position of military dictator. The bank bosses immediately set up a four-million ruble fund to finance the conspiracy. Thus the conspiracy was given a practical base.

Kornilov's protectors and minions did everything possible to aggrandize him. He was ascribed the talent of an outstanding military and political leader. For example, losing his sense of measure, Denikin claimed that in terms of his political views and convictions Kornilov "was close to the broad liberal-democratic strata" and did not even exclude the possibility for his cooperating with a "socialist" government. Actually, there was nothing unusual in this. Creating legends about dictatorship candidates is a necessary attribute of any counterrevolutionary conspiracy. Matters become more complex when facts are needed to back fabrications.

Kornilov's military biography included nothing to prove his abilities. Son of a tsarist official from the eastern part of Kazakhstan, Kornilov graduated from the General Staff Academy in 1898. He served in Turkestan garrisons for six years, took part in the Russian-Japanese war as a staff officer, spent four years in China as a military agent, and occupied various positions in the Amur and Primor'ye areas, rising to the rank of major general. Life and service away from Russian centers did not contribute to Kornilov's acquaintance with the country and its people but fully developed in him the mentality of a tsarist satrap.

At the beginning of World War I he was appointed commanding officer of the 48th Infantry Division, 8th Army, southwestern front. "General Kornilov," A. A. Brusilov, his immediate superior, subsequently recalled, "never spared his division: It suffered horrifying losses in all the battles it joined under his command." He also stated that "because of his fervor he lost soldiers uselessly...Everything was done thoughtlessly, without penetrating into the essence of matters" (A. A. Brusilov, "Moi Vospominaniya" [My Memoirs], Moscow, 1943, pp 117, 246). In the spring of 1915, Kornilov did not obey the command's order to retreat, thus totally losing his division. The division was surrounded. Leaving its remnants to their fate--3,500 soldiers-- Kornilov surrendered with his staff.

Interesting testimony remains on the subject of Kornilov's time as a prisoner of war. General Martynov recalled that the future candidate for the role of Russian dictator filled his free time with reading books on...Napoleon. Martynov noted that his fellow prisoner bored him by comparing various events of his own life with Napoleon's biography. As we may see, Kornilov thought highly of himself and was not short of ambition.

One year later, bribing Feldsher Frantz Mrniak, Kornilov was able to escape. The feldsher was arrested, taken to court, and described the totally unremarkable circumstances of the Russian general's escape. However, interviewed by newspaper correspondents, Kornilov shamelessly described himself as a hero who fought his way to the Russian lines. Such fabrications impressed the tsar. He awarded Kornilov a personal audience and the Order of George, third class, thus saving him from legal responsibility for the lost division. Furthermore, Kornilov was promoted and appointed corps commander.

Kornilov turned out to be just as colorless as a political figure. "Kornilov's political outlook was extremely narrow," wrote Milyukov, leader of the Kadet Party (P. N. Milyukov, "Rossiya na Perelome" [Russia at the Turning Point], in two vols, Vol 2, Paris, 1927, p 57). Shidlovskiy, the noted leader of the Octobrist Party, considered that "he was not an intelligent person and was totally unable to comprehend complex political circumstances" ("Fevral'skaya Revolyutsiya. Memuary"

[The February Revolution. Memoirs], Moscow-Leningrad, 1926, p 314). Naturally, such cutting views express an annoyance with Kornilov's failure, for the statements which were made in the course of his promotions to high positions had been different. Even then, however, the question of Kornilov's abilities was not of decisive significance. His one unquestionable quality was valued: His readiness to commit any crime against the revolutionary people. Not for a minute did his protectors doubt that the general-executioner, seizing power in the country for a given period of time, would remain the obedient puppet of the class which had promoted him. Hard to forget at this point K. Marx's noteworthy statement that: "...Cavaignac embodied not the dictatorship of the sword over bourgeois society but the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the help of the sword" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 7, p 39).

...April 1917. This was a stormy and conflicting time of the peaceful development of the revolution in Russia. Its peoples were bursting for freedom, peace, and bread. What about Kornilov? On 20 April the general attended a session of the Provisional Government and demanded that the peaceful demonstration of Petrograd workers and soldiers, who opposed the familiar "Milyukov note" be fired at. On his order several garrison units and artillery batteries had already been summoned to the palace square. The ministers did not dare to satisfy Kornilov's solicitations. They already knew that the executive committee of the Petrograd Soviet, responding to the concerned telephone calls made by the soldiers' committees, had instructed them not to obey superior orders without the soviet's approval. A scandalous situation developed: The garrison was obeying the soviets. This event reflected the ratio of class forces during the twin power period, when the soviets were still enjoying superiority and, as Lenin pointed out, could have and should have removed the Provisional Government from power unobstructedly. The Eser-Menshevik leadership of the soviets did not profit from this opportunity. However, the bourgeoisie as well did not decide at that time to launch a civil war. It was not ready yet...

Kornilov had to leave Petrograd. An attempt was made to settle him close to the capital as commander-in-chief of the northern front. However, General Alekseyev, the supreme commander-in-chief, remained adamant in his professional scorn for the general who had lost a division at the front. Nevertheless, on the insistence of War Minister Guchkov, Kornilov was appointed commander of the 8th Army of the southwestern front. He was not forgotten by the concerned and influential protectors of the candidate dictator. Soon afterwards Kornilov's sinister name surfaced again on the crest of events.

During the June offensive the 8th Army was able to achieve success in battle as the result of the successful activities of one of its corps commanded by General Cheremisov. In noisy newspaper interviews Kornilov inflated his personal role in this success, even though Cheremisov had acted independently. This was followed by a failure of the offensive adventure. Kornilov used it to engage in the unrestrained persecution of the revolutionary soldiers and their organizations, blaming them for the defeat. With shrieking headlines the reactionary press disseminated his slanderous statements.

Those days the counterrevolutionaries were intoxicated with the blood of the Petrograd workers and soldiers who had been shot at on 4 July as participants in a peaceful demonstration. This crime against the people became possible only as the result of the final shift of the menshevik and Eser parties to the counterrevolutionary camp. The political situation changed sharply. The possibility for a peaceful development of the revolution disappeared and twin power came to an end. The Eser-menshevik soviets became a powerless appendix to the military dictatorship. Kerenskiy, who headed the Provisional Government, pompously stated in a press interview that "he will save Russia and hammer out its unity through blood and steel" (RECH', 9 July 1917).

Kornilov's dizzying progress was launched with the all-round support of the right-wing counterrevolutionary extremist forces. On 8 July he became commander-in-chief of the armies of the southwestern front. The general used this position to launch an even less restrained campaign against the revolutionary order in the army. He demanded the immediate resumption of the death penalty for front-line unit personnel. On his orders mass executions of soldiers, without trials or investigations, were launched on the southeastern front. The bodies of the victims were laid out at crossroads to frighten others. Soldiers' meetings and assemblies were forbidden under the fear of death. Initially, bloody reprisals were launched against soldiers of Bolshevik-leaning units. On 12 July, by ukase of the Provisional Government, the death penalty on the front was restored. The entire bourgeois press praised Kornilov as the main "hero" of this "conquest" by the counterrevolutionary forces. It called for the next step--the extension of the death penalty to the rear.

On 18 July Kornilov reached the highest level in the official military hierarchy: He became supreme commander-in-chief of the Russian Army. Supreme command headquarters in Mogilev turned into the wasp nest of the reaction. Agents

of the central committee of the principal party of the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie--the Kadets, monopoly circles, numerous camps of revolutionary organizations, and international imperialism rushed here. The counter-revolution was becoming more impudent. The conspiracy was gathering strength and writing the scenario of a coup.

In scanning the archives today one is amazed at the monstrous villainy of the Kornilov usurpers. They were planning the total suppression of the democratic freedoms gained by the Russian working people after the overthrow of the autocracy: The abolishment of the soviets and of soldiers and peasants committees, and of all mass workers organizations and the entire left wing press. Forbidding strikes, meetings, and demonstrations, and all forms of political activities in the army under the threat of severe punishment. They intended to proclaim martial law in the areas of active revolutionary movement, institute throughout the country the system of court martials and the death punishment, and militarize industry and transportation. The Kornilovites were preparing to shed seas of blood in destroying the political enemies, the Bolsheviks above all. The subsequent admissions of the ideological inspirers of the Kornilov movement speak eloquently in this connection. They believed that in the eyes of Kornilov "not only all Soviet leaders but minister Chelnov himself were turncoats, traitors, and German agents. Their massacre was being prepared" (P. N. Milyukov, "Rossiya na Perelome." in 2 vols, Vol 1, Paris, 1927, p 104).

The aim of the Kornilovites was to protect the big landed estates and privileges of the nobility and give industrialists and merchants unlimited entrepreneurial freedom. The conspiracy, as Lenin pointed out, concealed the danger of a restoration of the overthrown monarchy. They wished to turn Russia into a military forced labor camp for the working people, a paradise for capitalists and landlords, leaving bullets, gallows, and whips for the unruly.

Kornilov was the puppet of the Russian and international imperialist reaction no longer satisfied with Kerenskiy's Bonapartist maneuvering. Kornilovism expressed the program stipulations of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the landowning class. The Kadet Party and its central committee were the political headquarters of the Kornilov conspiracy. Lenin pointed out with full justification that the Kadets were "the main Kornilovite party" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 34, p 217). The provisional government, headed by Kerenskiy, was not only aware of the preparations for the Kornilov conspiracy but was its direct accomplice. Describing Kerenskiy as a "democratic" gas-bag; a "dummy" of the capitalists and a "typical semi-Kadet" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 31, p 63; Vol 34, pp 185, 199), Lenin pointed out that he "considered himself an Eser, a socialist and a revolutionary, while in fact he was an imperialist" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 35, p 294). Step by step the Kerenskiy movement came closer to the Kornilov movement. They were joined by the common class base and counterrevolutionary objectives. Objectively the members of the Kornilov conspiracy were the upper members of

the Eser and menshevik parties which had inseparably linked themselves to the Kerenskiy movement. In 1917 Russia a certain difference between the two varieties of imperialist counterrevolution could be found only in the fact that more than the Kornilov movement, the Kerenskiy movement was oriented toward the alliance between the big bourgeoisie and the rich petite bourgeoisie strata, directed against the proletariat. Kornilovism expressed more directly the aspirations of the extreme right wing of imperialist reaction. More clearly than the Kerenskiy movement it relied on counter-revolutionary terrorism, for which reason it represented the greatest immediate danger to the revolution.

At the beginning of August 1917 the conspirators began to transfer punitive troops to Petrograd, Moscow, and other centers. They relied mainly on Cossacks and cavalry units less affected by revolutionary agitation, and on "shock" battalions whose personnel had been thoroughly screened.

The most important link in the Kornilov political preparations was the state conference which convened on 12-15 August at the Bol'shoy Theater in Moscow. Two-thirds of its 2,500 delegates represented the bourgeoisie and the land-owners. The mensheviks and Esera who actively participated in the conference were the screen behind which the counterrevolution was mobilizing. The conspirators did not exclude the possibility for a revolutionary coup during the conference. The coup was prevented by a general strike protesting this counterrevolutionary assembly, involving over 400,000 Moscow working people. The strike was called by the Bolsheviks.

The Moscow bourgeoisie organized a demonstrative welcome for Kornilov who had come to attend the state conference. The Aleksandrovskiy (now Belorusskiy) Railroad Station and platform were packed with richly clothed people, officers, and cadets. Particularly noteworthy was the delegation of the Kadet Party Central Committee. A Cossack regiment was lined up in front of the station. Pictures of Kornilov were posted everywhere. Cadets carried the general on their shoulders from the car to the station square. Here, in front of the raving bourgeois crowd, the millionairess Morozova fell on her knees in front of him. According to eye witnesses welcoming shouts merged into a fierce roar. The general answered with hand waves, curtly stating his readiness to "serve Russia."

Kornilov received people in his car the entire day. Vyshnegradskiy and Putilov, the chairmen of the boards of the two biggest banks in Russia, had a business talk with him. Subsequently, Putilov gave the following rendition of his speech to the general: "We are willing to undertake any sacrifice to help restore order. There is money...We are confident that our friends will agree to put all collected funds at your disposal." The representatives of Moscow's millionaires also assured Kornilov of their readiness to open their purses. Milyukov agreed with the general on postponing the action of the conspirators till the end of August when it was believed that the circumstances in the country would be more favorable.

At the state conference Kornilov and his minion Kaledin announced the general features of their program. It was dangerous to give details of the prepared reprisals, for the waves of the people's anger were raging outside the walls of the Bol'shoy Theater. However, what was said was sufficient to trigger in the bourgeois-landowning delegates explosions of tempestuous ovations and greeting shouts. In their speeches Milyukov and the other counterrevolutionaries approved the main feature of the program--the intent to put an end to the soviets and the committees, and to squeeze the revolutionary people in the steel grip of a military dictatorship. This ratification of the Kornilov program was the most important class and political result of the state conference.

The menshevik and Eser leaders, still trying to pass for revolutionaries, voiced hypocritical objections. At that point Kaledin said with brutal frankness: "Yet it is you yourselves, gentlemen ministers-socialists, who appealed to us for help on 3 July!..." The general recalled their participation in dealing with the July demonstration of Petrograd's workers and soldiers. Lenin described Kaledin's words as "the most essential political statement made at the Moscow conference." "No one dared to refute Kaledin at the Moscow conference," Vladimir Il'ich wrote, "for he had told the truth. Kaledin mocked the mensheviks and the Esers who were forced to remain silent. The Cossack general spat in their faces while they called it God's dew!" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 34, p 127). Thus, having completely tied themselves with the bourgeois counterrevolution, the conciliationists revealed their total helplessness in the face of the "future" Cavaignac.

The subsequent events developed rapidly...On 21 August, on Kornilov's order, Riga was treacherously surrendered to the German troops. This was followed by a campaign of monstrous persecution of Bolsheviks and revolutionary soldiers who were accused with endless cynicism of the new defeat at the front. The Russian and foreign reactionary press ravingly called for "restraining" the revolution. The envoys of the allies unceremoniously demanded that Kerenskiy surrender to Kornilov the position of head of the government or agree with him on joint actions. This was the inclination of the Kadet Party Central Committee as well.

Kerenskiy and the Eser-menshevik leadership closely linked with him were able to assess somewhat more soberly than the Kornilovites the political situation in the country. They feared the exaggerated extremism of the Kornilovites which threatened to trigger the type of explosion of mass indignation which could remove both the plot and the power of the bourgeoisie.

The parties chose the path of the conspiracy. Still hoping to agree with Kornilov on joint actions, Kerenskiy sent to general headquarters for talks the right-wing Eser Savinkov who controlled the war ministry. Later, already in exile, Kerenskiy told Buchanan, the former British ambassador to Russia, that he had sent Savinkov to Kornilov "in an effort to reach with him a practical agreement." Savinkov assured the general that the government,

headed by Kerenskiy, would take the path of decisively suppressing the revolution, and that in the next few days martial law would be proclaimed in Petrograd and the law introducing in the country court martials and the death punishment would become effective. On behalf of the government he approved the concentration of four cavalry divisions at the approaches to the capital, already initiated by Kornilov. Like all counterrevolutionary provocateurs, the conspirators did everything possible to depict the crime they were preparing as, allegedly, a "response" to the Bolsheviks' "attempt" to seize the power. Savinkov pointed out that the passing of the law on court martials and the death penalty "naturally, would be the impetus for Bolshevik action," adding that "our actions must be most decisive and merciless." Kornilov touchily answered that he "could not even conceive of other types of action," and that he had "already issued the order that commanding officers who would allow firing over the heads of the people be tried."

As a result of their talks Kornilov and Savinkov agreed on the fact that a military dictatorship would be the result of the coup. However, a very touchy matter remained unresolved: Who, Kornilov or Kerenskiy, would head the military dictatorial regime and, consequently, would the Kornilov course of strangling the revolution with most brutal and direct violence be used or else would an essentially identical plan be implemented but gradually, by increasing the measures of violence always concealed behind Eser-menshevik demagogic assertions that this is necessary for the sake of the homeland and the revolution?

Far from understanding the complexity of the political situation in the country, and intoxicated by his blind faith in the omnipotence of the bullet, the bayonet, and the whip, the general decided to seize power without delay. The plot against the revolution prepared both by the provisional government and Kornilov's headquarters, became strangely interwoven with the mutiny of the supreme commander-in-chief. Kornilov's decision to casually overthrow Kerenskiy and then concentrate his entire fierceness on suppressing the revolution confirmed the death of the crisis reached by the bourgeois system in revolutionary Russia.

On 26 August the general presented Kerenskiy with an ultimatum demanding the resignation of the cabinet and granting the supreme commander-in-chief the right to form a new cabinet whose members he would choose. Subsequently Milyukov was to write with annoyance that "Kornilov was naive enough to announce to Kerenskiy his actual plans" (USSR Central State Archives of the October Revolution, File 5756, List 1, Case 145, Sheet 17).

In the developing circumstances, now fearing for his own life, Kerenskiy was forced to make the mutiny public. Kornilov refused to obey Kerenskiy's order of surrendering his position as commander-in-chief. The cavalry divisions facing Petrograd were urgently combined into a separate army under the command of General Krymov. Kornilov described his subordinate as follows: "If necessary, he would not hesitate to hang the entire membership of the soviet of workers and soldiers deputies."

A fierce "paper war" broke out between Kornilov and Kerenskiy. The leaders of the two counterrevolutionary factions who had fallen out were forced to appeal to the masses against which they had just been preparing a joint strike, using false justifications and making reciprocal accusations. Such a historical turn objectively accelerated the political education of the masses through the experience of the events and contributed to the further aggravation of the crisis of the bourgeois system. The Bolshevik Party comprehensively helped the masses to draw the necessary lessons from the conflict between the Kornilov and Kerenskiy movements, and to establish the counterrevolutionary nature of both.

In the past the White Russian exiles had circulated the false version that the break between Kerenskiy and Kornilov became the prime reason for the failure of the Kornilov conspiracy and, in the final account, for the victory of the October Revolution. This version is still popular among the bourgeois falsifiers of history. In their conflicting pseudo-scientific judgments they use any possibility to promote their favorite concept of the "accidental" victory of the October Revolution.

Naturally, there was an "accidental" element in the conflict between Kerenskiy and Kornilov. It was merely the consequence of a shocking adventurism of the Kornilov plot and of personal rivalry. "Kerenskiy, a Kornilovite, fell out with Kornilov accidentally but continued his closest possible alliance with the other Kornilovites," Lenin wrote ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 34, p 250), thus emphasizing the lack of basic differences between the Kornilov and Kerenskiy movements. They differed only in the methods used for organizing the same type of defeat of the revolution.

Proclaiming Kornilov a rebel and presenting himself as the defender of democracy against the counterrevolution, Kerenskiy only extended the agony of the bourgeois system in Russia. However, he was unable to save it from its inevitable doom. The secondary significance of his conflict with Kornilov was that it broke out under circumstances in which those who controlled history were no longer they but the revolutionary popular masses headed by the Russian working class and the Bolshevik Party. In August 1917 millions of working people, the proletariat, clearly realized the correctness of the Bolsheviks who pointed out that the solution of all urgent problems of the people's life was possible only through a socialist revolution. Faced with this turn in the awareness of the masses, strengthened by their revolutionary organization, the Kornilov conspiracy turned out, from its very beginning, to be a "pitiful adventure," as Lenin described it, doomed to failure (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 35, p 37). This outcome was not in the least the result of the policies of Kerenskiy, the secret Kornilovite.

The Kornilov and Kerenskiy movements revealed their helplessness both in their joint opposition to the revolutionary masses as well as in the course of the conflict between themselves. In his arrogant "appeal to the population," Kornilov accused the provisional government of "acting under the pressure of the Bolshevik majority totally in accordance with the plans of the German

general staff." Kerenskiy answered this by proclaiming Kornilov and his agents traitors to the homeland.

Kornilov threatened the railroad workers with "merciless punishment" for failure to obey his orders. However, his threat failed. Trainloads of Kornilov troops were left standing on the way. In some cases the general tried to use both the carrot and the stick. For example, he issued an order to raise the salaries of "all personnel of field postal-telegraph offices" as of 1 April 1917, expressing the hope that "they would be able to rate properly his attention and concern." However, this clumsy attempt to bribe the revolutionary conscience of postal and telegraph employees triggered angry protests.

Every step along the way the Kerenskiy movement revealed its ties with Kornilovism and its unwillingness to fight it. Thus, Kerenskiy appointed Savinkov to head the defense of Petrograd from Kornilov's divisions. Savinkov asked the Kornilovite General Alekseyev to act as his principal military advisor. In an action without a precedent the dismissed supreme commander-in-chief retained the right to the operative command of the forces until he could be replaced.

During that important period the Bolshevik Party was the only force in the country capable of heading the defeat of this impudent general-Kadet sally. The party, as Lenin proudly noted, showed to the entire people the importance of its leadership (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 34, p 244). The rightness of the Bolsheviks who constantly exposed the counterrevolutionary nature of the Kadets, the higher army echelons, the Kerenskiy Government, and the Esers and mensheviks responsible for its policies, was disclosed to the toiling masses particularly clearly. The revolutionary awareness of the masses took a gigantic step forward.

The Central Committee of the RSDWP(b) attentively followed the developing events. The moment the counterrevolutionary conspiracy became known it mobilized all the party's forces to explain to the masses its nature and the Bolshevik tactical line in organizing the resistance to the rebels. "In the current struggle between the coalition government and Kornilov's party we are dealing not with revolution and counterrevolution but with two different methods of counterrevolutionary policy," wrote RABOCHIY, the party's central organ, in its 28 August issue. The fullest and most profound definition of the Bolshevik tactic was contained in Lenin's letter to the Central Committee, written on 30 August in Helsinki. The essence of his instructions was the following: While opposing Kornilov, the party must not weaken its struggle against the Kerenskiy Government. In the developed circumstances the task was not to overthrow this government, once it had announced its break with Kornilov, but to expose its weaknesses and hesitations, its unwillingness to engage in a real revolutionary struggle against Kornilov, and the secret ties linking the Kerenskiy and Kornilov movements. It was important to increase the agitation in favor of "partial demands" submitted to Kerenskiy: The detention of noted conspirators, the bringing of revolutionary military units to Petrograd, the establishment of workers control over factories, food

supplies, and so on, and thus to involve the masses in energetic revolutionary action. Lenin also cautioned the party against taking any kind of political alliances with mensheviks and Esers who supported Kerenskiy, allowing only technical organizational contacts with them in the interests of the struggle against the mutiny. The party's tactic was aimed at the establishment of a broad and united "leftist front" of toiling masses against the mortal danger hanging over the country of the establishment of a bloody dictatorship. The rank and file members of the Eser and menshevik parties actively joined this front, for, as Lenin pointed out, one of the sources of Bolshevik strength was "the sympathies of Eser and menshevik 'bottoms' (i.e., workers and poorest peasants) for the Bolshevik slogans" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 34, p 218).

The Bolshevik struggle against Kornilovism is one of the brilliant examples of revolutionary tactical art. The party skillfully blended within a single revolutionary stream the conscious struggle waged by the working class for socialism with the struggle waged by the broad popular masses in defending the gained democratic freedoms and against the Kornilovite danger.

In a wave of meetings which spread throughout the country workers and soldiers proved the infinite resolve of the toiling masses of Petrograd, Moscow, and hundreds of cities and settlements, front-line soldiers and rear garrisons to block the path of the Russian Cavaignac. In over 100 cities revolutionary committees were set up by the local soviets, frequently seizing the full power on the scale of the city, guberniya, and oblast. At that time Ya. M. Sverdlov wrote that in these organizations the Bolshevik Party had tremendous and decisive influence as was pointed out by correspondence from a number of areas (RABOCHIIY PUT', No 3, 6 September 1917).

Workers combat detachments were set up everywhere. In Petrograd their strength reached 40,000 troops; there were some 30,000 in Moscow. The Bolsheviks supplied them with weapons by all possible means. In three days of shock work the workers at the Putilov Plant in Petrograd almost fulfilled a monthly norm, making 100 artillery guns. Headed by their Bolshevik Plant Committee, they organized more than ten combat detachments and artillery batteries which went immediately into action to repel Kornilov's forces.

The counterrevolutionary plot triggered a storm of indignation among front line and rear garrison troops. Nearly all the armies of the northern, western, and southwestern fronts proclaimed through their committees their readiness to allocate the necessary forces to defeat the conspirators. Garrison military units were made combat ready. Big expeditionary detachments were set up in Moscow, Vitebsk, and Orsha to march on the supreme command headquarters in Mogilev. On the appeal of the Bolshevik military organization, the soldiers committees of the units of Petrograd's garrison immediately sent 12,000 soldiers to defend the approaches to the capital. Detachments of revolutionary seamen, soldiers, and Red Guards, totaling some 5,000 troops, arrived in the capital from Kronshtadt and Vyborg.

Unparalleled revolutionary upsurge was noted among the mass organizations--the soviets, trade unions, and factory and plant committees. It was then that a tempestuous process of Bolshevization of soviets was initiated, in the course of which the slogan of "All Power to the Soviets!" acquired a new meaning. Lenin pointed out that starting with the middle of September the slogan had become the equivalent of a call for establishing in the country a proletarian dictatorship.

With the developing tremendous superiority of revolutionary forces over the forces of the counterrevolution the armed struggle against Kornilovism became unnecessary. Hundreds of Petrograd and local agitators, mainly Bolsheviks, fearlessly rushed to the echelons of Kornilov forces, and exposed to the misled Cossacks and mountaineers from the Caucasus the executionary objectives pursued by Kornilov and his accomplices. As the result the troops refused to obey their generals and officers and passed resolutions proclaiming their loyalty to the revolution. On 1 September Kornilov and his accomplices were arrested.

Considering Kornilovism as the factual beginning of the civil war, V. I. Lenin wrote: "...The beginning of the civil war by the proletariat revealed the strength, conscientiousness, solidity, growth, and persistence of the movement. On the part of the bourgeoisie the beginning of the civil war failed to reveal any kind of strength, conscientiousness of the masses, grounds, or chances for victory" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 34, p 221).

Asked by a French journalist why he had not personally led the troops marching on Petrograd, Kornilov answered with his typical self-confidence: "Had I been heading my forces I have no doubt that I would have entered Petrograd almost without a fight. However, I was sick. I had a violent fever attack and lacked my usual energy." This ridiculous attempt to explain the reason for the failure characterizes, yet once again, the extreme narrowness of the political thinking of the pretender to the role of a Russian Cavaignac who had failed to understand or learn anything from events.

The bourgeois and social reformist falsifiers of history reject particularly stubbornly the leading role of the Bolshevik Party in the defeat of the Kornilov movement. They ignore facts showing the total helplessness of the Kerenskiy movement in the face of the conspiracy. They identify the active participation of Eser and menshevik "bottoms" in the struggle against Kornilovism with the behavior of the right-wing centrist leadership. Closely linked with the Kerenskiy movement, and frightened by the growth of Bolshevik influence, this leadership could engage only in half-way actions following the favorite formula of "to the extent to which..." meaning to the extent to which the struggle against Kornilov would not cause the further leftist leaning of the masses....

The Bolshevik Party was able to lead the working class and the entire mass of working people to a truly revolutionary war against the conspiracy. Lenin pointed out that the development of this war could enable the Bolsheviks to

seize the power. "Practical experience has proved," he emphasized, "that there is no middle way. It is either all power to the soviets...or Kornilovism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 34, p 205).

The Bolshevik Party explained to the people that the universal experience of the liberation struggle waged by the working people proves the inevitability of the conversion of the bourgeoisie to a terrorist military dictatorship should it be unable to retain its power through bourgeois democratic methods. "Kornilov's uprising proved to Russia," Lenin wrote, "what history had confirmed in all countries, namely that the bourgeoisie would betray the homeland and commit any crime for the sake of retaining its power over the people and its income" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 34, p 146). The immediate course of events offered new proof of the veracity of these words. The defeat of Kornilov's adventure had barely been completed by the end of August 1917 when the forces of the Russian and international imperialist reaction began to weave a new counterrevolutionary conspiracy which Lenin described as a "second Kornilovism." The conspirators were preparing to open a front with the Kaiser's forces, to surrender Petrograd and the Baltic Fleet to them, and to use the foreign military intervention to suppress the revolution.

"Kornilovism was the final cruel lesson, a big lesson..." Lenin wrote then ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 34, p 229). In the autumn of 1917 the working people of Russia faced the following alternative: Either a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat and the loss of all hope for the solution of urgent socioeconomic problems, or the establishment of Soviet power and taking the path of socialist reorganization of the country. The people's masses made their choice. They entrusted their destiny to the proletariat and its party. The Great October Revolution saved the peoples of Russia from the nightmare of a general-Kadet military dictatorship, the threat of economic and national catastrophe, and the break-up and enslavement of the country by international imperialism. Answering reactionary violence with violence and overthrowing it, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party the working class gave an unfading example of the ability to defend the cause of the revolution. Patiently educating the broad popular masses through the experience of events, the party convinced them of the inseparability of the struggle for true and uncurtailed democracy for the working people from the struggle for socialism.

Lenin's statement that Kornilovism is far from being a specific Russian phenomenon has been repeatedly confirmed in most recent capitalist history. The imperialist bourgeoisie of all countries is constantly maintaining in a state of readiness the cannibalistic weapons of the dictatorship of a military-fascist type. A "domestic" Cavaignac, Kornilov, Franco, or Pinochet may appear wherever the bourgeoisie feels that it is losing ground. There is hardly a reason to nurture pious hopes that the democratic traditions of one or another country would allegedly automatically "block" such a turn of events. "The experience of the revolutionary movement of recent years," said L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress, "has clearly indicated that should the rule of monopoly capitalism and its political stooges be factually

threatened, imperialism would do anything, rejecting any appearance of democracy. It is ready to suppress the sovereignty of the state and all legality, not to speak of humaneness. Slander, the stupifying of the public, economic blockade, sabotage, the organization of hunger and destruction, bribery and threats, terrorism, murder of political leaders, and fascist style pogroms are the arsenal of the contemporary counterrevolution which is always allied with international imperialist reaction. In the final account, however, all this is doomed to failure. The cause of freedom and progress is invincible."

The historical lesson of the failure of Kornilovism teaches us to expose daringly and promptly the secret plans of counterrevolutionary conspirators and to mobilize the masses for their defeat. It mandates the systematic exposure of the traitors to the revolution of the type of the Russian mensheviks and Esers who are the loyal support of the imperialist bourgeoisie and who justify and conceal its violence over the working people. This lesson proves that a truly revolutionary combat party of the working class, relying on the mass organizations, and enjoying the trust and support of the broad population strata, can successfully head the opposition to any reactionary offensive and bring about the full victory of the exploited over the exploiters.

5003

CSO: 1802

BIG BUSINESS: INCREASED MORAL DEGRADATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 77 pp 113-123

[Article by S. Epshteyn]

[Text] Monopoly capital, which plunders society and enriches itself at the expense of society, oozes "blood and filth from all its pores, from head to toe," as K. Marx said. In the chapter on initial accumulation in "Das Kapital," Marx quotes a statement published in the QUARTERLY REVIEWER which aptly characterizes bourgeois immorality: "Guarantee 10 per cent, and any use can be made of capital; at 20 per cent, it becomes excited; at 50 per cent, it is absolutely ready to break its head; at 100 per cent, it tramples upon all human laws; at 300 per cent, there is no crime it would not risk, even under pain of hanging" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 23, p 770). This description of the moral aspect of capitalism as early as the 1860's is even more pertinent to present-day capitalism. "The leopard does not change its spots" is the American saying. True, the modern representative of big business is smoother and not so openly greedy as, for example, the American robber barons of the era of initial capital accumulations, who were not ashamed of their piracy. Occasionally he must justify himself, and speak pompously of virtues, although as before he does not shy away from any means to achieve his objectives.

In the past 40 years, no graft, bribery, or other machinations have been so widespread in the United States as they are of late. Such was the conclusion reached in a joint report issued in January 1976 by the General Accounting Administration (the financial-auditing organ of the American congress) and the Consumers Union. "Throughout United States history, scandals in the business world have constantly shaken up America, the weekly periodical NEWSWEEK wrote in September 1975 on the subject of the bribery in which the Lockheed Corporation engaged. "Now, however, more than ever before in the lives of entire generations, the moral foundations of business are being attacked. Public trust in business has reached its lowest point..."

The affair involving the Lockheed aircraft manufacturing company triggered a whole avalanche of exposures involving a number of other U.S. monopolies. The Lockheed Corporation name became as much of a byword as the Watergate complex where Nixon's people broke in in 1972.

It is no accident that the monopoly press is concerned with the developing moral crisis in big business, or, more specifically, in American capitalism. It realizes that one of the pillars on which the world of profits and exploitation rests is unstable. A poll taken by the Louis Harris organization showed that only 16 per cent of adult Americans trust the big corporations. Ten years ago, the figure was 55 per cent. "The striking decline in the reputation of business in the life of our generation is an alarming and dangerous fact," the journal UNITED STATES NEWS AND WORLD REPORT stated with concern. It was precisely the alarm felt by business which brought to life a whole industry devoted to removing the blemishes from its unseemly appearance, as well as an army of "moralizers" -- extremely well-intentioned professors who, like Krylov's cook, exhort and read moral lectures to millionaires and managers, trying to persuade them to change their predatory nature.

However, nothing much happens as a result of the activities of such "moralizers" since the law of profit ruling the capitalist world is higher than any moral law. "...The people molded and moving in the corporate world," wrote R. Mills, the progressive American sociologist, "have not developed within themselves, as rulers, effective moral limits which would restrict their selfish aspirations" (R. Mills, "Vlastvuyushchaya Elita" [The Ruling Elite], I. L., Moscow, 1959, p 170). Business supports a philosophy which is more than pragmatic, its basic principle being "to do what pays." Yet the capitalists cannot acknowledge this. Hence hypocrisy and cynicism become the inseparable features of bourgeois morality.

"Focus of Secret Machinations"

Monopoly capitalism has brought this hypocrisy to its highest peak, widening the gap between the "honest competition code" and the factual behavior of business leaders. The weakened moral foundations are one of the manifestations of the crisis affecting the entire system of bourgeois social relations. As was noted in the CPSU Central Committee Decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution," capitalism "creates a deep moral crisis within society, a spiritual degradation, a consumer attitude toward life, and a cult of violence which deform the individual." The intensification of the moral crisis is based on the very nature of the monopolies, which are, as R. Mills said, "focal points of secret machinations," of concealed and open swindles triggered by the fierce competitive struggle and the pursuit of maximal profits.

Thus from the viewpoint of bourgeois morality, monopoly price-fixing violates the norms of "free competition," and is even subject to criminal prosecution (according to the antitrust laws). In fact, however, the capitalists violate the moral norms they have proclaimed themselves at every step. The following is an example. In the course of the monstrous trial involving the electrical engineering industry (in 1961), the defendants included 45 managers of 29 corporations, led by General Electric, the giant monopoly. They were charged with a secret conspiracy to set monopoly prices and fraudulent deals involving clearly criminal methods.

"This is the only way to do business. This is free enterprise," was the challenging response of one of the accused, the president of the Allen-Bradley Company (F. Landberg, "Bogachi i Sverkhbogachi" [The Rich and the Superrich], Progress, Moscow, 1971, p 181). The sentence was laughable. Seven of the accused, headed by a vice-president of General Electric, were sentenced to 30 days in jail under particularly comfortable conditions, plus a fine, while 24 people were sentenced to jail terms which they never served. Most of the defendants were hired by other companies, some for even higher positions than they had held before.

Is profiteering compatible with morality? From the time of its appearance, the shareholding enterprise system has been inseparably linked with all sorts of large-scale affairs. J. Gould, one of the legendary robber barons and founders of American capitalism, we read in a book on the history of American business, was impudent, corrupt, and immoral. He was capable of any treachery and was a master of profiteering and a genius at plundering the companies he controlled. Gould looked upon fraudulent speculative stock market deals coolly and shamelessly" (B. Seligman, "The Potentates: Business and Businessmen in American History," New York, 1971, p 139).

Swindling was accompanied by all sorts of mergers and absorptions so typical of contemporary conglomerate giants. Neither the inflated nor lowered price of shares could be achieved without fraud and swindles. Corporation leaders, as part of their jobs, so to say, systematically swindle the small (and even the big) stockholders. J. Quitney, a correspondent for the WALL STREET JOURNAL and author of the book "Conspirators With A Fountain Pen," states that all types of swindling operations are carried out under the guise of the most complex business operations, so confused that neither judges, juries, investigators, nor prosecutors could understand them. Sham companies and whole conglomerates are set up. "Speaking simply," Quitney writes, "swindlers siphon off millions, and issue pieces of paper in exchange for money or other real valuables. However, the paper is top-grade and has elegant silver or gold edging. It carries refined legal statements and represents shares, certificates, mortgages, and insurance policies..." (BUSINESS WEEK, 6 October 1973, p 8).

The falsifying and concealing of data subject to public audit have become exceptionally widespread among entrepreneurs. This is an old method used in the capitalist world to influence the stock market. V. I. Lenin pointed out that reports and balance sheets are combined in such a way as to swindle the public. "Company managers conspire with bookkeepers to falsify data on current and potential company income, thus raising the price of shares and enabling the conspirators to sell them at a fat profit," wrote the weekly UNITED STATES NEWS AND WORLD REPORT in March 1973. Identical mores prevail in governmental establishments. The FBI systematically engages in eyewash, the American press has stated. To justify the outlay of many millions, the FBI pads its annual reports with fake data. A selective investigation conducted by the General Accounting Office revealed that only nine per cent of all the allegedly solved crimes were in fact exposed. These, like all similar machinations, are regarded as normal. The scientific and technical

revolution has introduced a new element here -- sometimes such falsifications are accomplished with the help of computers. D. Parker, senior computer specialist at the Stanford Research Institute, published a book entitled "Crimes With the Help of A Computer" in 1976, in which he summarized the experience acquired from almost 400 cases of fraud involving the use of this latest, most promising equipment.

Tax evasion is another universal phenomenon in the business world. The corporate leaders have become virtuosos in this area. It would be impossible to trace all of the methods of concealing profits disguised as imaginary expenditures, illegal payments, "discounts," and other traps. The monopolies make extensive use of the many loopholes in the tax system. The multinational corporations have been particularly successful in committing tax fraud. In 1972, 271 of the 520 U.S. corporations investigated had had disagreements with the tax authorities. As a result, the average level of taxed income for 142 of the biggest corporations was 22.6 per cent in 1974, instead of the 48 per cent stipulated by the law. The nonpayment of taxes by corporations not only defrauds the state, but is also one of the methods of stealing from the taxpayers.

From time to time, bribery cases emerge (it itself, a very old phenomenon) on a truly global scale. A storm erupted at the Chrysler company when it was revealed that its top managers were systematically profiting by creating their own dummy companies, to which they assigned profitable orders for automobile parts and other things. Within a short time, the former president of Chrysler, Newberg, became a millionaire, and the vice-presidents became rich, as well. One of them, Ackerman, regularly took bribes from other companies in exchange for profitable contracts.

Corporation heads act as bribers as well (such bribes are written off as "business expenditures," and in the final analysis are paid for by the consumer), while the highest leaders of many countries, including ministers, heads of governments, crowned heads, and leaders of bourgeois political parties are the bribed individuals. As a report (prepared by the Library of Congress and including data provided by various investigative organs and admissions by the companies themselves) the text of which was published in 1976 by Congressman Les Aspin indicates, 20 large American corporations spent \$360,000,000 in payments to agents, bribes, and "contributions for political purposes." L. Aspin described this report as "the fullest possible document on the corruption inherent in the operations of American corporations abroad," while Senator Frank Church, chairman of the subcommittee on international cooperation, stated that by bribing foreign officials, corporations can influence the foreign policies of other countries in directions desired by the United States more effectively than can the State Department. Particular generous in their bribing of governmental officials are the military-industrial corporations, the profits of which range from 50 to 600 per cent. As was made clear, many corporations have special secret funds not shown on their books, and used in particular for "business" and political bribes. The American press has described these as "slush funds." The journal UNITED STATES NEWS AND WORLD REPORT has estimated that

the daily losses to the United States from forgeries committed by businessmen are nearly five times those from theft and robbery. "The exposure of bribery, theft, and general corruption in multinational and multimillionaire American corporations has become a daily phenomenon," the progressive American economist V. Perlo has written. "...Today corruption has become so general, so widespread in American capitalism as to become a major economic factor. Here political and economic reasons become interwoven." As a representative of the other camp, Senator W. Proxmire, chairman of the senate commission especially created to investigate such matters, declared, "At least a significant share of the private sector in the United States is a gambling casino using marked cards -- kings of corruption, jacks of illegal trade, and aces of political pressure." Recently several dozen corporations were exposed for graft and bribery abroad. In the United States itself, the number of criminal abuses is nearly infinite.

"Growing Cynicism"

In big business practice, crime and the law, external respectability and immorality are firmly blended, supplementing each other. In his time, President Truman believed that corruption was inevitable. "As long as there are those who offer bribes, there will be those who will accept them," he said profoundly. "This applies in the same way to private business and to state and governmental business. It occurs in industry, banking, and the federal government."

Books containing further exposures of the machinations of big business are appearing in the United States one after the other. Scientists classify the types of swindle, analyze their methods, and create "typological" breakdowns of highly placed swindlers. Meanwhile, the readers see how vague the line separating respectable businessmen and professional swindlers is. The organs of the press and television (which depend on advertisers) tend on the one hand to conceal scandals and shield those involved. On the other hand, they are forced to compete in scandalous exposures, urged on by the competitive struggle being waged in the sphere of mass communications as fiercely as in any other area of capitalist activity.

American sociologists have discovered a relationship between violations of the law and morality in business and the dynamics of economic cycles. It appears that the number of unseemly actions grows as business circumstances worsen. "In hard times," NEWSWEEK wrote, "corporation managers come ever closer to the vague line dividing the ethical from the unethical..." In the well-publicized book "White-Collar Crime," published in 1949, American sociologist E. (Sazerland) noted that businessmen who control business activities and who break the law lose nothing in terms of their reputations with their colleagues. Many of the latter even respect such dealers. The general principle is that violating the business code is not the same as violating the penal code. According to another well-known American sociologist, F. Landberg, "In order to expose criminals in the business world, we should not look among the inhabitants of the criminal world... Compared with the illegal activities of business representatives, the

operations of the Mafia and crime syndicates seem like child's play" (F. Landberg, "Bogachi i Sverkhbogachi," p 196). Actually, this is organized crime.

E. (Sazerlend), whose book is regarded as a classic, classified "respectable people with a high social position" who commit crimes while fulfilling their official duties as "white-collar criminals." They include patent law violators and those who commit goods forgeries. In 1975, for example, Americans returned to the stores as substandard 28 per cent of the clothing and shoes, 13 per cent of the household appliances, 12 per cent of the food products, 6 per cent of the automobiles, 6 per cent of the television and radio sets, 5 per cent of the instruments, and 4 per cent of the watches they purchased (UNITED STATES NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 6 September 1976, p 24). According to the manager of a large retail company, this periodical reported, "the consumer considers business today, in many cases, to be his natural enemy." Its crimes include falsifying weights and sizes, gross violations in safety equipment, stealing from government contracts, "built-in," or "planned" obsolescence, industrial espionage, manipulation with dummy companies, bribery of congressmen and high government officials, and so on and so forth, including the use of violence against labor leaders. The professional thief, (Sazerlend) states, considers himself a criminal and is regarded as such by the public. The corporate leader, however, represents himself as an honorable person, and generally speaking, such is his public image. Furthermore, a crime committed by a corporation is more difficult to expose. "For two decades, since 1945," states F. Landberg, "the criminal activities described by (Sazerlend) have continued at doubled intensity..." (F. Landberg, "Bogachi i Sverkhbogachi," pp 175-176).

Gradually all of these methods of "unpriced competition," accessible above all to the big corporations, have become a regular phenomenon. Lenin wrote of the "high technology" of financial swindling inherent in monopoly capital ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 28, p 171). "The monopolies make their own way everywhere and by every possible means, beginning with a "modest" payment of smart money and ending with the American "use" of dynamite against the competition" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 27, pp 323-324). "In order to eliminate the competition," Lenin pointed out, "the trusts do not limit themselves to economic means but constantly resort to political and even criminal actions" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 30, p 94). Such "techniques" are being improved, and the range of means of swindling and committing other "business" crimes is broadening. The modern conglomerates operate with particular shamelessness. They undertake the most risky financial operations, make use of espionage and bribery, tap telephone conversations, and engage in blackmail and threats. Everything is allowed so long as one is not caught red-handed, does not find his name in the newspaper, and does not end up in jail. The corporations maintain an extensive legal apparatus of experienced and talented lawyers to secure and organize their machinations properly.

In the overwhelming majority of cases, all such matters go unpunished. "Stealing, unless one has a great deal of money, is dangerous," wrote Mills

(R. Mills, "Vlastvuyushchaya Elita," p 157). "If a nobody steals a bottle of milk from a doorway," A. Bible, chairman of a senate committee said, "he would immediately be sent to jail. However, if a member of the business world steals thousands or millions of dollars, he will most likely never see the inside of a cell" (UNITED STATES NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 12 March 1973, p 53). An effort is made to suppress cases or at least to blame subordinates. For example, during the trial of the managers of the General Electric Company to which we referred, R. Chordiner, chairman of the board of directors, was protected by statements to the effect that he did not know what was being done by his immediate subordinates. Those who were sentenced were mainly middle-level managers, while the corporation leaders were left untouched.

As to the various U.S. government organs (the Antitrust Department of the Department of Justice, the Securities Commission, and so on) which were especially established to "regulate" and supervise the activities of American corporations, "These regulators have the bad habit of becoming the prisoners of those they should regulate," as S. Shepherd, one of the editors of BUSINESS WEEK has said. "I was amazed when I found out about the exceptional laxity shown by the U.S. federal authorities in checking on the observance of the law prior to the Watergate exposures," stated John McCloy, former president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, and one of the leading lawyers and businessmen (once U.S. High Commissioner for Germany), who headed a governmental commission which investigated bribery in the Gulf Oil Corporation (HARVARD BUSINESS REVIEW, VII-VIII, 1976, p 15). Incidentally, after Watergate (which inaugurated an era of repentance), little seems to have changed. The authorities continue to display that same "exceptional laxity" toward big business. For example, the government decided to "pardon" the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, proven to have bribed and bought influential officials in many foreign countries. In September 1976, as a result of talks held behind closed doors, the so-called council of emergency loan guarantees, headed by the secretary of the treasury, confirmed government readiness to guarantee Lockheed bank loans totaling \$160,000,000. In exchange, the corporation heads solemnly promised to abstain from bribery.

Something similar occurred in the investigation of the deals of the Gulf Oil Corporation, which was specifically accused of financing Nixon's electoral campaigns illegally, while, essentially, giving bribes to the President. Board Chairman Bob Dorsey was hastily retired (at the beginning of 1976). However, his services were properly rewarded. His one-time "retirement allotment" was \$1,600,000, and his annual pension was set at \$48,158. Furthermore, he was allowed to purchase 200,000 shares at a nominal price -- 20 per cent of the market value (the so-called option). Finally, as another "petty" compensation, he was given \$54,000 for a "leave of absence." A number of other managers were removed along with Dorsey "in order to restore the company's borrowing power."

The wave of exposures removed not only the heads of Gulf Oil but some of Lockheed's captains, as well, from the command bridge. This is a fact.

However, these are merely temporary and individual casualties. Such dismissals are among the means used by the bourgeois state and capitalism to calm public opinion and to divert the anger directed at the ruling class as a whole.

The results of an investigation conducted by the HARVARD BUSINESS REVIEW and published in the January-February 1977 issue of the journal under the title "Are Business Ethics Changing?" gave a clear answer to the question of the scale of the moral crisis in capitalism. More than 1,200 persons, most of them corporation managers, responded. The questions were essentially identical to those in a survey conducted by the journal 15 years earlier, in 1961. They included questions such as "Would you be willing to steal a valuable industrial secret?" "Would you be willing to sign a false document?" "Would you be willing to pay a foreign minister \$200,000 as a consultation fee, providing this would bring you \$5,000,000 in profits?" Three-fourth of those asked answered the last question in the affirmative. Comparing the answers with the results of the 1961 survey, the periodical summed them up in two words: "growing cynicism."

No Sales Without Tricks

There are also frank defenders of the dirty deals of big business. For example, in 1968, this same HARVARD BUSINESS REVIEW published an article by A. Carr entitled "Is Bluffing Ethical in Business?" Carr, a former special adviser to President Truman, and deputy chairman of the Council on Military-Industrial Production, and subsequently a consultant for many corporations, tried to justify swindling by means of "theoretical" considerations. The essence of his article can be expressed in a single sentence: "no tricks, no sales." Thus Carr demonstrates that bluffing (i.e., planned fraud) is part of the "strategy of the game called business." "Most managers are essentially forced, from time to time, whether in the interests of the company or their own, to practice some kind of deceit in their relations with consumers, middlemen, trade unions, government officials, or even other departments of their own companies -- deliberate lies, concealment of essential facts or exaggerations -- in a word, bluffing... Violations of ethical ideals are generally accepted in business. However, they do not necessarily violate business principles... A manager who fails to master the techniques of bluffing will gain neither money nor power."

In his way, Carr is right. Is the forging of books by stockholding companies not based on the fictitious capital market? The "unethical" behavior of business leaders is dictated by the capitalist nature of the monopolies and the logic of monopoly competition.

The article won approval in business circles. "Deepening" Carr's thoughts, D. Vivian, a consultant on management problems, even claimed that the "military-industrial complex" has the moral right to promote wars for the sake of profits, even if only on a limited scale. Answering charges of

exaggeration, Carr stated that "If I were to cite all the facts in my files, the hair of the readers of the HARVARD BUSINESS REVIEW would stand on end."

Actually, Carr expressed the inner feelings of any businessman. Anyone who obeys moral principles or the letter of the law loses in the competitive war. "To sell automobiles," thinks the sales manager in the novel by A. Haley "Wheels," "is the line of fire in the automobile business. Like any line of fire, this is no place for the overly sensitive or those hindered by ethics." According to the author of this novel on sales and business, this is no place for morality.

Calculated Self-scourging

Today not only journalists -- "muckrakers" -- and sociologists with radical leanings, but also businessmen concerned with the social consequences of the phenomenon themselves, engage in accusations about the horrifying decline of mores in business (which were never impeccable). "We are in a state of national self-scourging," wrote the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE.

What triggered the wave of self-castigation on the part of the powerful of the world? Hardly the gnawing of their consciences, but rather the desire to prevent the discrediting of big business in the eyes of the public at large. Repentance creates the illusion that the situation has been corrected and sin purged. More than ever before, the problem of morality is taking on a political context today. R. Mills wrote that the myth of the noble moral qualities of the elite has always been used by that group as a weapon in the ideological struggle. Today the business readers are frightened by the possibility of losing this weapon. "The symptoms of corporate cynicism are repelling today's young generation. Even the egotistical interests of businessmen are beginning to suggest to them that they behave not so egotistically," wrote the HARVARD BUSINESS REVIEW.

The problem of capitalist moral degradation has gone beyond the borders of the United States. It is a question of the reputation of American capitalism throughout the world. In his book "The Conscience of Business," Luther Hodges, former U.S. Secretary of Commerce under the Kennedy government and a leading big businessman, writes of the feeling with which he undertook to carry out his duties as secretary of commerce. "I believed that we must do everything in our power to make the moral aspect of American business a clear example for nations which had recently become independent... After spending three years in my new job, I began to feel that American business not only failed to make a good impression on the rest of the world, but was in danger of losing its good name at home as well." "In America the moral standard is not so high as to enable us to lecture the world," said J. McCloy, former banker and "1977 Businessman of the Year" (a title awarded annually by FORTUNE and the Association of Corporation Presidents to six "outstanding" business representatives), as though adding to that statement.

The authors of such tirades call upon the capitalists to cease being swindlers, to become imbued with the ideas of "honest competition" and to pursue the path of spiritual renovation. Many moralists among the bourgeois sociologists turn to the Protestant ethic, calling upon the corporations to operate within the law and to realize "their social responsibility." However, they reveal their helplessness by failing to offer any scientific interpretation whatsoever for the facts they describe. In a certain sense, such criticism is even useful to capitalism, for it leads away from the essence of the problem.

Exposing the "old woman's sermons" of Russian petit bourgeois romantics, Lenin pointed out that swindling stems inevitably from the contemporary organization of our public economy; bourgeois morality is a direct product of the bourgeois order, based on a market economy. "Moralizing," he pointed out, "concealed the political aspect of the matter" (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 1, pp 393, 400; Vol 34, p 13). Lenin ridiculed the "entertaining petit bourgeois morality" of the German economist Lansburg, who complained that "Krupp is forced to give 'expensive' tips running to millions in making foreign loans, and so on. Yet the facts are clear: increased exports are linked precisely with fraudulent deals by financial capitalism, which is not concerned with bourgeois morality, and which can skin two hides off the same ox: first, profit from the loan, and second, profit from that same loan when it is used for purchasing goods made by Krupp..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 27, p 414). On the margin of Lansburg's article, Lenin wrote: "What a gem! He 'convinced' Krupp!!!" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 28, p 169). In connection with the latest exposures of corporations, the Persian word "baksheesh" has become very popular in the American press and is used without translation.

Moral "Therapy"

In order to give some luster to the faded corporate "image," big business has launched a campaign to promote the imaginary virtues of the capitalist system. This campaign, as the periodical UNITED STATES NEWS AND WORLD REPORT writes in an article entitled "What Are Business Leaders Doing To Restore Some Luster to Their Blemished Reputation?" is unparalleled in scope.

The captains of the capitalist ship fear more than anything else, in the words of the journal of the monopolies, FORTUNE, "attacks on business" "put in the language of the class conflict" (FORTUNE, May 1974, pp 319-320). The petit bourgeois moralizers (even those motivated by pious wishes) obey this requirement precisely. Some American read such exposes as if they were mystery novels, and sometimes manuals, with admiration for the enterprising and inventive spirit of those who act impudently and cleverly and have been able to make millions. America loves winners. Many people regard it as natural that one cannot become rich without being some sort of cheat, swindler, or thief.

In order to restore the moral balance in society, bourgeois sociologists recommend that future managers be raised on the principles of "lofty morality" while still at school. "Since business activities are governed by private interest," the conclusion of a special academic commission stated, "we do not expect our students to become saints. However, they should at least refrain from being gangsters." Some corporations have introduced the teaching of ethics in courses for foremen and managers. After an unseemly event, the teaching of morality is particularly intensified. For example, the Allied Chemical Company ordered its managers to attend a three-day ethics seminar soon after information on cases of poisoning at its chemical plants reached the press. For quite some time, a number of individuals have been suggesting that the corporations adopt written "honor codes" (incidentally, General Electric had such a code banning conspiracy with competitors; however, this did not prevent it from participating in such machinations). Usually such codes represent a collection of general statements. "Codes are once again in fashion, as happens after every major scandal in the business world," wrote BUSINESS WEEK at the beginning of 1976. It is suggested that lawyers...be asked to supervise the observance and "purity" of mores (J. McCloy). One of the reformers in the field of morality argues in the book "More Debit Than Credit" that ethics must be applied to bookkeeping, and he calls upon bookkeepers to cease being the accomplices in the crimes of "managers who swindle capital investors." A center for the study of applied ethics was set up at Virginia State University "to study the ethical standards of 1,500 corporations." Indeed, the Business Ethics Council was established 15 years ago. It included the heads of the largest corporations, professors, the spiritual fathers of various churches, and journalists. This council was set up "for the sake of the survival of the free enterprise system." President Kennedy participated in its founding. The results of the 15 years of activity by the "council" are obvious...

Some "principle-minded" businessmen oppose such moral codes. They believe that to bind themselves by a certain code would give competitors an advantage. Others justifiably consider the codes as another type of fraud, recalling the warning by American economist (D. Mamby): "When business begins to speak of ethics, the public should beware."

From A Crisis in Morality to A Crisis in Power

Mistrust of big business among the broad masses of American society, labor in particular, is caused by profound socioeconomic reasons -- the antilabor policy of the monopolies and the bourgeois state, their price policies, their predatory attitude toward the environment, and the exacerbating role of the military-industrial complex. This mistrust is intensified by the unseemly or simply repulsive moral character of the capitalists. The moral crisis is one of the manifestations of the ideological-political crisis in bourgeois society, and is taking place throughout the capitalist world. The crisis is intensified by the fact that capitalism is pitted against the socialist world, with its different system of values and morality. Capitalism is developing under the conditions of an unprecedented decline in faith

on the part of the American people in the authorities and the management of practically all governmental institutions. The beginning of the aggravation of this "crisis in confidence" dates back to the second half of the 1960's. Corruption is interpenetrating the monopolies and the government. Politicians are criticizing mores for vote-winning purposes, attempting to lead moral indignation along safer channels.

The discrediting of the business bosses in itself does not mean that the capitalist system has been discredited. Mistrust of capitalist magnates may trigger cynicism, apathy, or petit bourgeois utopianism and hostility toward individuals. It is not so easy to realize that there is an organic link between bourgeois morality and the private ownership of capital goods, and that "the rich and the rogues" are the two faces of a single coin. However, as a result of the "crisis in confidence," the soil is gradually being prepared and favorable conditions are being created for the development of the struggle against the monopolies. Henry Winston, national chairman of the U.S. Communist Party, pointed out that one step separates the rejection of monopoly power from the struggle against it, and the rejection of imperialism from the battle against it.

5003

CSO: 1802

RUSSIA AND THE PEOPLES OF THE TRANSCAUCASUS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 77 pp 124-125

[Review by M. Morozov of the book "Rossiya i Narody Zakavkaz'ya" [Russia and the Peoples of the Transcaucasus] by G. A. Galoyan. Mysl', Moscow, 1976, 456 pages]

[Text] This book contains essays on the political history of relations between the peoples of the Transcaucasus and Russia from ancient times to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Written in a popular style, the essays are based on extensive scientific literature, including numerous works by Soviet scientists and publications of historical documents dealing with one period, event or history of an individual nation or another.

Naturally, the author had to formulate a number of problems pertaining to coverage of the process of the development of a pro-Russian orientation on the part of the peoples of the Transcaucasus, their struggle against Turkish and Persian domination, and the objective progressive significance of the unification of Georgia, Azerbaydzhan, and Armenia with Russia. The book describes the tremendous influence exerted by the liberation struggle of the Russian people on the national-liberation movement of the other peoples of Russia, and the role of the Russian revolutionary workers movement and the communist party created by V. I. Lenin in the social and national liberation of the peoples of the Transcaucasus and their struggle, waged together with the Russians and other peoples of our country, against foreign conquerors, as well as against czarism, the landlords, and the capitalists. Discussing these problems from Marxist-Leninist class positions, the author convincingly criticizes the bourgeois falsifiers of the history of the relations between the Russian people and the peoples of the Transcaucasus and of the national policy of the CPSU.

Naturally, the reader will note that the author limits his task to the political history of the relations between Russia and the Transcaucasian peoples alone. As he notes, the drafting of fundamental works covering the history of the peoples of the Transcaucasus and their relations with Russia comprehensively will require the efforts of many historians, philosophers, economists, and literary experts. This is fertile ground for Soviet social

scientists. The limited size of this book prevented the extensive presentation even of problems of political relations.

We welcome the author's desire to cast light on the significance of the historical relations between the peoples of the Transcaucasus and the Russian and the other peoples of the USSR in the development of national relations in our country. "The appearance of the Soviet people as a new historical community," states the author, "has its profound historical roots. A study of them is of prime importance in revealing the laws governing historical relations among the Soviet peoples and the appearance and development of their comity" (p 3).

The history of the peoples of Armenia, Azerbaydzhan, and Georgia provides convincing proof in this connection. The author traces the joint struggle waged by the peoples of the Transcaucasus against foreign enslavers who led the Armenian, Georgian, Azerbaydzhani, and other peoples to the brink of physical destruction. "The peoples of the Transcaucasus became convinced from their age-old experience in the liberation struggle," the author writes, "that Russia alone was interested in their liberation. It was precisely the common nature of their economic and political interests which became the prerequisite for the shaping of the pro-Russian orientation of the peoples of the Transcaucasus" (p 5).

The author proves that it was above all the broad popular masses which promoted such an orientation. The ruling classes hoped to free themselves from Turkish and Persian domination with the help of Russian czarism, and to become the rulers of the destinies of the Transcaucasian peoples themselves. Naturally, czarism too pursued its selfish objectives in the Caucasus.

"Despite the aggressive nature of czarist policy, the unification of the Transcaucasus with Russia," the author notes, "should on the whole be regarded as voluntary, for it came about as a result of the lengthy struggle against the barbaric domination of the Ottoman Empire and the Persian rulers. Russia waged wars not against the peoples of these areas, but against Turkey and Persia, which had enslaved these peoples, and urged the one on against the other. No single fact exists to show that the peoples of the Transcaucasus opposed Russia with arms. However, innumerable facts indicate the opposite -- namely that at all stages in Russia's advance into the Transcaucasus the peoples settled there supported the Russian troops with arms. Participating in the wars against Turkey and Persia, they consciously and voluntarily promoted their unification with Russia" (pp 178-179).

The author emphasizes that the joining with Russia by the peoples of the Transcaucasus was a turning point in their history, saving them from the constant invasions of foreign conquerors, creating the possibility of social and national development, putting an end to feudal divisions, helping the more rapid development of their economies and cultures, strengthening the friendship among all Transcaucasian peoples, and merging the national-

liberation movement in the area with the revolutionary struggle being waged by the Russian working class and the working people throughout Russia against autocracy and "their own" and Russian landowners and capitalists and for the victory of the socialist revolution.

The parts of the book discussing the development of the sociopolitical thinking of the peoples of the Transcaucasus are of great interest. The author describes the beneficial influence of Russian liberation ideas on the democratic trends in the science, literature, and arts of Georgia, Azerbaydzhan, and Armenia, pointing out the common nature of Russian and Transcaucasian revolutionary-democratic ideology.

The author also exposes the reactionary role of bourgeois nationalism and its parties in Armenia, Azerbaydzhan, and Georgia. It was a natural aspiration for the peoples of Russia to join efforts in the struggle against autocracy -- the bulwark of national and social oppression, the author writes. "However, the national bourgeoisie, while aspiring to national separation, also drastically opposed the social liberation of the people. Hence the desire of the bourgeois nationalists to pit the national against the international interests of the working class, and to develop in the awareness of its peoples the idea of the "separate path" of development and their "uniqueness." The purpose of this concept was to pit the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples against the revolutionary workers movement. Such was the social, reactionary, and antipopular nature of bourgeois nationalism" (p 16).

The working class alone, supporting the positions of proletarian internationalism, headed by the communist party and allied with the toiling peasantry, was able to eliminate social and national oppression and to ensure the true freedom of the peoples. The author notes the international nature of the party organizations and the workers movement in the Transcaucasus, and the unity of action among the proletariats of all nationalities. Lenin, the author states, repeatedly addressed himself to the internationalist traditions of the Transcaucasian proletariat.

To summarize, let us note that this very concise narration might arouse in its readers legitimate questions, for some historical events and facts, and the activities of some noted representatives of the liberation movement, scientists, and writers have been inadequately covered by the autor.

We must also point out a substantial shortcoming in the final chapter of the book dealing with the February bourgeois-democratic and the Great October Socialist Revolutions. The chapter is a chronological listing of familiar facts of essentially local significance. It does not reflect the main problems: the development of a revolutionary situation in Russia prior to the February revolution, followed by the period from February to October, the historical legitimacy of the overthrow of the decadent czarist regime, the elimination of the landlord-bourgeois system, and the establishment of the power of the workers and peasants. A discussion of such problems would have made it possible to depict the victory of the

Great October Revolution more fully as the natural, historically determined result of the revolutionary struggle waged by the working people and the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Russia. The victory of the October Revolution saved all the peoples of our homeland from social and national slavery forever, and led to the creation of the first powerful multinational socialist state in the world -- the USSR, which guarantees the blossoming of all nations and nationalities, and in which their inviolable friendship and international unity were established.

Probably specialists in the history of the peoples of the Transcaucasus would find other shortcomings in this work. In conclusion, the main thing is that both the author and the publishing house prepared and published an interesting book aimed at a broad readership.

5003

CSO: 1802

FROM THE SOURCES OF CONQUERING THE ATOM TO AN INDUSTRIAL SECTOR

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 77 pp 126-127

[Review by D. Blokhintsev, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, and A. Krasin, doctor of physical and mathematical sciences, of the book "Sovremennyye Problemy Atomnoy Nauki i Tekhniki v SSSR" [Contemporary Problems in Nuclear Science and Technology in the USSR] by A. M. Petros'yants. Atomizdat, Moscow, 1976, 431 pages]

[Text] The successes achieved in the mastery of atomic energy for peaceful purposes should be listed among the number of scientific and technical achievements of which the Soviet people are particularly proud as they celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The most recent event in this field is a noteworthy illustration of this fact: the first time in the entire history of navigation, the nuclear-powered icebreaker Arktika penetrated the heavy ice cover of the central polar basin and sailed to the very summit of the globe -- the North Pole!

Nuclear science and technology are developing in the USSR on a large scale. In determining the basic tasks in the development of the country's national economy for 1976-1980, the 25th CPSU Congress earmarked the paths for the further development of the Soviet nuclear power industry and the utilization of atomic energy in a great variety of economic fields. The events occurring in this sector have attracted universal attention. This was the reason the monograph by A. M. Petros'yants, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Utilization of Nuclear Energy, was welcomed with great interest by broad circles of the readership. This is the third edition of the book, previously published under the title "Ot Nauchnogo Poiska k Atomnoy Promyshlennosti" [From Scientific Research to Atomic Industry], rated highly by readers both at home and abroad. The new edition is justified not only because of the rapid pace of development in the nuclear industry, but also because of the major change made in the content of the book, from essays on the history of nuclear science and technology to an extensive description of the contemporary stage and the most important problems in this area. The author describes the history of basic scientific discoveries and research, which now constitute the foundation for modern nuclear science: the discovery of the nucleus of the atom, its structure and nuclear reactions, and, finally, the discovery of

how to split the uranium atom. As a direct participant in the development of the domestic atomic industry, he has devoted particular attention to problems related to the practical mastery of atomic energy.

A full chapter deals with the powerful accelerators of elementary particles used in our country. The purpose of the studies conducted with such accelerators is to develop a new science -- the science of the structure of elementary particles.

Some of the most important experimental work deals with studies of thermonuclear processes which enable us to produce energy by synthesizing helium. The purpose of this research is to make the physicists' dream come true: to obtain energy from the reaction of the synthesis of helium from deuterium, huge amounts of which are available in nature. The author convincingly describes the encouraging results achieved by Soviet physicists through such experiments.

At present the question of a sensible ratio between fundamental and applied research has taken on great practical importance. A proper choice in this connection will determine the pace of scientific and technical progress. On the basis of the instructive history of the development of atomic science and technology in our country, the author convinces the reader of the unquestionable "practicality" of basic research.

The author concentrates on industrial atomic power industry, its history, condition, and problems.

Beginning his narration, the author considers the first years of the Soviet system, the GOELRO plan inspired by V. I. Lenin, reminding the reader of the striking results of the implementation of that plan.

Nuclear power led to an industry in our country with the launching of the first atomic electric power plant in the summer of 1954. In a little over 20 years, this industry has become widespread. During the 10th Five-Year Plan alone, nuclear power plant capacity totaling 13-15 million kilowatts will be installed. The author guides the reader systematically from a brief description of the history of the first nuclear power plant to the present condition of the nuclear power industry in our country.

We, the authors of this article, had the good fortune to be able to participate in the planning and construction of the first nuclear power plant in the world. We clearly remember the days of intensive work by a large collective of Soviet specialists, and the outstanding role played in it by Academician I. V. Kurchatov. The description of this epic in the book truthfully shows the unforgettable event and the character of this outstanding scientist.

From the first nuclear power plant with a capacity of 5,000 kilowatts to systems producing one million kilowatts at the Leningrad Nuclear Power Plant -- this has been the headlong growth of the nuclear power industry in our country. This path led through the Beloyarsk Nuclear Power Plant imeni

I. V. Kurchatov, the Bilibino Nuclear Power Plant, and the Novovoronezh Nuclear Power Plant. The principles governing the work of atomic plants and the technical data on them given in the book would be of interest not only to scientific workers, but to a broad circle of readers.

The section entitled "Atomic Power Industry in the Soviet Union" ends with a description of fast neutron reactors and the major role they are scheduled to play in the further development of the world's power industry.

The development of the nuclear power industry on the basis of modern reactors burning the isotopes of uranium 235, which accounts for no more than 0.7 per cent of uranium ores, does not offer a basis for the long-term development of a nuclear power industry (since with this, only a small portion of the natural uranium supply is used). The solution can be found through the utilization of fast neutron reactors. In such reactors, along with the production of energy, uranium 238 isotopes are transformed on being captured by the neutrons of plutonium 239, which can be used as nuclear fuel, like uranium 235. Uranium 238 accounts for 99.3 per cent of the total natural uranium.

For more than 25 years, scientists and engineers have been working on fast neutron reactors. The author describes the progress made in this work extensively, from laboratory systems to the BN-350 and BN-600 semi-industrial reactors. The reader will have the opportunity to become familiar with new ideas in this area (such, for example, as the use of dissociating gases as heat carriers, and so on). Examples of foreign development of fast neutron reactors are cited as well.

In connection with the extensive dissemination of nuclear electric power plants, the problem of their radiation safety has attracted the attention and interest not only of specialists, but also of broad circles among the public. Very knowledgeably, A. Petros'yants takes up this problem in comprehensive fashion, and demonstrates convincingly that in terms of keeping the environment clean, nuclear power plants have advantages over electric power plants using organic fuel and releasing harmful dust and gas wastes into the atmosphere.

The author discusses in the problems in utilizing nuclear power in ships and small nuclear power systems. The story of the building of the nuclear icebreaker Arktika is described briefly. Let us hope that in subsequent editions, this will be expanded to include the experience acquired in the operation of the most powerful icebreaker in the world, sailing under the Soviet flag.

The chapter on "Isotopes in the USSR National Economy" gives a clear notion of the extensive use of radioactive isotopes, their production, and the use of nuclear radiation in medicine, metallurgy, agriculture, and many other production sectors. This will be of interest to readers in a wide variety of fields.

One of the last sections in the book contains a description of scientific centers for nuclear science and technology in the USSR. Under the Soviet system, a number of institutes dealing with nuclear physics, radiochemistry, and nuclear technology were established in our country. Many of them have become famous for their outstanding achievements. Suffice it to recall such scientific institutions as the Institute of Atomic Energy imeni I. V. Kurchatov, in Moscow, the Physics-Energetics Institute in Obninsk, the Radium Institute imeni V. G. Khlopin, in Leningrad, and the Institute for Theoretical and Experimental Physics, in Moscow. The author provides a brief account of the history of the development of these and many other institutes and the main directions pursued in their activities. He also describes the work of a number of institutes in union republics which use nuclear reactors in their studies in the fields of solid state physics, radiation physics, and many other problems in nuclear science and technology.

The monograph deals at length with international cooperation, particularly the cooperation among socialist countries in the peaceful utilization of atomic energy. Currently such cooperation has reached a notably high level of development. In this respect, scientific and technical cooperation among the socialist country members of CEMA is playing a leading role. The author also provides an idea of the contribution to progress being made by the International Atomic Energy Agency. Readers will be particularly interested in this part of the book, for the author is an active participant in the work of such associations.

With every passing year, an ever-larger number of specialists become involved in nuclear science and technology. This makes the urgent need to familiarize the broad circles of party, soviet, and economic workers with this relatively new field of knowledge and practice an understandable one. This book by a direct participant in the whole atomic epic in our country, and an "atomic industry" manager for many years, could serve them as an excellent aid, not to mention the fact that it would be of interest to specialists as well. It will also hold the attention of young people who dream of working in the front lines of the scientific and technical revolution.

In conclusion, let us note a characteristic feature of the work -- its scientific optimism, based on the achievements of the Soviet people in the building of communism.

In publishing this book by A. Petros'yants, the publishing house has done something important and useful. Organically combining concise depiction, richness of content, and accessibility, this book will carry out its excellent mission in the fields of party propaganda and scientific education.

5003

CSO: 1802

FROM THE BOOK SHELF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 77 p 128

[Text] V. I. Lenin. "O Sotsialisticheskoy Demokratii" [On Socialist Democracy]. (A collection). Politizdat, Moscow, 1977, 232 pages.

F. E. Dzerzhinskiy. "Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya" [Selected Works]. In two volumes. Third reworked and expanded edition. Vol 2, 1924-1926. Politizdat, Moscow, 1977, 535 pages.

V. G. Baykova. "Ideologicheskaya Rabota KPSS v Usloviyakh Razvitogo Sotsializma" [CPSU Ideological Work Under the Conditions of Developed Socialism]. Some theoretical and practical problems. Mysl', Moscow, 1977, 214 pages.

"Dimitur Blagoev -- Vydayushchiysya Teoretik i Revolyutsioner" [Dimitur Blagoev -- Outstanding Theoretician and Revolutionary]. Collection of articles on the occasion of the 120th anniversary of his birth. Edited by D. Elazar, A. I. Sobolev, and T. Koleva. Politizdat, Moscow, 1977, 303 pages.

"Velikiy Oktyabr' i Sovremennyy Mir" [The Great October and the Contemporary World]. International scientific theoretical conference on the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. K. I. Zarodov editor in chief. Mir i Sotsializm, Prague, 568 pages.

"Vliyaniye Velikogo Oktyabrya na Razvitiye Mirovogo Kommunisticheskogo Dvizheniya" [Influence of the Great October on the Development of the World Communist Movement]. Collection of articles. Editors in chief A. I. Sobolev and G. N. Shanshiyev. Politizdat, Moscow, 1977, 575 pages.

"VIII S'yezd Portugal'skoy Kommunisticheskoy Partii" [The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of Portugal]. (Lisbon, 11-14 November 1976). Politizdat, Moscow, 1977, 238 pages.

Kh. Gadoyev. "V Sem'ye Yedinoi i Velikoi" [In a United and Great Family]. The fraternal assistance rendered by the RSFSR and the other union republic to the Tadzhik in the building of socialism). Irfon, Dushanbe, 1976, 423 pages.

"IX S"yezd Sotsialisticheskoi Yedinoi Partii Germanii" [The Ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany]. (Berlin, 18-22 May 1976). Politizdat, Moscow, 1977, 504 pages.

Yu. A. Zhukov. "Tridtsat' Besed s Telezritelyami (1972-1976)" [Thirty Conversations with Televiewers (1972-1976)]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1977, 383 pages.

R. Yu. Kaganova. "Lenin vo Frantsii. Dekabr' 1908-Iyun' 1912. Revolyutsioner, Teoretik, Organizator" [Lenin in France. December 1908-June 1912. Revolutionary, Theoretician, Organizer]. Second expanded edition. Mysl', Moscow, 1977, 380 pages.

B. M. Morozov. "Partiya i Sovety v Oktyabr'skoi Revolyutsii" [The Party and the Soviets in the October Revolution]. Second expanded edition. Mysl', Moscow, 1977, 351 pages.

S. N. Mostovoy. "Leninskiye Printsipy Ideyno-Vospitatel'noi Raboty" [The Leninist Principles of Ideological-Educational Work]. Second revised edition. Mysl', Moscow, 1977, 316 pages.

I. F. Petrov. "Leninskaya Partiya -- Vdokhnovitel' i Organizator Pobedy Velikogo Oktyabrya" [The Leninist Party -- Inspirer and Organizer of the Victory of the Great October]. Mysl', Moscow, 1977, 191 pages.

"XV S"yezd Kommunisticheskoi Partii Chekhslovakii" [Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia]. Prague, 12-16 April 1976. Politizdat, Moscow, 1977, 287 pages.

"Rabochiy Klass v Mirovom Revolyutsionnom Protssesse" [The Working Class in the World's Revolutionary Process]. Editor in chief A. A. Galkin. Nauka, Moscow, 1977, 223 pages.

"Real'nyy Sotsializm v SSSR i Yego Burzhuaznyye Fal'sifikatory" [Existing Socialism in the USSR and Its Bourgeois Falsifiers]. Edited by Yu. Ye. Volkov, Ye. D. Modrzhinskaya, and V. I. Tsapanov. Mysl', Moscow, 1977, 381 pages.

"Sorevnovaniye i Yego Rol' v Usloviyakh Razvitogo Sotsializma" [Competition and Its Role in Developed Socialist Conditions]. Edited by I. I. Kuz'minov, S. V. Rogachev, and B. K. Zlobin. Mysl', Moscow, 1977, 263 pages.

"SSSR v Tsifrakh v 1976 Godu" [The USSR in Figures in 1976]. Short statistical reference. Produced by L. A. Umanskiy. Statistika, Moscow, 1977, 239 pages.

"Sotsiologiya i Sovremennost' [Sociology and Contemporaneity]. Collective monograph. F. V. Konstantinov et al. editors. Nauka, Moscow, 1977. Vol 1 424 pages; Vol 2 439 pages.

V. G. Trukhanovskiy. "60 Let Borby SSSR za Mir i Sotrudnichestvo Mezhdunarodami" [Sixty Years of Struggle by the USSR for Peace and Cooperation Among the Peoples]. Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya, Moscow, 1977, 144 pages.

A. G. Kharchev and V. G. Alekseyeva. "Obraz Zhizni, Moral', Vospitaniye" [Way of Life, Morality, Education]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1977, 143 pages.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo "Pravda", "Kommunist", 1977

5003

CSO: 1802

- END -