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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

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## TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 15, October 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.

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INFORMATION ANNOUNCEMENT ON THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 77 p 3 LD

[Text] The plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee was held on  
3 October 1977.

The plenum heard the report by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, chairman of the Constitutional Commission Comrade L. I. Brezhnev "On the draft constitution (the fundamental law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the results of its nationwide discussion."

The plenum of the Central Committee adopted a resolution on the report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to be published in the press.

The plenum of the Central Committee elected Comrade K. U. Chernenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU CC.

The plenum of the Central Committee elected Comrade V. V. Kuznetsov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU CC.

The candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee comrades V. P. Demidenko, N. K. Kirichenko, P. S. Pleshakov and A. M. Fominykh were granted the status of full members of the CPSU CC by the plenum of the CC.

The plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee ended its work.

CSO: 1802

ON THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION (FUNDAMENTAL LAW) OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST  
REPUBLICS AND THE RESULTS OF ITS NATIONWIDE DISCUSSION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 77 p 4 LD

[Resolution of CPSU Central Committee Plenary Meeting adopted 3 October 1977]

[Text] 1. To approve fully and entirely the report of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, chairman of the Constitutional Commission, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "On the draft constitution (fundamental law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the results of its nationwide discussion."

2. To approve in the main the draft constitution (fundamental law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics submitted by the constitutional commission together with additions, clarifications and amendments made to it in accordance with the results of the nationwide discussion. To submit the draft constitution to the special, seventh, session of the Ninth Supreme Soviet of the USSR for consideration.

To entrust the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Constitutional Commission, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, with making a report on the draft constitution and the results of its nationwide discussion at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

3. The party and Soviet Government bodies, ministries and departments, trade union, Komsomol and other public organizations should thoroughly study all the suggestions and remarks made by the working people during the nationwide discussion of the draft constitution of the USSR for improving performance at specific sections of state, economic and cultural development and take the necessary measures to translate them into practice.

CSO: 1802



ON THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION (FUNDAMENTAL LAW) OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST  
REPUBLICS AND THE RESULTS OF ITS NATIONWIDE DISCUSSION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 77 pp 5-19 LD

[Report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the Session of the Supreme Soviet of  
the USSR on 4 October 1977; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in  
boldface]

[Text] Esteemed comrade delegates!

The present session of the Supreme Soviet has before it a task that is  
historic in the full sense of the word: adoption of a new constitution  
of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

We are about to adopt the new constitution on the eve of the 60th anniversary  
of the Great October Socialist Revolution. This is not a mere coincidence  
in time of two major events in the life of the country. The connection  
between them goes much deeper. The new constitution, one might say, epitomizes  
the whole 60 years of the Soviet state's development. It is striking  
evidence of the fact that the ideas proclaimed by the October Revolution  
and Lenin's precepts are being successfully translated into life. (applause)

The draft constitution, placed before the Supreme Soviet for its considera-  
tion, is the result of many years of intense effort by a large group of men  
and women. The Constitutional Commission, set up by the USSR Supreme Soviet,  
includes experienced party and government workers, representatives of the  
working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia,  
and of the country's numerous nations. Prominent scientists, specialists  
and men and women working in state agencies and social organizations have  
been involved in working out the draft. It has been twice considered by  
plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee.

I think that we have every right to say that the important tasks which we  
faced in the preparation, discussion and adoption of the constitution have  
been fulfilled in the most conscientious way and with the most consistent  
observance of all the principles of socialist democracy.

I. The discussion of the draft constitution by the whole people has been the crucial test of the quality of all the preparatory work. It went on for nearly 4 months and was nationwide in the true sense of the word. Altogether it involved /over 140 million men and women, that 's, more than four-fifths of the adult population of this country. Never before has this country had popular activity on such a scale./

The main political result of the nationwide discussion consists in the fact that the Soviet people have said: Yes, this is the fundamental law we expected. (applause) It is a true reflection of our gains, of our aspirations and hopes, and gives a correct definition of our rights and duties. While formalizing what has been achieved, it opens up a perspective for the further advance of communist construction.

The draft was discussed at nearly 1.5 million meetings of working people at enterprises and collective farms, in the military units and residential areas. It was discussed at plenary meetings, meetings of activists and other meetings in the trade unions, the Young Communist League, cooperative associations and artists', writers', musicians' and other unions. The whole party was involved in its discussion. More than 450,000 open party meetings were held, and these were addressed by over 3 million men and women. The draft was considered by all the Soviets, starting from the rural soviets and all the way to the supreme soviets of the union republics, which means more than 2 million deputies, representing the whole of our people. Each of these fora approved the draft constitution.

Finally, there came an unending flow of letters from Soviet people.

The vast majority of these letters are marked by patriotism, wholehearted approval of the policy of our party and Soviet Government, breadth of vision and maturity of judgment, and a high standard of exactingness upon oneself and one's comrades. Their authors, like those who took part in the discussion at meetings, people from all walks of life and different age groups, represent all our nations and nationalities, are party and non-party men and women, and all of them, like the masters of the country which they are, have thoroughly analyzed the draft constitution, making proposals for improving the text and also expressing other considerations bearing on various aspects of life in our society.

Pondering such statements and letters one comes to the conclusion that they are a reflection of the tremendous victory scored by socialism--the emergence of the new man, who does not separate himself from the state and espouses the interests of the state and of the whole people as his own. (applause)

Let us recall that soon after the victory of the October Revolution V.I. Lenin said that the exploitative system had left us a heritage of acute mistrust of the masses for anything that had to do with the state. He added, "It is very difficult to overcome this, and only a Soviet Government can do it. Even a Soviet Government, however, will require plenty of time and enormous perserverence to accomplish it." (Collected Works, Vol 36, p 184)

And the Soviet Government has coped with this task. The most striking confirmation of this is the working people's tremendous activity in discussing the draft of the new constitution. We can say with confidence and pride: /It is the whole Soviet people that has, in fact, become the true creator of the fundamental law of its state./ (prolonged applause)

Allow me, comrades, on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet wholeheartedly to thank every participant in the nationwide discussion of the draft constitution and to wish all of them fresh successes in their labor for the benefit of our great motherland, and continued and ever more active participation in the affairs of our socialist state. (prolonged applause)

The Constitutional Commission reports that the nationwide discussion has made it possible markedly to improve the draft constitution and to write into it a number of useful additions, clarifications and amendments./

Altogether about 400,000 proposals for amendments to individual articles have been made for the purpose of clarifying, improving and adding to the language of the draft. Having made a careful study of these amendments--many of which, of course, recur--the Constitutional Commission recommends that 110 articles of the draft should be amended and one new article added. The commission's recommendations have been circulated to all deputies. My task is to substantiate the commission's proposals on the most essential matters.

Let me start by saying that the greatest number of proposals that have come in bear on the vital question of /the role of labor under socialism./ The comrades suggest that the character of our society as a society of working people should be described in much more explicit terms in the constitution.

I think that this proposal is highly meaningful. Soviet society consists only of working classes and social groups. In view of this it is proposed that Article 1 of the constitution should say that the Soviet state of the whole people shall express the will and interests of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, of /the working people/ of all the nations and nationalities of the country. Simultaneously, we should evidently accept this other proposal: to define in the constitution not only the political foundation of the USSR, not only the foundation of our economic system, but also /the social foundation of our state./ We now have as such a foundation the unbreakable alliance of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, and this needs to be clearly stated. (applause)

The comrades have also proposed more precise language for the article dealing with the foundation of the economic system of the USSR, /so as to bring out in greater relief the fact that this foundation consists of state and collective-farm cooperative property./ That is quite correct, after all it is these two forms of socialist property in the means of production that determine the character of our economy and the division of Soviet society into the two friendly classes of workers and peasants. Such clarification has been provided for.

Several thousand proposals deal with the article /on the role and importance of labor collectives./ Their authors have expressed the desire to have the constitution reflect more broadly the functions and rights of the labor collective, especially in areas like the planning of production and social development, the training and appointment of personnel, the improvement of working and everyday conditions for the working people, the raising of their skills and qualifications and the fostering of the communist attitude to work. This should be accepted.

The labor collective, and the work of its party, trade union and Young Communist League organizations reflect the whole life of society--economic, political and spiritual. Indeed, this is the primary cell of the whole of our organism, both economic and political. That is why we regard as correct the suggestions of those who feel that the article on the labor collective is best written into Chapter I of the constitution, which describes our political system.

Thousands of people suggest that the constitution should state that /any dodging of socially useful work is incompatible with the principles of socialist society./ Our people want stricter punishment for absentees and those who seek unearned income. One must support these just considerations.

Very many comrades have written to say that the constitution should lay special emphasis on the duty of citizens /to display concern for the popular wealth,/ for our socialist property, which is the product of the people's collective labor and the foundation for the development of our society as a whole. The Constitutional Commission shares the working people's view on this matter and proposes that an addition should be made to the relevant article of the fundamental law.

Bearing in mind the remarks received, it is proposed to clarify the wording of some other articles in the section entitled "The State and the Individual." Thus, in response to the wishes of many people the article on the right to housing says that /it shall be the duty of citizens to display concern for the housing allocated to them./ The article dealing with the citizen's duty to show concern for the upbringing of children now also says that /children shall also have the duty to care for their parents and to support them./ I should like to note that the proposals for such an addition have come not only from aged people but also from many young people, and this is especially gratifying.

The nationwide discussion has made it possible to improve a number of provisions in the draft aimed at /further developing socialist democracy./

Many comrades, including deputies of local soviets, have proposed the inclusion in the constitution of a new article /on the electors' mandates./ These mandates are an expression of the most diverse requirements of the population, reflecting the concrete interests of individual groups of

working people and of society as a whole. That is why fulfillment of these mandates is an important part of the work of the soviets and of their deputies. Suffice it to say that only in the past 2 years more than 700,000 electors' mandates have been fulfilled. That is one of the real expressions of socialist democracy. It is important, therefore, that not only deputies but also the heads of enterprises, collective farms, construction projects and offices should give due attention to realizing the mandates.

It is also our intention to take account of a number of other reasonable and appropriate proposals made by the working people on the further development of the democratic principles of life in our state. Thus, we should evidently establish, as many have suggested, that /no citizen may, as a rule, be concurrently elected to more than two soviets./ This will facilitate the influx of fresh forces into our state organs and help to increase the number of people taking part in the administration of the affairs of state.

As you are aware from press reports, a lively debate developed during the nationwide discussion about /the age at which citizens should have the right to be elected to the soviets./ There has been broad support for the article of the draft which says that citizens who have reached the age of 18 years should have the right to be elected to all the soviets. But there have been proposals to set the age of 21, 23 or even 30 years.

The Constitutional Commission considered this matter on the assumption that the labor collectives and mass organizations nominating candidates for deputies have an all-round discussion of their qualities and make high demands on them. This is a reliable guarantee that only the most fitting comrades capable of effectively fulfilling the difficult duties of deputy will be elected to the soviets. There are, of course, many such men and women among our young people.

That is why we could set the age limit at 18 years for election to all the soviets, with the exception of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Considering that the USSR Supreme Soviet has to take the most responsible decision bearing on the interests of the whole state, the right to be elected to it could be granted to citizens at the age of 21 years.

A great many speeches and letters voice the opinion that /the principle of responsibility and accountability of government agencies and officials to the soviets and the population should be enforced more strictly./ This can well be taken care of in the relevant articles, by recording the duty of executive committees, deputies and other elective officers systematically to report to /their respective soviets and to labor collectives and meetings of citizens in their neighborhoods./

Finally, many believe that the articles on the procedures governing the consideration of deputies' questions and citizens' proposals, the responsibility of officials for any breach of the law, and for taking an incorrect attitude to critical remarks by working people should be formulated in even more concrete terms. The commission feels that this can be taken care of in the relevant articles of the constitution.

Now, concerning some amendments relating to the /organization and activity of state organs./

Some comrades would have a more explicit provision /on the powers of the union and autonomous republics and local soviets to ensure comprehensive economic and social development on their territory./ This can be accepted. The constitution defines in sufficiently clear terms the responsibility of the ministries and departments for the state of their respective sectors. It would evidently be appropriate to formulate as clearly the functions of local organs which ensure the harmonization and coordination of the work and comprehensive development of enterprises and social and cultural institutions in a given territory, regardless of subordination.

Citizen's wishes are also being taken into account in specifying some other articles, notably those on the competence of ministries and state committees, local organs of powers, on the courts, arbitration committees and the procurator's office.

The participants in the discussion have unanimously welcomed the inclusion in the draft constitution of a special chapter on the purposes and principles of the Leninist foreign policy of the USSR. In the context of this chapter, one proposal is to say that the Soviet Union seeks to achieve /general and complete disarmament./ This is, of course, quite right. (applause)

On the whole, the Constitutional Commission recommends that the Supreme Soviet should adopt, apart from the purely drafting changes, /some 150 substantive amendments and clarifications to the text of the constitution,/ which, in fact, reflect the views of citizens whose number is many times greater. Suffice it to say that tens of thousands of proposals, similar in content, have been made, leading to one amendment to the article dealing with the citizens' duty to work.

On the other hand, comrades, among the submitted proposals there are some which the /commission was unable to accept./

Thus, very many citizens have proposed the inclusion in the fundamental law of diverse rules which are already to be found in our legislation thereby raising them to the constitutional level. Among these are proposals for concrete dates for holding sessions of local soviets, reporting schedules for deputies, the powers of some organs of administration and sanctions for various offenses.

Many believe that their sector of work should be reflected in the new constitution in greater detail. Hence, the mass of proposals for mentioning in its text of concrete measures, such as improvement of the legal regulation of economic life, environmental protection, improvement of the operation of the railways, development of the material and technical facilities for the public health and education systems, and so on.

All these proposals, comrades, are psychologically understandable and most of them are evidently correct as such. But the constitution is the fundamental law of the state. It is a record only of the main and fundamental provisions which, while having direct force, are expressed and spelled out in other legislative acts. On the basis and in pursuance of these provisions various laws and prescriptions, i.e., current legislation, will be drafted and improved as necessary. In the course of this work the numerous concrete suggestions expressed during the discussion of the draft constitution should be thoroughly considered and taken into account. Incidentally, regarding the question of public health, a draft decree is now being considered in the Central Committee on a comprehensive program of measures to improve the protection of the people's health. (applause)

Let me also tell you about the /proposals which the Constitutional Commission has found to be incorrect in substance./

Some proposals have clearly run ahead of our time, failing to take account of the fact that the new constitution is the fundamental law of a state at the stage of developed socialism and not of communism. We live on the socialist principle of "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work." With the present level of economic development and social consciousness it is impossible to leap over it. That is why it is impossible, for instance, to accept proposals for the introduction of equal wages and pensions for everyone or for determining their size solely on the basis of one's labor seniority, without taking account of skill standards and the quality of workmanship.

There have also been proposals either to abolish or sharply to limit subsidiary husbandries. However, it is well known that this form of labor, which does not involve exploitation, now has a useful role to play in our economy. That is why, in our opinion, the comrades who propose that the constitution should emphasize that the state and the collective farms shall assist citizens in running their subsidiary husbandries are quite right. Besides, those who oppose subsidiary husbandries are clearly worried not so much by their existence as by their abuse for the purpose of profiteering. Regrettably, instances of such practices still exist. That is where the state agencies concerned should firmly exercise the right of control held out to them by the constitution, making sure that the plots of land made available to citizens are used rationally for the benefit of society, and that the incomes from subsidiary husbandries and personal labor conform to the principles of socialism.

A new historic community--the Soviet people--is known to have taken shape in the USSR. Some comrades--it is true that they are not many--have drawn incorrect conclusions from this. They propose the introduction in the constitution of the conception of an integral Soviet /nation,/ elimination of the union and autonomous republics or drastic curtailment of the sovereignty of the union republics, depriving them of the right to secede from the USSR and of the right to maintain external relations. The proposals to do away with the Soviet of Nationalities and to set up a unicameral Supreme Soviet are along the same lines. I think that the erroneousness of these proposals is quite clear. The Soviet people's sociopolitical unity does not at all imply that national distinctions have disappeared.

Thanks to the consistent pursuit of the Leninist nationalities policy we have, simultaneously with the construction of socialism, successfully solved the nationalities problem--for the first time in history. The friendship of the Soviet peoples is unbreakable, and in the process of communist construction they are being steadily drawn ever closer together and are being mutually enriched in their spiritual life. But we would be taking a dangerous path if we were artificially to step up this objective process of the integration of nations. That is something against which V. I. Lenin had persistently warned, and we shall not depart from his precepts. (applause)

There has been a lively discussion of the article stipulating that the local soviets are elected for a term of two and a half years. Many would have it extended to 5 years, to enable deputies to acquire greater proficiency in the performance of their duties. But this would markedly reduce the number of working people going through the school of government in the soviets. If a deputy elected for two and a half years has worked well, what is there to prevent his nomination for a second term? This, incidentally, is what is being done: Over one-half of the deputies are elected for a second term, and this helps to maintain continuity in the work of the soviets. We feel, therefore, that this article should not be altered.

The Constitutional Commission has also received letters proposing that state functions should be vested directly in party organs, that the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee should be vested with legislative power, and so on. These proposals are profoundly erroneous because they introduce confusion into the understanding of the party's role in our society and seek to obscure the importance and functions of the organs of the Soviet power.

When our party became the ruling party, it firmly declared at its eighth congress, which was directed by V. I. Lenin, that it intended to implement its decisions "through the Soviet organs, /within the framework of the Soviet Constitution"/ [in italics] (The CPSU in the Resolutions and Decisions of Its Congresses, Conferences and Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee, Vol 2, Moscow, p 77, in Russian), and that while guiding the Soviets it did not supersede them, and that it drew a line between the functions of the party and of the state organs. This Leninist principle is recorded in the CPSU rules, and was reemphasized in the decisions of the latest party congresses. We also propose to have it reflected in the new constitution.

The party conducts its policy on state matters primarily through the communists elected by the people to the soviets and working in state organs. It believes that one of its most important tasks is to do its utmost to consolidate and perfect the power of the soviets and to display concern for the further development of socialist democracy. This is a principled line to which we have adhered and to which we shall always adhere. (applause)

Comrades, /the discussion of the draft constitution has largely gone well beyond the framework of an analysis of the text itself. It has developed into a frank and truly popular conversation on the key aspects of our life



which are of stirring concern to all Soviet people./ Collectives of working people and individual citizens have made just and--not infrequently--sharp critical remarks on various aspects of the activity of state organs and social organizations, proposing measures for improving the work and eliminating the existing shortcomings.

Many letters call for a stiffer drive against parasitism, deliberate breaches of labor discipline, hard drinking and other anti-social phenomena which cut across the very substance of our socialist way of life. From this persistent demand voiced by the working people concrete conclusions should be drawn by all state and social organizations.

Some letters report revolting facts of abuse by some persons in office of their position, facts of deception of the state by means of records doctoring and cheating, of bribe-taking, of indifference and a superficial approach to the working people's requirements, of instances of harassment for criticism.

I should like to stress, comrades, that all reports of this kind are being thoroughly verified for the purpose of taking the necessary measures, including punishment of the guilty persons with the full severity of the law. In general, I must say that our society has a large reserve for its development in the establishment of due order wherever it is violated in this country--in production, government or social life. By putting an end to phenomena like sloppy work, waste of socialist property, red-tape and bureaucratic attitudes to one's work and to citizens, we shall considerably accelerate the country's advance and improve the life of the whole people. (applause)

Many letters and speeches suggest the further strengthening and improvement of the people's control. That is right. And it will be promoted, in particular, by the law on the people's control in the USSR, whose adoption is provided for by the new constitution.

Some letters recommend the introduction of a system of incentives in the form of longer holidays for those who have long worked honestly and efficiently for the benefit of society, for the frontrankers in production. And conversely, shorter holidays for those who wilfully take time out at the expense of their working hours, that is, simply speaking, laze about and absent themselves from their work.

The Committee on Labor and Social Questions, other departments and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions should reckon with these considerations when formulating measures to improve the system of holidays, also drawing on the relevant experience available in the fraternal countries.

We believe that attention should be given to proposals on measures for further improving living and everyday conditions for Great Patriotic War veterans who took part in the fighting, including those who are not retired on pension. The party and the Soviet state, displaying constant concern

for those who took part in the Great Patriotic War, have already done much in this area. Is it possible to find additional funds to hold out some other benefits to those who stood up for our motherland's freedom and independence in the most arduous of wars? I believe that it is. (prolonged applause)

Some suggest additional benefits to mothers. Suggestions have been made to improve the use of medical assistance, to introduce stricter procedures for the allocation of housing, and various others. I think that the USSR Council of Ministers should join the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions in making a thorough examination of our present resources and potentialities for meeting these wishes and report on the results to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Such, comrades, are the main questions which the Constitutional Commission deemed it necessary to report in connection with the nationwide discussion of the draft constitution of the USSR.

II. Comrade deputies! The draft constitution and its nationwide discussion have long been in the focus of world attention. Moreover, the discussion has virtually assumed an international scale. This is fresh evidence of the immense role of socialism in the world today. (applause)

/Our friends in the fraternal socialist countries/ have widely discussed and enthusiastically supported the draft constitution. They have exhibited full and exacting attention to it in a comradely and businesslike spirit. They have analyzed it in detail and shared their experience with us. For this we are sincerely grateful to them. (applause)

The press in the socialist countries has given the draft wide coverage. It has assessed it as a document telling the world "the truth about socialism and mankind's future," as "a manifesto of the epoch of communist construction." The leaders of the socialist community of nations--our comrades-in-arms--have emphasized the great importance of the draft in outlining the development prospects for their countries.

It is acknowledged with satisfaction in the socialist countries that the draft constitution reflects in various forms elements characteristic of their constitutions, just as the latter reflect the earlier experience of Soviet legislation. In this way collective experience is gained in developing socialist statehood.

The new Soviet draft constitution has been studied with keen interest /in the countries newly liberated from colonial bondage/ and now choosing their path. Their prominent leaders have told Soviet representatives of their hopes to benefit substantially by this draft summing up the 60-year experience in developing the state institutions of the world's first socialist country. The press in many African, Asian and Latin American countries has widely commented on the draft and underscored in particular that the Soviet Union's accomplishments which it reflects are an inspiring example to all the peoples taking the socialist orientation. (applause)

/The working people in the capitalist countries, above all their vanguard--the communist and workers' parties/--have shown an exceptional interest in the draft constitution. The communist press has published detailed accounts of the draft, analyzed its contents and highly assessed its significance. The fraternal parties have emphasized that it is a document of crucial importance demonstrating the essence and goals of developed socialism today. The Soviet Union has made a giant leap forward in its democratic development, the Soviet people have proved in practice the truth of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The draft constitution contains extensive material for study, reflection and debate--such are the comments of communists in the capitalist world for whom the new constitution of the land of the October Revolution means support for their just struggle for the working people's cause.

On the whole, the lively comments, the great and sincere interest and warm approval of the draft constitution by the working masses of the world fill our hearts with pride in the Soviet people's achievements and illustrate even more strikingly their great international significance. (prolonged applause)

Nor has the draft constitution been ignored by /the bourgeois press and other mass media in the capitalist world./ Some of them have given more or less objective coverage of its content.

A number of Western newspapers have pointed out that the new constitution of the USSR signifies further development of democracy in the Soviet Union, a widening of the rights of citizens and public organizations, and an increase in their influence on national policy. The American BALTIMORE SUN has frankly acknowledged that the draft guarantees Soviet citizens "wider rights compared with any Western constitution: the right to work, rest, choice of occupation, social security, housing, education and free medical aid."

Statesmen, political leaders and the press in the capitalist countries have admitted the importance of the fact that in the chapter on foreign policy of the constitution, the Soviet Union has reaffirmed by statutory law its allegiance to the cause of peace and international cooperation. The British FINANCIAL TIMES has described the draft constitution as an "historic document." The SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG has acknowledged the "tremendous importance" of the draft.

The masterminds of imperialist propaganda, however, obviously became worried when the discussion of the draft constitution had assumed a broad international scale. On 13 June, the GENERAL-ANZEIGER frankly expressed its discontent over the fact that "the West is now talking too much of the new Soviet draft constitution."

This is a repetition of what we have seen time out of number in the history of the Soviet state: a striking picture of the methods of imperialist propaganda. It is blind to the achievements of our great country, with its heroic history, vivid and manysided culture, one of the world's best educational standards, the vigorous joint creative activity of its numerous nations and peoples. "Psychological warfare" experts take very little

interest in this. Their only goal is to obstruct the growth of the influence of socialism on human minds, to induce distrust and hostility towards it by whatever means. Hence, the stereotyped inventions, shameless fabrications and blatant lies about the Soviet Union intended for misinformed audiences, gullible readers, listeners and spectators. Hence, the tendency not so much to give information about the new Soviet constitution as to distort its content, play down its importance and, whenever possible, ignore its major provisions altogether.

The causes on the rights, freedoms and duties of Soviet citizens have been attacked with special vehemence.

This has, of course, its inner logic: Indeed, it is precisely the idea of "concern" for human rights that prominent leaders of the capitalist world have lately chosen as the main thrust of their ideological crusade against the socialist countries. The critics of the Soviet constitution, however, have found themselves in an unenviable situation. They cannot escape the fact that the Soviet draft constitution defines the social, economic and political rights and freedoms of citizens and the specific guarantees of these rights more widely, clearly and fully than ever and anywhere else.

What, indeed, can the apologists of the capitalist system oppose to these real achievements of developed socialism? What real rights and freedoms are guaranteed to the masses in present-day imperialist society?

The "right" of tens of millions to unemployment? Or the "right" of sick people to do without medical aid, which costs a vast sum of money? Or else, the "right" of ethnic minorities to humiliating discrimination in employment and education, in political and everyday life? Or is it the "right" to live in perpetual fear of the omnipotent underworld of organized crime and to see how the press, cinema, TV and radio services are going out of their way to educate the younger generation in a spirit of selfishness, cruelty and violence?

Propagandists and ideologists of capitalism cannot deny the fact that socialism has long cured these social sores. They have resorted, therefore, to another maneuver. They have concentrated their attacks on the constitutional provisions which say that the enjoyment by citizens of their rights and freedoms should not prejudice the interests of society and the state, the rights of other citizens and that the exercise of one's rights and freedoms is inseparable from the fulfillment of one's civic duty.

According to the draft constitution, the rights of citizens may not be used to the detriment of socialist society and the state, which means, says the Austrian newspaper SALZBURGER VOLKSBLATT, that "Soviet citizens have no rights at all." That is logic for you.

The Italian CORRIERE DELLA SERA is displeased with the draft putting upon Soviet citizens the duty to respect the USSR constitution, Soviet laws and the rules of socialist community living. "All these restrictions," this mouthpiece of the Italian monopolies declares, "practically nullify civil rights, as we interpret them anyway." It follows that the exercise of civil rights in the USSR must consist in violations of law.

Speaking in general, it seems that from the standpoint of our class adversaries Soviet citizens should evidently be granted the only "right" to fight against the Soviet state, the socialist system so as to gladden the hearts of the imperialists. However, we must disappoint such "critics" of our constitution: Their wish will never be satisfied by the Soviet people. (prolonged applause)

Our "critics" pretend to be unaware of the fact that the clauses in the draft constitution causing their discontent fully conform to fundamental international documents. Let us remind them of this fact: The UN universal declaration of human rights says unequivocally that "everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible," and that the exercise of rights and freedoms by citizens requires "due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society."

Such is the principle of democratic social life recognized throughout the world. It may be useful for our "critics" to know that nothing else is contained in the provisions of the new constitution of the USSR, which have aroused their sham indignation.

The majority of bourgeois analysts have also criticized the provisions defining the role of the CPSU in the life of Soviet society. They have clamoured about the alleged "proclamation of the dictatorship of the Communist Party," "the primacy of the party over the state," "a dangerous integration of the party and government institutions," and "the obliteration of the boundaries between the party and the state."

How is one to regard this? The motives for this attack are clear enough. The Communist Party is the vanguard of the Soviet people, their most conscious and progressive section inseparably united with the people as a whole. (prolonged applause) The party has no other interests at heart but the interests of the people. To try and separate the party from the people by talking about the "dictatorship of the party" is tantamount to trying to separate, say, the heart from the body. (applause)

As I have already said, the Communist Party operates within the framework of the USSR constitution. Bourgeois critics, however, do not care about this. They would like to undermine the role of the party in Soviet society, since they hope to weaken our country, our socialist system and stamp out our communist ideals. Fortunately, this is beyond their power. (applause) As the Soviet people will increasingly tackle the complex and responsible tasks of building communism, the Communist Party will have a growing role to play. This leads not to restriction but to increasingly profound development of socialist democracy in full conformity with our party's program. (applause)

Here is another point. Some Western critics of our new constitution have tried to attack it "from the left" as it were, going into theoretical discussions about the authors of the draft being inconsistent in their loyalty to the Marxist doctrine of the withering away of the state under communism. The Italian EL MESSAGGERO laments the fact that the Soviet constitution has "unconditionally discarded" the communist principle of "the withering away of the state," whose role was to be taken over by social organizations. The NEW YORK TIMES complains that the "Soviet state is unable and unwilling to wither away." It is seconded by the London TIMES, which says that "there is no sign of any withering away of the state."

Such concern of ideologists of capitalism for our socialist state developing in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine is truly touching. However, their anxiety is groundless. Developments are running the precise course predicted by the classics of Marxism and formulated by our party in its policy statements.

Our critics from the bourgeois camp (and, speaking frankly some comrades in the ranks of the international working-class movement along with them) are unable or unwilling to see the main thing--the dialectics of the development of our state and society. It means that with the development and advancement of the socialist state millions of citizens are increasingly involved in the activities of the government and people's control bodies, in the management of production and distribution, in social and cultural policies and in the administration of justice. In short, our statehood is gradually transformed into communist social self-government along with the development of socialist democracy. This is, of course, a long process, but it is running a steady course. We are convinced that the new Soviet constitution will contribute effectively to attaining this important goal of communist construction. (prolonged applause)

III. Comrades! The new constitution is justly called the law of life of developed socialist society. This is the society that has actually been built in the Soviet Union. Such a developed, mature socialist society is also being built successfully in other countries of the socialist community. And it is very important to have a clear idea of its characteristic features and its place in the historical process of the emergence of the communist system.

It will be recalled that in the early Soviet years V. I. Lenin, taking a look into the future, spoke and wrote of "complete," "full," "developed" socialism, as a prospect, a goal of socialist construction.

This goal has now been attained. The experience of the Soviet Union, followed by other socialist countries, has demonstrated that laying the foundations of socialism, that is, the abolition of the exploiter classes, the establishment of social property in all the sectors of the national economy does not yet allow a direct transition to communism. Triumphant socialism should pass through definite stages of maturation, and only developed socialist society makes it possible to embark on communist construction. What is more, as you know today, development, advancement of socialism is a task that is no less complicated and responsible than the laying of its foundations.

A few impressive figures gives an idea of the distance between the present and the initial stages in the development of socialism in our country.

In this year of 1977 it takes less than a month to produce the gross social product turned out during the whole of 1936. Since then the assets-to-man ratio in material production has grown 14-fold, the power-to-man ratio in industry, almost 8-fold and in agriculture, more than 15-fold.

Not only technology but also the people who operate it have changed beyond recognition. Today, 73.2 percent of the workers have a higher or secondary (complete or incomplete) education, whereas the respective figure 40 years ago was less than 8 percent. Over the period the number of specialists with a higher and specialized secondary education has grown 34 times in industry and 47 times in agriculture.

The living standards of the Soviet people have improved spectacularly. Here are just two examples. In 1936 we commissioned 14.9 million square meters of dwelling space, whereas the figure for 1977 will be over 110 million. In 1936, payments and benefits from the social consumption funds per head were 21 rubles, while the respective figure for this year is 382 rubles.

As you see, the distance is tremendous. However, not everything can be expressed in figures. Material and cultural progress on this scale has led to a considerable leveling up of the conditions of work and life in town and country, in the spheres of manual and mental work. New generations of Soviet people have grown up and have been educated, and their socialist consciousness has been formed under socialism.

Such are the processes which entitle us to say that developed socialism has been built in the USSR--a stage of maturity of the new society at which the entire system of social relations has been restructured on the collectivist principles intrinsic to socialism.

Hence, the full scope for the operation of the laws of socialism, for bringing into play its advantages in all the spheres of social life. Hence, the organic integrity and dynamic force of the social system, its political stability, its indestructible inner unity. (applause) Hence, the growing integration of all the classes and social groups, all the nations and nationalities into a historically new social and international entity, the Soviet people. (applause) Hence, the emergence of a new, socialist culture, the establishment of a new, socialist way of life. (applause)

Of course, only that socialist society can be described as developed which is based on powerful, advanced industry, on large-scale, highly mechanized agriculture, which practically permits an increasingly complete satisfaction of the varied requirements of citizens to become the central and direct goal of social development. In the situation prevailing in our country the task of building up such a material and technological base indispensable for mature socialism had to be tackled after laying the foundations of the new system. Other countries which have taken the path of socialism with an underdeveloped or moderately developed economy will evidently have to work on these problems in the same way.

In countries where highly developed productive forces will be available at the time of a victorious socialist revolution the situation will be different. But even they will have to handle such complicated tasks of building mature socialism, as learning the sophisticated science of organizing all social life in socialist lines, in particular, the science of planning and management of the economy, and the cultivation of socialist consciousness in citizens.

In short, whatever specific conditions may prevail in the countries building socialism, the stage of its perfection on its own basis, the stage of mature, developed socialist society is an indispensable element of social transformations, a relatively long stretch on the path from capitalism to communism. At the same time, bringing out and using all the potentialities of developed socialism also mean a transition to building communism. The future does not lie beyond the limits of the present. The future lies in the present. And by fulfilling the tasks of the present day, of the socialist present, we are gradually approaching the morrow, the communist future. (applause)

As our experience has shown, the gradual development of the state of proletarian dictatorship into a state of the whole people is one of the results of the complete triumph of socialist social relations. The Soviet Union today is a legitimate stage in the development of the state born of the October Revolution--a stage characteristic of mature socialism. Consequently, the tasks of the state institutions, their structure, functions and work procedure should conform to the stage attained in the development of society.

The new constitution of the USSR guarantees such conformity. Having adopted it we shall be fully entitled to say that another important step has been taken to bring our country nearer to the great goals of our party and people. (stormy prolonged applause)

Comrades, just 20 years ago, on 4 October, mankind took its first step into outer space. This was heralded by the artificial earth satellite created by the genius and hands of Soviet people. (applause) The whole world could see the achievement of the "alliance of representatives of science, the proletariat and technology" which V. I. Lenin had envisaged at the dawn of the Soviet period. This alliance was embodied in the practices of socialist construction in our country and has become a mainspring of the spectacular accomplishments of developed socialism.

The discussion of the draft constitution has once again demonstrated the strength and vitality of the unity of all classes and social groups, all nations and nationalities, all generations of Soviet society rallied behind the Communist Party. (prolonged applause)

Millions upon millions of working people in town and country have supported the new constitution by word and by deed. They compared every line in the draft with their own practical work, with the work of their labor collectives. They made increased socialist pledges, amended production plans,



discovered new reserves for enhancing production efficiency and improving work performance, and met their new constitution with great labor exploits. In short, our people have again shown themselves to be full masters of the socialist homeland. Honour and glory to the heroic Soviet people, the builders of communism! (stormy applause)

Comrade deputies, I want to express my confidence that the Supreme Soviet, having discussed the draft constitution of the USSR, will approve it, thereby equipping the Soviet people with a new powerful instrument for building communism! (stormy, prolonged applause. Everybody stands)

CSO: 1802

L. I. BREZHNEV'S REPORT ON THE RESULTS OF THE WORK OF THE EDITING COMMISSION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 77 pp 20-22 LD

[Passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Comrades!

Both chambers of the Supreme Soviet have completed the discussion of the draft constitution of the USSR. The speakers numbered 92 deputies, who represented all sections of the people, all the union republics and many of the autonomous republics.

The Editing Commission formed on your decision is deeply gratified to note that all speakers, like the deputies who submitted their proposals in writing, have expressed wholehearted support of the draft constitution. Speaking for the millions of their electors, they have clearly and firmly declared for its adoption. (applause) This is the main outcome of our thorough discussion.

At the same time, a number of deputies suggested certain amendments and additions. Having carefully considered their suggestions, the Editing Commission has arrived at the conclusion that most of them could be accepted. Our constitution will only benefit from them.

For example, Deputy V. D. Postnikov, a Moscow region steelworker, suggests that the constitution should not confine itself to listing the types of property that may be personally owned by citizens, and should stress that /the basis of personal property consists in incomes earned from work./ This seems to be a useful addition. It expresses our fundamental attitude to the nature and origin of personal property under socialism, where socially useful work is the source of the rising well-being of all the people and of every individual.

Deputies V. G. Meunargiya, a tractor driver from Georgia, and I. Y. Prokof'yev, a Leningrad rolling mill operator, suggested saying in the constitution that the Soviet state /encourages innovation and a creative attitude to work, and

that it organizes the introduction in the economy of inventions and innovations./ We are all aware of the tremendous importance of the creative attitude to work and of technical innovations by the masses for the development of the country's economy and the communist education of people. This is why the suggestions are acceptable, and pertinent additions are being made in Articles 14 and 47.

Deputy P. F. Lomako, minister of the nonferrous metals industry, suggested saying in the constitution that the Soviet state is continuously /improving the forms and methods of economic management./ Furthermore, Deputy D. P. Galkin, director of the Magnitogorsk metallurgical combine, thinks it could be put down that our economy is developing with the active use not only of cost accounting, profit and costing, but also of /other economic levers and stimuli./

These proposals correctly reflect the substance of the party's economic strategy, directed to raising the effectiveness of production and the quality of work, and deserve to be included in the constitution.

Deputy A. V. Gitalov, leader of a tractor team in Korovograd region, suggested putting down in the constitution that /collective farms and other land users are obliged to use the land effectively, to treat it with care, and to increase its fertility./ I think the famous Ukrainian tractor driver's proposal deserves our support. Land is our most valuable possession, but it must be skillfully used. Land, as they say, is mother to the diligent and stepmother to the idler.

An important question was raised by Deputies V. V. Nikolayeva-Tereshkova, chairman of the Committee of Soviet Women, and Z. P. Pukhova, director of the Ivanovo weaving mill. They suggested adding to Article 35 that the /working time of women raising little children will be gradually reduced./ We hold that this proposal can be accepted. It is in keeping with the aim of the party and the Soviet state consistently to improve the woman's situation as worker, mother to her children, and housewife in step with the development of the requisite economic conditions.

The Editing Commission holds that we should also accept the proposal of Deputy M. K. Andriyevskiy, director of a boarding school in Poltava region, to specify in Article 42 that the /ban on child labor is meant to protect the health of children, but in no way excludes labor training and education, which have always been and always will be our most important task./

Deputies A. B. Chakovskiy and R. G. Gamzatov suggested in their speeches that the Soviet citizens' right to using cultural achievements and to creative freedom should be shown more fully. The writers suggest stating that this right is secured by the /development of television and radio, book publishing and the periodical press, and network of free libraries,/ and making special mention of the role of /literature./ These specifying additions are correct.

A contiguous proposal was made by Deputy M. Amantayeva, a schoolteacher of Kazakhstan, who suggested putting down that spiritual values must be used for the /ethical and aesthetic education of Soviet people./ The inclusion of these provisions in the constitution will give a fuller idea of the tasks of the state in the cultural field and in the communist education of the people.

The Editing Commission holds that we should also accept the suggestions of Deputies Grigoriy Vasilyevich Romanov and K. I. Lushnevsky, chairman of a district executive committee in Belorussia, on adding the provision that the /soviets of people's deputies and the organs they set up must systematically inform the general public about their work and adopted decisions./ This will emphasize a crucial principle in the work of the soviets, which, to use V. I. Lenin's words, represent "an authority open to all, and carrying out all their functions before the eyes of the masses." (See Complete Collected Works, Vol 12, p 319)

Deputy M. S. Gorbachev, first secretary of the Stavropol territorial party committee, holds that the relationship of the commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its chambers with other state organs and mass organizations should be shown in greater detail, specifying more clearly the procedure of implementing the recommendations of the commissions.

Accordingly, it could be pointed out in Article 125 that the /recommendations of the commissions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and its chambers are subject to mandatory consideration by organs, institutions and organizations of the state and the public./

Comrades, those are the main points which the Editing Commission wishes to make concerning the suggestions of deputies during the discussion of the draft constitution of the USSR by the Supreme Soviet. The commission has submitted to you the text of the draft, including all the suggested amendments.

I think that now the Supreme Soviet of the USSR could begin approving the new fundamental law of our state. (prolonged applause)

CSO: 1802

DECLARATION OF USSR SUPREME SOVIET ON THE ADOPTION AND PROCLAMATION OF THE  
CONSTITUTION (FUNDAMENTAL LAW) OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 77 p 23 LD

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, acting on behalf of the Soviet people and expressing its sovereign will, adopts the Constitution (fundamental law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and announced its coming into effect on 7 October 1977.

Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR  
Supreme Soviet L. I. Brezhnev

Secretary of the Presidium of the USSR  
Supreme Soviet M. Georgadze

Moscow, Kremlin, 7 October 1977

CSO: 1802

## CONSTITUTION (FUNDAMENTAL LAW) OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 77 pp 24-52 LD

[Text] The Great October Socialist Revolution, made by the workers and peasants of Russia under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by V. I. Lenin, overthrew capitalist and landowner rule, broke the fetters of oppression, established the dictatorship of the proletariat, and created the Soviet state, a new type of state, the basic instrument for defending the gains of the revolution and building socialism and communism. Humanity thereby began the epoch-making turn from capitalism to socialism.

After achieving victory in the Civil War and repulsing imperialist intervention, the Soviet Government carried through far-reaching social and economic transformations, and put an end once and for all to exploitation of man by man, antagonisms between classes, and strife between nationalities. The unification of the Soviet republics in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics multiplied the forces and opportunities of the peoples of the country in the building of socialism. Social ownership of the means of production and genuine democracy for the working masses were established. For the first time in the history of mankind a socialist society was created.

The strength of socialism was vividly demonstrated by the immortal feat of the Soviet people and their armed forces in achieving their historic victory in the Great Patriotic War. This victory consolidated the influence and international standing of the Soviet Union and created new opportunities for growth of the forces of socialism, national liberation, democracy and peace throughout the world.

Continuing their creative endeavors, the working people of the Soviet Union have ensured rapid all-round development of the country and steady improvement of the socialist system. They have consolidated the alliance of the working class, collective-farm peasantry, and people's intelligentsia, and friendship of the nations and nationalities of the USSR. Sociopolitical and ideological unity of Soviet society, in which the working class is the leading force, has been achieved. The aims of the dictatorship of the proletariat having been fulfilled, the Soviet state has become a state of the whole people. The leading role of the Communist Party, the vanguard of all the people, has grown.

In the USSR a developed socialist society has been built. At this stage, when socialism is developing on its own foundations, the creative forces of the new system and the advantages of the socialist way of life are becoming increasingly evident, and the working people are more and more widely enjoying the fruits of their great revolutionary gains.

It is a society in which powerful productive forces and progressive science and culture have been created, in which the well-being of the people is constantly rising, and more and more favorable conditions are being provided for the all-round development of the individual.

It is a society of mature socialist social relations, in which, on the basis of the drawing together of all classes and social strata and of the de jure and de facto equality of all its nations and nationalities and their fraternal cooperation, a new historical community of people has been formed--the Soviet people.

It is a society of high organizational capacity, ideological commitment and consciousness of the working people, who are patriots and internationalists.

It is a society in which the law of life is concern of all for the good of each and concern of each for the good of all.

It is a society of true democracy, the political system of which ensures effective management of all public affairs, ever more active participation of the working people in public life, and the combining of citizens' real rights and freedoms with their obligations and responsibility to society.

Developed socialist society is a natural, logical stage on the road to communism.

The supreme goal of the Soviet state is the building of a classless communist society in which there will be public, communist self-government. The main aims of the people's socialist state are: to lay the material and technical foundation of communism, to perfect socialist relations and transform them into communist relations, to mould the citizen of communist society, to raise the people's living and cultural standards, to safeguard the country's security, and to further the consolidation of peace and development of international cooperation.

The Soviet people,

Guided by the ideas of scientific communism and true to their revolutionary traditions,

Relying on the great social-economic and political gains of socialism,

Striving for the further development of socialist democracy,

Taking into account the international position of the USSR as part of the world system of socialism, and conscious of their international responsibility,

Preserving continuity of the ideas and principles of the first Soviet Constitution of 1918, the 1924 Constitution of the USSR and the 1936 Constitution of the USSR,

Consolidate the mainstays of the social system and policy of the USSR, define the rights, freedoms and duties of citizens, the principles of organization and the aims of the socialist state of the whole people and proclaim them in the present Constitution.

## I. Principles of the Social Structure and Policy of the USSR

### Chapter 1. The Political System

Article 1. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of the whole people, expressing the will and interests of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, the working people of all the nations and nationalities of the country.

Article 2. All power in the USSR belongs to the people.

The people exercise state power through soviets of people's deputies, which constitute the political foundation of the USSR.

All other authorities are under the control of, and accountable to, the soviets of people's deputies.

Article 3. The Soviet state is organized and functions on the principle of democratic centralism, namely the electiveness of all authorities from the lowest to the highest, their accountability to the people, and the obligation of lower bodies to observe the decisions of higher ones. Democratic centralism combines single leadership with local initiative and creative activity and with the responsibility of each authority and official for the work entrusted to them.

Article 4. The Soviet state and all its agencies function on the basis of socialist law, ensure the maintenance of law and order, and safeguard the interests of society and the rights and freedoms of citizens.

State and public and social organizations and officials shall observe the Constitution of the USSR and Soviet laws.

Article 5. Major matters of state shall be submitted to nationwide discussion and put to a popular vote (referendum).

Article 6. The leading and guiding force of Soviet society and the nucleus of its political system, of all state and public and social organizations, is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The CPSU exists for the people and serves the people.



The Communist Party, armed with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, determines the general perspectives of the development of society and the course of the home and foreign policy of the USSR, directs the great constructive work of the Soviet people, and imparts a planned, systematic and theoretically sound character to their struggle for the victory of communism.

All party organizations shall function within the framework of the Constitution of the USSR.

Article 7. Trade unions, the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League, cooperatives and other public and social organizations participate, in accordance with the aims laid down in their rules, in the managing of state and public and social affairs, and in deciding political, economic and social and cultural matters.

Article 8. Work collectives take part in discussing and deciding state and public and social affairs, in planning production and social development, in training and placing personnel, and in discussing and deciding matters pertaining to the management of enterprises and institutions, the improvement of working and living conditions, and the use of funds allocated both for developing production and for social and cultural purposes and financial incentives.

Work collectives promote socialist emulation, the spread of progressive methods of work, and the strengthening of production discipline, educate their members in the spirit of communist morality, and strive to enhance their political consciousness and raise their cultural level and skills and qualifications.

Article 9. The principal direction in the development of the political system of Soviet society is the extension of socialist democracy, namely ever broader participation of citizens in managing the affairs of society and the state, continuous improvement of the machinery of state, heightening of the activity of public and social organizations, strengthening of the system of people's control, consolidation of the legal foundations of public and social life, greater openness and publicity and constant responsiveness to public opinion.

## Chapter 2. The Economic System

Article 10. The foundation of the economic system of the USSR is socialist ownership of the means of production in the form of state property (belonging to all the people), and collective farm-cooperative property.

Socialist ownership also embraces the property of trade unions and other public and social organizations which they require to carry out their purposes under their rules.

The state protects socialist property and provides conditions for its growth.

No one has the right to use socialist property for personal gain or other selfish ends.

Article 11. State property, i.e., the common property of all the Soviet people, is the principal form of socialist property.

The land, its minerals, waters and forests are the exclusive property of the state. The state owns the basic means of production in industry, construction and agriculture; means of transport and communication; the banks; the property of state-run trade and public utilities and other state-run undertakings; most urban housing, and other property necessary for state purposes.

Article 12. The property of collective farms and other cooperative organizations, and of their joint undertakings, comprises the means of production and other assets which they require for the purposes laid down in their rules.

The land held by collective farms is secured to them for their free use in perpetuity.

The state encourages development of collective-farm and cooperative property and its approximation to state property.

It is the duty of the collective farms, just as of other land users, to use land effectively, to take care of it, and to enhance its fertility.

Article 13. Incomes from work constitute the basis of the personal property of the citizens of the USSR. Personal property may include articles of daily use, personal consumption and convenience, the tools and implements of a smallholding, a house and earned savings. The personal property of citizens and the right to inherit it are protected by the state.

Citizens may be granted the use of plots of land, in the manner prescribed by law, for a subsidiary smallholding (including the keeping of livestock and poultry), for fruit and vegetable growing or for building an individual dwelling. Citizens are required to make rational use of the land allotted to them. The state and collective farms provide assistance to citizens in working their smallholdings.

Property owned or used by citizens shall not serve as a means of deriving unearned income or be employed to the detriment of the interests of society.

Article 14. The source of the growth of social wealth and of the well-being of the people, and of each individual, is the labor, free from exploitation, of Soviet people.

The state exercises control over the measure of labor and of consumption in accordance with the principle of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." It fixes the rate of taxation on taxable income.

Socially useful work and its results determine a person's status in society. By combining material and moral incentives, encouraging innovation, and a creative attitude to work the state facilitates the transformation of work into the prime vital need of every Soviet citizen.

Article 15. The supreme goal of social production under socialism is the fullest possible satisfaction of the people's growing material, cultural and intellectual requirements.

Relying on the creative initiative of the working people, the socialist emulation movement, the achievements of scientific and technical progress, and improving the forms and methods of economic management, the state ensures growth of the productivity of labor, raising of the efficiency of production and of the quality of work, and dynamic, planned, proportionate development of the economy.

Article 16. The economy of the USSR is an integral economic complex comprising all the elements of social production, distribution and exchange on its territory.

The economy is managed on the basis of economic and social development state plans, with due account of the sectoral and territorial principles, and by combining centralized direction with the economic independence and initiative of individual and amalgamated enterprises and other organizations for which active use is made of management accounting, profit, costs, other economic levers and incentives.

Article 17. In the USSR, the law permits individual labor in handicrafts, farming, the provision of services for the public, and other forms of activity based exclusively on the personal work of individual citizens and members of their families. The state makes regulations for such work to ensure that it serves the interests of society.

Article 18. In the interests of the present and future generations, the necessary steps are taken in the USSR to protect and make scientific, rational use of the land and its mineral and water resources, and the plant and animal kingdoms, to preserve the purity of air and water, ensure reproduction of natural wealth, and improve the human environment.

### Chapter 3. Social Development and Culture

Article 19. The social basis of the USSR is the unbreakable alliance of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia.

The state helps enhance the social homogeneity of society, namely the elimination of class differences and of the essential distinctions between town and country and between mental and physical labor, and the all-round development and drawing together of all the nations and nationalities of the USSR.

Article 20. In accordance with the communist ideal--"the free development of each is the condition of the free development of all"--the state pursues the aim of giving citizens more and more real opportunities to apply their creative energies, abilities and talents, and to develop their personalities in every way.

Article 21. The state concerns itself with improving working conditions, safety and labor protection and the scientific organization of work, and with reducing and ultimately eliminating all arduous physical labor through comprehensive mechanization and automation of production processes in all branches of the economy.

Article 22. A program is being consistently implemented in the USSR to convert agricultural work into a variety of industrial work, to extend the network of educational, cultural and medical institutions, and of trade, public catering, service and public utility facilities in rural localities, and transform hamlets and villages into well-planned and well-appointed settlements.

Article 23. The state pursues a steady policy of raising people's pay levels and real incomes through increase in productivity.

In order to satisfy the needs of Soviet people more fully social consumption funds are created. The state, with the broad participation of public and social organizations and work collectives, ensures the growth and just distribution of these funds.

Article 24. In the USSR, state systems of health protection, social security, trade and public catering, communal services and amenities, and public utilities, operate and are being extended.

The state encourages cooperatives and other public organizations to provide all types of services for the population. It encourages the development of mass physical culture and sport.

Article 25. In the USSR there is a uniform system of public education, which is being improved, that provides general education and vocational training for citizens, serves the communist education and intellectual and physical development of the youth, and trains them for work and social activity.

Article 26. In accordance with society's needs the state provides for planned development of science and the training of scientific personnel and organizes introduction of the results of research in the economy and other spheres of life.

Article 27. The state concerns itself with protecting, augmenting and broad use of spiritual values for moral and aesthetic education of Soviet people, for raising their cultural standards.

In the USSR development of the professional and amateur arts is encouraged in every way.

#### Chapter 4. Foreign Policy

Article 28. The USSR consistently pursues a Leninist policy of peace and stands for strengthening of the security of nations and broad international cooperation.

The foreign policy of the USSR is aimed at ensuring international conditions favorable for building communism in the USSR, safeguarding the state interests of the Soviet Union, consolidating the positions of world socialism, supporting the struggle of peoples for national liberation and social progress, preventing wars of aggression, achieving universal and complete disarmament, and consistently implementing the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

In the USSR war propaganda is banned.

Article 29. The USSR's relations with other states are based on observance of the following principles: sovereign equality; mutual renunciation of the use or threat of force; inviolability of frontiers; territorial integrity of states; peaceful settlement of disputes; non-intervention in internal affairs; respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; the equal rights of peoples and their right to decide their own destiny; cooperation among states; and fulfillment in good faith of obligations arising from the generally recognized principles and rules of international law, and from the international treaties signed by the USSR.

Article 30. The USSR, as part of the world system of socialism and of the socialist community, promotes and strengthens friendship, cooperation and comradely mutual assistance with other socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism, and takes an active part in economic integration and the socialist international division of labor.

#### Chapter 5. Defense of the Socialist Motherland

Article 31. Defense of the socialist motherland is one of the most important functions of the state, and is the concern of the whole people.

In order to defend the gains of socialism, the peaceful labor of the Soviet people, and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state, the USSR maintains armed forces and has instituted universal military service.

The duty of the armed forces of the USSR to the people is to provide reliable defense of the socialist motherland and to be in constant combat readiness, guaranteeing that any aggressor is instantly repulsed.

Article 32. The state ensures the security and defense capability of the country, and supplies the armed forces of the USSR with everything necessary for that purpose.

The duties of state bodies and agencies, public and social organizations, officials and citizens in regard to safeguarding the country's security and strengthening its defense capacity are defined by the legislation of the USSR.

## II. The State and the Individual

### Chapter 6. Citizenship of the USSR. Equality of Citizens' Rights

Article 33. Uniform union citizenship has been established for the USSR. Every citizen of a union republic is a citizen of the USSR.

The grounds and procedure for acquiring or forfeiting Soviet citizenship are defined by the law on citizenship of the USSR.

When abroad, citizens of the USSR enjoy the protection and assistance of the Soviet state.

Article 34. Citizens of the USSR are equal before the law, without distinction of origin, social or property status, race or nationality, sex, education, language, attitude to religion, type and nature of occupation, domicile or other status.

The equal rights of citizens of the USSR are guaranteed in all fields of economic, political, social and cultural life.

Article 35. Women and men have equal rights in the USSR.

Exercise of these rights is ensured by according women equal access with men to education and vocational and professional training, equal opportunities in employment, remuneration, and promotion, and in social and political, and cultural activity, and by special labor and health protection measures for women; by providing conditions enabling mothers to work; by legal protection, and material and moral support for mothers and children, including paid leaves and other benefits for expectant mothers and mothers, gradual reduction of working hours for women with small children.

Article 36. Citizens of the USSR of different races and nationalities have equal rights.

Exercise of these rights is ensured by a policy of all-round development and drawing together of all the nations and nationalities of the USSR, by educating citizens in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, and by the possibility to use their native language and the languages of other peoples of the USSR.

Any direct or indirect limitation of the rights of citizens or establishment of direct or indirect privileges on grounds of race or nationality, and any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness, hostility or contempt, are punishable by law.

Article 37. Citizens of other countries and stateless persons in the USSR are guaranteed the rights and freedoms provided by law, including the right to apply to a court and other state bodies for the protection of their personal, property, family and other rights.

Citizens of other countries and stateless persons, when in the USSR, are obliged to respect the Constitution of the USSR and observe Soviet laws.

Article 38. The USSR grants the right of asylum to foreign nationals persecuted for defending the interests of the working people and the cause of peace, or for participation in the revolutionary and national-liberation movement, or for progressive social and political, scientific or other creative activity.

#### Chapter 7. The Basic Rights, Freedoms and Duties of Citizens of the USSR

Article 39. Citizens of the USSR enjoy in full the social, economic, political and personal rights and freedoms proclaimed and guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR and by Soviet laws. The socialist system ensures enlargement of the rights and freedoms of citizens and continuous improvement of their living standards to the extent that social, economic and cultural development programs are fulfilled.

Citizens' exercise of their rights and freedoms must not harm the interests of society or of the state, or the rights of other citizens.

Article 40. Citizens of the USSR have the right to work (that is, to guaranteed employment and pay in accordance with the quantity and quality of their work, and not below the state-established minimum), including the right to choose their trade or profession, type of job, and work in accordance with their inclinations, abilities, training and education, with due account of the needs of society.

This right is ensured by the socialist economic system, steady growth of the productive forces, free vocational and professional training, improvement of skills, training in new trades or professions, and development of the systems of vocational guidance and job placement.

Article 41. Citizens of the USSR have the right to rest and leisure.

This right is ensured by the establishment of a working week not exceeding 41 hours, for workers and other employees, a shorter working day in a number of trades and industries, and shorter hours for night work; by the provision of paid annual holidays, weekly days of rest, extension of the network of cultural, educational and health-building institutions, and the development on a mass scale of sport, physical culture and camping and tourism; by the provision of neighborhood recreational facilities and of other opportunities for rational use of free time.

The length of collective farmers' working and leisure time is established by their collective farms.

Article 42. Citizens of the USSR have the right to health protection.

This right is ensured by free, qualified medical care provided by state health institutions; by extension of the network of therapeutic and health-building institutions; by the development and improvement of safety and hygiene in industry, by carrying out broad prophylactic measures to improve the environment; by special care for the health of the rising generation, including prohibition of child labor unconnected with instruction and labor education and by developing research to prevent and reduce the incidence of diseases and ensure citizens a long and active life.

Article 43. Citizens of the USSR have the right to maintenance in old age, in sickness, and in the event of complete or partial disability or loss of the breadwinner.

This right is guaranteed by social insurance of workers and other employees and collective farmers; by the provision by the state or by collective farms of retirement pensions, disability pensions, pensions for loss of the breadwinner, and allowances for temporary disability; by providing employment for the partially disabled; by care for the elderly and the disabled; and by other forms of social security.

Article 44. Citizens of the USSR have the right to housing.

This right is ensured by the development and upkeep of state and communally-owned housing; by assistance for cooperative and individual house building; by fair distribution, under public control, of the housing that becomes available through fulfillment of the program of building well-appointed dwellings, and by low rents and low charges for utility services. Citizens of the USSR shall take good care of the housing allocated to them.

Article 45. Citizens of the USSR have the right to education.

This right is ensured by free provision of all forms of education, by the institution of universal, compulsory secondary education, and broad development



of vocational, specialized secondary, and higher education, in which instruction is linked to practical activity and production; by the development of extramural, correspondence and evening courses; by the provision of state scholarships and grants and privileges for students; by the free issue of school textbooks; by the opportunity to attend a school where teaching is in the native language; and by the provision of facilities for self-education.

Article 46. Citizens of the USSR have the right to enjoy cultural benefits.

This right is ensured by broad access to the cultural treasures of their own land and of the world that are preserved in state and other public collections, by the development and fair distribution of cultural and educational institutions throughout the country, by the development of television and radio, book printing and the periodical press, a network of free libraries, and by expanding cultural exchanges with other countries.

Article 47. Citizens of the USSR, in accordance with the aims of building communism, are guaranteed freedom of scientific, technical and artistic work. This freedom is ensured by broadening scientific research, encouraging invention and innovation, and developing literature and the arts. The state provides the necessary material conditions for this and support for voluntary societies and unions of workers in the arts, organizes the introduction of inventions and innovations in the national economy and other walks of life.

The rights of authors, inventors and innovators are protected by the state.

Article 48. Citizens of the USSR have the right to take part in the management and administration of state and public affairs and in the discussion and adoption of laws and measures of all-union and local significance.

This right is ensured by the opportunity to vote and to be elected to soviets of people's deputies and other elected state bodies, to take part in nationwide discussions and referendums, in people's control, in the work of state bodies, public and social organizations, and local community groups, and in meetings at their place of work or residence.

Article 49. Every citizen of the USSR has the right to submit proposals to state bodies and public and social organizations for improving their activity, and to criticize shortcomings in their work.

Officials are obliged, within the period established by law, to examine citizens' proposals and requests, to reply to them and to take appropriate action.

Persecution for criticism is prohibited. Persons guilty of such persecution shall be called to account.

Article 50. In accordance with the interests of the people and in order to strengthen and develop the socialist system, citizens of the USSR are guaranteed freedom of speech, of the press and of assembly, meetings, street processions and demonstrations.

Exercise of these political freedoms is ensured by putting public buildings, streets and squares at the disposal of the working people and their organizations, by broad dissemination of information, and by the opportunity to use the press, television and radio.

Article 51. In accordance with the aims of building communism, citizens of the USSR have the right to associate in public and social organizations that promote their political activity and initiative and satisfaction of their various interests.

Public and social organizations are guaranteed conditions for successfully performing the functions defined in their rules.

Article 52. Citizens of the USSR are guaranteed freedom of conscience, that is, the right to profess or not to profess any religion, and to conduct religious worship or atheistic propaganda. Incitement of hostility or hatred on religious grounds is prohibited.

In the USSR, the church is separated from the state, and the school from the church.

Article 53. The family enjoys the protection of the state.

Marriage is based on the free consent of the woman and the man; the spouses are completely equal in their family relations.

The state helps the family by providing and developing a broad system of child-care institutions, by organizing and improving communal services and public catering, by paying grants on the birth of a child, by providing children's allowances and benefits for large families, and by other forms of family allowances and assistance.

Article 54. Citizens of the USSR are guaranteed inviolability of the person. No one may be arrested except by a court order or on the warrant of a procurator.

Article 55. Citizens of the USSR are guaranteed inviolability of the home. No one may, without lawful grounds, enter a home against the will of those residing in it.

Article 56. The privacy of citizens, and of their correspondence, telephone conversations and telegraphic communications is protected by law.

Article 57. Respect for the individual and protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens are the duty of all state bodies, public and social organizations, and officials.

Citizens of the USSR have the right to protection by the courts against encroachments on their honor and reputation, life and health, and personal freedom and property.

Article 58. Citizens of the USSR have the right to appeal against the actions of officials and of state, public and social bodies. Complaints shall be examined according to the procedure and within the time-limit established by law.

Actions by officials performed in breach of the law or in excess of their powers, and infringing the rights of citizens, may be appealed against in a court in the manner prescribed by law.

Citizens of the USSR have the right to compensation for damage resulting from unlawful actions by state, public and social organizations, or by officials in the performance of their duties.

Article 59. Citizens' exercise of their rights and freedoms is inseparable from the performance of their duties and obligations.

Citizens of the USSR are obliged to observe the Constitution of the USSR and the Soviet laws, comply with the code of socialist conduct, and uphold the honor and dignity of Soviet citizenship.

Article 60. It is the duty of, and a matter of honor for, every able-bodied citizen of the USSR to work conscientiously in his chosen, socially useful occupation, and strictly to observe labor discipline. Evasion of socially useful work is incompatible with the principles of socialist society.

Article 61. Citizens of the USSR are obliged to preserve and protect socialist property. It is the duty of a citizen of the USSR to combat misappropriation and squandering of state and commonly-owned property and to make thrifty use of the people's wealth.

Persons encroaching in any way on socialist property shall be punished according to the law.

Article 62. Citizens of the USSR are obliged to safeguard the interests of the Soviet state, and to enhance its power and prestige.

Defense of the socialist motherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR.

Betrayal of the motherland is the gravest of crimes against the people.

Article 63. Military service in the ranks of the Armed Forces of the USSR is an honorable duty of Soviet citizens.

Article 64. It is the duty of every citizen of the USSR to respect the national dignity of other citizens, and to strengthen friendship of the nations and nationalities of the multinational Soviet state.

Article 65. A citizen of the USSR is obliged to respect the rights and lawful interests of other persons, to be uncompromising toward anti-social behavior, and to help in every way to maintain public order.

Article 66. Citizens of the USSR are obliged to concern themselves with the upbringing of their children, to train them for socially useful work, and to raise them as worthy members of socialist society. Children are obliged to care for their parents and help them.

Article 67. Citizens of the USSR are obliged to protect nature and conserve its riches.

Article 68. Concern for the preservation of historical monuments and other cultural values is a duty and obligation of citizens of the USSR.

Article 69. It is the internationalist duty of citizens of the USSR to promote friendship and cooperation with peoples of other lands and help maintain and strengthen world peace.

### III. The National and State Structure of the USSR

#### Chapter 8. The USSR--a Federal State

Article 70. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a single, united, multinational state formed on the principle of socialist federalism as a result of the free self-determination of nations and the voluntary association of equal Soviet socialist republics.

The USSR embodies the state unity of the Soviet people and draws all its nations and nationalities together for the purpose of building communism.

Article 71. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics comprises:

The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic,  
The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
The Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,  
The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic,  
The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
The Azerbaydzhan Soviet Socialist Republic,  
The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic

The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
The Kirgiz Soviet Socialist Republic,  
The Tadjik Soviet Socialist Republic,  
The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic,  
The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Article 72. Each union republic retains the right freely to secede from the USSR.

Article 73. The jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as represented by its supreme authorities and administration, shall cover:

1. The admission of new republics to the USSR, ratification of the formation of new autonomous republics and autonomous regions within union republics;
2. Determination of the state boundaries of the USSR and ratification of changes in the boundaries between union republics;
3. Establishment of the general principles for the organization and functioning of republican and local authorities and administrations;
4. The ensurance of uniformity of legislative norms throughout the USSR and establishment of the fundamentals of the legislation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and union republics;
5. Pursuance of a single social and economic policy; direction of the country's economy; determination of the main lines of scientific and technical progress and the general measures for rational exploitation and conservation of natural resources; the drafting and ratification of state plans for the economic and social development of the USSR, and endorsement of reports on their fulfillment;
6. The drafting and ratification of the consolidated budget of the USSR, and endorsement of the report on its execution; management of a single monetary and credit system; determination of the taxes and revenues forming the budget of the USSR; and the formulation of prices and wages policy;
7. Direction of the sectors of the economy, and of enterprises and amalgamations under union jurisdiction, and general direction of industries under union-republican jurisdiction;
8. Issues of war and peace, defense of the sovereignty of the USSR and safeguarding of its frontiers and territory, and organization of defense, direction of the Armed Forces of the USSR;
9. State security;

10. Representation of the USSR in international relations; the USSR's relations with other states and with international organizations; establishment of the general procedure for, and coordination of the relations of union republics with other states and with international organizations; foreign trade and other forms of external economic activity on the basis of state monopoly;

11. Control over observance of the Constitution of the USSR, and ensurance of conformity of the Constitutions of union republics to the Constitution of the USSR;

12. And settlement of other matters of all-union importance.

Article 74. The laws of the USSR shall have the same force in all union republics. In the event of a discrepancy between a union republic law and an all-union law, the law of the USSR shall prevail.

Article 75. The territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a single entity and comprises the territories of the union republics.

The sovereignty of the USSR extends throughout its territory.

#### Chapter 9. Union Soviet Socialist Republics

Article 76. A union republic is a sovereign Soviet socialist state that has united with other Soviet republics in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Outside the spheres listed in Article 73 of the Constitution of the USSR, a union republic exercises independent authority on its territory.

A union republic has its own constitution, conforming to the Constitution of the USSR, and taking the specific features of the republic into account.

Article 77. Union republics take part in decision-making in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the government of the USSR, and other bodies of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in matters that come within the jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

A union republic shall ensure comprehensive economic and social development on its territory, facilitate exercise of the powers of the USSR on its territory, and implement the decisions of the supreme authorities and administrative bodies of the USSR.

In matters that come within its jurisdiction, a union republic shall coordinate and control the activity of enterprises, institutions and organizations subordinate to the union.

Article 78. The territory of a union republic may not be altered without its consent. The boundaries between union republics may be altered by mutual agreement of the republics concerned, subject to ratification by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Article 79. A union republic shall determine its division into territories, regions, areas and districts, and decide other matters relating to its administrative and territorial structure.

Article 80. A union republic has the right to enter into relations with other states, conclude treaties with them, exchange diplomatic and consular representatives, and take part in the work of international organizations.

Article 81. The sovereign rights of union republics shall be safeguarded by the USSR.

#### Chapter 10. Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics

Article 82. An autonomous republic is a constituent part of a union republic.

In spheres not within the jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the union republic, an autonomous republic shall deal independently with matters within its jurisdiction.

An autonomous republic shall have its own constitution, conforming to the constitutions of the USSR and the union republic, and taking the specific features of the autonomous republic into account.

Article 83. An autonomous republic takes part in decision-making through the supreme authorities and administrative bodies of the USSR and of the union republic respectively, in matters that come within the jurisdiction of the USSR and the union republic.

An autonomous republic shall ensure comprehensive economic and social development on its territory, facilitate exercise of the powers of the USSR and the union republic on its territory, and implement decisions of the supreme authorities and administrative bodies of the USSR and the union republic.

In matters within its jurisdiction, an autonomous republic shall coordinate and control the activity of enterprises, institutions and organizations subordinate to the union or the union republic.

Article 84. The territory of an autonomous republic may not be altered without its consent.

Article 85. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic includes the Bashkirskaya, Buryatskaya, Dagestanskaya, Kabardino-Balkarskaya, Kalmytskaya, Karelskaya, Komi, Mariyskaya, Mordovskaya, Severo-Osetinskaya, Tatarskaya, Tuvinskaya, Udmurtskaya, Checheno-Ingushskaya, Chuvashskaya and Yakutskaya autonomous soviet socialist republics.

The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Karakalpakskaya Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Abkhazskaya and Adzharskaya autonomous soviet socialist republics.

The Azerbaydzhan Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Nakhichevanskaya Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

#### Chapter 11. Autonomous Regions and Autonomous Areas

Article 86. An autonomous region is a constituent part of a union republic or territory. The law creating an autonomous region shall be passed by the Supreme Soviet of the union republic on the submission of the soviet of people's deputies of the autonomous region concerned.

Article 87. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic includes the Adygeyskaya, Gorno-Altayskaya, Yevreyskaya, Karachayevo-Cherkesskaya and Khakasskaya autonomous regions.

The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Yugo-Osetinskaya Autonomous Region.

The Azerbaydzhan Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Nagorno-Karabakhskaya Autonomous Region.

The Tadzhik Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Gorno-Badakhshanskaya Autonomous Region.

Article 88. An autonomous area is a constituent part of a territory or region. The law creating an autonomous area shall be passed by the Supreme Soviet of the union republic concerned.

#### IV. Soviets of People's Deputies and Electoral Procedure

##### Chapter 12. The System of Soviets of People's Deputies and the Principles of Their Work

Article 89. The soviets of people's deputies, i.e., the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the supreme soviets of union republics, the supreme soviets of autonomous republics, the soviets of people's deputies of territories and regions, the soviets of people's deputies of autonomous regions and autonomous areas, and the soviets of people's deputies of districts, cities, city districts, settlements and villages shall constitute a single system of authorities.

Article 90. The term of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the supreme soviets of union republics, and the supreme soviets of autonomous republics shall be 5 years.



The term of local soviets of people's deputies shall be two and a half years.

Elections to soviets of people's deputies shall be called within 2 months of expiry of the term of the soviet concerned.

Article 91. The most important matters within the jurisdiction of the respective soviets of people's deputies shall be considered and settled at their sessions.

Soviets of people's deputies shall elect standing commissions and form executive, administrative and other bodies accountable to them.

Article 92. Soviets of people's deputies shall form people's control bodies combining state control with control by the working people at enterprises, collective farms, institutions and organizations.

People's control bodies shall check on the fulfillment of state plans and assignments, combat breaches of state discipline, localistic tendencies, narrow departmental attitudes, mismanagement, extravagance and waste, red tape and bureaucracy, and help improve the working of the state machinery.

Article 93. Soviets of people's deputies shall direct all sectors of state, economic, social and cultural development, either directly or through bodies instituted by them, pass ordinances and ensure their execution and verify their implementation.

Article 94. Soviets of people's deputies shall function publicly on the basis of collective, free, constructive discussion and decision-making, of systematic reporting back to them and the people by their executive and administrative bodies and other agencies, and of involving citizens on a broad scale in their work.

The soviets of people's deputies and the bodies set up by them shall systematically inform the population about their work and the decisions they adopt.

### Chapter 13. The Electoral System

Article 95. Deputies to all soviets shall be elected on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Article 96. Elections shall be universal: All citizens of the USSR who have reached the age of 18 shall have the right to vote and to be elected, with the exception of persons who have been legally certified insane.

To be eligible for election to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR a citizen of the USSR must have reached the age of 21.

Article 97. Elections shall be equal: Each citizen shall have one vote; all voters shall exercise the franchise on an equal footing.

Article 98. Elections shall be direct: Deputies to all soviets of people's deputies shall be elected by citizens by direct vote.

Article 99. Voting at elections shall be secret: Control over voters' exercise of the franchise is inadmissible.

Article 100. The following shall have the right to nominate candidates: branches and organizations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, trade unions and the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League; cooperatives and other public and social organizations, work collectives and meetings of servicemen in their military units.

Citizens of the USSR and public and social organizations are guaranteed the right to free and all-round discussion of the political and personal qualities and competence of candidates and the right to campaign for them at meetings, in the press and on television and radio.

The expenses involved in holding elections to soviets of people's deputies shall be met by the state.

Article 101. Deputies to soviets of people's deputies shall be elected by constituencies.

A citizen of the USSR may not, as a rule, be elected to more than two soviets of people's deputies.

Elections to the soviets shall be conducted by electoral commissions consisting of representatives of public and social organizations and work collectives and of meetings of the servicemen of military units.

The procedure for holding elections to soviets of people's deputies shall be defined by the laws of the USSR, and of union and autonomous republics.

Article 102. Electors give mandates to their deputies.

The appropriate soviets of people's deputies shall examine electors' mandates, take them into account in drafting economic and social development plans and in drawing up the budget, organize implementation of the mandates and inform citizens about it.

#### Chapter 14. People's Deputies

Article 103. Deputies are the plenipotentiary representatives of the people in the soviets of people's deputies.

In the soviets deputies deal with matters relating to state, economic, social and cultural development; organize implementation of the decisions of the soviets; and exercise control over the work of state bodies, enterprises, institutions and organizations.

Deputies shall be guided in their activities by the interests of the whole state and shall take the needs of their constituents into account and work to implement their electors' mandates.

Article 104. Deputies shall exercise their powers without discontinuing their regular employment or duties.

During sessions of the soviet, so as to exercise their deputy's power in other cases stipulated by law, deputies shall be released from their regular employment or duties, with retention of their average earnings at their permanent place of work.

Article 105. A deputy has the right to address inquiries to the appropriate state bodies and officials, who are obliged to reply to them at a session of the soviet.

Deputies have the right to approach any state or public body, enterprise, institution or organization on matters arising from their work as deputies and to take part in considering the questions raised by them. The heads of the state or public bodies, enterprises, institutions or organizations concerned are obliged to receive deputies without delay and to consider their proposals within the time limit established by law.

Article 106. Deputies shall be ensured conditions for the unhampered and effective exercise of their rights and duties.

The immunity of deputies, and other guarantees of their activity as deputies, are defined in the law on the status of deputies and other legislative acts of the USSR and of union and autonomous republics.

Article 107. Deputies shall report on their work and on that of the soviet to their constituents, and to the work collectives and public and social organizations that nominated them.

Deputies who have not justified the confidence of their constituents may be recalled at any time by decision of a majority of the electors in accordance with the procedure established by law.

## V. The Sovereign Authorities and Administrative Bodies of the USSR

### Chapter 15. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR

Article 108. The sovereign authority of the USSR shall be the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR is empowered to deal with all matters within the jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as defined by this Constitution.

The adoption and amendment of the Constitution of the USSR, admission of new republics to the USSR, ratification of the formation of new autonomous republics and autonomous regions, endorsement of the state plans for economic and social development, and the institution of bodies of the USSR accountable to it, are the exclusive prerogative of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Laws of the USSR shall be enacted by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR or by the nationwide vote (referendum) held by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Article 109. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall consist of two chambers: The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

The two chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall have equal rights.

Article 110. The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of the Nationalities shall have equal numbers of deputies.

The Soviet of the Union shall be elected by constituencies with equal populations.

The Soviet of Nationalities shall be elected on the basis of the following representation: 32 deputies from each union republic, 11 deputies from each autonomous republic, 5 deputies from each autonomous region and 1 deputy from each autonomous area.

The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, upon submission by the credentials commissions elected by them, shall decide on the validity of deputies' credentials, and, in cases in which the election law has been violated, shall declare the election of the deputies concerned null and void.

Article 111. Each chamber of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall elect a chairman and four vice chairmen.

The chairmen of the Soviet of the Union and of the Soviet of Nationalities shall preside over the sittings of the respective chambers and conduct their affairs.

Joint sittings of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall be presided over alternately by the chairman of the Soviet of the Union and the chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities.

Article 112. Sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall be convened twice a year.

Special sessions shall be convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR at its discretion or on the proposal of a union republic, or of not less than one-third of the deputies of one of the chambers.

A session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall consist of separate and joint sittings of the chambers, and of meetings of the standing commissions of the chambers or commissions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR held between the sittings of the chambers. A session may be opened and closed at either separate or joint sittings of the chambers.

Article 113. The right to initiate legislation in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR is vested in the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Council of Minister of the USSR, union republics through their sovereign authorities, commissions of its chambers, deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Supreme Court of the USSR and the procurator-general of the USSR.

The right to initiate legislation is also vested in public and social organizations through their all-union bodies.

Article 114. Bills and other matters submitted to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall be debated by its chambers at separate or joint sittings. Where necessary, a bill or other matter may be referred to one or more commissions for preliminary or additional consideration.

A law of the USSR shall be deemed adopted when it has been passed in each chamber of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR by a majority of the total number of its deputies. Resolutions and other acts of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR are adopted by a majority of the total number of deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Bills and other very important matters of state may be submitted for nationwide discussion by a decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR or its Presidium taken on their own initiative or on the proposal of a union republic.

Article 115. In the event of disagreement between the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, the matter at issue shall be referred for settlement to a conciliation commission formed by the chambers on a parity basis, after which it shall be considered for a second time by the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities at a joint sitting. If agreement is again not reached, the matter shall be postponed for debate at the next session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR or submitted by the Supreme Soviet to a nationwide vote (referendum).

Article 116. Laws of the USSR and resolutions and other acts of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall be published in the languages of the union republics over the signatures of the president and secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Article 117. A deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has the right to address inquiries to the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and to ministers and the heads of other bodies formed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The Council of Ministers of the USSR, or the official to whom the inquiry is addressed, is obliged to give a verbal or written reply within 3 days at the given session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Article 118. A deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR may not be prosecuted, arrested or sued in court without the sanction of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, or, between its sessions, of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Article 119. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall elect a Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR at a joint sitting of the two chambers, which Presidium shall be a continuously functioning body of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, accountable to it for all its work and exercising the functions of the sovereign authority of the USSR between sessions of the Supreme Soviet, within the limits prescribed by the Constitution.

Article 120. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall be elected from among the deputies and shall consist of a president, first vice president, 15 vice presidents (one from each union republic), a secretary and 21 members.

Article 121. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall:

1. Name the date of elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR;
2. Convene sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR;
3. Coordinate the work of the standing commissions of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR;
4. Ensure observance of the Constitution of the USSR and conformity of the constitutions and laws of union republics to the Constitution and laws of the USSR;
5. Interpret the laws of the USSR;
6. Ratify and denounce international treaties of the USSR;
7. Revoke ordinances and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and of the councils of ministers of union republics should they fail to conform to the law;
8. Institute military and diplomatic ranks and other special titles; and confer the highest military and diplomatic ranks and other special titles;
9. Institute orders and medals of the USSR, and honorific titles of the USSR, award orders and medals of the USSR; and confer honorific titles of the USSR;
10. Grant citizenship of the USSR, and rule on matters of the renunciation or deprivation of citizenship of the USSR and of granting asylum;
11. Issue all-union acts of amnesty and exercise clemency;

12. Appoint and recall diplomatic representatives of the USSR to other countries and to international organizations;
13. Receive the letters of credence and recall of the diplomatic representatives of foreign states accredited to it;
14. Form the Council of Defense of the USSR and confirm its composition; appoint and dismiss the high command of the Armed Forces of the USSR;
15. Proclaim martial law in particular localities or throughout the country in the interests of defense of the USSR;
16. Order general or partial mobilization;
17. Between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, proclaim a state of war in the event of an armed attack on the USSR, or when it is necessary to meet international treaty obligations providing for mutual defense against aggression;
18. And exercise other powers vested in it by the Constitution and laws of the USSR.

Article 122. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and subject to its confirmation at the next session, shall:

1. Amend existing legislative acts of the USSR when necessary;
2. Ratify changes in the boundaries between union republics;
3. Form and abolish ministries and state committees of the USSR on the recommendation of the Council of Ministers of the USSR;
4. Relieve individual members of the Council of Ministers of the USSR of their responsibilities and appoint persons to the Council of Ministers on the recommendation of the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

Article 123. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR promulgates decrees and adopts resolutions.

Article 124. On expiry of the powers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall retain its powers until the newly elected Supreme Soviet of the USSR has elected a new Presidium.

The newly elected Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall be convened by the outgoing Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR within 2 months of the elections.

Article 125. The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities shall elect standing commissions from among the deputies to make a preliminary

review of matters coming within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, to promote execution of the laws of the USSR and other acts of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and its presidium, and to check on the work of state bodies and organizations. The chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR may also set up joint commissions on a parity basis.

When it deems it necessary, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR sets up commissions of inquiry and audit, and commissions on any other matter.

All state and public bodies, institutions, organizations and officials are obliged to meet the requests of the commissions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and of its chambers, and submit the requisite materials and documents to them.

Recommendations of the commissions are obligatory for consideration by state and public bodies, institutions and organizations. The commissions shall be informed within the set period of time about the results of the study of their recommendations and the action taken on them.

Article 126. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall supervise the work of all state bodies accountable to it.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR shall form a committee of people's control of the USSR to head the system of people's control.

The organization and procedure of people's control agencies are defined by the law on people's control in the USSR.

Article 127. The procedure of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and of its bodies shall be defined in the standing orders of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and other laws of the USSR enacted on the basis of the Constitution of the USSR.

Chapter 16. The Council of Ministers of the USSR

Article 128. The Council of Ministers of the USSR, i.e., the government of the USSR, is the highest executive and administrative authority of the USSR.

Article 129. The Council of Ministers of the USSR shall be formed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR at a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, and shall consist of the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, first vice chairmen and vice chairmen, ministers of the USSR and chairmen of state committees of the USSR.

The chairmen of the councils of ministers of union republics shall be ex officio members of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR, on the recommendation of the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, may include the heads of other bodies and organizations of the USSR in the government of the USSR.



The Council of Ministers of the USSR shall tender its resignation to a newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the USSR at its first session.

Article 130. The Council of Ministers of the USSR shall be responsible and accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and, between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The Council of Ministers of the USSR shall report regularly on its work to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Article 131. The Council of Ministers of the USSR is empowered to deal with all matters of state administration within the jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics insofar as, under the Constitution, they do not come within the competence of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR or the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Within its powers the Council of Ministers of the USSR shall:

1. Ensure direction of economic, social and cultural development; draft and implement measures to promote the well-being and raise the cultural standards of the people, to develop science and engineering, to ensure rational exploitation and conservation of natural resources, to consolidate the monetary and credit system, to pursue a uniform prices, wages and social security policy, and to organize state insurance and a uniform system of accounting and statistics; and organize the management of industrial, constructional and agricultural enterprises and amalgamations, transport and communications undertakings, banks and other organizations and institutions of all-union significance;
2. Draft current and long-term state plans for the economic and social development of the USSR and the budget of the USSR, and submit them to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; take measures to execute the state plans and budget; and report to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the implementation of the plans and budget;
3. Implement measures to defend the interests of the state, protect socialist property and maintain public order, and guarantee and protect citizens' rights and freedoms;
4. Take measures to ensure state security;
5. Exercise general direction of the development of the armed forces of the USSR, and determine the annual contingent of citizens to be called up for active military service;
6. Provide general direction in regard to relations with other states, and the foreign trade and economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation of the USSR with other countries; take measures to ensure fulfillment of the USSR's international treaties; and ratify and denounce inter-governmental international agreements;

7. And when necessary, form committees, chief boards and other departments under the Council of Ministers of the USSR to deal with matters of economic, social and cultural development, and defense.

Article 132. A Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, consisting of the chairman, the first vice chairmen and vice chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, shall function as a standing body of the Council of Ministers of the USSR to deal with questions relating to management of the economy, and with other matters of state administration.

Article 133. The Council of Ministers of the USSR, on the basis of, and on pursuance of, the laws of the USSR and other decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and other decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and its Presidium, shall issue ordinances and orders and verify their execution. The ordinances and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR shall be binding throughout the USSR.

Article 134. The Council of Ministers of the USSR has the right, in matters within the jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to suspend execution of ordinances and orders of the councils of ministers of union republics; and to rescind acts of ministries and state committees of the USSR, and of other bodies subordinate to it.

Article 135. The Council of Ministers of the USSR shall coordinate and direct the work of all-union and union-republican ministries of the USSR and state committees of the USSR, and other bodies subordinate to it.

All-union ministries and state committees of the USSR shall direct the work of the branches of administration entrusted to them, or exercise inter-branch administration, throughout the territory of the USSR directly or through bodies set up by them.

Union-republican ministries and state committees of the USSR direct the work of the branches of administration entrusted to them or exercise inter-branch administration, as a rule, through the corresponding ministries and state committees and other bodies of union republics, and directly administer individual enterprises and amalgamations of union subordination. The procedures for transferring enterprises and amalgamations from republic or local subordination to union subordination shall be defined by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Ministries and state committees of the USSR shall be responsible for the condition and development of the spheres of administration entrusted to them and, within their competence, issue orders and other acts on the basis of, and in execution of, the laws of the USSR and other decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and its Presidium, and of ordinances and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and organize and verify their implementation.

Article 136. The competence of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and its Presidium, the procedure for their work, relationships between the Council of Ministers and other state bodies, and the list of all-union and union-republican ministries and state committees of the USSR are defined, in the basis of the Constitution, in the law on the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

## VI. Basis Principles of the Structure of the Sovereign Authorities and Administrative Bodies in Union Republics

### Chapter 17. The Sovereign Authorities and Administrative Bodies of Union Republics

Article 137. The sovereign authority of a union republic shall be the supreme soviet of that republic.

The supreme soviet of a union republic is empowered to deal with all matters within the jurisdiction of the republic under the constitutions of the USSR and the republic.

Adoption and amendment of the constitution of a union republic; endorsement of state plans for economic and social development, of the republic's budget, and of reports on their fulfillment; and the formation of bodies accountable to the supreme soviet of the union republic are the exclusive prerogative of that supreme soviet.

Laws of a union republic shall be enacted by the supreme soviet of the union republic or by a popular vote (referendum) held by decision of the republic's supreme soviet.

Article 138. The supreme soviet of a union republic shall elect a presidium, which is a continuously functioning body of that supreme soviet and accountable to it for all its work. The composition and powers of the presidium of the supreme soviet of a union republic shall be defined in the constitution of the union republic.

Article 139. The supreme soviet of a union republic shall form a council of ministers of the union republic, i.e., the government of that republic, which shall be the highest executive and administrative authority in the republic.

The council of ministers of a union republic shall be responsible and accountable to the supreme soviet of that republic or, between sessions of the supreme soviet, to its presidium.

Article 140. The council of ministers of a union republic issues ordinances and orders on the basis of, and in pursuance of, the legislative acts of the USSR and of the union republic, and of the ordinances and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and shall organize and verify their execution.

Article 141. The council of ministers of a union republic has the right to suspend the execution of ordinances and orders of the councils of ministers of autonomous republics, to rescind the ordinances and orders of the executive committees of soviets of people's deputies of territories, regions, and cities (i.e., cities under republic jurisdiction) and of autonomous regions, and in union republics not divided into regions, of the executive committees of district and corresponding city soviets of people's deputies.

Article 142. The council of ministers of a union republic shall coordinate and direct the work of the union-republican and republican ministries and state committees of the union republic, and other bodies under its jurisdiction.

The union-republican ministries and state committees of a union republic shall direct the branches of administration entrusted to them, or exercise inter-branch control, and shall be subordinate to both the council of ministers of the union republic and the corresponding union-republican ministry or state committee of the USSR.

Republican ministries and state committees shall direct the branches of administration entrusted to them, or exercise inter-branch control, and shall be subordinate to the council of ministers of the union republic.

#### Chapter 18. The Sovereign Authorities and Administrative Bodies of Autonomous Republics

Article 143. The sovereign authority of an autonomous republic shall be the supreme soviet of that republic.

Adoption and amendment of the constitution of an autonomous republic, endorsement of state plans for economic and social development, of the republic's budget, and of reports on their fulfillment; and the formation of bodies accountable to the supreme soviet of the autonomous republic are the exclusive prerogative of that supreme soviet.

Laws of an autonomous republic shall be enacted by the supreme soviet of the autonomous republic.

Article 144. The supreme soviet of an autonomous republic shall elect a presidium of the supreme soviet of the autonomous republic and shall form a council of ministers of the autonomous republic, i.e., the government of that republic.

#### Chapter 19. Local Authorities and Administrative Bodies

Article 145. The authorities in territories, regions, autonomous regions, autonomous areas, districts, cities, city districts, settlements, and rural communities shall be the corresponding soviets of people's deputies.

Article 146. Local soviets of people's deputies shall deal with all matters of local significance in accordance with the interests of the whole state and of the citizens residing in the area under their jurisdiction, implement decisions of higher authorities, guide the work of lower soviets of people's deputies, take part in the discussion of matters of republican and all-union significance, and submit their proposals concerning them.

Local soviets of people's deputies shall direct state, economic, social and cultural development within their territory, endorse plans of economic and social development and the local budget, exercise general guidance over state agencies, enterprises, institutions and organizations subordinate to them; ensure observance of the laws, maintenance of law and order, and protection of citizen's rights, and help strengthen the country's defense capacity.

Article 147. Within their powers, local soviets of people's deputies shall ensure the comprehensive, all-round economic and social development of the area under their jurisdiction, exercise control over the observance of legislation by enterprises, institutions and organizations subordinate to higher authorities and located in their area, and coordinate and supervise their activity as regards land use, nature conservation, building, employment of manpower, production of consumer goods, and social, cultural, communal and other services and amenities for the public.

Article 148. Local soviets of people's deputies shall decide matters within the powers accorded them by the legislation of the USSR and of the appropriate union and autonomous republics. Their decisions shall be binding on all enterprises, institutions and organizations located in their area and on officials and citizens.

Article 149. The executive and administrative bodies of local soviets shall be the executive committees elected by them from among their deputies.

Executive committees shall report on their work at least once a year to the soviets that elected them and to meetings of work collectives and of citizens at their places of work and residence.

Article 150. Executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies shall be directly accountable both to the soviet that elected them and to the higher executive and administrative body.

## VII. Justice, Arbitration and Procurator's Supervision

### Chapter 20. Courts and Arbitration

Article 151. In the USSR justice is administered only by the courts.

In the USSR there are the following courts: the Supreme Court of the USSR; the supreme courts of the union republics; the supreme courts of autonomous

republics; territorial, regional and city courts; courts of autonomous regions; courts of autonomous areas; district (city) people's courts, and military tribunals in the armed forces.

Article 152. All courts in the USSR shall be formed on the principles of the electiveness of judges and people's assessors.

People's judges of district (city) people's courts shall be elected for a term of 5 years by the citizens of the district (city) on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot. People's assessors of district (city) people's courts shall be elected for a term of two and a half years at general meetings of citizens at their places of work or residence by a show of hands.

Higher courts shall be elected for a term of 5 years by the corresponding soviet of people's deputies.

The judges of military tribunals shall be elected for a term of 5 years by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and people's assessors for a term of two and a half years by general meetings of servicemen.

Judges and people's assessors are responsible and accountable to their electors or the bodies that elected them, shall report to them, and may be recalled by them in accordance with the statutory procedure.

Article 153. The Supreme Court of the USSR is the highest judicial body in the USSR and supervises the administration of justice by the courts of the USSR and union republics within the limits established by law.

The Supreme Court of the USSR shall be elected by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and shall consist of a chairman, vice chairmen, members and people's assessors. The chairmen of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

The organization and procedure of the Supreme Court of the USSR are defined in the law on the Supreme Court of the USSR.

Article 154. The hearing of civil and criminal cases in all courts is collegial; in courts of first instance cases are heard with the participation of people's assessors. In the administration of justice people's assessors have all the rights of a judge.

Article 155. Judges and people's assessors are independent and subject only to the law.

Article 156. Justice is administered in the USSR on the principle of the equality of citizens before the law and the court.

Article 157. Proceedings in all courts shall be open to the public. Hearings in camera are only allowed in cases provided for by law, with observance of all the rules of judicial procedure.

Article 158. The defendant is guaranteed the right to legal defense.

Article 159. Judicial proceedings shall be conducted in the language of the union or autonomous republic, autonomous region, or autonomous area, or in the language spoken by the majority of the people in the locality. Persons participating in court proceedings who do not know the language in which they are being conducted shall be ensured; the right to become fully acquainted with the evidence in the case; the services of an interpreter during the proceedings; and the right to address the court in their own language.

Article 160. No one may be adjudged guilty of a crime and subjected to punishment as a criminal other than by the verdict of a court and in conformity with the law.

Article 161. Colleges of advocates are available to give legal aid to citizens and organizations. In cases provided for by legislation citizens shall be given legal aid free of charge.

The organization and procedure of the bar are determined by legislation of the USSR and union republics.

Article 162. Representatives of public and social organizations and of work collectives may take part in civil and criminal proceedings.

Article 163. Economic disputes between enterprises, organizations and constitutions are settled by state arbitration courts within the limits of their jurisdiction.

The organization and procedure of state arbitration courts are defined by the law on state arbitration in the USSR.

#### Chapter 21. The Procurator's Office

Article 164. Supreme power of supervision over the exact, uniform execution of laws by all ministries, state committees and departments, enterprises, institutions and organizations, executive and administrative bodies of local soviets of people's deputies, collective farms, cooperatives and other public organizations, officials and citizens is vested in the procurator-general of the USSR and procurators subordinate to him.

Article 165. The procurator-general of the USSR is appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and is responsible and accountable to it and, between sessions of the Supreme Soviet, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to which it is accountable.

Article 166. The procurators of union republics, autonomous republics, territories, regions and autonomous regions are appointed by the procurator-general of the USSR. The procurators of autonomous areas and district and city procurators are appointed by the procurators of union republics, subject to confirmation by the procurator-general of the USSR.

Article 167. The term of office of the procurator-general of the USSR and all lower-ranking procurators shall be 5 years.

Article 168. The agencies of the procurator's office exercise their powers independently of any local bodies whatsoever and are subordinate solely to the procurator-general of the USSR.

The organization and procedure of the agencies of the procurator's office are defined in the law on the procurator's office of the USSR.

#### VIII. The Emblem, Flag, Anthem and Capital of the USSR

Article 169. The state emblem of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a hammer and sickle on a globe depicted in the rays of the sun and framed by ears of wheat, with the inscription "Workers of all countries, unite!" in the languages of the union republics. At the top of the emblem is a five-pointed star.

Article 170. The state flag of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a rectangle of red cloth with a hammer and sickle depicted in gold in the upper corner next to the staff and with a five-pointed red star in gold above them. The ratio of the width of the flag to its length is 1:2.

Article 171. The state anthem of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is confirmed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Article 172. The capital of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the city of Moscow.

#### IX. The Force of and Procedure for Amending the Constitution of the USSR

Article 173. The Constitution of the USSR shall have supreme legal force. All laws and other acts of state bodies shall be promulgated on the basis of and in conformity with it.

Article 174. The Constitution of the USSR may be amended by a decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the total number of deputies of each of its chambers.

CSO: 1802



CONCLUDING REMARKS OF COMRADE L. I. BREZHNEV

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 77 pp 53-55 LD

[Text] Comrade Deputies!

Expressing the Soviet people's will and in fulfillment of its mandate, the USSR Supreme Soviet has adopted the new Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. (applause) The fundamental law of the world's first socialist state of the whole people has been approved. (applause) A new historical frontier in our advance towards communism--construction of the developed socialist society--has been constitutionally established. (prolonged applause)

Years and decades will pass but this day in October will always remain in the people's memory as vivid evidence of the genuine triumph of the Leninist principles of the people's power. (applause) The further our society advances along the path towards communism, the more fully the tremendous creative potentialities of socialist democracy, the power of the people, the power in the interests of the people, reflected in the new Constitution, will be revealed. (applause)

The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet believe that there is good reason to mark the day of the adoption of the Soviet Union's new Constitution in this country as one of the major events in the life of the Soviet people. That is why a draft law declaring 7 October a holiday of the whole people--USSR Constitution Day--is being submitted for your consideration. (applause)

Now that the Constitution has been approved it is necessary clearly to define in a special law the procedure of putting it into effect. A draft law has been put before you for your consideration. It would establish that all the other legislative acts adopted before the entry of the Constitution into force should remain in effect, insofar as they do not conflict with the new Constitution of the USSR.

Besides, it would--subject to the provisions of the adopted Constitution--extend the powers of the ninth USSR Supreme Soviet and alter accordingly the terms of the republican and local organs of state power elected before the adoption of the new Constitution.

In addition it would authorize the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers to draft the necessary legislative acts pursuant to the text of the Constitution and also to authorize the soviets of people's deputies, ministries and departments, and the heads of other state and social organs to consider the proposals and remarks submitted by citizens in the course of the nationwide discussion of the draft constitution of the USSR on matters relating to the activity of these organs, and to take action to realize them.

With the adoption of this law, that is, from today, the Constitution takes effect and begins to live and to work. (stormy, prolonged applause)

What does this mean?

This means that its every article and provision must fully enter into the living practice of the day-to-day activity of all state organs, all persons in office and all Soviet citizens everywhere. We have not created the Constitution as a stage prop. It has to become and will become a powerful instrument in the further development and deepening of socialist democracy. (applause)

All of us, comrades, have witnessed the great upsurge of creative initiative and labor and political activity generated by the discussion of the new Constitution. We must not let this activity subside but must see to it that it is developed further, assuming the concrete forms of ever broader participation by citizens in the affairs of the state of the whole people. Our party has displayed and will continue to display constant concern to enable the working people not merely to possess the opportunities afforded by the Constitution for taking part in the administration of society, but actually to take part in it.

The great V. I. Lenin taught the communists to give the working people the necessary assistance in the exercise of their very broad socialist rights and freedoms. The party is mindful of this precept of Lenin's as well and has been consistently working to implement it.

We want the citizens of the USSR to have a good knowledge of their rights and freedoms and of the ways and means for exercising them. We want them to be able to apply these rights and freedoms in the interests of communist construction and to have a clear understanding of their close connection with honest fulfillment of their civic duties. It is an important task of the party, state and social organizations responsible for the communist education of the working people to promote this and to help every citizen rise to a high standard of political culture. (applause)

Furthermore, the entry of the Constitution into force entails fulfillment of an extensive program of legislative work. This includes, as I have already had occasion to say, the preparation of a number of new legislative acts, acts whose adoption is directly provided for in the Constitution or follows

from it. These are key acts like the standing rules of the Supreme Soviet, the electoral law, the law on citizenship on the procedures governing the conclusion, execution and abrogation of international treaties and also a number of other acts which are to be drafted in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and in the standing commissions of the chambers.

Much work will have to be done in developing the legislation on the organs of administration. An important act like the law on the USSR Council of Ministers is to be formulated.

There is a need to give overall thought to how best to reflect in legislation the measures mapped out by the 25th CPSU Congress for perfecting the methods employed in the administration of the economy, comprehensive solution of large-scale nationwide, intersectoral and territorial problems, and for setting up systems for administering groups of homogeneous sectors of the economy.

The adoption of the Constitution makes it necessary to introduce a number of amendments and additions to current legislation. This work will take time, but it should not be delayed. And here, comrades, many concrete remarks and wishes expressed by the working people in the course of the discussion of the draft constitution can and should be used.

Attention should be given, in particular, to the proposals for adopting union fundamentals on housing legislation and republican housing codes, for establishing in normative acts the rights of labor collectives, the duties of parents in bringing up and educating their children, and so on.

Of course, improvement of our legislation is bound to affect not only union but also republican legislation. This work will be based on the new constitutions of the union and autonomous republics which are already in the drafting stage.

The Soviet citizens' rising sociopolitical and labor activity and further development and renewal of our legislation make new and higher demands on all the organs of power. From this stems the need for a considerable improvement of the style and methods of work of all our state organs, both central and local, of all ministries and departments, offices and organizations.

Here special attention should be given to enhancing the responsibility and initiative of every echelon, of every person working in the state apparatus, to the most scrupulous observance of planning, financial and state discipline in general, to displaying greater concern for the working people's creative initiatives, and for their needs and problems.

All the meaning, every letter of our constitution are meant to ensure that the historical creative activity of the masses is supported and developed in every way. The enhanced creative activity of the masses is indissolubly linked with the development of socialist democracy. This is evidenced, for

instance, by numerous reports on new labor victories received these days by the Supreme Soviet session from the personnel of plants, factories, construction projects and collective farms. These reports are the most convincing expressions of support by the working people of their new Constitution. Honor and glory to the front-rankers! (prolonged applause)

Finally, comrades, the entry into force of the new Constitution means an even greater enhancement of the responsibility of our Leninist party, Soviet society's leading and guiding force. (applause) The constitutional entrenchment of its role does not hold out any privileges to its members; on the contrary, it imposes even greater duties upon them. Allow me on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and of our whole party to assure you, comrade deputies, that the Soviet communists will always bear this in mind, wherever they may work. (prolonged applause)

The whole experience of the 60-year development along the path of the October Revolution has confirmed that our strength lies in the unbreakable unity of the party and the people. (stormy applause) This is the source of the further flourishing of socialist democracy and of all our victories. (applause) This is the guarantee of the full triumph of communism. (stormy applause) Let us, therefore, do our utmost to strengthen and consolidate this great unity! (stormy, prolonged applause. All stand)

CSO: 1802

LAW OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ON THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE  
DAY OF ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION (FUNDAMENTAL LAW) OF THE USSR AS A NATIONAL  
HOLIDAY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 77 p 56 LD

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet resolved:

In commemoration of the adoption of the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of  
the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to announce the day of adoption  
of the Constitution--7 October--as a national holiday--the Day of the  
Constitution of the USSR.

October 7 will be a day-off.

Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR  
Supreme Soviet L. I. Brezhnev

Secretary of the Presidium of the USSR  
Supreme Soviet M. Georgadze

Moscow, Kremlin, 7 October 1977

CSO: 1802

LAW OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ON THE PROCEDURE OF  
PROMULGATION OF THE USSR CONSTITUTION (FUNDAMENTAL LAW)

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 77 pp 56, 57

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
decrees:

Article 1. USSR laws, laws of union and autonomous republics, other acts of  
state organs, adopted prior to 7 October 1977, remain in effect as long as  
they do not contradict the new USSR Constitution.

Article 2. To establish that the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Supreme Soviets  
of union republics, the Supreme Soviets of autonomous republics, elected  
prior to adoption of the 1977 USSR Constitution, are named respectively by  
kray, oblast soviets of peoples deputies, soviets of peoples deputies of  
autonomous oblasts, autonomous okrugs, rayon, city, city rayon, village,  
rural soviets of peoples deputies and exercise all the powers granted to  
local soviets of peoples deputies by the new USSR Constitution.

The time periods of the powers of the soviets of peoples deputies established  
by article 90 of the 1977 USSR Constitution apply to soviets elected prior to  
its adoption.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to determine the time for holding  
the next elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Presidiums of the  
Supreme Soviets of union and autonomous republics--the time for holding the  
next elections respectively to the Supreme Soviets of union republics, the  
Supreme Soviets of autonomous republics, local soviets of peoples deputies.

Article 3. Executive and administrative organs of soviets of peoples depu-  
ties, ministries and branches, organs of peoples control, courts, state  
arbitrage organs, public prosecutor's offices and other state organs created  
in accordance with the 1936 USSR Constitution exercise powers granted them  
by the new USSR Constitution, as well as until the adoption of legislation  
stemming from the new USSR Constitution and legislation issued before its  
adoption.

Article 4. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to work out and for consideration by the USSR Supreme Soviet a draft of the Law on Elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet and a draft of the Regulations of the USSR Supreme Soviet, as well as to determine the procedure for organization of work for bringing legislation of the USSR into conformity with the new USSR Constitution.

Article 5. The USSR Council of Ministers to work out and to present for consideration of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

a draft of the law on the USSR Council of Ministers;  
a draft of the Law on Peoples Control in the USSR;  
a draft of the Law on state arbitrage in the USSR.

Article 6. In connection with the USSR Law of 7 October 1977 "On Declaring the Day of Adoption of the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) as a National Holiday," article 31 of the Fundamentals of Legislation of the USSR and of Union Republics on Labor, after the words "9 May--Victory Day," to add the words "7 October--USSR Constitution Day," excluding from this article the words "5 December--USSR Constitution Day."

Article 7. Soviets of peoples deputies, their executive and administrative organs, ministries and branches, heads of other state and public organs to examine proposals and comments of citizens on matters connected with the activity of these organs, received in connection with the nationwide discussion of the Draft of the USSR Constitution, and to implement measures for their realization.

Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet L. BREZHNEV.  
Secretary of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet M. GEORGADZE.

Moscow, Kremlin, 7 October 1977.

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CSO: 1802

## REVOLUTION OF THE MOBILIZED AND THE CALLED

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 77 pp 58-70

[Statements by members of three generations of the working class in Leningrad]

[Text] The great 60th anniversary of the Soviet system is illumined by an event of historical significance--the adoption of the new USSR Constitution. This document of the period of developed socialism reflects the socio-economic gains of the people achieved under the leadership of the Leninist party; it contains firm and scientifically substantiated guarantees for future victories.

On the eve of the great holiday we think of the years lived under the happy star of the Great October Revolution in a special way, lovingly and warmly. The editors of KOMMUNIST asked representatives of different generations of the working class in Lenin's city, the cradle of the revolution, to share their feelings and thoughts on the eve of the anniversary of the first socialist state in the world.

At the Dawn of the Soviet System

By Hero of Socialist Labor V. Vinogradov, CPSU member since 1915

To recall the past means to relive everything. The youth of my contemporaries was brief and, as the poet said, turned gray early. Our class awareness was awakened in us equally early, for at each step life taught us cruel but instructive lessons. At that time all honest people tried to link their fate with the future revolution.

To be in the ranks of the Petersburg proletariat was considered an honor by the working men of the Russian province. At the first opportunity I left my home in a remote Tversk hamlet without regrets for the northern capital,



taking the place of my father, a pattern maker who had worked here for many years. I spent my training years at the Feniks Plant owned by foreign capitalists. The circumstances were oppressive: hard working conditions, and the rude attitude of the superiors humiliating to human dignity. Yet, it is precisely in the workers' environment that one met with outstanding and talented individuals, and with responsive and intelligent revolutionaries-tutors. To me such a person was the Bolshevik pattern maker Aleksey Stepanov. It was he who gave me my initial lessons in political knowledge, lessons which turned my life toward the revolution forever. Working at the Metallicheskiy Plant, I found my bearings quite rapidly and was drawn to the Bolsheviks. On the assignment of their organization I distributed Lenin's PRAVDA and collected funds for its publication. I was a courier. I helped those in clandestinity to hide from Tzarist security agents. Each assignment entailed a risk. However, I did not think of the danger: my desire to help the comrades in the struggle for a new life was too great.

One day in June 1915 Yefim Belousov, member of the clandestine party raykom approached me in the shop and quietly said:

"Starting with this month you may pay your dues. You are now member of the RSDWP."

At that moment I felt the happiest man in the world. For the first time I realized my involvement with the party cause, the army of party members, and the proletarian struggle. I was profoundly touched by the faith of my comrades who considered me their equal and made a place for me in their ranks. At that time this was a small detachment of fighters for the better future of the people. Our pattern making shop held a leading position in party membership.

I frequently recall the profound words of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin in the book "What is to Be Done?" which could fully apply to all revolutionaries: "A handful of us are marching along the steep and difficult road, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded by enemies on all sides and we are almost always under their fire. We united freely precisely for the sake of fighting the enemy and not sinking into the closest swamp whose population has blamed us from the very beginning for setting ourselves in a separate group and choosing the path of struggle. . . ."

Destiny offered me a wonderful opportunity to see the distance covered from the positions of today and to realize yet once again that the path chosen by the Bolsheviks was the right one; that the sacrifices made by the people were entirely justified; and that the cherished dreams of the revolutionaries-Leninists have come true and that their new reinforcements, taking over the baton of the October Revolution, are confidently continuing what we started. Reading today the fundamental law of our society, we unwittingly turn to the origins of this captivating struggle which was crowned by a historical victory. The new constitution of the USSR is a documentary proof of our socioeconomic and political gains and every citizen of the socialist fatherland is in fact a maker of history.

The greatness of the people's accomplishments under the leadership of the Leninist party was revealed in its entire magnitude during the 25th CPSU Congress which I attended as a delegate. The scale, goodness, and human beauty of what we achieved and gained became particularly clear and visible in the Kremlin Palace. I profoundly regret that not many of those who began the revolution have been able to see its current results. It suited destiny to make us, those still alive, their representatives.

The plant's party committee gave me a responsible party assignment: I am a propagandist on the complex and inexhaustible topic of "raising the youth in the great revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions." What could be more honorable and necessary than develop in the young masters of the country the qualities of active fighters for communism. Furthermore, communicating with the young makes the veterans strong and cheerful.

The Metallicheskiy Plant has given me indefinite leave: this is my second home. Naturally, it would be difficult to compare today's model enterprise with what was here 60 years ago . . . yet, a comparison is possible. A photograph has been preserved: a just manufactured turbine is being carried away on a one-horse drawn cart. Now even the railroads will not undertake to haul the hydraulic turbine for the Sayano-Shusenskaya GES currently under construction. It weighs 900 tons and is 50 meters long. Special barges have to be used to haul this bulky steel object on the Northern Sea Way.

I have many pleasant recollections of my own plant located in the center of the Vyborg area. The most cherished one is related to Vladimir Il'ich.

Lenin's name was first mentioned to me by metal worker Mikhail Arsenichev. He told me of Lenin's firm support of the workers. Simple people in the Vyborg area were well familiar with the revolutionary activities of the leader of the proletariat but few knew him personally. I had this pleasure.

This occurred in the spring of 1917. As one of those who welcomed the leader at the Finland Station, naturally, I was happy and enthusiastic. However, admittedly, I was too young to realize fully what was happening. It was only many years later that I realized that I had witnessed a historical event: Il'ich's arrival to Petrograd after living abroad as an emigre and the course of the socialist revolution he announced. At that time not many people had a clear idea of the immediate prospects of the struggle before the party adopted the famous April Theses.

The Vyborg Bolsheviks learned of Lenin's return from a telegram sent from Torneo Station to M. I. Ul'yanova and A. I. Yelizarova-Ul'yanova. That day an open rayon party meeting was taking place. Interrupting the speaker, Comrade Latsiss, an active raykom leader and presidium member, said loudly:

"Comrades! The news was just received that Comrade Lenin will arrive in Piter this evening."

The meeting was closed and the committee members gathered in the neighboring room to consult on how to welcome the leader as best as possible. The situation was complicated by the fact that this was the second day of Easter. The plants were shut down and most people were at home. It was decided to divide the rayon into sectors and send messengers. The women made their contribution too: on a red cloth they sewed with white thread the following words: "Comrade Lenin is coming to us now. Welcome Comrade Lenin!" Once the banner was finished it was taken to the streets. This had a strong mobilizing effect.

Here is another detail: the train was expected to arrive in the evening and we made a number of torches. The military organization of the RSDWP(b) Central Committee took its own more effective measures: the searchlight company was summoned from the Petropavlovsk Fortress and deployed with its electric searchlights along the entire way Vladimir Il'ich was to cover from the Finland Station to Kshesinskaya Palace. The armored battalion assigned two armored cars for his protection. The workers militia of the Metallicheskiy Plant was assigned to be the guard of honor directly on the platform. I was assigned the organization of the project.

At the plant I explained the assignment to the man on duty. A detachment of metal workers lined up in the yard quite rapidly. Armed with rifles and unfurled flags we marched to the station. Several soldiers from the machine gun company, red guards from other plants, and seamen from the second navy crew were already on the platform. The life of the leader of the revolution was too precious and we had no right to risk it.

The train was late. Workers in a revolutionary mood had been waiting for Vladimir Il'ich and his fellow travelers along many stations. Lenin would leave the car and make a speech. These short meetings were not part of the train's schedule.

However, those gathered on the platform and in the station were ready to wait the entire night. One of them was Ivan Dmitriyevich Chugurin, a worker at the Ayvaz Plant. He had been assigned by the Vyborgskiy Rayon Party Committee of the RSDWP(b) to present V. I. Lenin with party card No. 600 issued by the Vyborg Bolshevik organization. Ivan Dmitriyevich was an old acquaintance of Lenin from the party school in Longjumeau.

. . . toward 11:30 we heard the train whistle. The train was approaching the platform. Wearing a light overcoat, hatless, Lenin was standing on the platform of one of the cars. The band began playing the Marseillaise.

Alighting on the station platform, Vladimir Il'ich greeted relatives and friends. A bouquet of fresh flowers was presented to the dear guest. The solemn moment arrived: Ivan Dmitriyevich Chugurin presented Lenin with his party card. Teacher and student embraced warmly. Then Vladimir Il'ich emerged on the square.

The people greeted the leader with stormy applause and shouts. The searchlights and flickering lights of hundreds of torches caught the many faces turned in one direction, hands raised over the heads, red flags, banners, and slogans.

Lenin tried to make a speech from the steps of a porch (in our haste we had forgotten to erect a platform). However, too many people wanted to hear the leader. Then one of the two armored cars rolled up closer to the porch. In a split of a second, hoisted by the workers, Lenin found himself standing on the car. The searchlights became brighter, lighting the stocky figure with its unbuttoned overcoat.

Lenin spoke for 10 minutes. These were truly great moments which stirred up the entire toiling Russia. Workers, soldiers, seamen understood that, finally, the long awaited leader had returned to the homeland. The very fact of his presence inspired the fighters for the cause of the people, multiplying their strength tenfold.

Lenin met with the party activists at the Kshesinskaya Palace. As member of the party raykom I too had the honor to attend it. The atmosphere was exceptionally warm. Some comrades began to speak of Vladimir Il'ich's revolutionary merits. However, he skillfully turned the topic of the conversation giving it a businesslike tone. With his typical sincerity he began to question the representatives of plants and military units about the feeling of the masses, the intrigues of the provisional government, the situation of the workers, and the news from the front.

Informed that I was from the Metallicheskiy Plant, Vladimir Il'ich shook my hand firmly and lively asked:

"Well, what is the mood of the workers? Unless I am mistaken you have some 8,000 workers there?"

I decided to spare Il'ich's time and answered briefly:

"The workers very much want an end to the war and improved food supplies . . ."

Clearly, Lenin was not satisfied with my answer.

"I am familiar with this in general. How about specifically . . . for example, what are the political feelings at the plant? Who is your representative to the Petrograd Soviet?"

"Nothing to be proud of, Vladimir Il'ich. While our people were in jail Mensheviks and Esers were able to seize the leading positions in the Petrograd Soviet."

Lenin smiled:

"Which means we shall have to uproot the conciliationists from the soviets, like rotten stumps." He began to explain the current tasks. He said in his speech that Russia is undergoing the complex period of transition from a bourgeois to a socialist revolution, and that real conditions have developed for shifting all political power to the working class and the poorest peasantry. The brilliant prophecy was fulfilled in October 1917: Russia turned Soviet.

This was 60 years ago. The former Kshesinskaya Palace is now the Museum of the October Revolution. From all ends of the earth the people come here, to the old house on the Neva, where each room and corner are sacred, linked with the memory of the leader. I cherish the most the White Marble Hall in which the unforgettable April talk was held between Il'ich and loyal supporters. Every time I pass under those stucco ceilings I unwittingly slow down trying to prolong the moment.

Today's generation of builders of communism is working happily because at the beginning of the way the revolutionary pioneers did everything possible and, sometimes, the impossible.

The first five-year plans were a heroic time of construction. We worked fiercely, inspiredly, even though many among us had no specialized knowledge or even lacked basic literacy. We had to work and learn, and catch up with the time we had lost in fighting the enemy, destruction, and hunger. We attended elimination of illiteracy circles and political courses, technical schools, and VUZs. I remember the campaign announced at the Metallicheskiy Plant: the party cells were assigned to choose 1,000 worthy workers to attend preparatory courses at higher educational institutions. Yet, how were we to determine who was best? Furthermore, we did not wish to part with valuable workers whose labor was needed by the plant precisely then. At the machine assembly shop the choice fell on Aleksandr Korotkov. He was not particularly physically strong for which reason the brigade released the boy for learning without particular harm, even though, naturally, everyone would have liked to be in his place.

Yes, those were difficult times. Gradually, however, life slid into new tracks. What previous generations could only dream about became something customary to our contemporaries. Now this has been definitively codified in the constitution which embodies in its article the past, present, and future of our great homeland. Unfortunately, occasionally the young do not realize that today's social benefits did not appear suddenly and immediately. They were acquired in the course of the struggle, at the cost of tremendous efforts. We, their seniors, bear a partial blame for such an approach, for occasionally we are unable to find the proper words and convincing examples to make the young people aware of this generally simple truth: the happiness and prosperity of each Soviet family and of every individual are inseparable from the power and the blossoming of the socialist homeland.

Dedication and readiness for exploit are the basic features of the Soviet character. With sincere enthusiasm we hastened to build plants, shafts, mines, and cities. We developed the power industry, frequently denying ourselves necessities. This adamant toil paid off. During the Great Patriotic War, under the leadership of the communist party, and relying on their accomplishments, the people withstood and won. Every step forward required and requires self-denying persistence, total dedication of forces, and deep idea-mindedness. The patriotic desire to see one's country as the most developed, the leading country in the world is a continuing call for exploits. It is a powerful incentive for the building of socialism and communisms.

Statistics accurately record the accomplishments. Nevertheless, every Soviet person has his own private yardstick. I shall not look far for an example but use the plant close to me. In the 1940's it was difficult to move around the shop: transmission belts, revolving shafts, and flywheels were everywhere. The first time I saw an electrically powered machine tool it seemed to me to come from outer space.

My age enables me to compare pre-revolutionary Russia with the Soviet Republic in the first years of its existence and in the course of its subsequent development stages. I must say that this is a creation worthy of a creative people!

The tireless efforts of the party's Central Committee and Central Committee Politbureau, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, are a guarantee for new victories even though, naturally, with every passing year the tasks of socio-economic and cultural development and of raising the new man are becoming ever more complex and varied. This explains the increased leading role of the CPSU in the entire life of the Soviet state and in all realms of our society as reflected in the new constitution which guarantees all citizens rights of which generations of mankind could only dream. It is a very significant fact that the fundamental law of the developed socialist society has become effective on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, as though symbolizing the fact that it is the offspring of the revolution.

In the Focal Point of the Time

By Hero of Socialist Labor, M. Ivanov, worker at the Leningrad Optical-Machine Association.

My father joined the party answering the Leninist call as a fitter at the Arsenal Plant. Without interrupting his work he graduated from a workers' faculty mathematics course and became a highly skilled worker. He was valued for his principle-mindedness, skill, and impeccable work. His comrades matched him and I frequently considered them as one. Thus from an early age I felt my attachment for those who had directly participated in the revolution or else strengthened its gains through their toil.

Occasionally my father took me to the shop. How many interesting things one could see here at every step!

Like all adolescents I was interested in the machines, the machine tools. I wanted to learn how to operate them and make intricate parts. For hours on end, tirelessly, I could watch a worker make amazing things from a piece of metal with the machine tool. It was then, I recall, that I firmly decided to join the plant after graduation and become a milling machine operator.

Actually, I was influenced by an important circumstance . . . I was amazed by the perfection of a complex optical instrument. Here is what happened. The Amur Mine Layer docked not far from the plant and Komsomol members set up aboard the old ship something like a maritime club for the children of the neighboring districts. It was thus that, while playing, many of my contemporaries chose their careers, subsequently becoming ship mechanics, gunners, pilots, or captains; while I became greatly attracted by optics, for life.

The energetic word "struggle" became rooted in my mind since childhood. My father frequently mentioned it either quietly or sharply or with a deep feeling . . . struggle against hunger, the counterrevolution, or illiteracy. Struggle for the plan, struggle to save one Anton Sysoyev who had become prey to petty bourgeois interests. Also struggle for economy, thrift, and cleanliness and production standards. Then, struggle against fascism.

As I became older I incorporated unhesitatingly this word in my vocabulary and joined the struggle for Lenin's cause. At that time the "who-whom" question was being answered not in the course of peaceful economic competition with the developed capitalist countries but on historical battlefields, in a mortal clash with a frantic enemy.

I experienced the war from its third day to its end. My body received over 80 pieces of shrapnel. Jokingly my friends referred to me as the "iron man."

The flame of the war fired the souls of the Soviet people. The front of the struggle against fascism passed through every heart.

Before sending us into battle it was decided that we should acquire a skill and be sent to a military political school. However, the school had to be closed down soon afterwards while its sudden graduates were issued certificates giving them the unusual military title of political fighter. I fought the entire war bearing this title. Actually, regardless of position and rank, every party member at the front was an agitator, a lecturer, and a propagandist. In a word, he was a political fighter. No description could be more precise!

Whatever the circumstances, the party members were models of courage, daring, and selfless service to the homeland. They assumed obligations which went beyond even the strictest requirements of military regulations. I was

greatly influenced by the commissar, Senior Political Instructor Golenko. He blended courage with cunning and hatred for enemies and cowards with warmth for everything alive.

He trusted yet was strict. At the same time, he understood the people well. He was a unique collocutor and was trusted by the reserved and unsociable. Yet, his main quality was the fact that his demands concerning others were precisely the same as his inner convictions. I remember a critical time: on the approaches to Bryansk the battalion found itself surrounded, facing a barrage of defensive fire. Unexplainably, the soldiers froze. Then Senior Political Instructor Golenko stood up and led the attack. I felt as though we had gone through a wall.

In that battle the senior political instructor was severely wounded but the battalion came out of the enemy's trap. Furthermore, we made easier for the neighboring subunits. In the course of this fierce combat I understood the inevitable truth that the place of the party member is to lead. Aware of this, I petitioned for party membership. This was after we had taken Bryansk.

Defending our fatherland and the gains of the October Revolution we thus rescued the planet from fascist barbarism. No one else could have done this and no one else had the strength to do it.

The spiritual and moral purity of the military exploit of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War strengthened the respect felt by the peoples the world over for our country. The Soviet soldier carried out his noble liberation mission. This is splendidly expressed in the sculpture by Ye. Vuchetich in Berlin's Treptow Park: a swastika is at the feet of a soldier who holds in one hand the sword of retribution and in the other a rescued child. Sometimes it seems to me that I have seen something similar as we were liberating Germany. Frequently at the risk of their lives soldiers helped the local population to organize their new way of life. The advance units liberating a city were followed by trains with food distributed to the hungry directly on the streets and the squares.

The war and the victory and the difficulties and trials we withstood tempered us and strengthened their faith in the cause of the Great October Revolution. Our generation easily switched from arms to labor tools and combats with the labor front. Historians describe as an exploit of the people that which took place after the war.

Anyone who remembers 1945 will not forget 1946. It was difficult to start a life of peace: everything was in short supply except for enthusiasm. We went to work as though launching an attack. Many of my comrades took a long time to abandon their wartime habits. By this I mean directness of action and judgment, party committee sessions which frequently lasted after midnight, and a merciless judgment of oneself. I do not recall cases in which someone in the shop would complain of the strict order or the heavy load. Some "stubborn" people almost had to be ordered to take a rest.



I joined the optical machine plant under the influence of my adolescent dream. Reality made this a more prosaic occupation. I was asked to machine ordinary bushings, cogged clutches, cams, or taper key slots. True, this required microscopic accuracy, filigree work. Tolerances were measured in hundredths of a millimeter and were difficult to achieve. We had to fight for them too.

Once I had a setback. I was carried away by my self confidence. I wanted to amaze everyone and set a record. I was carried away! At the end of the shift the foreman congratulated me: I had fulfilled my norm 150 percent. The next day, however, technical section controller Lyalya Chernaya came with the complaint that half the parts were defective . . . I was extremely ashamed. I decided to leave the plant. It was then that I discovered the force of the collective. My rivals in the competition expressed their willingness to correct the pieces. Others shared with me the secrets of their skills to prevent this from reoccurring. I was particularly touched by the words of shop party organizer Grigoriy Fedorovich Grigor'yev. Concluding a short talk with me he said:

"To abandon your assignment means to let down your comrades."

At that moment my problem was resolved once and for all. I remained at the plant where I have been working for the past 36 years.

In 1965 I was awarded the highest grade as a milling machine operator and it was as though I began a new labor career. The sociologists say that thanks to gained experience people engaged in physical labor develop the mind of a designer. Perhaps, since new models, as a rule, are born in the course of the close cooperation among designers, technologists, milling machine operators, lathe turners, and fitters. In fact, one out of two workers at LOMO [Leningrad Optical Machines Association] is a rationalizer, an inventor. For example, Aleksandr Antonovich Bepalov designed a special mechanism named after him. His skillfull hands have handled a great variety of instruments. Here is an example: our unique measuring machine was being demonstrated in Brussels at an international exhibition of optical mechanisms. The explanations were provided (in German and French) by a professorial looking person. A visitor asked him: "Would you be the main designer of the LOMO firm?" The answer was the following: "At this moment our chief designer Comrade Ioannisiani is not in the building . . . I am a simple worker."

In the course of his work at the enterprise Aleksandr Antonovich has taken part in the creation of many seemingly unsurpassable instruments. Nevertheless, every time the result was something more advanced.

On the eve of the 25th CPSU Congress the LOMO Collective reported the completion of many years of work on the development of the biggest telescope in the world with a 6-meter wide mirror. Today this unique instrument is aimed toward the galaxy. It is installed not far from Zelenchukskaya village in Stavropol'skiy Kray. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, warmly congratulated its creators for their outstanding

victory, emphasizing that henceforth possibilities exist for engaging in broader scientific research, penetrating more profoundly into the secrets of the universe, and making a new contribution to the treasury of human knowledge.

This is merely one of the 600 different types of most complex instruments produced by our firm. Its trademark may be found on a biological fluorescent microscope which offers the possibility to look at a living cell. It could be seen on one-of-a-kind medical instruments, in motion picture studios, or in television centers. Most movie theaters in the country are equipped with LOMO projectors.

Each instrument has its own biography frequently linked with the history of the country and with outstanding personalities . . . In the mid 1930's the plant was visited by G. K. Ordzhonikidze. The people's commissar studied the work and talked intimately with the workers, including the fitter Grigoriy Andreyevich Goncharov. The conversation turned to movie projectors. "It would be a good thing to have a system which would make it possible to take the movies to rural areas, in the remote corners of the tayga," said Grigoriy Konstantinovich. The order was accepted. Designers converted the idea into metal and optics. The famous mobile movie projector was born, simple and reliable: the familiar "Gekord," the abbreviated version of "Grigoriy Konstantinovich Ordzhonikidze." G. A. Goncharov, one of the creators of the "Gekord," is still working at the plant. The family name is spreading in the association: the optical profession has become the family project of a big worker's dynasty of which our thousands-strong collective is justifiably proud.

However, the continuity of generations is not limited to a single family, nor does it end with professional affiliation. It is a question of the spiritual relationship among people of different age groups and of loyalty to common ideals. One spring season is different from another. The people's youth also develops differently. My contemporaries were faced with the responsible mission of defending the socialist fatherland from the fascist evil and laying the foundations for the blossoming of a developed socialist society. No less complex was the task of the young men and women who began their constructive activities in the 1950's and 1960's, faced with developing the virgin lands and conquering the Siberian rivers. Are we not envious of the great builders of the Baykal-Amur Main Line today? Generally speaking, I am more than confident that one could do interesting work in any town or village. The main thing is the attitude toward the work, for labor is the best means for the self expression of the individual.

In addition to the current planning assignments each generation faces the task of preserving the high feeling of responsibility to the past and the future and fulfill its duty honorably and honestly. I could confidently say that I have shared with 30 of my students not only the secrets of my skill but my ideological convictions as well. I consider that a person rich in experience and knowledge has the civic obligation of tutoring the growing

generation. An inspiring example of social activities is given in this respect by the oldest party member in our city, the Bolshevik-Leninist Vasilii Petrovich Vinogradov.

He is already 82 years old. However, this former worker of the Metallicheskiy Plant and party veteran shares his practical experience with the young people with enviable energy and persistence. Almost every day one could see Vinogradov among the visitors of the Museum of the October Revolution, at Komsomol meetings at the plant, or visiting vocational school students, pioneer camps, or the Leningrad television youth studio. Indeed, what could be considered more necessary and honorable than to promote in the young people ideological convictions and develop in them the qualities of active fighters for the party's cause.

Socialism offers people great benefits to which, frankly, everyone has become accustomed and considers them as self-evident. This is like the state of health: if one does not think about it it means that it is there! Yet, visiting a capitalist country and seeing its reality one develops a real understanding of the great importance of the factual civil rights guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution. This includes the right to work peacefully and have faith in the future. The horror of unemployment deprives a person from the joy of life. The social gains and unquestionable advantages of the socialist system are concentrated as in a lense in the new USSR Constitution. This can not fail to please and inspire us!

Our collective, bearer of three orders, is participating in the all-union socialist competition for fulfilling ahead of schedule the Tenth Five-Year Plan. We intend to complete it in four years. This means that everyone has the duty to find additional reserves which would enable us to increase the production possibilities of the entire collective. Recently we sponsored a public review of production reserves in which every second worker in the association participated. Some 15,000 suggestions were made and many of them are being gradually applied, particularly those dealing with problems of organizing the work directly at the workplace. We have proclaimed war on fuss and haste. An even labor rhythm is the first prerequisite for high productivity.

Our country has built a developed socialist society and all working people are benefiting from the results of the great accomplishments. Here again it might seem difficult to single out what is most important. Nevertheless, looking at my own life, I could say that socialism has given us that which no other system could--exceptionally favorable conditions for creative toil, and for the all-round development of the individual. I consider this both a prerequisite and most important potential for our further progress.

The Path of the Fathers

By B. Lazarev, Milling Machine Operator at the Elektrosila Production Association and Communist Labor Shock Worker.

In my free time I like to walk in the plant's area. We have many memorable places. Toward the end of the 19th century a social democratic circle was set up by the workers of the Siemens and Gal'ske Firm, headed by Aleksandr Il'in, tuner at the control workshop. It was here that books sent by Lenin's "Alliance for the Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class" were sent. During the October armed uprising the plant produced two well-equipped Red Guard Detachments which greatly helped the revolution.

Here is yet another page of history. A memorial plaque bears the following inscription in gold: "It was here that machine units for the Shaturuskaya Electric Power Plant, the GOELRO firstborn were assembled." Further along, in the shade of the old elms stands a monument to the Elektrosila volunteers who participated in the struggle against fascism and defended their city of Leningrad. The feeling is created as though one was personally involved in all these historical events.

I was born after the war. Nevertheless, I too participated in an event perpetuated on a slab of granite. Our shop created the machine units for the Krasnoyarsk GES--"the most powerful in the world"--as the inscription reads. Actually, this text should be amended. The shop's collective is completing the first machine unit for the Sayano-Shushenskaya Hydraulic Power Center. Its power of 640,000 kilowatts is 30 percent higher than of any unit now in operation at the Krasnoyarsk GES. We beat our own record!

Under the Soviet system my plant has gone a long way. Elektrosila's production capacity has increased over 20 times. It has first-class equipment. Labor standards and esthetics contribute to the growth of its effectiveness. Yet, there is a production reserve whose roots are deep in the hearts: many of my contemporaries, young workers like myself, would have greatly liked to be the participants in those legendary times when the Soviet Republic was being created. However, one might soberly say, this time is gone and will not come back. Therefore, we must live with today's concerns. Nevertheless, there is a living tie between the periods! The bridge between the past and the present exists not in the imagination, not in dreams. Its components are the specific accomplishments of the members of the different generations. This is the great force of continuity based on the noble feelings of loyalty to the ideals of the October Revolution, the concept of proletarian duty, and responsibility to society. These feelings were well familiar to the revolutionaries who challenged the old world. They strengthened in the minds of the participants in the Leninist-communist subbotniks and the shock brigades of Dneprostroy and Magnitka; the strength of these feelings was subsequently tested in the flames of the battles against fascism and in the peaceful years of building communism. My generation accepted a great legacy which we must not only preserve but increase.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, said the following at the 25th Party Congress: "Today's accomplishments of the Soviet people are the direct continuation of the October Revolution." Naturally, such a trust inspires the young generation even though it is also a great commitment.

Recently an event of tremendous historical significance entered the lives of the Soviet people, giving a new meaning to our work and our thoughts: the adoption of the new USSR Constitution following a nationwide discussion. Reading the clear and meaningful words, one unwittingly wishes to look at the distance covered, saturated with intensive toil, struggle, and trials. In our shop we thoroughly discussed each line and article of the document, all the time going back to the same thought: the victories and successes achieved in the past 60 years became possible thanks to the fact that the peoples of the Soviet Union were inspired and guided by the communist party.

I am a recent member of the communist party. However, I felt the influence of the party members the moment I walked into the shop . . . Aleksey Vasil'yevich Prelov was my teacher. He is a person of high moral qualities: calm, even tempered, exceptionally conscientious, disciplined, and punctual. Also important is the fact that he is an excellent family man, an active social figure, and an irreplaceable comrade, displaying no familiarity or arrogance, behaving simply and naturally in all circumstances. I am grateful to Aleksey Vasil'yevich for his science, for his skills as a milling machine operator, and his practical experience which he has generously shared with me. I still consider him my best friend. I have been frank with him and he has reciprocated. Other party members as well have taught me how to achieve and build my life. Party organizer Fedor Ivanovich Anufriyev developed in me a respect for the great accomplishments and traditions of the collective or, as they say, pride in my plant.

Something happened recently. A joint brigade of turning and boring mill operators was set up in the shop to meet production requirements. It was headed by one of the best turning specialists, Pavel Vasil'yevich Ivanov. This promotion in rank entailed a certain reduction in earnings. Workers of high or low ratings found themselves members of the joint brigade. Consequently, its manager received an average wage equaling that of a grade five worker, even though for the past few years Ivanov had been a grade six worker. Bearing in mind that the creation of the brigade was a production necessity it was suggested that Pavel Vasil'yevich retain his previous earnings. However, he refused categorically. Following him, Anatoliy Nikolayevich Bolbin, one of the leading turners, submitted a request to receive the average brigade pay. Their noble thrust was triggered only by the comradely feeling that no one in the collective be favored. Such solidarity enhanced the mood of the workers of the lagging sector. Within a short time the collective drastically increased the effectiveness of each machine tool and the overall output of the joint brigade. Earnings rose as well.

Naturally, this did not come by itself. The best production workers began to tutor the inexperienced. The opportunity was given to anyone who wished to upgrade his skills, not only production ones. For example, coiler Yu. Ivanov brilliantly completed the night school section of the history department of Leningrad University. This was not in order to teach at the school but "simply for my own sake," as he said. Yet, this is not quite the case. Yu. Ivanov has found an excellent application of his knowledge.

He is the best propagandist at Elektrosila. His talks and speeches are distinguished by their depth and extensive and interesting information and, finally, the historical interpretation of current events.

One of the orders governing the collective of our shop is to display trust and a well-wishing attitude along with exactingness toward everyone and toward oneself. That is why our people here are, so to say, settled. There is virtually no cadre turnover. When I joined the shop after graduating from vocational school I immediately felt this well-wishingness. I had the feeling that people had long waited for me. I was even amazed, for I had accomplished nothing good as yet to earn such an attitude. It was only later that I realized that this was the style of the shop. Here novices are surrounded by concern, attention, and fatherly strictness. This tradition of the collective is carefully protected by the party members and all workers. The spirit of comradeship, mutual aid, and sympathy enables us to fulfill the complex and responsible state assignments.

I can not imagine the building of the material and technical foundations for communism without Leningrad's Elektrosila, even though I perfectly understand that every Soviet person loyal to his plant, kolkhoz, or mine has the right to think the same. Yet, here are objective statistical data: our order-bearing firm accounts for over 70 percent of the generators produced for all the biggest electric power plants in the country. We fulfill orders submitted by metallurgical, shipbuilding, and other economic sectors. The one-of-a-kind electric power machines produced by Elektrosila may be found in all modern nuclear-powered icebreakers. One of them recently conquered the north pole.

Here is something else: Soviet electric power machines are in tremendous demand on the world's market. They are sent to 80 different countries, including Brazil, Argentina, Canada, and Iceland which, until recently, were considered permanent clients of U. S. companies. The rivalry between American and Soviet electric power machine builders has a history. It began with Dneproges . . . profiting from the economic difficulties of the young Soviet Republic, General Electric demanded a huge amount of money for hydraulic power generators. The price asked was far above the cost of such machines on the international market. At that point the Soviet government placed part of the order with our plant. This is an instructive historical fact!

Nikolay Markovich Krol', the shop's chief, carefully watches over interesting documents belonging to that period. For example, here is what wrote Leningradskaya PRAVDA in 1932: "General Electric and Elektrosila are on opposite poles. Both plants are fulfilling the same order--the building of hydraulic power generators for Dneproges which is under construction. Elektrosila must manufacture four hydraulic power generators. Two have already been commissioned. The first has two imported parts which cost 100,000 gold rubles. The only imported part of the second machine will be the upper step bearing. Everything else will be manufactured from Soviet materials on Elektrosila machine tools."

This is precisely what was done. The product was as good as that of the Americans. Even though General Electric received the order six months before Elektrosila, it undertook the installation of its first machine four months after us.

Dneproges became an excellent training school for the Soviet power industry workers. After the war the production of generators was organized on an assembly line basis. Our plant supplied generators to the Gor'kiy, Kama, and Tsimlyansk GESs and the imeni V. I. Lenin and imeni XXII S'yezda KPSS GESs on the Volga. Then came the turn of the Siberian reverse. Hanging in the shop is a map of the eastern Siberian part of the country, made by our workers. It shows the most important raw material resources together with electric power plants, whether operating, under construction, or planned. The program for the work is clear to the year 2000! Designers are already preparing the designs for the Yenisey and Boguchanskaya GESs. These places are frequently heard in shop talks. The impression is created that Elektrosila is just beyond the Ob'.

Currently our efforts are focused on manufacturing the first unit for the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES ahead of schedule, by the time of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution. The station will become a tremendous monument to V. I. Lenin. A single one of its turbines contains one-third of the power of the entire GOELRO Plan; 40 years ago even science fiction writers could not dream of such projects. With our hands we are creating the gins of electric power. Our brigade was assigned the manufacturing of the so-called fastenings for the machine units of the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES. This includes hundreds of different parts. They are used in assembling the generator whose tremendous power is determined exclusively by the high accuracy parameters matching the precision of clock pieces.

Mastering the production of a new model (each time with an original design) we must review previous experience, improve current technological lines, and install more effective equipment which is frequently the only one of its kind. Undertaking the manufacturing of the machines for the Krasnoyarsk GES, it turned out that the dimensions of the frame of the stator were bigger than those of the shop. We began to assemble at the plant different sectors while assembly workers on the spot, at the electric power plant, were putting together their units. That is how we organized our assembly line production.

Everyone was pleased with the discovery. However, it turned out unacceptable for the Sayano-Shushenskaya machines. Considering the huge parameters of the ring it was practically impossible to assemble the stator parts with precision. Consequently, the assembly could not be broken up. Yet, the shop's production areas could not be extended! It was then decided that the future machine hall of the Sayano-Shushenskaya Electric Power Plant would become a branch of our shop. In other words, we would install the stator ring and assemble it on the spot.

It has become traditional that in carrying out particularly important orders to set up creative groups to discuss the blueprints. Everyone submits suggestions, considerations, and remarks on how to improve the design and make it more reliable yet less expensive and less labor intensive. Everyone in the collective knows that time savings are the greatest benefit to society. For example, discussing the blueprint for a generator for the (DZHENPEG) hydroelectric power plant in Canada, fitter V. V. Bednyakov found a more effective type of insulation while his comrade technologist V. I. Yefimov voiced his views on improving the structural data of commutator shrink rings. The chief designer's department made the corresponding corrections to the blueprint as a result of which some 25,000 rubles were saved. Furthermore, this made possible to shorten production deadlines. Our association fulfilled the order of the Canadian firm qualitatively and ahead of schedule. This contributes to the international prestige not only of our plant but of the entire country's industry.

We work rhythmically according to schedule. Nevertheless, exceptional circumstances develop in which the collective must make an exceptional contribution. Fulfilling the order of the People's Republic of Poland we had to quickly review the schedule for the purpose of reducing the time for the manufacturing of machine units for the metallurgical combine in Katowice. True, not everything depended on us, for the rolling mill itself was being manufactured by Uralmash. The Polish communists in Katowice addressed an open letter to us and to the Sverdlovsk machine builders substantiating their request. We did everything depending on us. The profound internationalist feelings of the Soviet working class played their role.

In my view, a difficult project and a responsible assignment bring people closer, making them more attentive, demanding, and respectful of one another, giving them courage, and helping them to find deep within their souls new strength and better qualities. It was precisely the complex and responsible work that enabled our collective to develop as it is today.

. . . Recently I was abroad, visiting a capitalist country. Unexpectedly I engaged in a sincere conversation with a businessman, Signor Domenico, as he identified himself. We did not discuss politics. However, he asked me what in his view was a puzzling question: What had the October Revolution given me, a young person?

I expressed my thought:

"Freedom, above all!"

In other words, I was given the full opportunity to develop and use my forces in the best possible way for the good of the fatherland and the Soviet people and for my own good as well.

That is why our fathers and grandfathers undertook the great cause of the October Revolution to which we now serve loyally and truthfully in a Leninist way.



## IMPORTANT LINK IN THE PARTY'S AGRARIAN POLICY

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[Article by Doctor of Technical Sciences M. Novikov, first deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee Agricultural Department]

[Text] The Great October Socialist Revolution, whose anniversary is being celebrated by the Soviet people and all progressive mankind, marked the beginning of radical changes in social and political life and became a powerful booster of economic development. "Under the guidance of the communist party the working people of our country successfully coped with the main and most complex task of the socialist revolution--construction," states the CPSU Central Committee decree on the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution.

The most profound changes under the Soviet system have taken place in the countryside. The production of agricultural commodities has increased considerably. The scientifically formulated and time-tested Leninist agrarian policy pursued by the party, aimed at converting agricultural production into a highly developed economic sector, is the basis for the achievements of socialism in agriculture.

A broad comprehensive program for the steady upsurge of agriculture was formulated at the March 1965 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The program was confirmed and developed at the 23rd, 24th, and 25th party congresses. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, is making a tremendous contribution to its elaboration and implementation.

The most important structural part of the agrarian policy at the present stage is the strengthening of the material and technical base and the industrialization of kolkhoz and sovkhoz production.

The party has always assigned mechanization and electrification one of the main roles in the solution of this problem. Soon after the victory of the October Revolution, on 8 December 1917, V. I. Lenin signed a decree granting

the state a monopoly of agricultural machines and tools, according to which their production and sale are concentrated in the hands of state and cooperative organizations. The decree "On the Single Tractor Resources" was passed in 1920. It gave the beginning of the planned mechanization of agricultural production in our country. The GOELRO Plan, drafted on Lenin's initiative, included a special section on agricultural electrification.

In the spring of 1921 the Sovnarkom passed and issued a decree on the organization of agricultural machine building.

In 1924 the Khar'kov steam locomotive engines manufacturing plant (today transportation machine building plant imeni Malyshev) undertook the production of Kommunar caterpillar tractors; Leningrad's Krasnyy Putilovets began the production of Fordzon-Putilovets wheel tractors. The Fordzon-Putilovets tractor, which subsequently became very popular, contributed to the turning of a new page in the reorganization of agriculture and its conversion to a machine base.

The fast economic and cultural upsurge of the countryside was impossible with splintered peasant farming. The party formulated and successfully resolved the historical problem of the collectivization of agriculture on the basis of the Leninist cooperative plan. This was the only proper method for insuring the accelerated growth of production forces in the villages.

The organization of collective farms created favorable possibilities for the extensive use of machines. Various primitive forms of cooperation among farms developed with collective public ownership of capital goods. Machine associations were one of the forms of joint use of technical facilities. In 1929 there were nearly 19,500 such associations. Thanks to the active assistance of the working class a large number of tractors and agricultural machinery were sent to the countryside in the course of the collectivization process. In eight years, from 1921 to 1929, industry manufactured and supplied the countryside with six million plows, 2.2 million harrows, over 900,000 harvesters and mowers, and 685,000 separators, and winnowing and other machines. At that time the machine associations had some 2,400 tractors, 26,900 plows, 12,500 sowing machines, and over 23,000 different harvesting machines. Technology became an ever more powerful means in the struggle with backwardness and for high farming standards and for strengthening the agricultural economy.

The need for tractors and other agricultural machines rose steadily. The party mobilized all its forces for the creation of a powerful agricultural machine building industry in the country within the shortest possible time. As early as June 1930 the first tractor came off the conveyor belt of the Stalingrad Tractors Plant. In October 1931 the Khar'kov Tractors Plant began operations. In the First Five-Year Plan the domestic industry produced nearly 100,000 tractors. In 1929 the champion of Soviet combine manufacturing, the Kommunar Plant in Zaporozh'ye, was commissioned. Three years later the big Rostsel'mash Plant in Rostov, followed by the Lyubertsy Plant, undertook the production of grain harvesting combines.

The machine-tractor stations played a tremendous role in the further strengthening of the technical base of agriculture. The 29 December 1930 VKP(b) Central Committee decree noted the following: ". . . the MTS represents a form of organization of large scale collective farming, discovered and tested on the basis of mass experience, with a high technical base, combining most fully the autonomous activities of kolkhoz masses in the building of their collective farms with organizational and technical aid and management provided by the proletarian state." In subsequent years the machine-tractor stations steadily broadened their realm of activities, providing ever greater assistance to the young kolkhozses. In 1937 over 90 percent of all kolkhoz planted areas were cultivated with the help of MTS machinery.

The war caused tremendous harm to agricultural mechanization. The fascist marauders destroyed 2,890 MTS and shipped to Germany 137,000 tractors, 49,000 combines, and a large quantity of plows, sowing machines, and other equipment. Like many enterprises in other industrial sectors the biggest plants for agricultural machine building were evacuated to the eastern part of the country and to Central Asia and converted to the production of goods needed by the front. Centralized production of equipment for the countryside declined sharply. Under those circumstances the party formulated and successfully resolved the problem of intensifying agriculture in the Urals and Siberia. The agricultural equipment which could be evacuated from the areas occupied by the enemy was sent to these parts of the country.

The liberation of considerable territory from the aggressors in 1943 made possible to resume here agricultural production. Tractors and other machinery were returned to their MTS. In 1944 there were over 1,700 MTS in operation in the liberated areas.

In the post-war period the pace of technical retooling of agriculture rose considerably. As early as 1947, as was noted at the VKP(b) Central Committee Plenum, held in February of that year, the tractor manufacturing plants in Stalingrad and Khar'kov were rebuilt. The Altay and Vladimir tractor plants were built. The construction of the Lipetsk Tractors Plant was nearing completion and the production of tractors at the Chelyabinsk Plant was resumed. Soon after the war the production of tractors in the country considerably exceeded the prewar level (see Table 1). This growth was extended and its pace became particularly high in the last decade.

The production of agricultural machinery and, above all, machines for pre-sowing cultivation, sowing, and harvesting rose along with the increased output of tractors (see Table 2).

The collectives of the following scientific institutions made a major contribution to the task of supplying agriculture with equipment: the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Agricultural Mechanization, All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Agricultural Electrification, All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Agricultural Machine Building, and the State Union Scientific Research Tractors Institute (NATI).

Table 1. Tractor Production Dynamics (by year)

	1940	1950	1960	1965	1970	1976
(1) Тракторы:						
(2) в физических единицах (тыс. штук)	31,6	117	239	355	459	562
(3) по суммарной мощности двигателей (в млн. л. с.)	1,5	5,5	11,4	21,0	29,4	44,0

Key:

1. Tractors
2. In physical units (1,000 pieces)
3. In overall engine power (million hp)

Table 2. Agricultural Machinery Production Dynamics (by year, 1,000 pieces)

	1940	1950	1960	1965	1970	1976
(1) Плуги тракторные . . . . .	38,4	122	149	166	212	202
(2) Сеялки тракторные . . . . .	21,4	118	112	262	163	191
(3) Культиваторы тракторные . . . . .	32,3	98,9	84,8	206	219	190
(4) Косилки тракторные . . . . .	3,3	41,2	87,5	122	144	89,4
(5) Комбайны зерноуборочные . . . . .	12,8	46,3	59,0	85,8	99,2	102
(6) Комбайны свеклоуборочные . . . . .	-	1,7	4,7	17,5	9,1	14,4
(7) Комбайны силосоуборочные . . . . .	-	-	15,0	20,0	34,3	56,0
(8) Хлопкоуборочные машины . . . . .	5 штук	4,7	3,2	7,7	5,9	8,0

Key:

- |                              |                               |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Tractor plows             | 6. Beet harvesting combines   |
| 2. Tractor sowing machines   | 7. Silage harvesting combines |
| 3. Tractor cultivators       | 8. Cotton picking machines    |
| 4. Tractor mowers            | 9. Pieces                     |
| 5. Grain harvesting combines |                               |

Substantial changes are taking place in the qualitative structure of the machine fleet. Taking zonal conditions under consideration, different types of tractors needed by agriculture were developed with stipulated power, traction, weight, speed, type of engine, and other basic characteristics. This included seven tractor classes with a traction power ranging from 0.6 to 6 tons. Even though subsequent practical experience proved that the number of classes could be reduced, nevertheless, for the first time in world-wide practical experience, this scientific and technical measure laid the foundations for normalizing the creation of new agricultural traction facilities.

The conversion to diesel tractors in 1949-1950 was a major stage in the development of rural power machinery and in raising agricultural equipment to a qualitatively new level. Such tractors were almost 30 percent more economical than the previously used kerosene, ligroin, and gasoline powered engines.

The pace of retooling agricultural production with more advanced machinery was accelerated. Instead of the cumbersome and heavy trailer tools, previously handled by a special worker, lighter and more convenient tractor-mounted attachments were designed. The All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Agricultural Machine Building developed a self-propelling grain harvesting combine whose production was initially organized at the Moscow Electrical Machinery Plant imeni Vladimir Il'ich and subsequently at the Taganrog Combines Plant and the Rostov Plant for Agricultural Machine Building. In the grain fields the obsolete trailer harvesters produced before the Patriotic War were replaced with self-propelling combines.

Scientific institutions and specialized design bureaus developed many new agricultural machines for farming and animal husbandry processes previously done manually. Agricultural mechanization interacted with the development of production electrification which became widespread in sovkhos and kolkhoz work.

The pace of saturation of agricultural output with machines rose particularly sharply following the March 1965 CPSU Central Committee Plenum (see Table 3).

Table 3. Agricultural Power Facilities (end of year)

	1916	1940	1965	1970	1976
(1) Всего энергетических мощностей (млн. л. с.) . . . . .	24	48	232	322	489
(2) в том числе:					
(3) мощность механических, электрических двигателей и электроустановок . . . . .	0,2	37	228	319	487
(4) Рабочий скот в пересчете на механическую силу	23,7	11	4	3	2
(5) Приходится всех энергетических мощностей (л. с.):					
(6) на одного работника . . . . .	0,5	1,5	7,7	11,2	18,1
(7) на 100 га посевной площади . . . . .	20	32	100	148	209
(8) Потреблено электроэнергии в сельском хозяйстве (млрд. кВт·ч) . . . . .	-	0,5	21,1	38,6	83

Key:

1. Total power capacities (million hp)
2. Including
3. Capacity of mechanical and electric motors and electric power systems
4. Draft cattle in terms of mechanical power
5. Total power capacities (hp)
6. Per worker
7. Per 100 hectares planted area
8. Electric power used in agriculture (billion kilowatt hours)

Power capacities in agriculture rose from 232 million horsepower in 1965 to 489 million in 1976, or more than twice, while the power-labor ratio rose from 7.7 to 18.1 horsepower per worker and from 100 to 209 horsepower per 100 hectares of planted area. Electric power consumption reached 83 billion kilowatt hours or a 400 percent increase.

New plants have been completed in recent years: the Pavlodar Tractors Plant, the Serpei Molot Engines Building Plant in Khar'kov, the Sugar Beet Combine Plant in Ternopol', and others. Operating enterprises are being radically reconstructed and technically retooled which makes possible the steady increase in equipment deliveries to the countryside (see Table 4).

Table 4. Dynamics of the Increased Fleet of Tractors, Combines, and Trucks in Agriculture (by year, 1,000 units)

	1928	1940	1965	1970	1976
Tractors	27	531	1,613	1,977	2,402
Grain harvesting combines	2 units	182	520	623	685
Trucks	0.7	228	945	1,136	1,442

The growth of the individual capacity of tractors and other complex machines supplied to agriculture is the most outstanding feature of the contemporary development of the agricultural power industry. For example, in the past decade alone the average tractor power has risen from 60 to 78 horsepower. This growth will be steadily continued.

In the Ninth Five-Year Plan agriculture received 1,450 different types of tractors and machinery compared with 440 in 1965. The increased availability of technical facilities in agricultural production made possible to upgrade labor productivity in the Ninth Five-Year Plan nearly 60 percent compared with the seventh on an average annual basis, and considerably to reduce labor outlays per quintal of output. Presently processes in agricultural production such as plowing, grain crop, cotton, and sugar beet sowing, and grain and silage crop harvesting have become entirely mechanized. The mechanization is almost complete in potato planting, inter-row sugar beet, corn, and cotton cultivation, hay mowing, grain gleaning, grain corn combine harvesting, grain and fertilizer hauling, and other processes.

The party pays constant attention to problems of animal husbandry mechanization and conversion to an industrial base. In the past 10 years a number of important measures were adopted in this respect. The all-union Ministry of Machine Building for Animal Husbandry and Fodder Production was created. Whereas in the Eighth Five-Year Plan agriculture received equipment for animal husbandry totaling 2.9 billion rubles, or 60 percent more than in

1961-1965, in the Ninth Five-Year Plan the volume rose to 6.5 billion rubles. In the Tenth Five-Year Plan the volume of machinery produced for animal husbandry and fodder production will total about 10 billion rubles. The increased production of machinery made possible to upgrade the mechanization of labor intensive processes at livestock farms (see Table 5).

Table 5. Level of Mechanization of Basic Operations in Animal Husbandry in Kolkhozes, Interfarm Agricultural Enterprises, and Sovkhozes (by year, in percentages)

	1965	1970	1976
Cattle farms:			
Water supply	53	68	84
Fodder distribution	3	12	33
Manure removal	9	30	61
Milking	27	56	85
Complex mechanization	--	9	28
Hog breeding farms:			
Water supply	65	81	95
Fodder distribution	11	28	62
Manure removal	12	42	82
Complex mechanization	--	23	58

In recent years the level of mechanization in hog breeding and in water supply and milking at cattle farms rose noticeably. However, it should be recognized that problems of animal husbandry mechanization and, particularly, fodder production require the closer attention of design and scientific organizations, industry, and planning and agricultural organs, for replacing manual labor with machines and converting to more progressive technologies determine to a decisive extent the dynamism in the development of these sectors.

The systematic saturation of agricultural production with ever more advanced technical facilities, and the increased level of mechanization insured the steady upsurge of labor productivity in crop growing and animal husbandry. Thanks to this, in the course of the entire 60 years, the volume of output in agriculture rose while the number of workers employed declined. At the present time agriculture employs 1.8 times less workers than in 1913 and the share of the population engaged in agriculture declined from 75 to 23 percent.

Yet, such accomplishments are merely a stage on the path of our development. The party is facing agriculture with new complex problems so that the agrarian sector of our economy may rise to the most contemporary level. That is why the significance of retooling agricultural output on a new technical basis will continue to rise.

A great deal remains to be accomplished to achieve comprehensive mechanization. A great deal of manual labor is still being used for some types of work. For example, only 40 percent of the potato harvesting is done with combines, even though, as we know, this is a very labor intensive operation. Combines account for 79 percent of the harvested sugar beets, and 49 percent of the cotton is machine harvested. Still poorly mechanized in the kol-khozes and sovkhazes are the processes of thinning out sugar beets, removing the top foliage in cotton, and loading and unloading operations. The rapid solution of these problems and the elimination of these "white spots" is a most important task facing the scientific and engineering and technical workers in industry and agriculture.

Elaborating the party's economic strategy for the forthcoming period, the 25th CPSU Congress earmarked a program for the further strengthening of the material and technical base and conversion of agriculture to an industrial foundation and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in this economic area. The plan is for continuing the systematic and steady intensification of agricultural production and for increasing comprehensive mechanization and automation in crop growing and animal husbandry.

To this purpose in the Tenth Five-Year Plan agriculture will receive 1.9 million tractors, 1,350,000 trucks, 538,000 grain harvesting combines, 100,000 excavators, and 23 billion rubles' worth of agricultural machinery.

Rural electrification will be developed considerably and the use of electric power in production processes will be increased greatly. By the end of the five-year plan its consumption will be doubled to 130 billion kilowatt hours.

The planned deliveries of material and technical facilities to agriculture between 1976 and 1980 will enable us to complete the process of comprehensive mechanization in grain production and, basically, in sugar beet growing, accelerate the conversion to comprehensive mechanization in fodder production and preparation, upgrade the level of mechanization of cotton growing and harvesting, and making more extensive use of machine and mechanisms in potato and vegetable growing. Over 170 billion rubles will be invested in the development of agriculture. They will be focused, above all, on the solution of most important problems such as increasing the production of grain and industrial crops, the upsurge in animal husbandry, and the strengthening of the fodder base. Real possibilities are being created for the radical reconstruction of existing animal husbandry farms using new equipment and technology, and increasing the construction of mechanized livestock and poultry farms and governmental and interkolkhoz animal husbandry complexes.

Extensive reclamation work will be done in the Tenth Five-Year Plan. Its mechanization will be developed through the systematic application of more powerful machines equipped with effective attachments. This will enable us considerably to intensify reclamation work and upgrade its quality.



The increased amount of chemical fertilizers produced and supplied to agriculture requires the accelerated mechanization of loading and unloading operations, and of the transportation of the fertilizer and its application. Such processes will take place with the help of highly productive machines.

The amount of haulage increases drastically with the increased production of agricultural commodities. Currently it is estimated into the billions of tons for the country at large. As a rule, the main haulage occurs withing the short harvesting and fodder procurement period. The main direction in the development of agricultural transportation is the increased tonnage and capacity of trucks and tractor trailers, and the broadening of the variety of specialized transportation facilities. KamAZ diesel trucks will be supplied to the countryside and, on their basis, high capacity trailers.

Developing new equipment we must work even more adamantly on upgrading its reliability and durability. These are factors which greatly influence the growth of production effectiveness. It is very important for such an objective to be formulated and given factual support at the very first stage of the development of a machine rather than after its serial production has been undertaken.

Science must actively participate in resolving all problems related to the further mechanization of agricultural production. The great development of tractor and agricultural machine building created the need for the elaboration of a theory of agricultural machines. In his time academician Vasilii Prokhorovich Goryachkin headed and pursued this project with great persistence. Consequently, for the first time in the world a great number of studies were made on the general topic of "agricultural mechanics." This fundamental work remains valuable to this day.

Other scientists-mechanizers have also made a great contribution to the development of domestic agricultural machine building and to the mechanization of agricultural and animal husbandry processes. All-Union Agricultural Academy imeni Lenin academician V. N. Boltinskiy and many of his students and followers were awarded the State Prize for developing the scientific foundations for increasing the operational speeds of machine-tractor units.

In 1976 the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers passed the decree "On Measures for Upgrading Further the Effectiveness of Agricultural Science and Strengthening Its Ties with Production." This decree faced scientists in agricultural mechanization and electrification with new specific tasks. Their attention is being directed to the development of machine systems which will enable us to achieve comprehensive mechanization. This should lower labor outlays in basic operations by no less than 50-100 percent.

It is pertinent to note in this connection that the first system of machines (its scientifically substantiated content) was elaborated and established between 1956 and 1965. Subsequently, between 1966 and 1970 it was further developed in accordance with the achievements of science and progressive practical experience. It was based on the recommendations formulated at the March 1965 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The current list of machines has been approved for 1976-1980. Its implementation will enable us to mechanize another 155 processes in crop growing and install in agriculture and animal husbandry 203 assembly lines and 365 combined machine units.

We must accelerate the development of the most progressive trends in mechanization such as increasing the unit capacity of power facilities and upgrading further the effectiveness of the machine-tractor units used and the standardization of the machinery, the use of hydraulic transmission and of electric power and automation in machine controls. Machines with active attachments and machine units making possible the combination of several technological operations must become widespread.

In particular, we should note that the conversion of industry to the production of Niva and Kolos grain harvesting combines laid the foundations for equipping kolkhozes and sovkhoses with production facilities for grain crop harvesting. However, life and practical experience demand as of now grain harvesting combines with ever greater handling capacity, more powerful engines, and corresponding wide span harvesters.

The problem of automating production processes in agriculture requires deeper scientific studies and the energizing of the creative thinking of designers. With every passing year powerful and complex equipment will be delivered to the fields of kolkhozes and sovkhoses in ever greater quantities. The share of manpower in handling such machinery will be reduced steadily as materialized labor invested in industry rises. In order to make optimal use of such equipment the experience and intuition of the mechanizer will no longer be sufficient. The extensive use of elements of automation and of automated systems will be required. This will broaden possibilities for drastically upgrading workers' labor productivity: the machines will not only increase the muscular power of the people by several 100 percent but will create conditions for the ever greater use of their intellect. The automation of processes in agriculture has already become not only a topical but a factual task. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted with perfect justification at the October 1968 CPSU Central Committee Plenum that "Already today we must think of the machines of tomorrow, of the mechanization of the future, based on essentially new processes and new types of energy and materials."

Ever greater attention must be paid to the improvement of labor conditions and to creating production comforts for mechanizers operating tractors, combines, and other equipment. The design of self-propelling machinery should include solid and safe cabins consistent with the requirements of sound, dust, and heat insulation with reliable vibration dampeners. Special equipment and signals should provide the mechanizer with the necessary information on the work of the main assemblies and entire machine-tractor unit.

Our country has developed the foundations of a new science on the operations of the machine-tractor fleet. The work which Soviet scientists have done in recent years has established a firm line for the development of this science based on the requirements of our agriculture. However, we must continue to formulate substantiated recommendations aimed at considerably upgrading the effectiveness with which the machine-tractor fleet is utilized by the kol-khozes and sovkhoses, for expanding the use of progressive methods for the technical servicing of contemporary complex machines, improving the organization and quality of agricultural equipment repairs, and the introduction of industrial methods.

The system of machines stipulated for the Tenth Five-Year Plan includes 2,965 different items. Of these 954 will be new and 223 will be modernized. This system has major qualitative distinctions. Along with the further increase in power, operational speed, freight capacity, and productivity of mechanization facilities, it also calls for the development of the latest trends of technical progress.

This requires a particularly efficient coordination of the work of the scientific and design organizations of the different ministries and departments. Frequently the creation of agricultural machinery and tools for new model tractors lags behind the production of the tractors themselves. Such was the case, for example, with tractors K-700 and K-701. Their delivery to the farms was already under way while the machinery which could maximally load these powerful energy-rich tractors with a view to obtaining maximal returns had remained undeveloped.

The further development of production forces in agriculture requires a new approach to the organization of kolkhoz and sovkhos production and the joint efforts of the farms with a view to the extensive utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress. In this connection, in accordance with the stipulations of the 25th Party Congress, the CPSU Central Committee passed in 1976 the decree "On the Further Development of Specialization and Concentration of Agricultural Production on the Basis of Inter-farm Cooperation and Agro-industrial Integration."

Mechanization plays a considerable roll in the solution of the problems stemming from this decree. We know that as the scale of output grows the utilization of the equipment in the specialized farms becomes more effective. At the same time, however, the big inter-farm enterprises and associations require more advanced technology and high quality machines whose design must encompass the new organizational forms of output. The duty of the scientists, agricultural specialists, and industry is to accelerate the creation of such equipment.

In its agrarian policy the party ascribes tremendous importance to the reciprocal utilization of the experience of the fraternal socialist countries. It is systematically promoting cooperation in the field of agriculture as earmarked in the complex program for socialist integration among CEMA-member

countries. One form of such cooperation is the joint elaboration and production of the most advanced machine designs. For example, a set of highly productive six-row tops and root picking machines was developed through the efforts of scientific research and design organizations in the USSR, the GDR, and Bulgaria. The completion of the development of a set of machines for mechanizing the work in vegetable and fruit growing is planned jointly with CEMA-member countries. The solution of a number of other mechanization problems is planned as well.

The party has proclaimed that effectiveness and quality are a key task of the Tenth Five-Year Plan. In terms of the process of agricultural production mechanization this means that we must insure the upgrading of the technical level, manufacturing quality, reliability, and durability of machines and other types of equipment supplied to agriculture. Our industry is working in this direction. However, some of the equipment supplied to the countryside is still behind the best worldwide standards and does not last its guaranteed life-span. This lowers the effectiveness of its use and increases maintenance costs. Therefore, plants, design bureaus, and scientific institutions must pay greater attention to upgrading the quality, reliability, and durability of machines.

Due to the fact that today the state spends huge funds for the production and improvement of agricultural equipment problems of its more effective utilization and of improving repair systems arise in their full magnitude. Increased unit power and productivity entails higher equipment prices. Therefore, shortcomings in organizing the use of the machinery and its idling increase operational costs. The elimination of such shortcomings is a major reserve. We know that frequently the two-shift use of machines has not been organized at mechanized operations and that negligence in machine repairs and storage is allowed to occur. Consequently, some of the equipment is written off prematurely. The establishment of the necessary order in the exploitation of the machine-tractor fleet and the observance of the strictest possible regimen of economy could become a considerable contribution to upgrading effectiveness. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers passed the decree "On Measures to Upgrade the Effectiveness of the Utilization of Agricultural Equipment, Improving Its Safekeeping, Insuring Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes with Mechanizer Cadres, and Securing their Stay in Agriculture." This document calls for the adoption of a complex approach to the solution of organizational, technological, and technical problems involving the training of skilled cadres, the extensive use of progressive labor methods, and the fuller possible utilization of the built in possibilities of each machine.

Many thousands of rural workers are actively participating in the labor competition, discovering ever new reserves. Valuable initiatives are constantly developing, offering the possibility greatly to surpass the level of labor productivity set in the plans. The slogan of "Working More, Working Better, and More Economically" is becoming the norm in the work of many teams, brigades, farms, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes.

We know that in the course of the nationwide competition, in the past two years the movement for the maximal utilization of the technical possibilities of the machinery and for reaching the highest possible labor productivity and high work quality has become widespread. This new initiative was supported by the CPSU Central Committee. Thousands of mechanizer teams reached an output two to three times higher than the average for the farm, rayon, or oblast, thus proving that with a properly organized utilization the stipulated parameters of our machines could be greatly exceeded. This should be considered not only a high achievement in kolkhoz and sovkhoz production but, unquestionably, a major contribution to science.

In the developed socialist society progress in agriculture is impossible without well organized cadre training. As we know, the mechanizers play a decisive role in modern agricultural production. In recent years the content of this profession has been broadened considerably. Today every farmer and animal husbandryman must handle equipment, machines, and mechanisms.

The fact that work with cadres is assuming ever greater importance was mentioned by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress. "In recent years," he stressed, "a great deal has been done in strengthening agriculture with skilled cadres. However, the problem remains acute on the middle and lower levels. . . . Many republics and oblasts are short of mechanizers and workers in other mass skills. This costs the state a great deal. This important sector of the work deserves the closest possible attention."

The country has created a broad network of rural vocational-technical training schools. In the course of the five-year plan these schools will give kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and inter-farm enterprises over three million specialists. Within that period 94 VUZ departments will graduate 84,000 agricultural engineers while 389 technical schools will train 266,000 mechanics and electricians or considerably more than in the Ninth Five-Year Plan.

Ascribing great importance to the steady improvement of the training and the education of cadres, the CPSU Central Committee passed the decree "On the Work of the Rostovskaya Oblast Party Committee on Strengthening Agriculture with Secondary Level Cadres, Mechanizers, and Other Mass Skills."

In the Ninth Five-Year Plan Rostovskaya Oblast trained over 130,000 tractor and combine operators, master-tuners, operators of animal husbandry complexes, machine milking masters, and other skilled workers for fields and livestock farms. Today most of the oblast's farms are fully staffed with tractor and combine drivers.

The oblast is always concerned with the development of the creative initiative of the mechanizers. It was here that the outstanding movement of innovators and heroes of socialist labor N. V. Bochkarev and N. V. Pereverzeva for reaching the highest possible labor productivity and maximal utilization of technical possibilities of machines was born. This movement has been joined by about 5,000 detachments and units who have displayed models

of shock labor. The teams' output per combine exceeded the norm by 50-100 percent; last year 350 combine operators thrashed over 10,000 quintals of grain each. In his letter to the mechanizers Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed that "unquestionably, your example and this progressive experience will be extensively supported by all farmers in the country and will contribute to the further development of socialist competition among rural workers."

Today many hundreds of thousands of workers in crop growing and animal husbandry are displaying models of high labor productivity and quality. They confirm the important role which highly skilled cadres play in the effective utilization of the equipment.

The use of the assembly line harvesting method developed by the All-Russian Scientific Research and Design-Technological Institute of Agricultural Mechanization and Electrification is of great importance. In its decree "On the Practical Experience of the Ipatovskiy Rayon Party Organization, Stavropol'skiy Kray, in Harvesting the 1977 Crop" the CPSU Central Committee approved this method. Its value lies in harvesting on the basis of a previously formulated plan with the organization of harvesting-transportation units and complexes with a closed work cycle. This makes possible the drastic reduction of the time needed for thrashing the grain, upgrading the output of each machine, and improving the working conditions of the mechanizers. This positive example has become widespread in the harvesting of sugar beets, potatoes, vegetables, and other crops.

Most important problems have been resolved in the field of technical reconstruction of agricultural production in the course of the 60 years of Soviet system. By the will of the communist party and the Soviet Union the prerevolutionary backward and underproductive agriculture, based on manual labor, has been firmly placed on industrial tracks. Always concerned with improving the prosperity of the Soviet people, at the present stage the party has assigned this sector a new task: on the basis of the further growth of the effectiveness and quality of labor to insure the uninterrupted supply of the population with rich and varied food products and supply raw materials to the processing industry. The systematic industrialization of the countryside is a mandatory condition for the successful solution of this problem.

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## COSMONAUTICS: ENTERING ITS THIRD DECADE

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[Article by Lieutenant General Aviation G. Beregovoy, USSR Cosmonaut, twice hero of the Soviet Union]

[Text] It is a truly symbolic fact that the date of the successful launching of the Soviet artificial earth satellite, the first in the world, and the date of the opening of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet which adopted the new USSR Constitution--within a two decade interval--coincided. The first marked the beginning of the space era of mankind, a radical change in the attitude of society toward nature, and the filling of this attitude with an essentially new content. The other marked a qualitatively new stage on the road to a classless communist society. Both dates are genetically linked with the main event in world history--the Great October Socialist Revolution whose 60th anniversary the peoples of the world are preparing to celebrate.

It would be difficult to overestimate the political, economic, social, scientific and technical, and cultural significance of the birth of cosmonautics and its accelerating progressive development. Essentially, it could be considered an integral indicator of the power of the country's production forces and scientific and technical potential, the high level of development of its national economy, and the overall educational and cultural standard of the people. Each flight in outer space, whatever its kind, calls for surmounting a complex set of various theoretical, design-practical, research, technological, and organizational-managerial problems whose solution requires extensive material and cadre resources. Initially they may have seemed excessive and even an unnecessary luxury when compared with many strictly earthly problems. However, the experience in the development of cosmonautics not only confirmed its high scientific and technical significance but its economic expediency and profitability and, furthermore, the fact that it is vitally needed in resolving on a planetary scale problems of communications, navigation, the forecasting of a variety of natural processes on earth (meteorological above all), and the all-round study of the geographic cover of the planet with a view to its successful development and optimization of its interaction with industry whose progress is inexorable.

The launching of the first artificial satellite of the earth was an outstanding exploit of the Soviet people who put it into orbit--scientists, engineers, technicians, and workers who created the satellite and the rocket.

The impression made by the news of this event is unforgettable. Let us recall the words of the official announcement which spread throughout the world: "Artificial satellites will lay the path to interplanetary travel and it is likely that our contemporaries will be the witnesses of the way the free and conscientious toil of the members of the new socialist society is turning into reality the most daring dreams of mankind."

Tremendous steps were taken in the study and conquest of space in the past 20 years: the first flight of Yuriy Gagarin, the emergence of a Soviet person in outer space, the study of the earth and outer space with the help of manned ships, orbital stations, and satellites, the flights of automatic stations to the moon and the planets of the solar system, and so on.

We attentively follow the successes of our American colleagues and properly rate, in particular, the first landing of man on the moon.

Interplanetary space and the earth's magnetosphere and ionosphere have become a unique space laboratory for the study of the basic laws of nature. The successes of cosmonautics factually led to the discovery of the space around the earth. Essentially, before that we knew nothing (nor could we know) about the structure of and processes within this part of the universe closely adjacent to us and, naturally, were unable to provide a scientific interpretation to a number of strictly earthly phenomena (such as the cycles in the biosphere determined by solar activity, and so on). Space technology took measuring instruments beyond the earth's atmosphere, thus freeing the researchers from the limitations imposed by the air cover on the range of recorded radiations and insured the global nature of the coverage in the study of processes and phenomena both on our planet and in its environs. Furthermore, equipment for active experimentation is being set on other celestial bodies, penetrating corners of the solar system once inaccessible to observation.

The penetration of human activities in outer space has a tremendous impact not only on the further broadening of the horizons of knowledge and practical experience but on the progress of social consciousness and on positive changes in the perception of the world of contemporary man. We no longer feel restricted by the limits of our planet. We have gained the possibility to look at the "cradle of life" as though from the side. The realm of our thinking has broadened: the awareness of the infinite scientific and technical possibilities interacting with nature has intensified the feeling of responsibility for nature's fate. Finally, the successes achieved in the conquest of space, representing the result of the combination of a number of scientific fields of knowledge, legitimately puts on the agenda many questions and socio-philosophical problems. Actually, this is consistent



with the objective trend of the century in answer to which the following directive was formulated at the 25th CPSU Congress: "Let us intensify the interaction among the social, natural, and technical sciences."

Looking at the path covered by cosmonautics and recollecting the events which have been vividly recorded in the history of scientific and technical progress let us single out the general feature which determines the most important line of development and expresses the objective law governing the progress achieved from the initial step to the present. This progress, based on the high level of development of Soviet heavy industry, precision machine and instrument building, radio electronics, electrical engineering, chemistry, high quality metallurgy, and other industrial sectors, stems from the very nature of the socialist system based on the scientific principles of social management and creating the most favorable conditions for public education, the growth of scientific and technical cadres, and the development of creative thinking.

I shall not list chronologically the dates and types of flights or the problems resolved in the course of such flights. This is common knowledge and could be easily found in published works. I believe, however, that the most impressive and, at the same time, the most essential feature in practical cosmonautics is linked with manned flights. This does not mean that I intend to belittle the significance of automatic instruments which have their merits and realm of utilization. It is precisely to them that we owe, above all, most valuable information on the physical and chemical properties of the moon, the planets, and interplanetary space. It was precisely they that opened the first paths on which, metaphorically speaking, subsequently man stepped. Yet, out of the very extensive topic which cosmonautics now represents I shall deal mainly with the work that was closest to me.

In the 16 years which have passed since Yuriy Gagarin's flight on the Vostok we have witnessed a number of important accomplishments and victories. That first flight was a true "starry moment" for mankind.

All subsequent flights also provided worthy examples of the courage and heroism of the cosmonauts and the daring thoughts of the creators of space technology. Giving its due to the accomplishments and the daring, it would be proper to raise the question of the expediency of new initiatives and of their factual contribution to the spiritual and material culture of the epoch.

Taken together, the artificial earth satellites, automatic interplanetary stations, and manned space flights were the reason for the exceptional scope and variety of the scientific and technical problems resolved.

At the present stage the main realm of application of manned space apparatus is the study of outer space around the earth for scientific and natural economic requirements. The main types of such apparatus are orbital stations and transportation ships.

The creation of orbital stations was established on the basis of a program of research and conquest of outer space in the USSR. It is an expression of the governmental interests of our country in this area of world progress.

Now, when the flights of such stations have become regular and the scientific and national economic effect of their use has become quite tangible we can assess with better understanding the significance of the period which preceded their appearance. In fact, it was a period of preparations and individual practical elaboration of the future programs of orbital stations. Even a brief retrospective view of the events during the first decade of manned flights proves that long term problems were being resolved with each manned space flight. In particular, valuable experimental data were obtained which enabled us to clarify the influence of space flight conditions on the human body, initially over 24 hours and, subsequently, in a period lasting a number of days. Scientists became convinced that cosmonauts can successfully engage in experimental operations in the course of the flight, conduct exchanges by radio, and effectively operate the ship's control systems. It was established that man's psychological and physiological possibilities allow him to engage in complex and lengthy work in space.

Also valuable were data proving that man's visual analyzer does not experience considerable changes in a state of weightlessness, changes which could prevent to a certain extent the cosmonaut from having a normal perception of his environment. Furthermore, it was confirmed that sight in a state of weightlessness alone provides man with reliable information for his orientation in space.

Other important problems were resolved as well such as the piloting of two ships in close orbits, and establishing contact between them in space. This was important also from the view point of developing the ground command-measurement complex.

The experiment carried out aboard the multiple-crew Voskhod ships were a substantial contribution to the development of the future orbital stations. In the course of these flights studies were made of the activities of crews of two or three people and man left the ship and stepped in outer space. The subsequently developed human motion in unsupported space was used in the creation of a factual model of an orbital station by coupling two ships and insuring the outside transfer of cosmonauts from one ship to the other.

The intensity of preparations for the development of an orbital station and the possibility to experiment with this purpose in mind rose substantially with the creation of the Soyuz space ships. They were used in conducting a series of experiments in maneuvering in single and group flights with a view to developing close flight processes and new navigation and control systems, and gaining the skills of outer space navigation. Experimentally the principles of assembling in outer space were tested experimentally.

Furthermore, in the first flights of the ships of the Soyuz series tests with and operation of scientific equipment were conducted and methods were tried for organizing outer space experiments of scientific and national economic value.

An essential important aspect in the preparations for the creation of the orbital station was the coupling of two Soyuz space ships accomplished on 16 January 1969. This marked the organization of the first manned experimental station around the earth serviced by a four-man crew.

The orbital station was planned to operate a long time. Therefore, once the technical principles governing its creation had been developed and the ways and means for conducting space experiments and studies were tested, the question of enduring a lengthy flight by the cosmonauts had to be settled.

To this effect an 18 day flight was carried out which provided valuable data on the subject of man's adaptation to a state of weightlessness and his subsequent readaptation, problems of long term hypodynamics, and the psychophysiological compatibility of the crew.

Therefore, by the time that the first orbital station appeared its targets, the set of research apparatus aboard ship, methods of interaction with the transportation vehicle, and many other problems had been essentially developed and experimentally tested.

Thanks to the fact that in the course of the decades which followed the first flight of man in outer space all subsequent flights provided solutions of most important problems related to the creation of orbital stations it became possible as early as 1971 to complete the work on the creation of the first Salyut orbital manned station. Highly rating its successful launching, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "Comrades, this is not only a new big step in the study and conquest of space but a very important step in further progress in this matter important to all mankind."

What were the problems resolved here?

The structure of the station and its individual elements and systems were tested comprehensively. The purpose of maneuvering it in orbit was both to insure its durability and create the most favorable conditions for coupling with transport ships. Methods and independent means for the station's navigation and orientation were developed.

A wide set of medical-biological studies was carried out to determine what were the possibilities of the human body in a lengthy flight. A number of scientific, applied, and technical experiments were carried out. In a 23 day flight the crew of the first station consisting of cosmonaut fliers, G. Dobrovolskiy, V. Volkov, V. Patsayev, conducted a great deal of experiments and tests. The flight of this orbital station opened extensive possibilities for the immediate use of manned space equipment in the interest of many scientific and economic sectors.

Since that time, for the past six years, systematic work has been done in outer space aboard the Salyut stations.

The programs of such works have been quite varied.

As before, technical experiments aimed at improving space technology further account for a considerable place.

Medical-biological studies are undertaken to resolve not only current problems but totally aimed at preparations for future lengthy flights. The influence of the factors of space flight on the human body is studied.

The effectiveness of special preventive means and measures reducing the effect of extreme flight factors on the human body is being assessed. Studies are made of the psychophysiological possibilities of the cosmonauts to carry out operational assignments. Problems of optimizing the work and rest of the crew members aboard the station are resolved. Medical-biological experiments are conducted on problems of space ecology (development of the principles of the creation of a closed system insuring the utilization of human waste).

Studies are made of vital processes in micro-organisms and higher plants under conditions of weightlessness.

Extracting maximal use from each flight is a characteristic feature of practical cosmonautics. The main feature in the programs of space expeditions is studies serving the interests of basic and applied sciences and of the national economy. This involves above all a program for the comprehensive study of the earth. The list of scientific sectors dealing with our planet in whose interest orbital stations are directly used is quite representative: meteorology and atmospheric physics; physical geography and geomorphology; geology and search for minerals; oceanography and study of marine resources; land hydrology and glaciology; geobotanics, agriculture, and forestry; soil studies and land utilization; study of anthropogenic landscapes (i.e., changes in the geographic environment under the influence of human economic activities); ecology and environmental protection, and others.

In the course of the implementation of the program of the all-round study of the earth, using a set of mounted and manual equipment, the orbital station crews photograph and measure the earth's surface in the various ranges of the spectrum. Millions of square kilometers of the territory of our country have been already photographed in winter and summer conditions. The use of the information thus received by the various economic sectors enables us to resolve major problems. This is yielding major economic results. The study of the earth's natural resources alone, assessed from the viewpoint of saving on materials or gaining additional benefits, far exceeding the possibilities of traditional research methods, confirms the profitability of cosmonautics. The time has not come as yet for precise and generalized data in terms of a specific economic benefit. However, even individual forecast studies prove quite convincingly the advantageous and promising use of outer space systems in the study of natural resources.

The intensive development of cosmonautics contributes to the growth of the overall industrial level of the country. The most valuable scientific and technical solutions found in the course of space research will soon become part of the production process and be embodied in new materials, technological processes, and goods.

Finally, possibilities arise for the production of a number of new industrially significant goods in outer space. In turn, this could yield high technical and economic results.

Thus, cosmonautics provides a hundred-fold return of the funds invested in it.

It would be interesting to compare cartographic expenditures incurred in the use of photographic surveys with airplanes and from spaceships. The American press carried the following example. Charting the specific land maps of the state of Connecticut monetary outlays totaled \$1.1 million while using traditional aerial photography methods. The use of high altitude aircraft made possible to reduce the amount to \$730,000. However, the biggest economy was achieved through a satellite survey: in this case all outlays did not exceed \$75,000. In other words, the benefit was nearly ten-fold!

The second Salyut-4 expedition (P. Klimuk and V. Sevast'yanov) surveyed 5.5 million square kilometers of our country. The economic results of this project alone were worth in excess of 50 million rubles. This greatly helped the geologists. We know that accelerating the looking for subsoil resources by one percent alone provides the state annual economic results totaling hundreds of millions of rubles.

Using outer space photographs the Priroda State Scientific Research and Production Center charted photographic maps of extensive parts of our country. Thus, the photographic map of one of the southern areas covering a territory of 2.3 million square kilometers took no more than 30 outer space photographs. The creation of such a map with the help of aerial surveys would have required no less than 60,000-70,000 aerial photographs which would be an operation practically impossible to achieve within the stipulated time. An outer space photographic map enables us to assess the characteristics of the structure and determine the interconnection among natural formations over a huge area. It is necessary in refining specific maps and decoding the regional characteristics of geological structures.

The outer space photographs of this area have already been used in the discovery of new petroleum and gas and ore bearing structures, finding fresh ground water and fertile soils in desert areas, and others. The significance of the results is tremendous: the practically simultaneous survey covered a territory in which a tremendous percentage of proven and potential reserves of minerals is concentrated and where powerful national economic complexes are being created, are operating, and developing. Valuable farmland and major timber reserves are concentrated here.

Within a relatively short time several tens of petroleum and gas bearing structures were discovered on the Mangyshlak and Buzachi peninsulas, some of them under the bottom of the Caspian Sea. Areas promising from the viewpoint of various mineral deposits were located. A Mangyshlak Peninsula Land utilization and environmental protection system was devised.

Major deposits of fresh ground water were discovered in the center of the waterless Kyzylkum Desert area, now used to irrigate pastures. The volume of ground waters discovered in Kazakhstan and Central Asia, based on space photography, is estimated in many billions of cubic meters. A chart for the sequence and content of the measures to be taken for the preservation and restoration of pastures, their seasonal utilization, and the development of a network of wells was drawn up for the eastern part of the Caspian Sea and areas for small oasis farming were established.

Space photography is being applied ever more extensively in national economic construction. It is particularly valuable in the planning, construction, and development of territorial-production complexes. In particular, seismic charts and charts of mineral deposits and water stock are drawn up for their areas. In other words, the area's natural resources are subjected to a comprehensive study. The proper assessment of raw material resources in the development of new territorial-production complexes enables us to save huge funds.

Space photographs are used as a basis for the formulation of plans for the development of territories adjacent to the Baykal-Amur Main Line, for the production complexes of the southern part of eastern Siberia, and the redistribution of the stock of northern rivers to cover the shortage of water resources in the southern, central, and Ural-Volga areas of the European part of the country, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia. For these areas the solution of problems related to the protection of the environment, the further development of fuel and raw material bases, and the rational utilization and reproduction of land and water resources has become very topical.

Agriculture is yet another example. Every year substantial funds are spent in detecting outbreaks of one or another plant disease and damages done by tests. The same work could be done through remote sounding from outer space far more rapidly and cheaply. With a harvest in excess of 200 million tons of grain per year the benefit to our country is a tremendous amount of money.

Finally, outer space facilities considerably upgrade the effectiveness of the forest fire detection services, resulting not only in considerable savings of funds but saving many human lives. This is a topical task for the entire planet. In the United States, for example, the damage caused by forest fires is estimated at \$400 million per year. Every year \$180 million are spent for the detection of forest fires and the struggle against them.

Considering the huge areas covered in timber in our country the help which cosmonautics provides in their preservation is invaluable.

Foreign specialists estimate that investments in the development of space remote sounding instruments for agricultural and forestry purposes would yield a net return of 500 percent.

The promising nature of the development of outer space with orbital stations in the interest of peace and progress has been acknowledged internationally. As we know, at the present time the members of the socialist countries are training cosmonauts for joint space expeditions.

Talks are under way between the USSR Academy of Sciences and NASA in the United States on joint work in outer space with the help of Soviet orbital stations of the Salyut type and the American space shuttle. The experience gained by our two countries in the joint program carried out in 1972-1975 in the experimental flight of Apollo and Soyuz will be of great help in the preparations for and conduct of this experiment.

Clearly, orbital flights of several months' duration will become reality in the third decade of the space era: their successful development will create the necessary prerequisites for interplanetary trips.

Celebrating the 20th anniversary of the space era, having recently celebrated the 120th anniversary of the birth of K. E. Tsiolkovskiy, the founder of rocket dynamics and cosmonautics, it would be pertinent to recall his famous plan described in the work "Study of the Universe with Jet Instruments." He described the stages for the conquest of space beginning with the initial penetration of man beyond the atmosphere and ending with the settling of mankind throughout the milky way--a possibility for the distant future which, incidentally, the great man from Kaluga intuitively linked with the social advancement of human life. Already now many items of the brilliant plan-forecast have been achieved. Naturally, this is not to say that it will be fulfilled entirely soon. Its implementation will be conducted by the future generations.

The plan also includes the following words: ". . . set up mobile stations in space . . ." It is precisely this stage in its historical development that cosmonautics is living today.

Unquestionably, the stations of today will be replaced by new more advanced longer lasting orbital stations marking a qualitatively transition from experimentation in outer space to its effective utilization for economic and scientific purposes.

Entering its third decade cosmonautics is looking toward new horizons. It is the offspring of the scientific and technical revolution and, at the same time, its "catalytic agent." Under socialist conditions it has acquired a proper direction consistent with the interests of man and society. In turn, its achievements are contributing to the solution of the problems of social progress and of building a communist society.

OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 77 pp 91-98

[Article by Le Duan, Communist Party of Viet Nam Central Committee general secretary]

[Text] World history knows of no event which has had such a strong and profound influence on the course of social development and the destinies of all the peoples of the world as the victory of the October Socialist Revolution. This greatest of all revolutions gave a new direction to the social development of human society. "The destruction of capitalism and its traces, and the introduction of the foundations of a communist order are the content of the new epoch in universal history now beginning," was the way V. I. Lenin characterized the historical place of the October Revolution ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 425).

The revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism, initiated 60 years ago with the October Revolution, is drawing into its orbit an ever larger number of countries and peoples. The emergence of socialism beyond the boundaries of a single country and its conversion into an ever expanding worldwide system; the tempestuous upsurge of the national-liberation movement leading to the total breakdown of the imperialist colonial system and the appearance of a number of national independent states; the powerful development of the workers movement in the capitalist countries, assuming a variety of forms of struggle for democracy and socialism; the steady weakening of capitalism and its plunging into the profound chasm of a general crisis; and the radical change in the ratio of forces in favor of the three revolutionary currents of our time and the consolidation and strengthening of their strategic offensive position is the panoramic view of the main successes achieved in the course of the development of the world after the October Revolution.

Marking a radical turn in the life of all mankind, the October Revolution awakened the broad toiling masses and oppressed peoples and led them to the struggle for their class liberation, national independence, and freedom and human dignity, and for becoming masters of their own destinies. These



peoples included the people of Vietnam who suffered from imperialist and feudal domination. It was precisely at a time when their struggle for the salvation of the homeland was experiencing a profound crisis and when the question of choosing a way of development arose sharply while the situation in the country seemed dark and hopeless we heard the thunder of the October Revolution. Marxism-Leninism--the most revolutionary doctrine of our time--brought by the wind of the October Revolution merged with the movement of the working class of a country ready to explode, a country with long traditions of patriotic popular movements, creating the communist party of Vietnam and igniting the great flame of the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants in 1930-1931, thus opening the path to a radical turn in the history of the liberation of the Vietnamese people.

"There is no way for the salvation of the homeland and the liberation of the nation other than that of the proletarian revolution." "Socialism and communism alone could free from slavery the oppressed peoples and the working people of the world." These words were said by Comrade Ho Chi Minh--the first Vietnamese who reached that truth. He recalled that, becoming acquainted with Lenin's theses on the national and colonial problems in 1920 he was profoundly touched and gladdened. Alone in his room he imagined a great crowd and loudly said: "My compatriots suffering in oppression! That is what we need! That is our path to liberation!" The path covered by Comrade Ho Chi Minh from patriotism to communism was characteristic of an entire generation of Vietnamese revolutionaries and a necessary step in the course of the development of the Vietnamese revolution.

The turn of the national-liberation struggle to the path of a proletarian revolution and socialism was the strategic course chosen on the basis of our party's ability properly to understand and resolve the problem of relations among classes and nations and between national liberation and the liberation of the working people and properly to understand and resolve the problems of the unity between the universal-historical mission of the working class and its national duty in the light of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the October Revolution.

Karl Marx's great merit is the discovery of the laws governing the development of human society, based on economic analysis and, particularly, the study of the capitalist production method, and, on this basis, the discovery of the universal-historical role of the working class. As a representative of a new production method, closely linked with modern industry, the working class is the most progressive class of our time. It is the only class who can guide all classes, toiling strata, and oppressed peoples in their struggle for liberation and for the right to control their own destinies.

National liberation, independence, progress, and blossoming of the nation; liberation of the working people and the people's happiness; and the acquisition of democracy and the defense of freedom and human dignity or, in a word, the solution of all the most important problems effecting the destinies of peoples, nations, and individuals, was entrusted by history to the working class which, by virtue of its objective position and the

existence of its party equipped with the most revolutionary and scientific theory--Marxism-Leninism--can find a proper solution to all these problems consistent with the laws governing social development.

Any class aspiring to the seizure of power must assert itself as the true representative of its people. Presently no one other than the working class could be such a representative of the people. As to the bourgeoisie, in the bourgeois and imperialist countries it has long lost national grounds and has in fact pitted itself against the people. In formerly colonial or dependent countries such as Vietnam, frequently some of the bourgeoisie took the path of national reformism which inevitably leads such countries into the trap of neocolonialism.

The working class is essentially international. However, its existence is invariably linked with a specific country. "The immediate arena of its struggle is its own country" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 19, p 22). "The fatherland, i.e., a given political, cultural, and social environment is the most powerful factor in the class struggle of the proletariat. . . ." (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 17, p 190). The working class of each country shares with the working class of all countries a single objective. Yet, it is profoundly linked with the working people of its own homeland, with the destinies of its own people. Only by beginning with the overthrow of ruling capitalism which is oppressing its people, including itself, could the working class overthrow international capitalism and undertake the implementation of its universal-historical mission.

That is why in their "Communist Party Manifesto" K. Marx and F. Engels had already stated that ". . . the proletariat must, above all, seize the political rule, reach the level of a national class, and structure itself as a nation. It is still national even though not in the least in the bourgeois meaning of the term" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 4, p 444). The dialectics of the class struggle today is the following: unlike the capitalist task which, under the pretext of defending national interests, imposes upon the people narrow-class and bourgeois solutions which conflict with real national interests, the working class openly formulates its class program which fully reflects national interests and, at the same time, express the international interests of the working class.

Thanks to the policy of properly combining class with national interests, the Communist Party of Vietnam--the party of the Vietnamese working class--has been unquestionably acknowledged as the battle vanguard and leader of the entire people. From the very beginning of its appearance the party was able to rally the overwhelming majority of the people, the peasantry above all, under its banner--the banner of national independence and progress toward socialism. Throughout the entire 50 years of struggle the party invariably carried this banner high. Both when a national people's democratic revolution was taking place throughout the country as well as in the period of the simultaneous implementation of the two strategic tasks--the national people's democratic and socialist revolution--as well as now, when the country has become fully liberated, the communist party of Vietnam is firmly holding and carrying high the banner of national independence and socialism.

The essence of the strategic course of the CPV is to combine national independence with socialism. This is the strength of the Vietnamese revolution and the source of its victories. Following this course the party was able to mobilize and combine the forces of socialism with the traditional patriotism of the people, and rally on the broadest and strongest possible basis and lead to the struggle all classes and social strata and all patriots or, in a word, all the elements representing the strength of the Vietnamese people. Following this course our party was able to combine the basic interests of the people--national independence and socialism--with the vital objectives of the epoch. Thanks to this the Vietnamese revolution enjoyed the full solidarity, support, and aid of all forces throughout the world fighting for socialism, national independence, democracy, and peace.

Raising high the banner of national independence and socialism, we were able to give the Vietnamese revolution a tremendous aggressive force, develop methods for revolutionary struggle distinguished by the decisive and systematic, flexible, and operative nature, and find a variety of methods for combining the political struggle with the armed struggle, the revolutionary war with the uprising of the masses and the struggle in the three strategic zones (the cities, the plains, and mountain rural areas), clandestine work with open activities, clandestine struggle with semi-clandestine and legal struggle, mass actions with parliamentary activities, and armed struggle with diplomatic struggle.

Thanks to the tremendous combined power of the forces within the country and in the international arena, based on the true revolutionary line and proper revolutionary method, despite their small territory and population the Vietnamese people were able to defeat big imperialist powers--France and the United States--and laid the beginning of the breakdown of the old colonial system and of the inevitable defeat of neocolonialism.

Following the full and final victory in the war of resistance against the American aggressors, the Vietnamese revolution is continuing its march toward socialism. Today this process is developing on a country-wide scale. Today on their own soil, united and free from aggressors, the Vietnamese people realize, more profoundly than ever before, that national independence and socialism are one and the same. At the present time to love the homeland means to love socialism and to dedicate all of one's forces, knowledge, capabilities, and energy to the building of socialist Vietnam.

The independence and unity of the homeland are the decisive prerequisites for the conversion of our entire country to socialism. In turn, socialism is a reliable way guaranteeing independence and unity. In our time independence and unity are inconceivable outside of socialism. They are possible only on a socialist basis. We have no way other than that leading to socialism, for socialism alone will enable us to resolve systematically and completely the problem of national independence and unity, a problem which has been of vital importance in the centuries-old history of the Vietnamese people.

True national independence is possible only when the people have the right to be the masters of their country. Socialism is able to guarantee the final solution of the problem of national independence precisely because the socialist system is the highest and most fully developed form of popular democracy. In our time there neither is nor could there be a true democracy shared by all working people which would not be a socialist democracy, for socialism alone guarantees mankind the possibility to build a democracy on the most realistic and firm base through the total elimination of the exploitation of man by man and the establishment and constant improvement of the system of collective management by the working people in all fields of social life.

The democracy we are discussing here does not mean simply the rights of the individual citizen, not to speak of rights granted from above; it means that the people themselves, under the guidance of the party, exercise their right to ownership on the basis of a specific social structure and a familiar system of organizational relations in the political, economic, and cultural areas. As a democracy which is "one million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy," the dictatorship of the proletariat represents, essentially, the right of the working people, a right based on the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, to engage in collective management under the guidance of the party of the working class through the state created by the people themselves and managed by the people themselves. The efficient economic structure which guarantees the ever fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual means of the people on the basis of the steady growth of output and the ever higher level of technological development is the basis for socialist collective management. Without such an economic structure, any kind of democracy would be entirely impossible. Without it there could not even be a question of a right to collective management.

In Vietnam's case such an economic structure is the industrial-agrarian structure of large-scale capitalist production whose principles were elaborated at the 4th CPV Congress and for whose creation today our people are applying all their forces. Collective socialist management is a system in which the working people are the masters, represented and guided by the working class. Collective socialist management can only be a management based on the platform of the working class. Whereas in the past the meaning of this platform was found in the struggle for national liberation in our time its significance lies in exercising the right of the working people to be the masters, build socialism, and guarantee the blossoming of the homeland and the happiness of the people. Carried out under the guidance of the working class, collective management is based on the alliance between workers and peasants and their alliance with the socialist intelligentsia. Imbued with warm patriotism, for decades, since the creation of the communist party, the Vietnamese peasantry has invariably marched with the working class hand in hand. Marching with the working class the peasantry gained national independence and land. At the present time under the guidance of the working class, the Vietnamese peasantry has also become the collective master of the entire country and society. Only by converting into reality the right to collective management by the workers and peasants and the intelligentsia

closely linked with them could the Vietnamese economy convert from small-scale output directly to large-scale socialist production with a modern industrial-agrarian structure. Conversely, only by building such a modern structure for large-scale production could we create the material base for strengthening the alliance between workers and peasants and reliably strengthening the system of socialist collective economic management.

This contemporary industrial-agrarian structure is a single entity which includes the economy under central and local administration. The course of their simultaneous development is dictated by the objective and legitimate requirements of the direct conversion from small-scale output to large-scale socialist production. It guarantees both the centralization of the single socialist economy as well as the all-round development of the creative activities of areas and enterprises. This is the best method for the mobilization of all the resources of the country and its manpower reserves, the extensive redistribution of social labor, the most accurate combination of labor with labor objects, the development of all sectors, the rapid enhancement of public labor productivity and insuring the ever fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people, both on a national scale as well as local, in accordance with the possibilities, specifics, and customs of the individual areas. The simultaneous development of the centralized and local economies is the main way for exercising and developing the right of the working people to be the collective masters of the socialist society both on a nationwide scale as well as within the individual area or enterprise.

As a former colonial and semi-feudal country which has taken the path of direct transition to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, Vietnam must build socialism in all its elements, from the very first to the last, and create both new production forces as well as new production relations, a new economic base, a new superstructure, a new material life as well as a new spiritual and cultural type of life. That is precisely why the socialist revolution in Vietnam is a continuing process of all-round profound and systematic revolutionary changes. This is a process of closely combining change with creation and creation with change, a process in which creation is a basic link. This is a process whose content is to stand firmly on the positions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, develop the right of the working people to collective management, and make three revolutions: a revolution in the field of production relations, a scientific and technical revolution, and a revolution in the fields of ideology and culture. Among them the scientific and technical revolution holds a key position. Gradually, through the making of these three revolutions a system of collective socialist economic management, large-scale socialist production, new culture, and a new person--the member of the socialist society--are developed. These three revolutions take place not separately but simultaneously, closely interconnected. Similarly close interconnections exist among collective economic management, large-scale socialist production, and the new culture and new member of socialist society, each of whose elements is both a cause and effect of the remaining elements.

The proper dialectical utilization of all such relations and interactions among the three revolutions and among the new social system, new economy, new culture, and new man, enables us to create a tremendous complex force which accelerates both the establishment of the new society as a whole as well as its individual structural parts, accelerating the direct conversion from petty production to socialism, bypassing the entire historical stage of capitalist development replete with suffering. Progressing on the basis of the combined power could be described as the characteristic feature of the Vietnamese revolution both in the course of the lengthy struggle for national independence as well as in the cause of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism in Vietnam.

Socialism alone can fulfill the age-old dream of the working people of rescuing them forever from oppression, exploitation, hunger, and poverty, and live a secure, cultured, and happy life. Socialism alone could guarantee the country a modern economy, progressive culture and science, and powerful defense enabling us to insure forever independence and freedom and unflinchingly march toward prosperity. Socialism and communism alone could bring a person true freedom, enabling him to be the master of society, of nature, and of himself to the highest and fullest extent.

Therefore, national independence is inconceivable unless the people are provided the happiness and right to be their own masters. In turn, national independence, the happiness of the people, and the right to be their own masters are possible only on the basis of socialism. Socialism is the only possible solution of all problems arising on the way of the development of society and the country which could place Vietnam in the ranks of the leading peoples of our time. The political line and specific objectives formulated at the 6th CPV Congress are precisely directed to the implementation of this task. This line and objective properly expressed the expectations, interests and desire of the Vietnamese people who are now dedicating all efforts for their implementation and who, unquestionably, will implement them successfully, bearing in mind above all the fulfillment of the Second Five-Year Plan, in the future, in several decades, to complete in its essential lines the building of the material and technical foundations for socialism.

Sixty years is a short time in the history of a social system. However, even the most optimistic predictions and most daring dreams have been far surpassed by everything accomplished by the factual socialism existing in the Soviet Union and throughout the world. Under the leadership of the Leninist Party the Soviet people accomplished brilliant exploits in the homeland of the October Revolution and the great Lenin. Previously backward Russia became a powerful socialist state holding a leading position in the world in the fields of economics, culture, science, and technology, insuring its people a truly happy life and creating excellent social relations and outstanding people. Solemnly codifying the tremendous accomplishments of the Soviet Union in the building of developed socialism, the new USSR Constitution also marks a new stage in the development of Soviet society, the stage of the path toward communism being laid by the Soviet Union. With the October Revolution, the immortal exploits in the defeat of

fascism in World War Two, and the great accomplishments in its creative toil the Soviet people continued to provide active assistance to the revolutionary movements in different countries and making a most important contribution to the struggle of the peoples for peace. They continued to play a tremendous role in the advancement of mankind on the path of progress.

Along with the Soviet Union in the past 30 years the other socialist countries have rapidly progressed in building a new society. Many of them have already laid the foundations of socialism and undertaken the building of a developed socialist society. Assuming absolutely dominant positions in the economy, socialist production relations are advancing and disclosing their advantages to an ever greater extent. Output is rising rapidly and stably. The material and technical base of the new society is strengthening. Science and culture are steadily reaching new peaks. Defense power is strengthening and the material and spiritual life of the people is improving.

The outlines of a communist civilization, illumining our entire planet, are becoming ever clearer over one-third of the world. Here there is no longer exploitation of man by man, racial discrimination and national oppression, economic crises, unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, and so on. Here a new type of relations among people has been established in social life, distinguished by democracy, equality, cooperation, mutual aid in a comradely spirit, friendship, and fraternity. With each new step forward this society is offering ever greater and more favorable conditions for the free and comprehensive development of man, his happiness and dignity, and his right to be the master of his own fate.

The course of universal history emphasizes ever more strongly the contrast between the system of the steadily developing socialist countries and the imperialist system torn by antagonistic contradictions, the system of an obsolete world doomed to total failure with its inherent exploitation, oppression, and injustice.

Together with all the revolutionary forces fighting for socialism, the socialist system is appearing ever more clearly as a factor which determines the course of development of human society. Present historical practice makes ever more convincing the profound truth of the close link among national independence, democracy, and socialism. This truth acquired its first practical manifestation with the victory of the October Revolution. It is being ever more clearly confirmed in the epoch of the great transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale.

The building of socialism and communism in the world's socialist system, the progress of the peoples toward national independence, and the struggle of the working class and working people in the capitalist countries are the three main currents which account for the tempestuous revolutionary upsurge of our epoch. The main aspect of the strategy of the world's revolution is that these three currents, merging within a single force, advance step by step on all sides and at all fronts using a variety of methods, striking at imperialism, and gaining from it ever new positions in order to defeat it entirely for the sake of achieving the noble objectives of our time--peace,

national independence, democracy, and socialism. This is a truly effective strategy whose application began after World War Two and which is bringing outstanding victories. This is the live manifestation of Marxism-Leninism in our epoch--a militant and scientific doctrine imbued with creative spirit which is becoming a tremendous material force transforming the entire world.

As a structural part of the world revolution, enjoying its great and valuable support and aid, the Vietnamese revolution continues to march firmly forward, achieving one victory after another in the struggle for national independence and socialism. The Communist Party of Vietnam is justifiably proud of the fact that from the very first days of its existence and throughout its 50 years of struggle it has always been, and will remain, a party of proletarian internationalism. This is confirmed by everything it has accomplished and the entire experience it has acquired. Remaining loyal to this tradition to the end, our party will continue to follow the noble Leninist ideas of internationalism and struggle with all its forces for the revolutionary cause of its country while comprehensively supporting the revolutionary struggle of all peoples.

Bearing high the single banner of national independence and socialism, the Communist Party of Vietnam is brimming with the resolve of fulfilling its national and international duty, shoulder to shoulder with all fraternal parties and revolutionary and progressive forces in the successful implementation of the great universal-historical project initiated by the October Revolution.

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## OUR PRICELESS PROPERTY

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[Article by Stanko Todorov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Bulgarian People's Republic Council of Ministers]

[Text] Receiving the first news of the unparalleled exploits of the Petrograd workers who had seized the power, Dimitur Blagoev, the founder and leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party, expressed his admiration for and faith in the socialist revolution and in its historical role in the renovation of the world. Sixty years have passed since then. Generations of revolutionaries-fighters changed but the feeling of admiration and respect for the cause of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the desire to follow its path will always remain a characteristic feature of the BCP. Building socialism and communism, our party uses the experience of the CPSU and the Soviet State, systematically implementing the ideas of the October Revolution on Bulgarian soil. That is why the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution is also a holiday for the Bulgarian people, inspiring them to new constructive accomplishments. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasized, the October Revolution is "the beginning of all great historical changes in the life of modern mankind, and a source of faith and hope, and will to fight and work."

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution was the starting point and a powerful impulse for the systematic rearming of the revolutionary Marxists in Bulgaria with the ideological weapons of bolshevism. Going through the flames of class battles and armed uprisings, headed by Georgi Dimitrov, the BCP became a mature Marxist-Leninist party and a tested leading detachment of the working class. When the time for decisive battles against fascism and capitalism and for the cause of the people and the proletariat came the party was on the level of its historical calling. It became the leader and organizer of the victorious socialist revolution in our country.

The socialist revolution in Bulgaria, whose great beginning was the 9 September 1944 uprising, became reality thanks to the Great October Revolution, the liberation campaign of the Soviet army, and the defeat of Hitlerite fascism. The Soviet army fulfilled its great historical mission by liberating our and other peoples from fascism. This led to the appearance of conditions and

prerequisites for profound socioeconomic and political changes in the life of mankind. Today the Soviet army is the most powerful guardian of the peace and of the historical gains of the members of the socialist comity.

A characteristic feature of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria was the assertion and continuation of the ideas and cause of the October Revolution. The principles governing the struggle for a people's system and its establishment and strengthening, first practically implemented by the October Revolution and the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, are important to Bulgaria as well, to the socialist reorganization of our society.

The BCP has always fully shared and supported the basic Marxist-Leninist stipulation proved through the entire course of building a new world that the building of a socialist society obeys common objective laws valid for any country following this path.

A necessary requirement for the activities of any communist party is finding the particular creative solutions to the basic problems of the building of socialism consistent with specific conditions and national experience. Life proved the groundlessness of both the absolutizing of the universal and the praising of the specific and the particular in the building of socialism, as well as the groundlessness of dogmatic and revisionist distortions. As the BCP program stipulates, "The Bulgarian experience confirms the universal-historical significance of the Soviet example, and the common nature of the basic laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism and the building of the new society."

Vladimir Il'ich Lenin theoretically substantiated while the practice of the October Revolution and the building of socialism in the Soviet Union fully confirmed the fact that the question of power is the basic question of the revolution. The transition from capitalism to socialism is historically impossible without taking away the power from the bourgeoisie and without the triumph of the power of the working class allied with the toiling peasantry and the people's intelligentsia. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a scientific Marxist-Leninist term we use to describe this power. It could assume a variety of forms and manifestations. Without it, however, or without its constructive role the building of socialism would be impossible.

As a characteristic form of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Bulgaria and in other countries, the people's democracy successfully resolved the problems raised by the objective course of history. This was its strength and creative nature. The future, as brilliantly predicted by V. I. Lenin, will necessarily bring an even greater variety of forms, pace, and approaches to the building and advancement of the socialist political system. However, any factual transition to socialism requires that the power embody the nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat and implement its historically determined tasks.

The leading role of the working class, headed by the communist party, the alliance between the working class and the toiling peasantry, described by

V. I. Lenin as the supreme principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the suppression of the opposition of the overthrown exploiting classes, and the development of democracy as the main line in the development of the socialist state along with other laws which were fully manifested in the Soviet Union are entirely confirmed by our own development. That is why the BCP attentively studies the Soviet experience in improving the political system and applies it creatively.

The new constitution of the Soviet Union is the code of existing socialism. It reveals the most essential features of the socialist system and its advantages compared with capitalism, and earmarks the prospects for the building of a communist society. The democracy and humanism of the Soviet system and the Soviet way of life have reached a high level of maturity. It is on this basis that the personality of the builder of communism--the prototype of the man of the future--is molded.

The October Revolution and the building of socialism in the Soviet Union also earmarked the way to the socialist reorganization of the economy. The socialization of the means of production and the establishment of the public ownership of capital goods in its two forms--state and cooperative--are objectively needed and required in the case of the other countries which have taken the path of socialist development. In resolving this major task the BCP was guided by the Leninist principles and the experience of the Leninist party which laid for all mankind the path to socialism and communism. Bearing in mind the conditions of their country, the Bulgarian communists found the most suitable ways, means, and pace of socioeconomic change and the establishment of the economic foundations of the new social system.

The BCP has gained a certain experience in the reorganization of agriculture, an experience which gained international recognition. The organization of labor cooperative farms was a creative application of the Leninist cooperative plan under Bulgarian conditions. Our party is tirelessly improving production relations in town and country. It is creating prerequisites for the inter-penetration, enrichment, and rapprochement between the two forms of social ownership. In recent years powerful agroindustrial complexes have been established. They apply industrial methods and technology, upgrade the productivity and effectiveness of agricultural labor, and create fuller prerequisites for surmounting the socioeconomic and cultural disparities between town and country.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was profoundly international in nature. Its victory turned Russia into a powerful base, a decisive factor in the development of the world's revolutionary movement and the achievement of its historical victories. The international nature of CPSU policy found its practical embodiment in the activities of the Soviet State for the past six decades.

The Soviet Union is building its relations both with the socialist countries, within the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, or else on a bilateral basis, as well as with countries liberated from the colonial yoke, on the basis of friendship

and mutual respect, guided by the great Leninist principles of equality and fraternal solidarity. It is creating new relations among nations.

Today as well, under present conditions, the words of the immortal Georgi Dimitrov to the effect that the attitude toward the Soviet Union is the dusting stone of revolutionism and internationalism, and the watershed between the forces of progress and those of reaction retain their topical nature.

Reality has fully confirmed the fact that unity with the Soviet Union and friendship and cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries are a decisive condition and prerequisite for the successful building of socialism in each individual country. Anti-Sovietism and alienation from the Soviet Union have brought no one honor or success. The anti-Soviet course of the Maoist leadership is ignominious and hopeless.

Friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union are the very foundations of the policy of the BCP. Such was its general course in the life of Georgi Dimitrov, and such it is today. At the 11th Party Congress Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated that, "We, the Bulgarian communists, the Bulgarian working people, the entire Bulgarian people cannot imagine a way for building a developed socialist society and, subsequently, communism in Bulgaria other than the one we are following and will follow shoulder to shoulder with our Soviet brothers and sisters under the conditions of the closest possible all-round cooperation with Lenin's party and under the conditions of the ever fuller and more organic rapprochement between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the great USSR."

The line of all-round rapprochement--political, economic, cultural, and defense--is being followed successfully. In recent years Bulgarian-Soviet economic relations have entered a new stage characterized by the intensive development of specialization and cooperation in material production and ever closer interaction between the national economic complex of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the powerful economy of the Soviet Union.

The results of the fraternal cooperation between Bulgaria and the USSR have been great in scale and significance. Thus, about 95 percent of the output of the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, 80 percent of the output of the petrochemical and petroleum refining industries, and over 70 percent of the production of electric power come from enterprises built with the technical assistance of the Soviet Union.

The participation of the USSR is decisive in the implementation of our policy of investments as well. Between 1976 and 1980 the USSR will supply us machines and equipment totalling approximately six billion leva in foreign exchange. The bulk of the raw material used by industry comes from the USSR. Under the conditions of the acute crisis in the capitalist world it would be hard to imagine our national economy without the supplies of fuel, energy, and raw materials from the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is our main foreign trade partner. Most of our exports are sold in the USSR.

Soviet science has accumulated an invaluable treasury of knowledge, experience, and scientific and technical achievements. A number of scientific directions in our country were created with the direct participation and help of Soviet scientists; 150 Bulgarian scientific and experimental organizations are cooperating with 250 Soviet organizations. In 1977 alone some 830 scientific problems, topics, and assignments are being developed jointly. Every year thousands of specialists from both countries actively cooperate with one another, enriching their knowledge and improving their skills. The importance of the ideas, knowledge, and experience gained from Soviet publications, the widest possible access to which has been offered to practically all Bulgarian citizens is invaluable.

The official friendly visits made this year to the Soviet Union by the Bulgarian party-governmental delegation, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, opened new and even broader possibilities for further comprehensive rapprochement. It was decided in the course of the Moscow talks to engage in the preparation of a general plan for specialization and cooperation in material production sectors between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union through 1990. This plan will be the base for a coordinated structural policy and for the elaboration of the strategic stipulations and specific directions and measures in production specialization and cooperation.

The rapprochement between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union is a bilateral process based on the common desire to follow precisely this way. The CPSU, raised by Lenin in a spirit of internationalism, is doing everything possible to broaden this cooperation which is yielding rich results.

In this respect great recognition is owed to Twice Hero of the Bulgarian People's Republic Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Our party and people feel great respect, love, and gratitude for him as the inspired strategist of Soviet-Bulgarian friendship and all-round cooperation and rapprochement between the two countries, and as the most outstanding political and state leader of our time.

The Bulgarian People's Republic is an unbreakable link in the socialist comity and an active participant in integration processes. CEMA is a powerful accelerator of the socioeconomic development of the fraternal countries. Our reciprocal cooperation is assuming new features and acquiring a richer content. The main problems of raw materials, power, fuel, production specialization and cooperation, and insuring the population with a greater variety of quality goods are resolved through the joint and coordinated efforts of the fraternal countries.

The complex program for socialist economic integration is the accelerator of the processes of cooperation and a powerful motivating force in our common struggle for economic, scientific and technical, and social progress. The plan for multilateral integration measures for 1976-1980 and the decision

to elaborate long-term target programs are considerable contributions to enriching the content of the cooperation and a step toward the single socialist cooperative whose creation was brilliantly foreseen by V. I. Lenin.

The immediate historical problem currently being resolved by the BCP and the Bulgarian people is the building of a developed socialist society. The main aspect of our work is the struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress and July 1976 BCP Central Committee Plenum. The essence of these decisions is the course toward high effectiveness and quality. Naturally, we pay the greatest attention to problems related to upgrading the effectiveness of the national economy and the quality of output.

Our economy is developing at a high and stable pace. Social labor productivity is growing and a systematic course is being pursued toward the discovery and utilization of all national economic reserves and the all-round economy of materials, labor, and financial resources. Extensive work is being done to achieve production concentration and specialization on a national scale and to improve management. The party's social policy, aimed at steadily upgrading the material and cultural living standards of the people, is also being implemented on the basis of intensive economic development. Active participation in integration processes within the socialist comity is considered by the BCP as a decisive prerequisite for the implementation of the strategy of our socioeconomic development at the present stage.

This year all Bulgarian life is proceeding under the sign of the Great October anniversary. At the present time the significance of the life-asserting role of the crystal pure Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, a vivid example of socialist internationalism in action, is being manifested even more vividly. A great deal of varied and meaningful measures are being implemented throughout the country in honor of the anniversary. Talks and meetings with Soviet people are organized in towns and villages, enterprises, and establishments, and the fallen in battles for the sake of Bulgarian-Soviet and Bulgarian-Russian friendship are honored. Days of friendship between okrugs and sister cities in Bulgaria and the USSR are organized along with conferences, festivals, exhibits, quizzes, shows, and concerts.

These anniversary days we pay particular attention to the study and extensive utilization of progressive Soviet experience in all realms of life. In honor of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution a nationwide socialist competition was launched in the country. New initiatives were born in the labor collectives of industry, agriculture, construction, and other sectors. Bulgaria is marching with wide and confident steps to the building of a developed socialist society. This is the most convincing proof of the loyalty of our people to the cause of the revolution and socialism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was the main event of the stormy 20th century. History assigned the proletariat of multinational Russia the noble purpose of being the vanguard of the world's revolutionary movement in

the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress. October 1917 put an end to the omnipotence of capitalism, and accelerated the course of the revolutionary and liberation struggle the world over. Each passing year confirms with new strength the correctness of Lenin's thought to the effect that the more time passes since the memorable October day the clearer the greatness of the proletarian revolution in Russia becomes and the more vivid appears its intransigent international significance. In six decades the ideas and cause of the October Revolution spread beyond the borders of the different continents. The socialist revolution won in a number of countries in Europe, Asia, and Latin America. Many peoples, liberated from colonial slavery, are accepting scientific socialism and have taken the non-capitalist path of development.

Decades of class battles waged by the Bulgarian people against capitalism and fascism and our successes in the building of socialism are inseparably linked with the cause and ideas of the October Revolution. That is why the Great October Revolution is infinitely precious to us and is our priceless property.

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CSO: 1802

SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF RED OCTOBER

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 77 pp 105-109

[Article by Anna Seghers. Published simultaneously in the journal of the SED Central Committee, EINHEIT Nos 10-11]

[Text] Capitalism was mortally wounded by the October Revolution. However firm and stable its structure may seem, it was shaken. Ever since then ever more new cracks have begun to appear here and there.

The October Revolution gave man a new outlook, changed his way of thinking, and taught him to think on a different scale. Even if at first some failed to recognize the full depth and strength of the October Revolution, believing that it had no direct relation to them, the raising of the question nonetheless forced them to take the power of the October Revolution into account. It brilliantly illuminated those events and phenomena which earlier seemed ordinary, revealed the contradictions between the high and the low strata, between the power of the property owners and the exploited, between the poor and the rich, and the chasm between the new and the old social system.

"Ten days which shook the world..." The very fact that this event was profoundly realized and so convincingly and brilliantly illuminated by the young American John Reed is evidence of the close links between the October Revolution and the mutual understanding of the peoples and their international solidarity born of the October Revolution.

Slowly and frequently distorted news about the unprecedented event in the east reached our little town on the left bank of the Rhine, occupied since World War I by the French colonial army. Its soldiers--black, brown and white--guarded the bridge head.

"What idiots!" whispered a little girl playing in the sand in front of the bench on which I was studying for an exam. "Why idiots?" her mother asked. "Here they are protecting the gentlemen, while there they even shoot for them." And again the mother: "Heavens, what doesn't a child's mind remember! What good luck that we left Russia!"



In many European countries at that time, mass strikes and revolutionary actions by the people were spreading like a wave. The beautiful and courageous Russian journalist Larisa Reisner wrote "Gamburg na barrikadakh" [Hamburg at the barricade].

My student comrades, the Hungarians first and foremost, helped me to gain an understanding of what was happening in the world. In their homeland, the revolution was bloodily suppressed with the aid of the international reactionary forces. And then as though for the first time I glimpsed the emaciated laundresses, pushing handcarts with bundles of wet washing away from the Rhine. I heard the angry voices of the political prisoners clearly.

What are now known as mass information media affected us as forcefully as direct conversation. In those times, there were only silent films. Thanks to them, we became familiar through concrete images appearing on the screen with the revolutionary events in Russia, with the life of the young Soviet state: "Konets Sankt-Peterburga" [The End of Saint Petersburg], by Pudovkin and "Bronenosets Potemkin" [The Battleship Potemkin] by Eisenstein reveals the whole to us through details of real life, whether they be pieces of rotten meat crawling with worms or a baby carriage rolling down the steps. And although in Eisenstein's film the subject was the 1905 revolution, the events of those days made us more able to understand the class struggle.

How and why this struggle was carried on we learned from Gladkov's "Tsementa" [Cement] and the first volumes of Sholokhov's "Tikhiy Don" [And Quiet Flows the Dawn], written in the language of the harsh truths of life. "Tikhiy Don," on the whole, was not created according to the usual pattern. Of course, Grigoriy is by no means a positive hero, but his very life, everything experienced by him, leads the reader to a positive conclusion. The more profound the moral degradation of Grigoriy, the more obvious the power of the Soviet system is.

Even after the death of Lenin, the Soviet Union remained a strong and mighty state. A homeless young couple from a poor quarter of Berlin is walking along Unter den Linden past the Soviet Embassy. "There is our home," says the young man, turning to his beloved.

As early as 1922, at the conference in Genoa, the Soviet delegation, headed by Chicherin, proclaimed: "The coexistence of the old social structure and the new one being born is an imperative necessity."

Writers of many countries and nationalities--and not by any means all communists--gathered at the Khar'kov conference.\* In the widest variety of languages, they sang the International. Their call rang out in unison: "Hands off the Soviet Union!" Alas, not all remained true to this slogan. Some, out of fear, others out of a desire for an easy life, yet others due

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\* An international conference of revolutionary writers was held in Khar'kov in 1930--editor's note.

to uncertainty and error. In the Soviet state the struggle began for the restoration, without precedent in difficulty, of the national economy. Electrification, the struggle with illiteracy, the liquidation of the kulaks. Side by side with the new, the old still stood. In some areas there was unprecedented enthusiasm, daring and selflessness on the part of the masses, while in others, devastation still prevailed.

At the same time, we saw a brilliant example of the entirely new attitude toward labor--socialist competition. The dam on the Dnieper was built out from both banks of the river. Both sides reported simultaneously on the results of work done in lighted letters.

Soviet books which have come into our hands largely confirmed our ideas about the young Soviet nation. These books affected us the more profoundly and forcefully, the more hopeless life in the Weimar Republic became in the last years, in the era of crisis and unemployment. "Razgrom" [The Nineteen] by Fadeyev, "Konarmiya" [Mounted Army], by Babelev, Gorky's autobiographical trilogy, Fedin's "Goroda i Gody" [Cities and Years], "Ne Perevodya Dykhaniya" [Without Pausing for Breath], by Ehrenburg, "Bruski" [Bars] by Panferov, and many other works in Soviet literature showed people of the older and younger generations, strong and weak, people agonizingly, and also joyfully, striving toward a single goal--the building of the new world. All those who sincerely desire it find their place therein. "Dvenadtsat'" [The Twelve] by Blok, "Mayakovskiy", and the last verses of Yesenin arouse us. Often our choice was accidental, but the unity of the young people craving to find out as much as possible about the Soviet state was not.

Such was the ideological baggage my compatriots carried into clandestinity or exile, which at first, when Hitler came to power, they thought would be short. No one could then imagine that what Ehrenburg described in one of his books as "the doom of Europe" was in the making.

The powerful Dneproges Hydroelectric Power Plant was finished, the desert watered, the canals laid out. On the screen we saw "Turksib" and we understood that each individual in the Soviet state lives a rich spiritual life. That this country has friends and enemies was entirely obvious. Our comrades who had worked there in the factories and plants talked about the selfless struggle against acts of sabotage they had witnessed. And even so, we could not fully realize at that time the greatness of all that had been happening in Russia.

The civil war in Spain...At the writers' congress in Madrid, which had been subjected to uninterrupted bombing, Annette Fadeyev, Aleksey Tolstoy, Koltsov, and Ehrenburg. The Italian and German fascists turned Spain into the training ground for the future war. Blum, the French prime minister, prohibited the transit through neighboring France of any aid whatsoever to republican Spain. Until his very death, Franco rejoiced in the fact that it was precisely in his country that the counterrevolution had prevailed, a senseless, sinister regime had won out, one under which, while the dictator was alive, a cruel semi-feudal order triumphed.

A state created for peace was born with the October Revolution. All who wanted peace turned their eyes hopefully toward the Soviet state. Those who favored war relied on Hitlerite Germany. The youth in Germany was being prepared for war and trained to engage in ruthless violence against the people. But youth in the Soviet Union was being educated for peace.

The principles on the basis of which the rising generation in the Soviet state was being molded were odious to those who regarded it as most important to extract profits at any price, be it under the conditions of war or peace.

The news that Hitler had attacked the Soviet Union reached us on Ellis Island.\* Even the internees, discussing politics from morning till night, stated unanimously: "And now Hitler's end will come soon!"

That this "soon" would cost the Soviet Union the lives of 20 million people and the annihilation of 1,710 cities and 70,000 villages no one could then foresee.

"Wait for Me." When already in Mexico, we had translated this poem by Simonov. It was also there that I learned that with hundreds of his articles, Il'ya Ehrenburg had joined in the struggle against fascism. Later he was to write in his memoirs that the soldiers aroused in him a feeling of pride, and also drove him to despair. At the beginning of the war, no one wanted to believe that the feeling of class solidarity had been simply suppressed in the soldiers of Hitler's army. It seemed intolerable to shoot at workers. It was difficult to imagine that everyone must learn to hate.

A member of the party leadership in Leningrad, then under blockade and starving, told me later that when we erected a deadly shield against the Germans, at the period most crucial for the country, statements were made to the effect that it would not be suitable for us, the Soviet people, simply to write "the Germans." Despite how different our situation was, we should write "the German Nazis," as the internationalist legacy of the October Revolution would help us win.

The first book about the war I read by myself was "Raduga" [Rainbow] by Vanda Vasilevska. There is no law stipulating the time segment which a writer must choose to depict events he has himself experienced. I learned a great deal from Simonov's clear and merciless war novels published in the 50's. The speech he gave in Berlin many years ago on the responsibilities of the writer made a great impression on me.

In the Soviet zone of occupation, on the soil which is today the territory of the GDR, my compatriots read with happy amazement what we, the people of the older generation, already new in part. These were books banned under Hitlerism, which contributed to the building of the new world. Today these books are

\* An island near New York where Anna Seghers, along with other immigrants, was interned--editor's note.

helping to build a new society in the GDR. I recall, above all, the works of Makarenko. I also think of the books by Vera Panova, who wrote on the development of the war industry beyond the Urals. Or an entirely new and unusual topic--life on a military hospital train. The great books enabled us to familiarize ourselves with the various periods of the war. I shall mention merely Polevoy's works, "Volokolamskoye Shosse" [Volokolamsk Highway] by Aleksandr Bek, and Grossman's "Za Pravoye Delo" [For the Right Cause]. In those years we also became acquainted with the work of writers such as Tynyanov, Bulgakov and Platonov.

Only now, comparing Platonov's "Peschanaya Uchitel'nitsa" [Sandy Teacher], written some decades ago, with today's life on the Caspian, can one clearly understand how much has been accomplished as a result of the October Revolution.

I once met an old comrade. In talking, we asked ourselves the following question: "Why is it that not one of us, even during the most difficult days of the war, ever assumed for a moment that the Soviet Union could be defeated?" We answered together: "It would be difficult to imagine it!"

Was this "merely" a feeling? Yes, it was a feeling, but it was closely linked to awareness. After the October Revolution, three generations of people had learned to read and write. Under Tsarism, many of the nationalities in Russia were on the brink of extinction. Today the USSR is a powerful multinational state in which even the smallest nationalities are developing fruitfully and have their own written language and literature. And, since their works are translated into Russian, they become a structural component of world literature. Proud of his language, Chingiz Aytmatov writes in both Kirgiz and Russian.

When I first went to the Soviet Union, I saw crowds of homeless children everywhere. Now they have long since become kolkhoz members, agronomists, brigade leaders, engineers, men of the arts, or world famous scientists.

Recently, from the deck of a ship sailing the Atlantic we gazed in amazement at an unusual star in the sky. This was no conventional star or planet. It was one of the first Soviet satellites. Today such celestial bodies, blending together science, labor, courage and the warm desire to defend what has been achieved, are no longer a rarity. To imagine that the new social system born of the October Revolution could be shattered is today not only difficult, but impossible. Nothing can shake the force which was born in those "ten days which shook the world."

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CSO: 1802

## INTERNATIONAL THEORETICAL CONFERENCE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 77 pp 110-112

[Text] The topic of the international theoretical conference which was held from 13 to 15 September in Warsaw was "The October Revolution and the Present." The Conference attended by representatives of the theoretical and political journals of the communist and workers parties of the socialist countries and of the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, was sponsored by the editors of the theoretical and political organ of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee NOWE DROGI.

Allow me, said A. Werblan, Polish United Workers Party Central Committee secretary, who spoke at the beginning of the meeting, to welcome warmly on behalf of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee the participants in this international conference on "The October Revolution and the Present," organized through the joint efforts of the theoretical organs of the communist and workers parties of the members of the socialist comity. I greet particularly warmly the delegation of the CPSU, representing the homeland of the Great October Revolution and the party which headed this revolution and is honorably implementing its objectives. Allow me to present to you, dear comrades, the warm greetings and best wishes of Comrade Edward Gierek, first secretary of our party's central committee.

Many ties link the Great October Revolution with the present. Their deeper and more comprehensive study is of tremendous importance to all Marxist-Leninist parties and all fighters for the cause of socialism and peace.

The process which was initiated in October 1917 is of a universal nature and range. Its main characteristic is determined by the freedom aspirations of the working class to eliminate the system of exploitation and coercion and to create a new system based on social justice and democracy. Implementing these aspirations, socialism is introducing deep changes to and ennobling all fields of human life, political and economic life, culture, and international relations. It is having a tremendous influence not only on the destinies of the peoples which have taken the path of socialist development but an ever greater influence in guiding the development of all mankind and in laying its path to the future. We are the fighters for this process and

are participating in its creation. The better and more profoundly we study its laws, trends, and motive forces, the more effective will our struggle and labor become.

Today, celebrating the 60th anniversary of the victorious revolution, the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the theoretical thinking of the communists must master even more profoundly the experience of the revolutionary process. This work is of essential permanent significance. We are doing it not only to celebrate a precious anniversary we profoundly revere. Giving our theoretical and ideological work a broad scale we enrich Marxist-Leninist theory and strengthen the foundations of our ideology and politics. The same aspiration guides the cadres on our party's ideological front. Implementing the directives of the Central Committee, they engage in extensive theoretical and propaganda work dealing with the traditions of the Great October Revolution, the common laws governing the development of socialism and, particularly, the laws governing the building of a developed socialist society. We ascribe tremendous importance to international initiatives in this field and would like to disseminate and utilize their achievements extensively.

The universal laws of socialism, summing up the pioneering of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism and communism in the Soviet Union, enriched by the experience of the entire socialist comity for the past three decades, are of fundamental significance. They are implemented through the specific policies of each party and specific conditions of the individual countries. At the same time, they represent the common ground on the basis of which factual socialism is developing. Our party is convinced of the fact that this theoretical conference will contribute to the broadening of the knowledge of common features and some characteristics of the contemporary revolutionary process as a whole and the development of socialism in particular. Currently this is of particular importance bearing in mind the new stage in the development of the socialist comity, when most of our parties are guiding the processes of building a developed socialist society, and when the processes of economic integration of the fraternal countries are strengthening while their reciprocal cooperation is assuming a new quality in all fields. The importance of the influence of our communist parties is growing also from the viewpoint of the international circumstances. An adamant struggle is being waged for the intensification of detente and for making it irreversible. A struggle is waged against the forces of the cold war and the ideological attacks of anti-communism. The experience of existing socialism in all fields and, particularly, in molding a new quality of life of the working people and the exercise of their social, political, and cultural rights is of tremendous importance to this ideological struggle.

Among the values constituting the ideological heritage of the Great October Revolution, A. Werblan noted, proletarian internationalism plays the main role. In itself the revolution was a triumph of internationalism. To it the solidarity of the international working class was a support and source of strength while its victories strengthened the struggle of the proletariat and the liberation aspirations of all peoples.

The Polish workers movement is linked with the homeland of the October Revolution and Lenin's party with particularly strong and deep international ties. Our movement developed under Lenin's direct influence: Lenin spent two years living and working in our country. Thousands of Poles fought on the barricades of the October Revolution. That revolution twice offered the Polish people a way to independence and freedom. Now, faced with the complex problems of our time, it becomes even more important to educate our society in the spirit of internationalism, inviolable unity between our parties and countries, observance of the principles of internationalism, and counter-action to anything which would weaken their practical embodiment and, above all, to the struggle of nationalism and opportunism, to the right and to the left.

Our party highly values the achievements of the ideological cooperation among the fraternal parties of the members of the socialist comity achieved of late. We entirely and fully share its characteristics as described by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev at the Seventh Congress of our party. He emphasized that this is an alliance "founded not simply on the common governmental interests of a group of countries but that it is a fraternal family of peoples headed by Marxist-Leninist parties, welded by a common outlook, common noble objectives, and relations of comradely solidarity and reciprocal support." Intensifying internationalism and enriching our knowledge of everything that unites us, said A. Werblan, we strengthen the foundations of our joint power.

The conference was addressed by the following heads of delegations: R. Kosolapov (KOMMUNIST, CPSU), M. (Banashak) (EINHEIT--SED), S. Wronski (NOVE DROGI--Polish United Workers Party), N. Iribadzhakov (NOVO VREME--BCP), J. Cesar (NOVA MYSL--Communist Party of Czechoslovakia), G. Chimid (NAMYN AM'DRAL--Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party), S. Voicu (ERA SOCIALISTA--Romanian Communist Party), V. Benke (TARSADALMI SZEMLE--Hungarian Socialist Workers Party), and Dao Duy Tung (TAP CHI CONG SAN--Communist Party of Vietnam).

Also participating in the debates were John Pittman (representing the US Communist Party in the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA), A. Vishnyakov (CPSU), Luis Padilla (representing the Communist Party of Bolivia at the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA), W. Zastawny (Polish United Workers Party), Ye. Bugayev (CPSU), J. Vorholtzer (SED), (Kh. Lkhamdorzh) (Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party), and L. Naumenko (CPSU).

The participants in the conference met and spoke with the party activists and working people of the Warsaw, Torun, Gdansk, and Olsztyn voivodships in the People's Republic of Poland.

The delegation heads were received by E. Babiuch, Polish United Workers Party Central Committee Politbureau member and Central Committee secretary.

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CSO: 1802

## UNITED FAMILY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 77 pp 113-123

[Review by V. Kuz'menko of republic party theoretical and political journals]

[Text] Our homeland is welcoming the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution with outstanding accomplishments in all sectors of the building of communism. The creative energy of the Soviet people and their resolve to implement the great program for the further growth of our society, earmarked at the 25th CPSU Congress, is manifested with new strength in an atmosphere of political and labor upsurge triggered by the nationwide discussion and adoption of the new USSR Constitution and the pre-holiday scope of the socialist competition for the successful implementation of the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

The heroic path of struggle and victories covered by our country under the leadership of the Leninist party in the past six decades has been extensively reflected in the mass information and propaganda media. The republic party theoretical and political journals play an important role in the solution of this responsible and noble problem.<sup>1</sup> In the anniversary year they cover a broad range of problems of political, socioeconomic, and spiritual development of the Soviet society and of the nationwide competition in honor of the great anniversary. The articles they publish describe the historical experience of the Leninist party in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism in our country and the increased role of the Leninist party in the course of the building of communism. Important problems are raised related to the developed socialist society and the solution of the problems of creating the material and technical foundations for communism, the improvement of social relations, and the education of the new man. As a rule, these problems are considered in the journals through the lense of the further intensification of the process of internationalization of all realms of life of the Soviet society.

### The Path of Lenin and the October Revolution

The anniversary materials published by the republic journals are imbued with the thought that the successes of the Soviet people in the building of communism as well as all their revolutionary accomplishments in the past six



decades are the implementation of Lenin's immortal ideas and the continuation of the cause of the Great October Revolution.

All journals are systematically publishing materials dealing with the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution. We find interesting, for example, a selection of articles in KOMMUNIST (Kirgiziya) under the general heading of "Main Results of the Distance Covered" (No 7). Using facts from the life of the country and the republic the most important results of the past 60 years are covered in the articles by Candidate of Economic Sciences K. Isayev "The Soviet Society," Candidate of Philosophical Sciences M. Artykbayev "The Soviet Way of Life," and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences A. Kakeyev "The Soviet Person." The articles describe the advantages of socialism and the Soviet way of life compared with capitalism and the bourgeois way of life and bring to light the outstanding features of the Soviet person--the builder of the new world. They substantively expose the anti-communist falsifications.

The KOMMUNIST MOLDAVII editorial entitled "Lenin's Way" particularly notes that thanks to the fraternal mutual aid among all the peoples of the USSR and, above all, the selfless help of the great Russian people, the once backward outlying areas of Tzarist Russia within a short time became economically developed socialist republics with a high cultural standard. "A vivid example of this," states the journal, is our Soviet Moldavia. "Its development within the family of Soviet nations has not covered a long period of time. Yet, what a tremendous progress it has made!" (No 4). The journal cites extensive factual data showing the way under the Soviet system this previously economically and culturally underdeveloped area became a socialist republic with large-scale modern industry and intensive mechanized agriculture and high level education and culture.

In the article "Building Socialism in the USSR is the Great Exploit of the Soviet People," carried in the journal KAZAKHSTAN KOMMUNISI, Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Tursunbayev writes: "Developed socialism built through the selfless toil of the Soviet people, headed by the communist party, is displayed in front of mankind as a dynamically developing social system in which freedom from exploitation and oppression, the rule by the working people, the development of socialist democracy, the blossoming of culture and the prosperity of the broadest popular masses, as well as the equality and unity of all nations and nationalities find their practical embodiment" (No. 8). Thanks to the advantages of socialism and the party's Leninist national policy the economy of each union republic has developed at a fast pace as can be seen by taking the Kazakh SSR as an example.

The same topic is discussed in KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII which emphasizes in an editorial that the process of further equalization of the levels of economic development of the Soviet republics is continuing in the stage of mature socialism. Belorussia, which has become a republic with a highly developed industry, is a vivid example of this. "Our country," the journal notes, "has a progressive, comprehensively developed, and dynamically growing economy. Under the Soviet system the country's national economy has become

a single plannedly developing, crisis free, powerful economic organism. The tremendous scales and qualitatively new level of output enable us directly to resolve the problems of creating the material and technical foundations for communism. They insure the steady growth of the prosperity of the working people and the achievement of ever new successes in the economic competition with capitalism" (No 3).

The thought that all the successes of our country were achieved under the leadership of the communist party and thanks to the fraternal friendship and mutual aid among the Soviet peoples runs throughout the materials published by the journals. For example, in the article "The Fraternal Aid of the Peoples of the USSR in the Development of the Kirgiz economy," M. Medetbekov, teacher at the Kirgiz Women's Pedagogical Institute imeni V. V. Mayakovskiy, writes: "The selfless aid of the Russian people and, subsequently, the broad mutual aid of all the peoples of the USSR created conditions for the conversion of the Kirgiz people, like the other peoples of the Soviet east, to socialism, bypassing capitalism." Today, the article states, the republic's economic relations extend to the entire country. Its enterprises ship a number of goods to the fraternal republics. In turn, Kirgiziya receives from them a variety of items. The biggest construction projects have drawn thousands of people from various parts of the country. Equipment for such industrial projects built in the Kirgiz SSR comes from Leningrad, Khar'kov, Zaporozh'ye, and enterprises in the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan (KOMMUNIST, No 1, Kirgiziya).

The articles cite excerpts from the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th Party Congress to the effect that like the preceding plans the Tenth Five-Year Plan will be a program for the development of all republics, nations, and nationalities making our great socialist homeland, and the economic and social progress of soviet society also means the progress of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Belorussia and Moldavia, and the republics of Central Asia, the Baltic, and the Transcaucasus. The stipulation in the accountability report to the effect that the integral economic organism which has developed on a country-wide basis is a solid material foundation for the friendship and cooperation among the peoples is brought to light on the basis of the specific data from the various republics in many journal articles.

An editorial in KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA (No 5) states that within the framework of the single economic organism each republic is improving its economy in directions consistent with its natural resources, traditional output, and population labor habits. For example, the Uzbekistan rural workers are trying to raise cotton production to six million tons by 1980. The article notes that joint labor for the sake of the great objectives is uniting ever more closely the builders of communism in an unbreakable multinational family. Their forces are multiplied by reciprocal support vividly manifested in common labor accomplishments. The Soviet people of all nationalities consider as their personal cause the great construction projects of our time--the Baykal-Amur Main Line, the Nurekskaya GES, Atomash and Kam AZ, the Syrdar'ya GRES and the Bratsk-Ust'-Ilim Territorial-Production

Complex. Their joint participation in rebuilding Tashkent after the earthquake was a vivid manifestation of the loyalty of the Soviet people to the ideas of socialist internationalism! Also natural is the fact that the Uzbek reclamation workers are helping in the reorganization of the Nonchernozem in the Russian Federation, while Ukrainian or Kuban' mechanizers, having harvested their own fields, hasten to assist the grain growers of Siberia and Kazakhstan. "This precisely is the Leninist national policy in action. This precisely is the material embodiment of the ideas of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism," the journal concludes.

As though continuing the great discussion about the international fraternity of the Soviet peoples and their solidarity around the Leninist party, in an editorial entitled "The Course of Communist Building" (No 1) KOMMUNIST SOVETSKOY LATVII writes that through their own experience the republic's working people have found out the beneficial power of the friendship among nations: "Thousands of invisible links tie them to all fraternal peoples of the USSR. They exchange with them material and spiritual values and progressive experience, and give one another tremendous help in all fields of economic and cultural construction. Socialist competition among related enterprises in fraternal republics is developing ever more extensively. Rephrasing the words of a familiar song, we could say that friendship among the peoples is building us and helping us to live."

Naturally, paying attention to the further development of national relations under the conditions of a developed socialist society, the republic journals turn to the new aspects of their content and forms. This is discussed, in particular, in the articles by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences K. Bayramov "The Development of National Relations in the USSR" (AZERBAYDZHAN KOMMUNISTI, No 8), Candidate of Historical Sciences P. Zernova "The Leninist National Policy of the CPSU under Developed Socialist Conditions" (KOMMUNIST TATARII, No 7), and others. Above all, notes in this connection KOMMUNIST TATARII, the common aspects of economic life of the Soviet people have strengthened. The functioning and development of the single national economic organism, which has been established throughout the country, based on nationwide property, the article states, represents the economic foundation for the new historical community--the Soviet people--and actively contributes to the development of processes of exchange of experience, and material and spiritual values. It intensifies the reciprocal influence and internationalization of the lives of nations and nationalities.

The Tatar economy is an organic component of the single national economic organism. Here, in accordance with the all-union division of labor and the rational utilization of natural resources machine building, metal processing, petroleum extraction, and chemistry acquired their greatest development. The development of economic relations, the author concludes, contributes to the further strengthening of comradely cooperation and socialist mutual aid which binds the republic's working people with the working people throughout the country.

The topic of the strengthening comity of economic life of the Soviet people is discussed by TURKMENISTAN KOMMUNISTI in the articles by Kh. Muratnazarov "Economic Foundations of the Fraternity and Cooperation among the Peoples of the USSR" (No 6), O. Ataniyazov and A. Redzhebov "The Great Power of the Friendship among the Peoples" (No 4), in the article by M. Sadykov "The Great October in the Fate of the Tadzhik People" in KOMMUNISTI TODZHIKISTON (No 6), and other journals.

The Central Committee decree on the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution emphasizes that real fraternity has been established in our country among toiling people regardless of their nationality, a fraternity welded by common basic interests and objectives and Marxist-Leninist ideology.

No, we are not divided by distance  
We have one destiny and one labor.

It is with these poetic lines that Irakliy Abashidze describes the profound fraternal feelings of the Soviet peoples. It is noteworthy that the verses of the Georgian poet may be found in an issue of the Ukrainian journal on our socialist way of life born of the October Revolution (KOMMUNIST UKRAINY, No 5).

This journal has published noteworthy articles on the economic foundations of the socialist way of life and on the socioeconomic foundations of Leninist national policy. Addressing oneself to such problems is of great importance as this enables us to sum up the broad range of theoretical and specific sociological studies and penetrate more deeply into the mechanisms of many-sided interrelations and cooperation among all nations and nationalities in our country in accordance with their interests.

In the article "The Economic Foundations of the Socialist Way of Life" (No 3) Doctor of Economic Sciences O. M. Vasil'yev writes that the building of developed socialism in the USSR created prerequisites for completing the process of the establishment of a new way of life for all classes and social groups in Soviet society. The undivided domination of socialist ownership, determining the direct subordination of public production to the ever greater satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people, is the objective base for the unity of interests of the entire society. The national, collective, and private interests of the participants in the socialist production process represent a single system. Interest in the results of joint labor contributes to the development of relations of collectivism and comradesly cooperation among the participants in the social production process. This is not only one of the basic features of the socialist economic system but the most general expression of the nature of the socialist way of life.

Concluding, the author emphasizes that the common aspects of the economic life of the nations and the unity of their basic interests and the interests of all classes and social strata are expressed in the economic policy of the CPSU which is international by its very nature.

Materials carried by other party journals deal with the socialist way of life and its economic foundations. For example, LENINYAN UGIOV carried an article by P. Safyan "On the Soviet Way of Life" (No 5); KOMMUNISTI TODZHIKISTON published an article by M. Kamilov "The Socialist Way of Life is an Achievement of the Great October Revolution" (No 8).

"Socioeconomic Foundations of the Leninist National Policy," is the title of an article by Candidate of Economic Sciences L. K. Beschastnyy. He writes that this policy made possible the equalization and substantial uplift of the economy of all union republics and naturally led to the creation of a single national economic complex developing on the basis of a single state plan: "The communist party invariably proceeds from the objective need properly to combine international with national interests. Here the determining role is played by the common interests expressed by the Soviet socialist state which embodies the will and interests of all working people, focusing in the all-national property all public material wealth and the country's labor and natural resources which are the wealth of the Soviet people" (KOMMUNIST UKRAINY, No 2).

On the eve of the anniversary of the Great October Revolution the republic journals are turning to the topic of the international unity of the Soviet people as an indicator of the level of development of socialist national relations and their consistency with the stage of mature socialism. For example, in its editorial "Shoulder to Shoulder" (No 8), KOMMUNIST ESTONII writes that in the course of completing the building of socialism and reaching the stage of maturity the friendship among the peoples, constantly enriching itself and acquiring new qualitative features, has become the basis of international unity which precisely expresses the essence of the Soviet people as an international community. "On this level," the journal notes, "there exist factors of exceptionally great importance such as the combination of economic possibilities and resources of union republics within a single national economic complex; profound changes in the social structure of our society, its constituent classes and social groups, nations, and nationalities, and the development of processes leading to the establishment of the homogeneousness of the society; the growth of the state of dictatorship of the proletariat into a single state of the whole people; the victory of Marxist-Leninist ideology and the assertion of a socialist social awareness; and the completion of the shaping and the reaching of a high level of development of Soviet multinational culture. On this basis, in the course of the building of socialism and communism, a new historical community has developed--the Soviet people."

An article carried by KOMMUNIST MOLDAVII (No 2) discusses international contacts as an important factor for the inviolable unity of the peoples of the USSR. Its author, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences F. Babeyko, considers as a specific manifestation of the intensifying process of international contacts the all-round exchange of production experience, the achievements of science and culture, cadres, planned location of production forces, and the natural population migration from one republic to another.

Cooperation in the realm of economics plays a particular role in contacts among Soviet peoples. "The Leninist national policy in this area," the author states, "has the following objective: on the basis of the full consideration of the economic interests of Soviet nations and nationalities, adamantly to promote a policy of factual equality among them; properly to combine the interests of the entire state with those of each republic; comprehensively to develop and intensify cooperation and specialization of the national economies of Soviet republics as components of the single economy of the USSR; to develop systematically natural resources, locate efficiently production forces throughout the entire territory of the country, promote the further advancement of the socialist division of labor, and systematically improve and develop the ways and means of cooperation and mutual aid among republics."

A number of articles carried by the journals discuss the important problem of the political foundations of the further all-round rapprochement and blossoming of socialist nations and nationalities in our country. Thus, KOMMUNIST TATARII notes that the united Soviet state of the whole people is such a foundation. While the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat was one of the most important factors for the voluntary and equal unification of the peoples for the sake of resolving the national problem and surmounting the past backwardness of nations and nationalities, the state of the whole people is directing its effort to insuring the all-round blossoming and gradual rapprochement of the nations and reaching the full social homogeneousness of the Soviet people through the creation of a communist society. "In the mature socialist society," states the article "The Leninist National Policy of the CPSU under the Conditions of Developed Socialism," "the further development of statehood means the ever fuller embodiment and manifestation of the interests of all the peoples of our country, the type of organic combination of the international with the national factors in the life of the Soviet society in which the international principle plays a leading role" (No 7). Naturally, this does not belittle the national statehood of the peoples of the USSR or its national forums, the journal states. It is a question of the systematic strengthening of the international foundations of national statehood and, consequently, of improving the structure and methods of activity of both all-union as well as national-republic organs.

Similar conclusions are reached by KOMMUNIST ESTONII in discussing the correlation between the international and national factors in the life of Soviet society. "The interaction and interdependence of the international and national factors in the life of the nations and nationalities of our country, and the changes in the ratios among such factors, occurring not in the direction of the restriction of the national by the international factor but the profound and all-round penetration of the international within the national and the conversion of the elements of the national into the international factors, elements of universally significant nature, constitute the dialectics of the further strengthening of the international unity of the Soviet people. This unity is manifested in the economic, sociopolitical, and spiritual realms of life and in the development of the entire fraternal family of nations. At the same time, these areas are also the base, the main foundation for strengthening the international unity of the Soviet people as a new historical human community" (No 8).

In order to strengthen the international unity of the Soviet people, the journal emphasizes, it is important to surmount both the nihilistic attitude toward national values as well as their exaggerated emphasis. The editorial shows that under the conditions of contemporary Soviet reality the common aspect of the national cultures is increased in terms of their content and ideological and social foundations. KOMMUNIST ESTONII cites the conclusion drawn by L. I. Brezhnev in his report on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the USSR to the affect that "our culture is socialist in content and in terms of the main direction of its development; it is varied in terms of its national forms and internationalist in spirit and nature. Therefore, it is an organic blend of the spiritual values created by all the peoples."

As articles on this topic carried by the republic journals show international unity is an essential characteristic of the new historical community and, at the same time, a most important factor for the progress of the Soviet people in the course of the building of communism.

The development of the nations under socialism is inseparably linked with their rapprochement, writes Candidate of Historical Sciences Dz. Shmidre in the article "The Solution of the National Problem is a Great Achievement of Socialism" (KOMMUNIST SOVETSKOY LATVII, No 6). The blossoming of the nations and their rapprochement are based on the objective process of internationalization of social life. Under capitalism this takes place under the affect of the laws governing the exploiting system, as a result of which the strong nations subordinate to themselves the weaker ones. In our socialist society internationalization is, first of all, the basis for the unification and rapprochement of nations; secondly, it is a factor in molding a single socialist economy, international culture, and spiritual commonwealth of members of different nationalities; thirdly, it is the basis for the development and blossoming of the nations. At the mature socialist stage national socialist consolidation reaches a new level in which the development of the nations becomes ever more closely interwoven with the further unification and consolidation of the multinational Soviet people as a new historical community.

Noting that in our country the factual inequality among nations has been eliminated, the author points out that socialism offers a possibility for the successful development not only of once backward but also other outlying areas which had reached a relatively higher level of development such as, for example, the Baltic republics. Thus, in the post-war period, having received the necessary financial and material resources from the union fund, Latvian industry developed considerably faster than the country's industry as a whole. Whereas compared with 1940 the over all volume of industrial output in the country had increased 15.7 times by 1974, in Latvia it had increased 35 times.

Nevertheless, it would be erroneous to claim, the article states, that all disparities in the level of economic and cultural development of nations and nationalities have already been surmounted in the country. They still

exist, for example, in the level of labor productivity, availability of cadres, correlation between the population of town and country, percentage of specialists with higher education, and so on. However, the author emphasizes, these differences are not determining. The quality characteristics which determine the economic, political, and cultural life of the peoples and their socio-class structure are the same, i.e., common.

In the course of the building of communism on the basis of a single planned socialist economy and extensive initiative on the part of the republics, the party calls for continuing the further equalization of their development levels. The Tenth Five-Year Plan is an important landmark along this way. At the October 1976 CPSU Central Committee Plenum Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev said: "Our five-year plan is a Leninist policy of friendship among the peoples translated into the language of economics." This extensive formula reflects the fact that this five-year plan as well the development of the Soviet economy will take into consideration the specific characteristics and needs of all union and autonomous republics, insuring their harmonious development and common upsurge to the new heights of social progress.

The study of the general qualitative characteristics which determine the socio-class structure of nations and nationalities in our country and their economic, political, and cultural life at the mature socialist stage is becoming ever more topical. As we know, the party defines the developed socialist society as a society gradually developing into a communist one. This also constitutes the main direction and historical prospects of the development of social, including national, relations. Codifying the mature national relations in our country, the new Soviet constitution defines the USSR as a single union multinational state rallying all nations and nationalities with a view to the joint building of communism. Consequently, the improvement of socialist social relations, including national relations, and their reorganization into communist relations are not questions of the distant future but of current practice.

The articles carried by the republic journals do not always provide a profound elaboration of such not only theoretical but practical problems. Yet, the interpretation of problems of national relations should be in step with the objective nature of the process of further rapprochement among nations and nationalities in our country. The party proceeds from the fact that this process is dictated by the entire course of development of the Soviet society and should neither be restrained nor accelerated. Addressing the 4 October 1977 USSR Supreme Soviet Session, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "The friendship among the Soviet peoples is inviolable. In the course of the building of communism their spiritual life undergoes a steady rapprochement and reciprocal enrichment. Yet, we would be in danger should we undertake artificially to accelerate this objective process of rapprochement among nations. V. I. Lenin persistently cautioned us against it and we shall not ignore his legacy."



The creative interpretation of the problems related to the evolution of socialist social relations into communist social relations can not be limited merely to the achievements in this field. It presumes the need to consider their dynamics and prospects. Let us take as an example the important stipulation formulated by the party on the Soviet people as a new historical community. The features inherent in this social and international community are extensively discussed in articles, pamphlets, and books. In addition to this strictly necessary propaganda, we must also consider such features from the viewpoint of the theoretical interpretation of their further development in accordance with the internationalist ideals of the Soviet people who are building communism.

Usually, discussing the process of development of national relations the need is pointed out to take into consideration the entire set of pertinent interrelated problems. Yet, many articles, even those extensively treating this topic, precisely lack this comprehensive approach which enables us to sum up facts on a higher level and establish the dialectical links between the general and the individual. In this respect the overall study of the process of national relations which enables us to see correctly the nature of the parts of the entity and the nature of relations among them is a fruitful one. The inadmissibility of adopting a simplistic approach to this matter is seen in the party documents which point out, for example, that "the Soviet people are not the simple sum total of nations," that "the economy of the Soviet Union is not the sum total of the economies of the individual republics and oblasts," and that our socialist multinational culture is "an organic alloy of the spiritual values created by all the nations." All this reminds us of the importance of properly understanding the correlation between the individual parts and the entity, and the mechanism of their combination as we study the process of ever greater internationalization of all realms of life of the developed socialist society.

The articles published by the republic theoretical and political journals on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution convincingly prove the CPSU conclusion that the national problem as we have inherited it from the past has been resolved fully and definitively. Yet, they once again show the correctness of the party's stipulation that in the mature socialist society as well national relations are a reality which, while steadily developing, formulates new problems and tasks. Guided by the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and other party documents, the republic journals constantly turn to such problems and tasks, discussing them in the interest of further strengthening of the international unity of the Soviet people and of the successful building of communism in our country.

#### Welcoming the Great Anniversary Properly

Preparations for the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution gave a powerful impetus to the constructive energy of the Soviet people, inspiring them to new labor accomplishments for the good of the homeland. The

decisions of the May 1977 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the reports submitted by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the Plenum and the extraordinary 7th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the adoption of the new Constitution raised even higher the patriotic movement of the working people in honor of the great anniversary, bringing to life new initiatives in the struggle for the ahead of schedule implementation of the plans and pre-holiday pledges.

In an editorial entitled "The Great Charter Inspires," KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII writes: "The discussion and adoption of the new USSR Constitution in the year marking the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution gives the Soviet people new strength and triggers new energy. This noteworthy act will become an important landmark in the political history of our homeland and a priceless contribution of the communist party and the Soviet people to the building of communism. The implementation of the stipulations of the fundamental law of the USSR raises to a qualitatively new level the entire political, governmental, and economic activities in the country" (No 8).

In special sections entitled "Welcoming the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution," "Toward the October Anniversary," "The 60th Anniversary of the October Revolution--Mass Enthusiasm and Creativity," and others, in 1977 the republic journals published a number of articles on the labor upsurge in the country and the scope of the all-union pre-holiday competition.

Socialist competition is a powerful force created by the October Revolution, emphasizes the journal KOMMUNIST MOLDAVII (No 3) in an editorial. The victory of the October Revolution, it states, created objective conditions for the appearance and development of new forms of social relations based on comradesly mutual aid and cooperation among people free from exploitation, and for the full manifestation of and comparison among the keenness of wit and abilities of millions of working people. Starting with Lenin's communists subbotniks, the torch of labor patriotism is being passed on from one hand to another. The forms of the competition change and it is subjected to quality improvements. However, the total dedication of forces, brains, and energies to the common cause, and the inspired and selfless toil bringing the people happiness and satisfaction remain the same.

Noting that 60 years of experience in building a new society convincingly show the tremendous role of the socialist competition in developing the economic and communist education of the people, the journal writes that the party's appeal addressed to millions of people--"work better, upgrade effectiveness and quality!"--triggered a warm response through all the country. The competitors focus their attention on the main problems whose solution largely determines the strengthening of the economic power of the Soviet state, the steady upsurge of the people's prosperity, and the development of the socialist way of life. This includes, above all, a substantial increase in public production effectiveness, and quality of the work and of output with the strict fulfillment and over fulfillment of monthly, quarterly, and annual plans and of the five-year plan as a whole, growth of labor

productivity, improved utilization of production assets, strict observance of a regimen of economy, and accelerated pace of scientific and technical progress.

The journal AZERBAYDZHAN KOMMUNISTI regularly carries special sections entitled "Socialist Competition and Progressive Experience," and "Portraits of Leading Five-Year Plan Workers." Their materials describe the labor activeness of workers, kolkhoz members, and intellectuals in the republic in the anniversary year, and disseminate the experience of leading collectives. Thus, in its issue No 9 the journal carried an article by the famous milkmaid and deputy to the republic's Supreme Soviet M. Kurbanova "Retain the Altitude." Citing vivid cases she describes the role of the October Revolution in the life of the women of Azerbaydzhan. It was only thanks to the victory of the October Revolution that they gained their freedom and were able to become equal members of society and actively participate in governmental affairs. M. Kurbanova warmly describes the labor accomplishments of her collective in honor of the noteworthy anniversary and describes the way it is fulfilling its pre-October socialist pledge.

In editorials entitled "Toward New Heights in the Anniversary Year!" (No 3) and "Let us Enhance the Creative Activeness of the Working People" (No 4), and in an editorial article entitled "Labor Education Must Serve the Shaping of the New Man" (No 2) as well as in many other articles SAKARTVELOS KOMMUNISTI describes the way a communist attitude toward labor is asserting itself in a republic inhabited by members of over 80 nations and nationalities, how responsibility for the quality of the work is growing and a spirit of labor rivalry and comradely mutual aid is strengthening in the competition in honor of the 60th anniversary of Great October Revolution.

In the section "Implementing the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress" KOMMUNIST (Kirgiziya) carries articles describing the way party members and all working people in the republic are implementing the congress decisions and fulfilling their socialist pledges. The authors are workers of party and soviet organs, and economic and public organizations, and scientists, writers, and journalists.

"Raising Higher the Banner of Socialist Competition" is the title of an editorial carried by TURKMENISTAN KOMMUNISTI (No 6). A section of the journal is dedicated to improving the style and methods of competition. It has carried articles by G. Kurbanov "For the Effectiveness of the Socialist Competition" (No 3), N. Karayev "Shock Labor in Honor of the Anniversary" (No 4), and others. This important topic is also discussed by KOMMUNISTI TODZHIKISTON which carries the article by N. Sulaymanov "Competition is the Live Creativity of the Masses" (No 6) and the editorial "Let Us Upgrade the Educational Role of Labor Collectives" (No 3). An editorial carried by LENINYAN UGIOV (No 3) discusses the competition among the working people in the republic for fulfilling ahead of schedule the planned assignments of the second year of the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

In an editorial entitled "Let Us Welcome Properly the Anniversary of the Soviet State," KOMMUNIST SOVETSKOY LATVII (No 5) describes the tremendous role of the socialist competition in finding reserves for the growth of labor productivity and upgrading the effectiveness of output and the quality of our entire work, particularly emphasizing its new features: "Today it is inseparably linked with the scientific and technical revolution and is focusing to an ever greater extent on the problems of effectiveness and quality. It is aimed at achieving the best possible end results for the national economy. It is closely linked with the counterplans. It is assuming an ever greater role in the education of the new man, contributing to his political and moral growth." In this connection the journal points out that the competition between the Latvian and Estonian working people is intensifying and becoming ever more dynamic with every passing year, and so is the competition between the rayons in the republic with the rayons of Moscow Oblast. The competition, the journal concludes, is a beneficial influence on the solution of the common economic and social problems. This benefits the great cause of the friendship among the peoples and of the international education of the working people.

The journal considers socialist competition one of the important features of our way of life. It increases the material possibilities for steadily improving the prosperity of the people by contributing to the progress of social production and the growth of output and the improvement of quality. At the same time socialist competition enables us to resolve the problem formulated at the 25th Party Congress of upgrading further the effectiveness of all educational work. The experience of the party organizations described by the journal clearly confirms the role of the socialist competition as an irreplaceable means for the labor, moral, ideological-political, patriotic, and internationalist education.

An editorial in KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA notes that joint constructive toil is one of the effective factors in the education of the Soviet people in a spirit of internationalism. That is why it is so important for all Soviet people profoundly to realize that increasing the contribution of each collective and individual worker to the multiplication of the national wealth is a specific manifestation of the implementation of the civic, patriotic, and international duty. "The international unification of the Soviet people," the journal writes, "is helped by the socialist competition which solidly links in a labor rivalry the working people of our republic with the working people of a number of oblasts and cities in the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, and the Central Asian and other republics. It strengthens the fraternal friendship among the peoples of the USSR and triggers the deep conviction that the successes in the building of communism are achieved through the joint efforts of the working people of all nationalities" (No 5).

This feature of the competition at the present stage, related to the further internationalization of the economic life of our country, is covered by other journals as well. Thus, in the section entitled "In the Great Family of Free

and Equal Peoples," KAZAKHSTAN KOMMUNISI carries a number of articles describing the blossoming of the economy and culture of the republics in the USSR. The authors include party workers and men of science and culture of Kazakhstan and of the fraternal union republics. For example, the article by U. Suleymenov, first secretary of the Pakhtaaral'skiy Rayon Party Committee, Chimkentskaya Oblast, Kazakh SSR, entitled "Competition among Cotton Growers" (No 8) describes the labor competition among cotton growing rayons of five fraternal republics. Delegations of cotton growers of traditionally competing rayons in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Kirgiziya, and Turkmeniya meet regularly, exchange experience, discuss vital cotton growing problems, and point out in a comradely way shortcomings in the work.

The articles carried by republic journals on problems of the socialist competition are interesting also because they convincingly depict the importance of the comprehensive solution of socioeconomic problems and of the education of the new man.

In this respect the experience of the socialist competition between the working people of Belorussia and Lithuania is instructive. Competition contracts had been signed on the republic level since 1973. This anniversary year such contracts have been signed with the labor collectives of the Lithuanian SSR by workers of 650 enterprises and associations, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, organizations and establishments, 52 ministries and departments, and working people of 35 cities and rayons in the Belorussian SSR. This is described in an article by P. M. Masherov, CPSU Central Committee Politbureau candidate member and first secretary of the Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee, entitled "A Powerful Booster for the Creative Toil of Fraternal Peoples," simultaneously published in KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII (No 8) and the Lithuanian KOMMUNIST (No 8).

Pointing out that the power of this traditional competition is proving itself ever more substantively in the growing popular initiatives of the working people of both republics, the author writes: "We note with great satisfaction that this competition among fraternal peoples is acquiring ever greater dynamism and encompassing a broad range of problems related to production, social development, and communist education. Its extensive and intensive development is a visible result and vivid indicator of the increased internationalization of social life under developed socialist conditions, the growing range of international economic relations, and the ever more intensive reciprocally enriching exchange of material and spiritual values."

The author proves that the competition between the two republics is one of the rich streams of the all-union socialist competition which enables us to find new ways for upgrading social labor productivity and improving work indicators, quality above all. The main distinguishing feature of the competition in which the very essence of this mass movement created by socialism is manifested is the ever broader, varied, and international exchange of experience and knowledge, and of the most effective means of work and economic management.

Important in terms of this question is the conclusion drawn in an article discussing the significance of the competition among working people in fraternal republics: "This is a permanently active factor which multiplies our efforts and accelerates and facilitates the solution of the great problems of the building of communism formulated by the party. Unquestionably, its significance far exceeds the framework of joint production-economic activities. The competition carries within itself and strengthens in the minds and hearts of our people the type of values which can not always be measured by some purely quantitative indicators. It creates the valuable feeling of closeness, collective concern, and mutual responsibility for the common development of the project. It contributes to the blossoming of and rapprochement and friendship among our peoples and to strengthening the international awareness of the working people. In other words, it strengthens the very foundations of the Soviet socialist way of life."

The developed socialist society is a society of high level organization, idea-mindedness, and conscientiousness of the Soviet people--patriots and internationalists. On the eve of the anniversary, naturally, the journals pay attention also to problems of the patriotic and internationalist education of the working people.

The articles carried by the journals cover the practical experience of the party organizations in improving the ways and means of this work under contemporary conditions. For example, KOMMUNIST TATARII (No 6) carried an article on this topic by G. Kasimov, secretary of the Pestrechinskiy Rayon Party Committee and Candidate of Historical Sciences V. Zinov'yev entitled "International and Patriotic Education." KOMMUNIST (Lithuania) carries an article by V. Petukh, first secretary of the Vil'nyusskiy Rayon Party Committee, Communist Party of Lithuania, "Internationalist Education of Cadres" (No 1) and by Yu. Ul'ba, first secretary of the Shilutskiy Rayon Party Committee "We are Raising Patriots-Internationalists" (No 2). These topics were discussed in articles by D. Kukhalashvili, party committee secretary at the Georgian Politechnical Institute imeni V. I. Lenin, entitled "Ideological and Educational Work is Our Main Task" (SAKARTVELOS KOMMUNISTI, No 4), S. Chilingaryan, "Raising the Youth in a Spirit of Internationalism," and A. Karchmit "We Must Love our Homeland with All Our Heart" (LENINYAN UGIOV, Nos 3 and 5).

These and other journal articles note that thanks to the party's consistent policy internationalism has become a norm of behavior for millions of toiling people of all nationalities in our country. A new feeling--all-national pride--has developed and strengthened in the Soviet people. It is manifested in the fact that the Soviet person, whatever his nation or nationality, acts as a citizen of the single Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, enjoying equal rights and having equal obligations. The common features of the Soviet people are loyalty to the cause of communism, high labor and socio-political activeness, intolerance of exploitation and oppression, and national and racial prejudices, and class solidarity with the working people of all countries.

The article by Candidate of Historical Sciences A. Frolova and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences M. Khayrullina "Soviet Patriotism--an Inviolable Feature of the Builder of Communism" is carried by KOMMUNIST TATARII (No 7). Stating that Soviet patriotism, being the deep conviction and new form of behavior of the working people, rallies within a single family all classes and social groups and nations and nationalities in our country, and that this strengthening unity is a guarantee for new victories for the great cause of the October Revolution, the authors write: "The essential features of Soviet patriotism are not the specifically national ones but the all-Soviet, the international features. The working people of all nationalities are proud of their homeland--the harbinger of the new era in the history of mankind--and of the inspired toil of millions of people who built a developed socialist society and established an unbreakable alliance among many nations. They are proud of the achievements of science and the blossoming of culture--nationalist in form and socialist in content--and of the new way of life whose most profound meaning is that everything is done for the good of man, for the sake of man."

Subjectivism is alien to the truly Leninist style of work which has been established in our party and mature socialist society. The Leninist style presumes high exactingness. It excludes manifestations of complacency. The party members and all Soviet people, however proud they may be of their successes and accomplishments do not ignore existing difficulties and unresolved problems even during the greatest of holidays. In this they follow the legacy of the founder of the communist party and leader of the October Revolution. "The best way to celebrate the anniversary of the Great Revolution," V. I. Lenin wrote on 5 November 1921, "is to focus the attention on its unresolved problems" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 44, p 221).

Covering the practical experience gained in the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress by the party organizations and labor collectives, the republic journals also pay attention to omissions and shortcomings in economic and educational work and help in the discovery of reserves leading to the more successful implementation of the socioeconomic program formulated at the congress.

The party indicated clear ways for achieving the levels earmarked for the Tenth Five-Year Plan, states the editorial, "Right-Flank Men of the Five-Year Plans" KOMMUNIST UKRAINY (No 2). This means, above all, upgrading further production effectiveness and quality. Today this is the slogan of both economic activities and socialist competition. The course of effectiveness and quality means struggle for upgrading labor productivity. Realizing that here mechanization and automation of production processes, reduction of manual and unskilled labor, and technological improvements play an important role, the leading collectives are directing their efforts to the solution of these problems. Yet, the facts prove that the plans for new equipment are still not being fulfilled everywhere. Guiding the socialist competition, the journal writes, the party organizations must increase their control over the implementation of the planned measures and comprehensively strengthen the links between science and production.

Raising the question of mobilizing the collectives to the struggle for the strengthening of labor discipline and economy and thrift, KOMMUNIST UKRAINY emphasizes the importance of the all-round dissemination of progressive experience by the right-flank men of the five-year plan--enterprises and working people who have displayed models of shock labor: "The task of ministries and department, party organizations, trade unions, and economic managers is efficiently to organize planned work for the utilization of the best achievements and progressive experience. Here any manifestation of formalism is inadmissible. We must hold strictly liable those who try to work as in the past, who seek "objective" reasons to justify their lack of initiative and stagnation. Each enterprise, association, sector, and oblast must convert from individual and uncoordinated measures to a scientific system for the determination, dissemination, and application of progressive experience, of the suggestions of inventors and rationalizers, and of the achievements of science and technology."

Such a practical approach to the assessment of achievements and principled criticism of existing shortcomings and finding ways for their elimination are characteristic of the journals. Thus, in an editorial entitled "Competition among Millions," KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA (No 3) writes of the good tradition of the Soviet people to welcome the anniversary of the October Revolution with new successes in their work and the fact that with every passing year this tradition is becoming ever stronger in accordance with the scope of our constructive work and ever more complex national economic tasks. Addressing itself to the practical utilization of progressive experience, the journal notes its role as the biggest reserve for labor productivity. The main concern of party, soviet, trade union, and komsomol organs and economic managers is to see to it that initially the majority and, subsequently, all working people learn to work the way production leaders and innovators work. However, not everywhere is the dissemination of what is new and progressive approached with the necessary attention, skill, and plan as required by the Tenth Five-Year Plan. Some managers try to ignore already tried initiatives but are ready to promote their "own" initiative even though it might be less effective. Such an attitude to the work should be suitably assessed by the party.

The journal substantiates the growing significance of the broad and rapid dissemination of progressive experience by the fact that "to begin with, the cost of an experiment duplicated on the tremendous scale of the modern economy, is rising steadily; secondly, in the period of the scientific and technical revolution the time within which today's progressive experience retains its national economic value and is not voided by a new and even more advanced practice is getting shorter. Therefore, the competition could be considered fruitful only when the utilization of progressive experience and the achievements of science and technology are organized efficiently."

Addressing itself to the experience of the socialist competition, in an editorial entitled "Nationwide Competition in Honor of the Outstanding Anniversary of the October Revolution," KOMMUNIST ESTONII (No 3) notes that the new



tasks require a critical assessment of accomplishments. The lines which we intend to reach can not be reached only through customary ways and means and management and organization of the competition. Naturally, the journal goes on to say, an important remaining task is the further expansion of the competition and the growth of its mass nature. However, today nearly all working people are involved in the competition and the involvement of new participants can not take place on a big scale. The further development of the competition and its increased role in society will be based on improvements in the qualitative characteristics, in surmounting elements of formalism in its organization, in upgrading the skills of the workers, their conscientiousness, and discipline, and in improving the organization of the work.

The important problems of upgrading labor productivity not only through new equipment or insulation of new capital assets but through improvements in the organization of the work are formulated in the article "The Labor Step of the Republic" (KOMMUNIST SOVETSKOY LATVII, No 8). Its author, E. Abolin', deputy chairman of the Gosplan of the Latvian SSR, describes the great economic results of the systematic application of measures for the scientific organization of the work. Practical experience gained by the republic in recent years proves that the scientific organization of labor insures an almost equal growth of labor productivity as does the installation of new equipment. One ruble invested in the scientific organization of labor results in approximately 2.3 rubles of economy. The use of progressive ways and means of work is an inexhaustible reserve for upgrading labor productivity. Each ruble spent for such purposes saves over three rubles. Unfortunately, such reserves for upgrading labor effectiveness remain clearly underutilized.

The author states that not all heads of ministries, departments, and enterprises properly assess the effectiveness of recommendations related to the scientific organization of labor. We must radically change our attitude toward the use of a scientific organization of labor at each enterprise. Economic managers and party organizations must struggle more energetically for the limination of shortcomings in this matter.

As was emphasized at the October 1976 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the quality of the work at all levels of the national economy becomes particularly topical in connection with the increased complexity of the production process and the intensification and development of intrasectorial and intersectorial relations. This aspect of the problem is treated in the editorial "The Struggle for Quality is a Project of the Whole People" carried by KOMMUNIST TATARII (No 8). Emphasizing that socialist production relations create exceptionally favorable prerequisites for the unification of the efforts of different collectives in the production of high quality goods, the journal points out that the competition among related enterprises, aimed at insuring the high quality of the end product, widespread in our country, is one of the best manifestations of such joint efforts. This form of competition has been adopted by many enterprises in the republic. Creatively utilizing the available experience, many collectives of enterprises and scientific institutions are achieving tangible results on the basis of the utilization of effective quality control systems. However, this is far from being the case everywhere.

Discussing in this connection commodity standardization and certification, and improvements in the systems used to encourage quality, the editorial reminds of the importance of using a variety of ways and means of ideological and educational work and of such a powerful method for upgrading the quality of the work as socialist competition. "Our society," the journal writes, "offers extensive possibilities for the manifestation of initiative, creative search and active utilization of personal reserves by every working person. In this connection it is important to support promptly the truly valuable initiatives and develop in the collective the type of moral and political climate which contributes to the revelation of abilities and the display of initiative in the successful implementation of production plans, the further growth of industrial and agricultural output, and upgraded effectiveness and quality."

The entire heroic history of the Soviet people and their combat victories and labor accomplishments are inseparably linked with the increased leading role of the communist party. This thought imbues the articles published by the journals. They emphasize the ever growing influence of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress on the life of the Soviet society. They note that the revolutionary spirit and ideas of the congress live in the daily work of the party and entire people, and in the patriotic initiatives directed at achieving new successes in the development of the economy, science, culture, and improved people's prosperity, and the proper welcoming of the anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

The articles and other materials carried by the republic theoretical and political journals in the anniversary year recreate the creative labor atmosphere of the nationwide preparations for the great holiday. They describe the way, closely united around the Leninist party, the single family of the peoples of our country is confidently marching toward new heights in the building of communism.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. A total of 14 theoretical and political journals of the central committees of communist parties of union republics are published in our country, as well as the theoretical and political journal of the Tatarskaya Oblast CPSU Committee. KOMMUNIST UKRAINY, UZBEKISTON KOMMUNISTI (KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA), KOMUNISTAS (KOMMUNIST--Lithuania), KOMUNISTUL MOLDOVEY (KOMMUNIST MOLDAVII), PADOM'YU LATVIYAS KOMUNISTS (KOMMUNIST SOVETSKOY LATVII), EESTI KOMMUNIST (KOMMUNIST ESTONII), and TATARSTAN KOMMUNISTY (KOMMUNIST TATARII) come in two editions: in the language of the nation after which the republic has been named and in Russian; KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII is published in Russian; KAZAKHSTAN KOMMUNISI (KOMMUNIST KAZAKHSTANA), SAKARTVELOS KOMUNISTI (KOMMUNIST GRUZII), AZERBAYDZHAN KOMMUNISTI (KOMMUNIST AZERBAYDZHANA), KOMMUNIST (Kirgiziya), KOMMUNISTI TODZHIKISTON (KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA), TURKMENISTAN KOMMUNISTI (KOMMUNIST TURKMENISTANA), and LENINYAN UGIOV (PO LENINSKOMU PUTI, Armenia) are published in the languages of the nations after which the republics have been named.

## FEATURES OF THE SOVIET CHARACTER

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 77 pp 124-125

[Review by Vladimir Chachin of the book "Monolog Sovremennika" [Monologue of our Contemporary], Politizdat, Moscow, 1977, 287 pages]

[Text] On the eve of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution the characters of this book share sincerely and frankly their thoughts on the distance covered. Speaking of themselves they also speak of the main aspects of life--labor and their fellow workers. Their thoughts, expressing the thoughts and feelings of the entire people, reveal the features of the Soviet character, of our socialist way of life.

We find in each monologue concern for making the fatherland richer and more powerful with every passing day. This is the content of the expectations of the people, their dreams and plans. This is the main concern of the Leninist party and the Soviet state. What could be more beautiful, to understand with one's entire heart that one and one's work are needed by the people, the country.

It would be simply impossible to describe each monologue in the collection. I shall mention individual particularly expressive parts.

Following are the words of Nikolay Vasil'yevich Metelkin, head of a blacksmith brigade at the electrical machines plant imeni Vladimir Il'ich, delegate to the 25th CPSU Congress: "What do we talk about when seeing someone again after a long time? The first question is how are you? The second mandatory question is where do you work? You live and you work. These words stand side by side, for the way your work goes so will your life." To this noted blacksmith the concepts of "life" and "work" are inseparable. He further explains the kind of work he means and for whom he means it: "Should someone do something very good the people would say that he did it as though for himself. This is understandable, for no one has yet worked poorly for himself . . . how to teach a person to apply himself for the others as well as for himself? Obviously, the conclusion is the following: to teach him to look at everything around him as though he owns it. Then work 'for others' would mean 'work for himself'."

That is what they think at the plant imeni Vladirim Il'ich and it is no accident that it was precisely that enterprise that launched the initiative of "A Worker's Guarantee for a Quality Five-Year Plan." To the personnel of the Il'ich plant the interests of the country are their own. That is what Nikolay Metelkin discusses: "In the different periods of the life of the country we focused our efforts on one specific thing and each five-year plan had its main direction. There was a five-year plan of industrialization and a five-year plan for rebuilding the economy destroyed by the war. For many years the main concern was to produce more machine tools, more fabrics and shoes, and build more housing. We had to satisfy the most vital needs and at that time it was a question, above all, of quantity. The time has now come when we are ready to think, above all, of quality. What is quality? Once again it means, above all, the talent and reliability of the worker."

Naturally, the struggle for quality at the plant did not develop immediately. A great deal of discussions and arguments were heard at meetings until the initiative was taken up and became the law of the plant. Then the blacksmith brigade leader and his comrades had the simple idea of building a chain linking the blacksmith to the tuner-assemblyman. If the first fails this would necessarily reflect on the last. "Yet, in practical terms this is a far longer chain. We receive metal from afar and its quality is not always adequate. In turn, the suppliers also depend on someone else, on the ore and mechanisms they receive from others. The chain is endless. It is very important to realize that you are working not only for yourself but for thousands of unknown people to whom you must be a reliable comrade."

An endless chain . . . this is a meaningful and precise definition of the labor commonwealth of the Soviet people. The same thing, essentially, is discussed by Major General Aviation and twice Hero of the Soviet Union USSR Cosmonaut Flier Andriyan Grigor'yevich Nikolayev. One would ask what could the work of a blacksmith have in common? Yet, their thoughts are very similar about the main thing--the work, the attitude toward assignments. Andriyan Nikolayev writes: "I do not know a prescription according to which one 'could raise oneself.' I only believe that success comes to those who persist, to those who work for other people, to those who do not turn petty but engage in work needed by others, those who live for the sake of a great objective. In this case it is not the profession of a person that matters but his attitude toward it, the concept of his place in life." The famous cosmonaut describes as a "place in life" that which from the rostrum of the 25th Congress Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev described as "the active position in life" of the Soviet person. It is such a position that unites all the authors in this collection.

Whereas Yevgeniy Chernyshev, assemblyman from the Nevinnomysk, suddenly made a discovery while working at the gigantic construction project that to work for the good of all people is happiness, this conclusion was long reached by Yuriy Georgiyevich Erv'ye, chief of Glavtyumen'geologii, Hero of Socialist Labor and lauriat of the Lenin Prize. "There are people interested not in the work but what they could get out of it," he says, "understand, I am not discussing people who have accidentally chosen our

profession, who have given nothing to geology or taken nothing from it, who have simply passed by. I am speaking of those who see in any work, above all, their personal benefit and nothing but it. They can cause only harm."

As though continuing the thought of the labor chain, Yu. G. Erv'ye speaks of the collective cooperation not only among geologists and geophysicists, fliers, rivermen, and construction workers in developing the Tyumen' petroleum and gas, but of the party leadership of the oblast which immediately properly assessed the initial discoveries and became their most energetic defender: "When I say 'we discovered,' or 'we thought,' by this I mean the collective--anyone who was linked with us one way or another. No one can accomplish anything alone."

The party members and party organizations help the people find themselves in labor and assert their position in life. This is discussed by Raisa Sergeyevna Peshekhonova, party committee secretary at the Karsnyy Oktyabr' Confectionery Factory: "Where if not at work one would find the truth of a human character. We say, from each according to his capabilities . . . this means to find such capabilities in everyone, to uplift the person . . . every person has his talent. He is a personality deserving particular attention. The commonplace saying is, reach everyone. If we not only say it but act on it the collective would become far stronger. How important it is for a person to work to the fullest extent of his forces, possibilities, and talent!"

The monologues in the collection (there are over 30) show the way under the conditions of the socialist way of life the character of the Soviet person is manifested. Yet, our way of life itself is reflected in the character of the people!

Yevgeniy Petrovich Fedyunin, brigade leader at the Automotive Combine No 29, Glavmosavtotrans, laureate of the USSR state prize, and delegate to the 25th CPSU Congress. "One for all and all for one" is the unwritten law of life of this brigade.

The progressive Soviet worker, says Ye. P. Fedyunin, feels responsible for everything--for his work and for his comrade. His story is one of support in difficult times and of the effectiveness of morality. Yevgeniy Petrovich considers his position in life above all in terms of mutual aid. If you are rich, share it with a comrade, raise him to your own level, and be happy with even his smallest daily accomplishment.

Another essential feature in the character of our contemporary is intolerance of shortcomings. Noticing errors, fighting philistinism, bureaucracy, drunkenness, and bribery, openly telling your comrade the truth in his face . . .

"Nothing so enobles the individual as an active vital position . . .," said Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at the 25th Congress. Extending this thought, the authors of the monologue include in it the active implementation of social

duty, unity of word and deed, and high exactingness toward oneself and others. Dissatisfaction with accomplishments is also an active position in life. Simply doing good work is insufficient today, the characters in the book justifiably believe.

Tirelessly opposing anything which hinders our progress is a law of life of the Soviet people. To be personally involved in the great plans for the building of communism earmarked by the party, and actively to fight for their implementation is the essence of the position in life taken by the characters in this book. Their stories about themselves recreate the vivid features of the collective portrait of the Soviet person, the builder of communism.

5003

CSO: 1802

## TOPICAL STUDY OF THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct pp 125-127

[Review by Professor G. Rudenko, Doctor of Economic Sciences, of the book "Uglubleniye Obshchego Krizisa Kapitalizma" [Intensification of the General Crisis of Capitalism]. Editors: Academician N. N. Inozemtsev, USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member Ye. M. Primakov, and Candidate of Economic Sciences I. Ye. Gur'yev. Mysl' Moscow, 1976, 358 pages]

[Text] The theory of the general crisis of capitalism is one of the most important directions in the scientific knowledge of the processes occurring in the capitalist world at its declining stage.

Naturally, the degradation processes do not cover the entire content of social life under capitalism under whose conditions production forces and output continue to grow, science and technology develop, and new industrial sectors appear. Capitalism as a whole, in its dynamics, is studied by the Marxist sciences dealing with bourgeois society. Within their framework the theory of the general crisis of capitalism has a particular function. Of all the comprehensive processes occurring in the capitalist world it singles out the features of its growing decline. It studies the laws governing its appearance and development trends. The Marxists do not conceal this direction taken by the theory of the general crisis: they have long proved the transient nature of capitalism and the inevitability of its replacement with socialism.

This book by a collective of scientific associates of the Institute of World Economic and International Relations (IMEMO) of the USSR Academy of Sciences will find a broad circle of readers. On the basis of a number of already published works such as "Politicheskaya Ekonomiya Sovremennogo Monopolisticheskogo Kapitalizma" [Political Economy of Contemporary Monopoly Capitalism] (second edition), and "Energeticheskiy Krizis v Kapitalisticheskom Mire" [The Energy Crisis in the Capitalist World], and the series on "Contemporary Capitalism and the Ideological Struggle," "Economic Growth under the Conditions of Monopoly Capitalism: Problems and Contradictions" and other the book under review offers considerable data in the interpretation of the contemporary phenomena of the general crisis of capitalism.

The book contains a brief introduction describing the basic methodological concepts of the theory of the general crisis. Unlike periodical economic crises the general crisis of capitalism is a permanent, an intransient condition of the capitalist system which has entered the period of its decline, the "chronic disease of a doomed system" (p 23). A solution to the general crisis is possible to the working people only by replacing the old society with a higher social system--socialism.

While trying to avoid a dogmatic identification of the general crisis of capitalism with one or another fixed range of phenomena, the authors justifiably claim that the general crisis is developing "assuming different forms in different historical conditions and in different levels of intensiveness" (p 23). Its new manifestations arise at different historical stages. At such a time some of its features may become particularly clear while others may weaken, or vice versa. At the beginning of the first and second stages of the general crisis of capitalism its sharpest contradictions were the world wars unleashed by imperialism, accompanied by the abandonment of the capitalist system by a number of countries. At the beginning of the third stage the decline of capitalism was vividly manifested as the breakdown of the old colonial imperialist system and the forced conversion from "classical" colonialism to neocolonialism; under contemporary conditions the struggle for the radical restructuring of the entire system of international relations is developing with particular violence.

The authors assume a clear principled position on the reasons for the appearance and development of the general crisis of capitalism. "The Marxist-Leninists have always considered the process of the appearance and intensification of the general crisis of capitalism as a consequence of the aggravation of contradictions inherent in capitalism itself" (p 4). Its inevitable contradictions lead capitalism to a decline and doom and no other reasons could bring about the end of capitalism had it not been eroded and undermined by history itself.

The authors treat the problems of the time of the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism and the influence of socialism on its development in accordance with these important stipulations. Relying on the materials of the Komintern and on our party's program, the authors proceed from the fact that the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism was laid by the universal revolutionary crisis which developed on the basis of World War One and the October Revolution, which was its peak. Thus, the real internal reasons for the general crisis are not identified with essentially other problems such as the external conditions of the existence of the capitalist system which are having a growing influence on the reasons inherent in the degradation of capitalism. The example and experience of socialism energize the internal processes, social forces, and contradictions which have been triggered by the capitalist system in the course of its development.

The chapter entitled "Socialism--a Leading Force in the Development of the World" begins with a characterization of the contemporary historical conditions under which the general crisis of capitalism is developing. It deals



mainly with the course and results of the competition between the two worldwide systems and the influence of socialism on the reorganization of international relations.

The competition between the two worldwide systems is the basic and factual content of modern history. The history of contemporary capitalism is its general crisis. The history of socialism is the upsurge, the blossoming of a new social system to which the future belongs. The book properly guides us to distinguish clearly between these simultaneously developing processes.

The authors then move on to the crisis processes developing within the capitalist system. The book includes two areas of research of these processes. One of them is related to the international system of monopoly capitalist domination. The other describes the features of the general crisis typical under contemporary conditions of the inner life of the main countries under state-monopoly capitalism.

By virtue of its nature the international system of domination of monopoly capitalism has triggered world inter-imperialist conflicts and wars and, at the same time, the liberation struggle of peoples oppressed by imperialism. The new upsurge of the national-liberation movement (chapter 2), the profound changes in international relations (chapter 3), the aggravation of contradictions within the world's capitalist economy (chapter 9), and the crisis in the capitalist monetary system (chapter 10), are contemporary features of the general crisis of international relations within monopoly capitalism in their development, are thoroughly discussed in the book.

A number of processes classified by the authors as features of the general crisis and typical of the domestic life of the centers of world capitalism have been studied just as comprehensively. This part of the book describes in detail the socioeconomic consequences of the scientific and technical revolution, the crisis in the state-monopoly control of the economy, the intensification of inflation, and the characteristic of the cyclical economic fluctuations. Extensive factual data are used to illustrate the views formulated in the book.

In the third and last section of the book the reader will find a great deal of important data on the growth of the socio-political instability of capitalism.

A valuable scientific study always stimulates the further development of theory and the formulation of new questions, as well as progress in a given field of knowledge. This applies to this book as well. The work of the authors enables us to become more clearly aware of some problems related to the further development of the theory of the general crisis of capitalism.

One of the them is the place of the theory of the general crisis in Marxist-Leninist doctrine. The authors have taken a major step toward discovering the foundations of this theory found in the works of the founders of

scientific communism. Until recently the Leninist theory of imperialism and the theory of the general crisis of capitalism were linked in some publications basically on a conceptual basis. It was established when and where V. I. Lenin had used the concept of "general crisis of capitalism" or similar terms. This work contains a more profound description of the relations between the theory of imperialism and the theory of the general crisis, thus raising even more urgently the question of the interrelationship between the latter and K. Marx's doctrine of capitalism. As we know, Marx proved the inevitability of the doom of capitalist system and gave in the "historical trend of capitalist accumulation" ("Das Kapital," Vol 1, Chapter 24, Paragraph 7) a most general description of the forthcoming period of its replacement with socialism. This laid the scientific foundation of the understanding of the objective inevitability and characteristic of the particular period of capitalist decline. Lenin established that the epoch of degradation of the latter will occur with a conversion to the monopoly stage in its history --to a parasitical capitalism, decaying and dying. The theory of imperialism was found to contain not only the fact of the advent of this period but a revelation of the basic forms and trends of capitalist degradation, typical of the beginning of the imperialist epoch. These concepts stipulated by Marx and Lenin are the scientific base and the inviolable foundation of the theory of the general crisis which studies the specific variety of forms of capitalist decline in their uninterrupted motion and intensification. The establishment of this link is an unquestionable merit of this work.

The identification of the features and phenomena specifically inherent in the category of the general crisis among the entire variety of facts and processes of social life under capitalism is the main task of the theory studying this crisis. This task is far from simple. Ever since the establishment of its system, capitalism has encompassed inevitable internal contradictions and their explosions. Analyzing such phenomena inherent in the entire history of capitalism (such as, for example, cyclical economic crises), it is important to indicate the influence which the features of its general crisis have had on them without, however, classifying such phenomena as such features. We must see the distinction between the object of the theory of materialism and the object of the theory of the general crisis of capitalism.

An even more difficult target of the theory aimed at the study of the further destinies of capitalism is the summation, the knowledge of the laws governing the dynamics of the general crisis.

The theory of the general crisis of capitalism was established essentially within the framework of capitalism political economy. Under contemporary conditions, however, such a framework has clearly become too tight. The features of the crisis are covering an ever broader area of capitalism social life. Economics, politics, culture, science, psychology, art, and the system of mass information media all bear the inirradicable traces of the degradation of the capitalist system. The book, written by a collective of specialists in economic problems, naturally pays prime attention to the

economic and political aspects of the general crisis. The authors have successfully coped with this task and the book is, unquestionably, a definite contribution to the elaboration of the topical problems of the contemporary epoch--the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale.

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CSO: 1802

FROM THE BOOKSHELF

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 15, Oct 77 p 128

[Text] L. I. Brezhnev. "O Proyekte Konstitutsii (Osnovnogo Zakona) Soyuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik i Itogakh Yego Vsenarodnogo Obsuzhdeniya" [On the Draft of the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Results of its Nationwide Discussion]. Report to the Extraordinary Seventh Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Ninth Convocation, held on 4 October 1977. Politizdat, Moscow, 1977, 30 pages.

Yu. V. Andropov. "Kommunisticheskaya Ubezhdennost' -- Velikaya Sila Stroiteley Novogo Mira" [Communist Conviction -- A Great Force of the Builders of the New World]. Report delivered at the ceremonial meeting held in Moscow on the occasion of F. E. Dzerzhinskiy's Centennial. Politizdat, Moscow, 1977, 30 pages.

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