



THE TRUE STORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION
AND THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM

Victor GOROV
Vitali LELCHUK

The CPSU in Developed Socialist Society





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28

"To us Soviet Communists has fallen the enviable role of being at the fountainhead of the socialist transformation of life. To our lot has fallen the honourable mission of safeguarding and upholding peace."

(From the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th CPSU Congress)

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NEW LANDMARKS. NEW TASKS

The Third Programme of the CPSU

Every political party and every people have in their history landmarks and dates of special significance. In the history of the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet people the year 1961 occupies a prominent place. In that year the CPSU Central Committee took a decision to convene a Party Congress and consider a new Party Programme. This decision was based on a study of the path traversed by the country under the leadership of Communists since the 1917 Revolution in Russia and of the development of the world revolutionary movement.

After this decision was announced in January 1961, extensive preparations for the Congress got under way. There were over nine million Communists united in more than 296 thousand primary Party organizations in the Soviet Union at that time. Communists worked everywhere—at factories and plants, collective and state farms, on construction projects and at various institutions and enterprises. They played a decisive role in the work of such mass organizations as Soviets of Working People's Deputies, trade unions, Komsomol (Young Communist League) and co-operative societies. Preparations for the Congress began on a nationwide scale.

The Draft Programme published on July 30, 1961, attracted countrywide attention. Industrial workers and scientists, collective farmers and workers in the arts, servicemen, students, pensioners, in a word, all strata of the population took part in the discussion of the draft.

To better understand why it was decided to work out and adopt a new Party Programme, what this Programme essentially consisted in and how the discussion was carried out, it is necessary to have an idea of the general situation in the world in those days.

By the early 1960s the economic and cultural potential of the Soviet Union had grown considerably. The country's population exceeded 216 million. In 1961, for the first time in Soviet history, the working class constituted a majority; there were also more people living in cities and towns than in the countryside. These notable changes in the social structure of the population and the growing urbanization came about as a result of the Communist Party's policy designed to build up the country's economic potential and raise the Soviet people's living and cultural standards. These changes were essential for enhancing the social homogeneity of Soviet society, for the numerical increase of the working class on its own basis and for the growth of the CPSU's membership by admitting to it foremost workers.

Considerable successes were achieved by the Soviet Union in the sphere of economic competition with the capitalist world. Already by 1961 the Soviet Union surpassed the United States in the production of iron ore, coal, precast concrete, main-line diesel and electric locomotives, woolen fabrics, sugar, butter and some other items. It also outstripped such highly-developed industrial countries as

Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Canada and Japan taken together in gross industrial output. It may be noted that the combined population of these states was almost 33 per cent larger than the population of the Soviet Union.

It is noteworthy that the world's first manned space flight was made by Yuri Gagarin, on April 12, 1961. In the same year Gherman Titov became the world's second spaceman. Space exploration, initiated with the launching of the first Soviet satellite in 1957, continued. The world public rightly regarded these events as outstanding achievements organically linked with the general progress of science and technology in the USSR.

The subsequent course of events confirmed the correctness of the analysis contained in the Draft Party Programme: the world correlation of forces was increasingly and irreversibly changing in favour of the world proletariat, and the "export of counter-revolution" was meeting insuperable obstacles.

Imperialism, stated the Draft Programme, had irrevocably lost its dominion over the majority of mankind. It was the forces of socialism, which came out against imperialism and for the socialist transformation of society, that determined the main content, direction and specific features of historical development. Socialism had triumphed in the Soviet Union completely, once and for all. In practice, it meant that there was no force in the world capable of restoring the power of exploiters, private property and antagonist classes in the Soviet Union. This important conclusion was based on the fact that socialism had extended beyond the borders of one country, that is, the capitalist encirclement, in which the Soviet Union had remained for almost thirty years, was broken, and that the entire socialist community had gained strength.

The Draft Programme was all the more significant since it drew not on the experience of Soviet Communists alone. The international meetings of Communist and Workers' parties held in 1957 and 1960 made a great contribution to the elaboration of new Marxist-Leninist theoretical propositions which were incorporated in the Draft Programme.

The Draft Programme touched on a wide range of problems: from the substantiation of the historical inevitability of the collapse of capitalism and the establishment of the socialist system to the formulation of plans and tasks of building a material and technical base of communism, the development of communist social relations and the communist education of people.

By mid-October the discussion of the Draft Programme, in which 73 million people—almost the entire adult population of the country—took part, was concluded.

Let us now look back at the origins of all the successes achieved by the Soviet Union by that time.

In July-August 1903 the 2nd Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) was held at which 43 delegates from 26 Party organizations discussed the draft of the first programme of the workers' party of Russia. It differed essentially from similar documents of West European social-democratic parties of those days. While setting the aim of achieving a bourgeois-democratic and then a socialist revolution, the 1903 Programme alone formulated the idea of proletarian dictatorship.

A fierce struggle took place at the Congress against opportunists, in the course of which the word "Bolshevik" came into being. Its original

meaning was quite simple: those who formed the majority (*bolshinstvo* in Russian) at the Congress and who supported Lenin and voted for his programme were called Bolsheviks.

People all over the world were yet to learn this word and to hear the slogan "All Power to the Soviets". No one had expected that a small group of revolutionary Marxists would grow into a powerful organization that would rally round itself millions of people and usher in a new era in 1917.

In March 1919 the 8th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) adopted the second Party Programme. By then people throughout the world knew and spoke the word "Bolshevik"—some with fear and hate, while others with love and hope.

The Party was in power. It led the defence of the Revolution and directed the people in the building of socialism. In all, 403 delegates representing 313 thousand Communists gathered to discuss the second Programme which outlined the Party's tasks for the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

At the time the Soviet Republic was encircled by war fronts with a total length of eight thousand kilometres and resembled a besieged fortress. The Congress devoted its attention to the main task of strengthening the Soviet state and combating foreign interventionists and internal counter-revolutionary forces. After the 8th Party Congress completed its work, delegates carried Lenin's ideas and a concrete programme for the building of the world's first socialist society to different parts of the country—to Red Army and partisan units, factories, plants and to villages.

The third Party Programme was adopted by the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet



Moscow, 1961. The Palace of Congresses. Delegates to the 22nd CPSU Congress unanimously approved the new Party Programme.

Union, which opened on October 17, 1961, in Moscow. The 4,799 delegates who gathered in the newly-built Palace of Congresses represented nearly ten million Soviet Communists. They were people of different trades and professions. Among them there were 1,391 workers in industry, transport, building and communications and 748 collective and state farm workers, 260 agronomists, 379 teachers, doctors, lawyers and journalists, 45 writers, artists, actors and composers, 226 scientists and scholars, and two cosmonauts—there were only two at that time, space flight being until then still only a profession to be found in science fiction.

There were delegations of Communist and Workers' parties from 80 countries present at the Congress.

During the period of its work, from the 17th to the 31st of October, the Congress brought to a close the nationwide discussion of the Draft Programme in the course of which nearly every other Communist in the country had taken the floor at Party meetings. Apart from this, over 300,000 letters containing proposals and recommendations were received by the CPSU Central Committee and local Party bodies. Many proposals were sent also to newspapers, magazines, radio and television editorial boards. The main thing was clear: the Party, the working class, all Soviet people approved of the new Programme and regarded it as a creative Marxist-Leninist document directing the entire people and the Party toward the building of communism.

The CPSU Programme summed up the rich experience of building a new society gained in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. To have a correct approach to the elaboration of the general policy line, strategy and tactics of the Party, Communists believe, it is necessary to analyze the character of the current epoch. On the basis of such an analysis the Programme stated that the international working class and the world socialist system now formed the pivot of world social development. In the course of struggle of the two opposing social systems, the world balance of forces was changing, the forces of socialism growing ever stronger, the system of colonialism was collapsing, and ever more peoples were embarking on the path of socialist construction. The US monopolist bourgeoisie had turned into the main stronghold of international reactionary forces.

Already then, in 1961, the 22nd CPSU Congress warned mankind of the threat of nuclear war which could obliterate whole countries and peoples and destroy human civilization. "The peoples must

concentrate their efforts," stated the Programme, "on curbing the imperialists in good time and preventing them from making use of lethal weapons. *The main thing is to ward off a thermonuclear war, to prevent it from breaking out.*"

Upholding the principle of peaceful coexistence, the CPSU once again underlined that the revolutionary process could develop successfully without war conflicts arising between states. A striking example of this has been the socialist revolution in Cuba, which triumphed in the conditions of peaceful coexistence.

The CPSU regards peaceful coexistence as an opportunity for the forces of socialism to compete with capitalist forces on a global scale and as a specific form of class struggle in the spheres of economy, politics and ideology.

In domestic policy, the Party Programme set forth a threefold task: the building of the material and technical foundation of communism, the fostering of communist social relations and the moulding of a new man.

The building of the material and technical foundation of communism implies the full electrification of the country with the utmost improvement of technology and organization of production on this basis, comprehensive mechanization of production processes, extensive application of chemical products and processes in the country's economy, and the organic linking of science and production. In the course of building this foundation, the nation's productive forces are to attain a level that will provide an abundance of material wealth.

As the two forms of socialist property gradually merge in the country's economy, the distinctions between classes will disappear, and workers, farmers and members of the intelligentsia will live

and work in a classless society. The essential distinctions between town and country as well as between physical and mental labour will vanish, and the economic and cultural unity of nations will grow.

Communist social relations will establish themselves in the life of Soviet people who will actively participate in the running of public affairs. Soviet society will gradually go over to a communist self-government based on the extensive development of democracy.

The Programme gave a description of the political contour of society in the period of building socialism and scientifically substantiated the thesis of a state of proletarian dictatorship growing into a people's state upon fulfilment of its historic mission.

Born as a workers' party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has become the party of all Soviet people.

The Movement for Communist Labour Begins

In the first years of Soviet government Lenin emphasized: "The more profound the change we wish to bring about, the more must we rouse an interest and an intelligent attitude towards it, and convince more millions and tens of millions of people that it is necessary."¹

The third Programme of the CPSU oriented the Soviet people toward creating material and technical foundation of a classless society. And the Party was to draw all strata of the population into this effort,

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, V. 31, p. 498.

explaining to people the social meaning and importance of their work. To mobilize the masses of people, a time-tested method was put to use—a socialist emulation movement was initiated within and between work collectives with the aim of achieving set targets ahead of schedule. Widely publicized and based on the exchange of advanced experience and joint summing-up and discussing the collectives' accomplishments, such emulation showed that a new attitude to one's work, the Soviet state and socialist property was born among the mass of people.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s several Komsomol organizations proposed that socialist emulation be conducted on a broader scale. Young workers found unsatisfactory the practice of determining one's success merely by the fulfilment of plans and began to make extra pledges. Some decided to combine work with studies at evening and specialized secondary schools and at institutes; others were ready to pass on their experience to novices; still others promised to display exemplary conduct in everyday life, and so on.

Party and Komsomol organizations at industrial enterprises adopted a serious and thoughtful attitude to such initiatives. The CPSU Central Committee made a thorough analysis of the practices of many advanced work collectives. It appeared that similar initiatives had been displayed simultaneously in Moscow, Leningrad, Donbass and other places. These practices reflected separately and as a whole all that was new and that was associated with the overall growth of the country's productive forces and improvement of the material and cultural standards of Soviet people. Everywhere advanced workers proposed to direct emulation efforts not only toward overfulfilling production targets but also

toward consistently raising working people's cultural and technical level and observing the principles of communist morality at work and at home. These pledges clearly corresponded to the threefold task which was later outlined in the CPSU Programme: the building of the material and technical foundation of communism, the fostering of communist social relations and the moulding of a new man.

The Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party approved of the young people's initiatives and took measures to support them and introduce them on a wide scale. Komsomol organizations, trade unions and the mass media took an active part in this work. A new emulation movement of advanced teams and workers of communist labour began. In 1960, on instructions from the CPSU Central Committee, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the Central Committee of the Young Communist League held a meeting of advanced workers taking part in the new movement. More than 2,500 delegates attended the meeting, which affirmed the emergence of a new and higher form of socialist emulation. Lenin regarded socialist emulation as a social trend that was to embrace all aspects of people's life in socialist society. The new movement bore out the correctness of this proposition and considerably enriched all forms of creative mass activity.

In September 1962 *Pravda*, the organ of the CPSU Central Committee, published an article by a milling machine operator, Ivan Leonov, who called on workers to take a conscientious attitude to work, combat shortcomings, and bear in mind that they were the masters of their factories and plants. It was especially significant that Leonov, author of the article, was a worker by profession and by calling who was also a deputy to the Supreme Soviet

of the Russian Federation. Once a colleague of his rashly said that better working conditions were created for Leonov as a deputy to help him overfulfil his plan. Leonov challenged his workmate to socialist emulation, and they began to operate each other's machines. Shortly afterwards Leonov's rival began to lag behind and even turned out some below-standard products. He then cut off the machine and open-heartedly apologized to Leonov. Leonov replied: "Well, now I hope you understand why I challenged you. I'm a worker myself, and for me words alone don't settle anything. Maybe tomorrow it'll be you, not me, who will be elected to the Supreme Soviet, but there is nothing more important in our country than the honour of a working man, no matter where he works."

The article aroused great interest among readers, for millions of people understood and treasured the honour of a worker, the feeling of being master of one's country. Why, then, are some workers still passive or lag behind others? What are the best ways to introduce the experience of innovators? How can labour productivity be raised and what is to be done to help every worker feel that he is part of the collective? Along with discussion of these problems at Party meetings, concrete measures were taken, commitments assumed, and forms and methods of checking how they were carried out were elaborated.

The new wording of the Party Rules approved at the 22nd CPSU Congress reflected the Programme's call for enhancing the role of Communists in the life of society, for increasing their responsibility for the vitality of the Party. It was stated in the Rules that only those who took an active part in the building of communism could be members of the Party. Accordingly, it was noted that the build-

ing of the material and technical foundation of communism was the primary responsibility of every Communist. Therefore, the CPSU centered its activities on resolving issues related to such ideological and educational work that would ensure economic growth, improvement of the material and cultural standards of Soviet people, and their education in the spirit of high political awareness and dedication to proletarian internationalism.

The established system of Party education made an important contribution to this work. Combining collective and individual forms of studying, it consisted of three basic stages of political education—primary, secondary and higher political education. There were: (1) primary political schools; (2) schools of Marxism-Leninism; (3) evening universities of Marxism-Leninism, and town and district party schools. Many non-Party people studied the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism and the laws of historical development together with Communists.

In the early 1960s a second edition of the 39-volume collected works of Marx and Engels, the 55-volume complete works of Lenin, new biographies of Lenin, as well as a number of textbooks and programmes for students, were published. The press, radio and television helped to carry on ideological work. By the mid-1960s the circulation of newspapers exceeded 100 million copies throughout the country; all Soviet people had radio sets, and every seventh or eighth person—a TV set.

In an effort to raise the level of the Party's propaganda work, to improve its entire activity in the ideological and educational field, the CPSU Central Committee systematically studied the experience of individual Party organizations, took measures to overcome shortcomings and disseminate advanced

forms and methods of persuasion and education of Party members and all working people. To this end, Party committees in some regions and at some enterprises were asked to make reports on their work. In June 1963 a plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee was convened to discuss the tasks of ideological work. Before and after the plenary meeting, inter-republican and zonal conferences were held to assess how Communists were carrying out the decisions of the 22nd CPSU Congress in the field of ideological and political work. All these measures were intended to coordinate Party activities and to link them with economic activity in town and country, and with socialist emulation at work collectives.

The organizing work carried on by the CPSU and the growing socialist emulation movement essentially predetermined the general progress of the country's productive forces in a direction outlined by the 22nd Party Congress. In the early 1960s remarkable successes were achieved in the scientific and technological sphere. Thus, the country's first fully automated oilfield was commissioned in the Tatar Autonomous Republic and gigantic gas pipelines were laid linking Central Asia with the Urals. The commissioning of the *Druzhba* pipeline which would supply Soviet oil to socialist community countries was a particularly notable event. But while considerable successes in the development of the economy were achieved, the growth rates began to slow down contrary to the guidelines approved by recent Party Congresses. *Pravda* and some other Party organs published regular discussion articles dealing specifically with economic problems. What happened was that in late 1962 and early 1963 Party organizations were divided into industrial and agricultural ones, just as councils of deputies, trade

unions and Komsomol organizations were divided. It was thought then that these changes would make the day-to-day economic management more efficient. As things turned out, however, it was just the other way round. Under the territorial system of management introduced in 1957 to replace management through All-Union ministries, the changes only made it more difficult to implement an integral national economic policy and to strengthen the links between town and country and between factory workers and collective farmers. It became increasingly obvious that organizational and administrative measures proposed and in some instances carried out contrary to the Party's experience and scientific recommendations were inefficient.

Communists and all Soviet people were anxious about these developments, the more so since they saw that the main causes of the shortcomings lay not in objective difficulties but in subjective factors connected with certain decisions adopted contrary to the general line worked out at the 20th, 21st and 22nd Party Congresses and reaffirmed in the Party Programme and Rules. That was why the Party and all Soviet people accepted with satisfaction the decisions taken by the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee in October 1964 which affirmed the course of observing the Leninist norms of Party life and principles of leadership. The plenary meeting resolutely condemned the instances of deviation from the principles of collectivity in elaborating and adopting decisions. It clearly underlined the importance of developing inner-Party democracy, making the Party leaders accountable to the masses of Party members and observing the principles of collectivity in all Party links—from primary organizations to the Central Committee.

After thorough discussion of the situation that

had arisen, the plenary meeting came to the conclusion that it was necessary to strengthen Party and state leadership so as to make maximum use of the advantages offered by the system of socialism. Nikita Khrushchev was released of his duties as First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, member of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. The plenary meeting adopted a decision preventing the holding of the posts of First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers by one person. Leonid Brezhnev was elected First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. A month later a decision was adopted to restore the old practice of setting up Party organizations in keeping with the territorial and production principle, as prescribed by CPSU Rules. After Party organizations, Soviets of deputies, trade-union and Komsomol organizations once again became integral bodies, their work improved, and the general level of activity of many millions of Communists rose.

Strengthening the Scientific Approach to Economic Management

In March 1965 the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee discussed a number of urgent measures for the further development of agriculture. A businesslike analysis was made of both achievements and shortcomings in this sphere, and on its basis an extensive programme of measures was outlined to accelerate the growth rates of farm production. It was decided to supply collective and state farms with increasing quantities of the necessary machinery and to go over to drawing up stable

agricultural procurement targets for several years ahead, up to 1970. Earlier, plans were compiled for one year and targets often were revised in the course of procurement. Usually additional targets were set with the result that advanced farms found themselves in the awkward position of having to compensate for the poor performance of farms that lagged behind. Farmers began to feel less responsible for and less interested in the results of their work. The plenary meeting also noted that the earlier grain procurement targets had been unrealistic: in the preceding ten years the set targets were fulfilled only three times—in 1956, 1958 and 1964.

Stable and fixed grain procurement plans were drawn up for the 1965-1970 period for individual republics, regions, territories, districts, and collective and state farms. In addition to planned purchases, the state would buy more grain from farms which had a surplus of marketable produce. Since the basic purchasing prices for wheat and rye had been increased by 50 per cent, it became advantageous for farms to produce and sell to the state more than the plan stipulated. Thus, economic incentives came into play.

Similar steps were taken in livestock breeding. It began to develop at faster rates after the restrictions on personal holdings of farmers, workers and employees were lifted.

These measures served to encourage the initiative of farm managers, specialists, and all farmers. It became increasingly important to draw on their experience and knowledge, enthusiasm and industry, as well as their ability correctly to assess specific local conditions and make maximum use of scientific achievements.

Fundamental changes were also taking place in industry. It became particularly essential to work out indicators that would promote state planning and control over plan fulfilment by enterprises. The press reported not only successes but also facts of parochialism, violation of the principles of co-operation and specialization, shortages of raw materials, fuel and semi-finished goods in some places and their abundance in others.

Why did some enterprises go on producing what was not needed? What were the causes of such confusion and lack of coordination? How could the interests of every worker, every enterprise be merged with those of the state as a whole? Workers on the job and scientists, Party officials and trade-union activists were confronted with these problems. Some believed that the country's economy had outgrown the system of planning based on traditional methods of accounting and outdated computing technologies. In their opinion it was only necessary to introduce the latest computing equipment and machinery and it would still be possible for central planning agencies to assign detailed plans and specify the way in which they should be carried out to every enterprise.

Others believed that such administrative control ran contrary to the tasks of building the material and technical foundation of communism. In the conditions of commodity-money relations, centralized planning should be concerned only with general (the main) directions and targets. It was impossible to distribute centrally tens of thousands of types of means of production. Enterprises should be granted some measure of independence and their responsibility for and interest in the profitability, quantity, quality and range of their output should be increased.

Who was right? In accordance with a proposal made by Party organizations in Moscow, Leningrad, Gorky and Lvov, a number of enterprises went over to new methods of planning and economic stimulation between 1964 and 1965. Earlier, their work was estimated according to gross output, and primary attention was given to the total cost of produced articles. Under the new system, in order to fulfil a plan it was essential to sell what had been produced.

The new system also made it possible to establish the size of bonuses equal to 40 or 50 per cent of the monthly wages and salaries of workers and employees. Though the experiment encountered a number of difficulties, the advantages it offered were unquestionable. Considerable profit in excess of the planned figure was earned. In keeping with the workers' wishes, this excess amount was spent on improving production technologies, meeting socio-cultural needs and providing material incentives to the best workers.

The Soviet people regarded the consistent actions of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government as an indication of their firm determination to use the advantages of the socialist system for the building of communist society as quickly and as effectively as possible. Practice proved the efficiency of management through sectoral ministries, which were to supervise the work of their respective sectors within the framework of an integral national economic policy.

The restructuring of industrial management provided for combining the sectoral principle with the territorial principle, with inter-sectoral tasks of the comprehensive development of the country's economy, with the tasks of developing all regions of the USSR, and with the extension of economic

management rights of the Union and Autonomous Republics. The system of planning was improved, and economic initiative and stimulation of enterprises were enhanced.

Economic management was further democratized, and the role of the scientific approach to the management of production grew noticeably. By 1965 over two million specialists with a higher or specialized secondary education were employed in industry. Among those engaged in this sphere of economy four million were Communists. Their everyday work, their knowledge and dedication to communist ideals were of decisive importance.

Two plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committees, held in March and in September 1965, determined the main directions and methods of economic management for the coming years.

By the mid-1960s measures aimed at improving economic management were elaborated and their implementation got under way.

CONSOLIDATION OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM

Heightening of Socio-Political Activity

The very first day of 1966 was marked in the USSR with two important events. First, from January 1, 1966, retail prices for sugar, confectionaries, cotton fabrics, knitted goods and other items were reduced in rural areas to the same level as that in cities and towns. The significance of this step is all the greater as almost half of the country's population lived in rural areas at that time. Secondly, the CPSU Central Committee adopted a resolution in support of the initiative of a number of industrial enterprises calling for an emulation drive to promote a thrifty attitude and the economic use of materials.

Soviet people quickly perceived that these events were closely interlinked. Saved metal, raw materials and fuel would help to promote the further growth of the country's economy and general well-being. With these thoughts in mind, working people in town and country took part in the discussion of the new five-year plan for the 1966-1970 period.

On March 29, 1966, the 23rd CPSU Congress opened in Moscow. It was attended by 5,000 delegates representing almost 12.5 million Soviet Communists from all parts of the country.

They came to Moscow to consider jointly urgent problems and to define the main guidelines of the political and economic activities of the Party and of the entire Soviet society.

The report of the CPSU Central Committee was delivered by Leonid Brezhnev.

The work of the Congress was characterized by a businesslike attitude and a principled stand on all issues discussed. The delegates noted the overall great achievements of the Soviet economy. Indeed, it took the Soviet Union more than 40 years—or 32 years discounting the war years—of strenuous effort to attain the 1959 level of economic and defence potential. In the next seven years (from 1959 to 1965) under the Communist Party's leadership, Soviet working people doubled what had been achieved in the previous 32 years. These two figures—32 and 7—vividly demonstrate how fast Soviet economy had developed at the new stage of communist construction.

Oil and gas began to account for a great share in the country's fuel balance. Eighty-five per cent of all railway freight was carried by diesel and electric locomotives, whereas a few years before steam engines had prevailed. Production of synthetic goods developed at high rates. Radio and electronic engineering began to play a leading role in machine building. Scientific and technological advance, symbolized by the world-historic achievements in space exploration, promoted progress in all spheres of the country's life.

In the late 1950s the Soviet commercial fleet held the 12th place in the world in terms of tonnage. It still suffered from the consequences of the Second World War in which almost half of the country's ships had been destroyed. By 1965 the Soviet commercial fleet had risen to the 6th place in the world.

On average eight out of every ten ships were built in the 1960s. At present Soviet ships call at ports of 98 countries of the world.

Housing construction and the building of industrial projects proceeded at unprecedentedly high rates. In addition to such big administrative and industrial centres as Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev, a number of cities including Gorky, Novosibirsk, Tashkent, Baku and Kharkov had grown markedly, and their population had exceeded 1,000,000.

Although it had appeared impossible to carry out all that had been planned, the basic targets had been fulfilled. The country's economic and defence potential had grown, and the Soviet people's living standards were rising steadily.

Large-scale housing construction got under way in the 1970s. Every minute new tenants moved into one five-storeyed apartment house.





Fuel and energy resources are developed on a large scale. Oil derricks have appeared amidst tundra marshes in the North.

The working week was reduced with many workers and employees having begun to work six or seven hours a day. The average monthly wages and salaries of industrial workers and employees increased to 95 roubles. At the same time, larger payments and grants were allocated from public consumption funds.¹ With these increases taken into account, the wages and salaries rose to 128 roubles. From 1965 pensions were introduced for collective farmers. All in all, in 1965, 32 million people received pensions from the state, or 12 million more than in 1958.

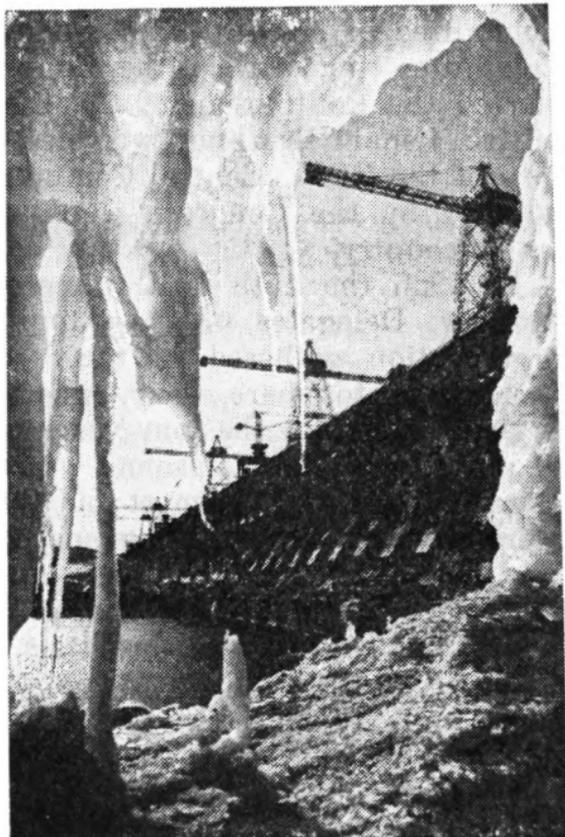
During the same period almost 17 million apartments and individual homes were built; the coun-

¹ Public consumption funds are a part of the national income of socialist society distributed among the population, in addition to wages and salaries, in the form of allowances and services whose purpose is to more fully meet people's material and cultural needs, regardless of the amount and quality of their work.

try's housing stock increased by almost 40 per cent.

While noting these achievements, the delegates to the 23rd Party Congress voiced their concern over the negative aspects in the country's economic development. During discussion of the new five-year plan every effort was made to take into consideration the accumulated experience. The entire work over the plan, the changes and additions introduced in the draft were in keeping with Lenin's principle that one should bring to the Party congress "the *practical experience* of economic development to which thought has been given and which

Giant dams on
Siberian rivers.



has been carefully *analyzed* by the common labour and common effort of all members of the Party.”¹

The 23rd Congress demonstrated the unity and high fighting spirit of the Party and its strong and inseparable links with the people. In order to raise still higher the Communist's status, encourage the initiative of Party organizations, enhance every Communist's responsibility for the work of his organization and of the Party as a whole, several amendments were introduced in the CPSU Rules. It was also decided that the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee should be renamed the Politbureau, as it had been before the 19th Congress, and to restore the post of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in place of First Secretary. The Central Committee elected by the Congress in its turn elected the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee. Leonid Brezhnev was elected General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The decisions adopted by the Congress were welcomed by the whole country.

In 1966 the 15th YCL Congress was held in Moscow. Delegates of the 23-million-strong youth organization gathered in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses to share their experience and discuss various issues. In the four years after the Congress, about 1,500,000 Komsomol members joined the Communist Party. Almost 500,000 young people were sent by district Komsomol committees to national construction projects. They laid railways, built electric power stations and chemical plants, houses of culture and hospitals, and fearlessly explored the natural wealth of the Far North, Siberia and the Soviet Far East. In 1966, for their active participation in the building of communism

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, V. 30, p. 405.

the Komsomol organizations of Bratsk, Volzhsky, Krivoi Rog, Norilsk, Zhdanov and Rudny were awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labour.

There were 4,000 delegates present at the Komsomol Congress. They were people of different knowledge, temperament, nationality and experience. But they were united by something stronger than that which set them apart: they held the same views, forming the Communist Party's fighting reserve. Therefore they devoted primary attention to problems of communist education of the younger generation. During the discussion the delegates sought ways of enhancing the Komsomol's role in the country's economic and cultural development and political life. The Congress expressed support for the new provision in the CPSU Rules stating that young people under 23 years of age who wished to be admitted to the Communist Party must have a recommendation of their Komsomol organizations. This places higher demands on those who wish to join the CPSU and enhances the Komsomol's role as the Communist Party's reserve.

In 1966, people under 26 years of age accounted for about a half of the country's population. They were all born not earlier than 1940 and therefore knew of the Second World War only from books, films and from what older people had told them. And they learned about the difficulties and specific features of building socialism in one, single country only from history books.

But it was clear to everyone that soon this generation would be deciding the country's future—how its industry, agriculture, science and culture would develop. A great responsibility lies with those who bring up and educate the rising generation and mould the builders of communist society. Hence the special attention which the 23rd Party Congress

and then the 15th Congress of the Young Communist League devoted to ideological issues.

There was yet another reason why attention to political work was heightened at this time. It was the eve of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. And people naturally wanted to think over and analyze the experience gained in the 50 years of Soviet power, once again to study the general laws governing the building of the new society and to give a resolute rebuff to all overt and covert enemies of communism, revisionists and dogmatists of various hues, who try to distort the essence and significance of the Soviet experience.

The Party, Komsomol organizations and trade unions were vigorously preparing for the important holiday.

In the summer of 1966 elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet were held. The election campaign proceeded in accordance with the 23rd Party Congress' directives on the need further to develop socialist democracy and improve the work of state and public organizations. Practice had shown that it was in the Soviets of Working People's Deputies—the organs of state power and the biggest public organizations—that socialist democracy found the fullest expression. Under the Party's ideological leadership, the Soviets have united and rallied the masses of people and ensured planned guidance of the country's economic and cultural development. By 1966, 30 years after the adoption of the 1936 Soviet Constitution, over 18 million deputies had gone through the Leninist school of state administration in the Soviets.

When recalling her trip to the United States in 1966 with a youth delegation, Lydia Sisoyeva, a deputy to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, told about a meeting with US Senators who were surprised to

learn that she was a milkmaid at a state farm near Moscow. "I remember how astonished they looked. It was quite understandable. There are no milkmaids in their Congress." Later the delegation visited a farm and Sisoyeva was asked to show how cows were milked in Russia. She successfully passed the test. The 25-year-old deputy ended her story with these words: "Why am I telling about this episode? Because what happened to me in the United States is no coincidence. The capitalist press tries to give the impression that in our country ordinary people are only allowed to do unskilled jobs while all administrative and managerial work is done by Communists. They want to divide our people into a ruling class—the Party, and ordinary working people—the masses. But at the state farm where I work every fifth worker is a Communist. We are the ruling class."

In 1966 there were two million deputies in the Soviets of Working People's Deputies throughout the country. There were also over 23 million activists grouped around them, which means that every seventh voter participated in the work of various public committees set up under the Soviets.

In the Eighth Five-Year Plan period the CPSU Central Committee put forward a task of further enhancing the role of Soviets of Working People's Deputies in the country's life. It was decided that the USSR Council of Ministers should report on its work at sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Similar procedures were established in Union and Autonomous Republics. Local Soviets were also to increase the responsibility of their sessions and bring to their consideration a wider range of issues related to verifying the fulfilment of assignments and resolving planning, financial and land-use problems, and to the work of local industries, com-

munity services and cultural establishments.

Deputies displayed a still higher sense of responsibility before the Soviet people when the economic development plan and the state budget for the jubilee year 1967 were to be ratified. Several weeks before the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet opened in December 1966, deputies—members of its standing commissions—were released from their routine duties. They came to Moscow and got down to a detailed study of the respective materials. The Chairman of the State Planning Committee and the Minister of Finance of the USSR delivered reports before the commissions. A discussion followed, and after this the halls and the foyer of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses turned into the delegates' study rooms. Discussions and debates went on, meetings were arranged at which heads of government departments, scientists, experts, and advanced workers took part. Every word and statistic were carefully considered, and every phrase in documents was analyzed. Thus, for instance, it was originally planned to commission the Central Asia-Centre gas pipeline sometime in 1968, but after further study the date was specified—it was to go into service at the end of 1967.

Of particular interest were data on the work of enterprises that had gone over to the new system of planning. The results were promising. In one year the country's industrial enterprises as a whole overfulfilled their plans and increased production by 8.6 per cent, while the output of enterprises working under the new system of planning and economic incentives showed a 10.5 per cent increase. Their bonuses and allocations for the building of apartment houses, rest homes, kindergartens and so on also went up accordingly.

After all sections of the draft plan and budget

were analyzed and all recommendations studied, the commissions drew up their conclusions. While the USSR Supreme Soviet was in session all Soviet people could follow its work and study the reports delivered by the heads of the State Planning Committee and the Finance Ministry and by representatives of the standing commissions, for these materials and the entire course of debates were promptly reported in the press. They could see that the resolutions were well-grounded and realistic. The year 1967 would clearly be a year of review of socialism's general achievements and would worthily mark the jubilee of Soviet power.

The 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution

In January 1967 the CPSU Central Committee adopted a resolution "On Preparations for the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution". The Party once again called on the Soviet people to mark the jubilee of the Land of Soviets as a festive occasion for all Soviet nations, as the triumph of communist ideas. Responding to the call, the Soviet people launched a production drive in honour of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. The drive was characterized by a spirit of socialist emulation, high political awareness of the masses and a striving to bind together the tasks of economic development and educational work.

Particular care and attention were given to veteran workers and oldest Party members. Of the 350,000 Communists who took part in the October Revolution, only about 6,000 were alive in 1967. At every enterprise, office and school there were meetings with old Bolsheviks, with those who took



Bright lights decorated Moscow's streets during the celebration of the anniversary of the October Revolution.

part in the storming of the Winter Palace, in the rout of White Guards and foreign interventionists, and who worked with Lenin.

The preparations for the jubilee were marked by nationwide celebrations in honour of advanced workers who participated in the industrialization and collectivization drives and who fought in the Second World War. In this way the continuity of generations and the vitality of revolutionary traditions were expressed. On May 8, 1967, an eternal flame was kindled at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier near the Kremlin wall. The flame had been lit from the eternal flame at the grave of heroes of the

October Revolution on the Mars Field in Leningrad and brought to Moscow by an escort of honour. The flame illuminates the words inscribed on the tombstone: "Your name is unknown. Your feat is immortal". On arriving in Moscow every Soviet citizen visits this sacred place.

In view of young people's growing interest in the history of the 1917 Revolution and of socialist construction, the Komsomol organized mass tours of places associated with revolutionary, military and labour feats. Altogether more than 20,000,000 people have participated in these tours.

More and more applications for membership were received by the Party, which testified to the growing political awareness of Soviet working people. In 1967, after careful examination, 668,697 people were admitted to the Communist Party as candidate-members, or almost 158,000 more than in the preceding year. Industrial workers accounted for over one-half of these candidate-members, collective farmers—for 14 per cent, the rest being professionals, mostly engineers, agronomists, teachers, doctors and others. About three-fourths of Soviet Communists worked in the sphere of material production at that time.

Soviet agriculture had also made good progress by the year 1967. Collective and state farms now knew exactly the amount of the produce they were to deliver to the state each year. The process of procurement took on the character of mutual commitments undertaken by the farms on the one hand and the state on the other. Certain financial privileges were given to farmers: purchasing prices for cattle, wheat, rye, buckwheat, millet, sunflower were raised; and the way of calculating farmers' income taxes was improved. From the start of the Eighth Five-Year Plan period, collective and state

farms began to purchase tractors, trucks, farming machinery and spare parts at reduced prices. As a rule, these were the prices set for factories and plants. The charge for electric power received by collective farms for production needs was also reduced.

The extensive programme of land reclamation and raising crop yielding capacity got under way. At that time there was on average only about a hectare of arable land per head of the population. What is more, the country's major grain growing areas—the south of the Ukraine, the Volga region, virgin lands in the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan, and part of the North Caucasus—were situated in droughty zones. Owing to unfavourable weather conditions many millions of tons of grain had often been lost. Therefore collective farmers welcomed the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government to increase state allocations and supply more machinery for combatting drought, preventing wind and water soil erosion, and planting and enlarging field-protective forest belts.

Another measure to raise the collective farm output was the introduction in the summer of 1966 of guaranteed remuneration of collective farmers' labour. Early in 1967 most collective farmers were already receiving a guaranteed monthly pay for their work. In addition, they were entitled to bonuses in cash and in kind after the results of their collective farm's work for each season were summed up. The size of these bonuses was also dependent on the amount and quality of every farmer's work and on the farm's total annual income.

The growth of material incentives played an important part in the extensive programme of raising farm production. Trucks, tractors, combine-harvesters and fertilizers were supplied to the coun-

tryside on a growing scale. Yields of industrial crops, vegetables and fruit increased markedly. The state plans for purchasing grain, cotton, sugar beet and many other items were overfulfilled. The output of all types of animal produce also increased.

The steady and balanced growth of the country's economy helped to improve the wellbeing of Soviet people. In the autumn of 1967 a five-day working week was introduced on a countrywide scale. The minimum size of wages and salaries was set at 60 roubles, and the annual leave was to be no shorter than 15 working days. Extra allowances were provided for those working in the regions in the Far North and the Soviet Far East. The retirement age for collective farmers was reduced by five years. The retirement age was made uniform for all Soviet citizens: 55 for women and 60 for men. (For workers of some professions and occupations, the retirement age is reduced.) Extra privileges were provided for those engaged in production harmful to health, and also for some groups of pensioners and invalids.

With the population's real incomes growing faster than planned, the remuneration of labour for collective farmers began to approach that for factory and office workers. It was noteworthy that the increase in the farmers' incomes came largely from their working at collective farms and in state organizations. Whereas in 1962 farmers' subsidiary small holdings accounted for over 40 per cent of their family budget, in 1967 this figure was less than 10 per cent; the remaining incomes (over 90 per cent) were received by collective farmers from their work at collective farms and from the state.

To be sure, life was changing in other countries, too. It is no secret that the USSR lagged behind

some Western states in certain respects. But no country in the world had maintained such high growth rates and had done so much for the people. The right to work and rest, employment for the entire able-bodied population, free medical service, high pensions, very low housing rents and the world's largest scope of housing construction per 1,000 of the population were among the great gains of the Soviet people. In pre-revolutionary Russia, a country ruled by capitalists and landowners, working people were deprived of all these rights and privileges.

In 1967, a survey was conducted among senior schoolchildren in Moscow, Krasnodar, Gorny Altai and some other places to find out what their aims and requirements in life were. One of the questions was: "What would you do if you could do anything you like?" Most answers were of a humane character: to ensure universal peace, do away with diseases, build communism. One-third of those questioned said they wanted to raise their cultural level and broaden their outlook. A mere 18 per cent expressed a desire to satisfy their personal needs.

The ideological staunchness of the rising generation was inseparably linked with the political maturity of all Soviet people. It had become a standard of conduct of Soviet people. This quality vividly manifested itself when international tension increased in the late 1960s. US militarist circles were seeking to escalate the war in Vietnam and spread it to the whole of Indochina. In 1967 the leaders of Israel unleashed aggression against Arab countries. In 1968 reactionary forces attempted to tear Czechoslovakia from the socialist community.

At numerous meetings Soviet workers, employees and collective farmers unanimously condemned the actions of US warmongers and Israeli extremists.

The decision taken by the Soviet government to render assistance to fraternal Czechoslovakia was fully supported by the Soviet people.

In 1967 the Soviet people celebrated the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. Many journalists and public figures from abroad visited the Soviet Union that year. The Soviet people especially cordially welcomed their friends from socialist community countries, envoys of Communist and Workers' parties, participants in the national-liberation movement and delegations of public organizations and working people. Many guests directly participated in international jubilee sessions and visited collective and state farms, research centres and educational establishments. They could see for themselves the upsurge of the Soviet people's creative initiative.

In October 1967 winners of the socialist emulation of the jubilee year were announced — thousands of work collectives and a number of military units and educational establishments were awarded honorary banners. Almost 130,000 heroes of the October 1917 Revolution and the Civil War (1918-1921) received orders and medals. High honours were also conferred on a large group of foreign nationals who were active supporters of Soviet power. Moscow and Leningrad were the first Soviet cities to be awarded the Order of the October Revolution.

On the eve of the festive event, November 3 and 4, members of the CPSU Central Committee and deputies of the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and of the RSFSR gathered in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. Old Bolsheviks and repre-

Mass meetings and demonstrations took place throughout the country in support of the struggle of the Vietnamese people against US aggression. ►



representatives of working people and public organizations as well as Soviet army servicemen were also present. Guests from 107 countries attended the celebration. Leonid Brezhnev delivered a report entitled "Fifty Years of Great Achievements of Socialism". Together with the speaker, all participants in the meeting looked back upon the fifty-year path of struggle and victories traversed by the country.

The Soviet experience has shown that it is possible within a short period of time to do away with exploitation of man by man, ensure the growth of the wellbeing of the whole population, overcome the age-old backwardness of formerly oppressed nations and nationalities, establish socialist brotherhood of peoples, and successfully build an advanced socialist society.

As is known, the term "advanced socialist society"¹ was first used by Lenin. Already in the early years of Soviet power, Lenin foresaw a stage in the building of the future society when Marxists' classic ideas of socialism would be fully translated into reality. The experience of the Soviet Union and some other socialist countries shows that the building of the foundations of socialism is ensured in the period of transition to socialism when the country's multi-structural economy and exploiter classes are abolished. (It took the Soviet Union about twenty years to complete this process—from 1917 to the late 1930s). The next, longer, period is essentially characterized by the completion of building socialist society and the latter's further development on its own basis. Implementation of the tasks of this period makes it possible for society to attain the level of advanced or mature socialism. (The Second World War and the con-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, V. 30, pp. 330-331.

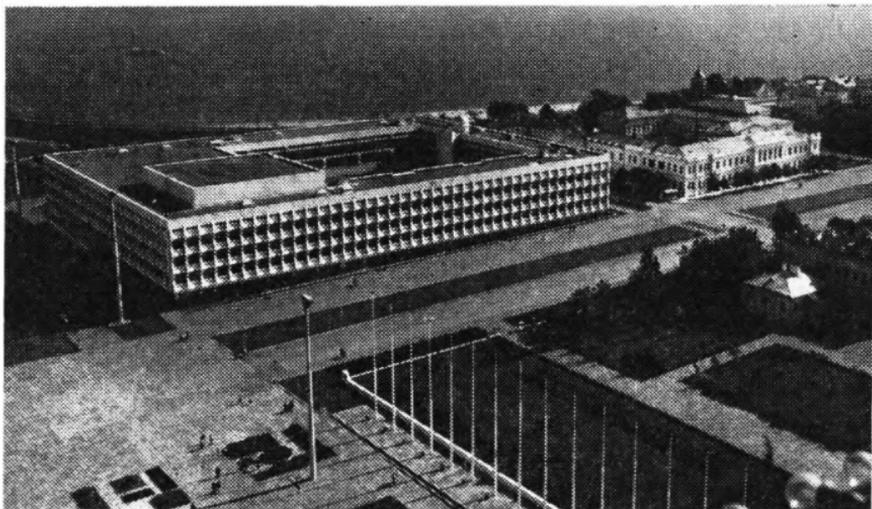
sequences of the Nazi aggression slowed down the Soviet Union's progress in this period.) It is from this stage that the building of the higher phase of classless society is begun, that is, socialism is gradually growing into communism.

The building of advanced socialist society in the USSR enabled the Soviet Communist Party to put forward the task of creating the material and technical foundation of communism in its third Party Programme adopted in 1961. In 1967, in his report devoted to the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, Leonid Brezhnev noted that an advanced socialist society had been built in the Soviet Union, and it was essential to more fully use the advantages it offered.

Introducing New Elements in Economic Management

In the summer of 1968 the CPSU Central Committee issued a resolution "On the Preparations for the Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin". The momentous date—April 22, 1970—became the most important landmark in the plans and everyday activities of all Soviet people. School-children and students, workers in town and country and servicemen took part in the preparations for the centenary. For the first time in human history Soviet cosmonauts performed a docking of spaceships and welded metal in space. Later three Soviet space crews made the world's first simultaneous flight into space. These immense achievements were dedicated to Lenin's centenary.

Commitments undertaken by advanced work collectives were closely coordinated with the main tasks of the five-year plan. Acceleration of scientific



Ulyanovsk is the hometown of Vladimir Lenin. Lenin's memorial complex has been built there.

and technological progress, utmost enhancement of labour productivity and improvement of quality of work became the crucial issues of the new period. Economists calculated that Soviet industry produced 200 tons of steel, about 600 tons of oil and 1,000 tons of coal every minute, and that every 90 seconds a tractor was coming off the country's production lines. It meant that every minute wasted cost the country tens of domestic refrigerators, TV sets and washing machines, and thousands of pairs of shoes. Conversely, the saving of time and the economic use of materials accelerated the country's economic growth.

Lenin wrote: "Communism begins when the *rank-and-file workers* display an enthusiastic concern that is undaunted by arduous toil to increase the productivity of labour, husband *every pood of grain, coal, iron* and other products, which do not accrue to the workers personally or to their 'close'

kith and kin, but to their 'distant' kith and kin, i.e., to society as a whole, to tens and hundreds of millions of people united first in one socialist state, and then in a union of Soviet republics."¹

Guided by Lenin's instructions, advanced workers initiated a campaign of socialist emulation for the title of best workers in various trades and professions, for the production of goods from saved materials, and so on. All work collectives were assigned the task of summing up results, choosing the best workers and inspiring the whole country with their enthusiasm so as to worthily mark the centenary of the birth of Lenin.

The upsurge of the masses' creative energy was promoted by the restructuring of the country's industrial management. In 1970 almost all industrial enterprises went over to the new system of planning and economic incentives. Advanced collectives generously shared their experience and helped others. The Ilyich electric equipment and machinery plant (named so after Lenin) in Moscow was among the first to introduce cost accounting in main production shops, develop an effective system of bonuses and set up a network of economic instruction. In keeping with the new system, the plant was provided with a material incentives fund, a fund for social welfare and housing construction and a fund for production development. Members of the plant's council of innovators and patent and design bureaus began to feel a greater interest in their work. Advanced workers began to draw up their personal programmes of raising productivity by the end of the five-year plan period. It became a widespread practice to study and introduce in work elements of scientific organization of labour. As a

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, V. 29, p. 427.

result, the plant overfulfilled all its plans and between 1968 and 1969 the material incentives fund increased almost threefold. The fund was partly used for modernizing its machinery and facilities and partly for granting bonuses to workers and building a new sports complex and a new palace of culture.

On October 2, 1969 *Pravda* published a letter from a group of workers of the Ilyich plant. The letter aroused a great interest and it was not surprising. Advanced workers raised the problem of introducing stricter measures in dealing with violators of work discipline and slipshod workers and shirkers. Regrettably, there are still those whose work leaves much to be desired. It is first of all necessary to cultivate in them a conscientious attitude to work and foster new social relations.

In joining the jubilee emulation in honour of the centenary of the birth of Lenin, the plant collective pledged to fulfil the Eighth Five-Year Plan by November 7, 1970, at the same time achieving the labour productivity targets set in the Five-Year Plan by April 22, 1970.

Many other enterprises followed the Ilyich plant's example. The successes achieved by the chemical plant in Shehekino, which doubled productivity in the 1968-1969 period and increased output by 80 per cent, became known throughout the country. Did it happen because the plant constructed new shops or installed new facilities and machinery? Did the plant employ more workers, engineers and high-skilled specialists? No, that was not the point. The plant was assigned a fixed plan of raising production by the end of the five-year period, with the targets specified for each year, while the size of the wages and salaries fund was to remain the same as in 1967. In other words, the plant was

given a set sum of money to pay for a definite volume of work on condition that the total sum of payment remained unchanged no matter how many men would be doing the work. Outwardly simple, the assignment involved complicated economic, social and purely psychological problems, to say nothing of technical difficulties.

Grandfathers and even fathers of many workers at the plant still remembered a time when dismissals and unemployment were part of a worker's life. It is a totally different thing to reduce the number of workers at a Soviet enterprise. The management at the Shchekino plant took a thoughtful approach to the matter. Workers to be dismissed were given a choice of working at allied enterprises, going over to the building trade, raising their qualifications, or changing their profession. Naturally, their age, family status, wages and salaries were taken into consideration. The management and public organizations were obliged to find adequate employment for them. Labour legislations were strictly observed.

Later the secretary of the plant's Party committee said: "It was important that the workers should not take their dismissal as a personal offence or a negative assessment of their work. The very word 'dismissal' was usually avoided. Actually it was a matter of using available labour reserves in the most efficient way." Along with this, work rate setting was improved, advanced work techniques were introduced, and trained workers were employed on jobs that required skills in several trades. In two years, the plant's work force was reduced by nearly 900 persons while the wages and salaries of those employed were raised by one-fourth on average, and the general cultural and technical level of the work collective rose signifi-

cantly. The plant became the leader in the country-wide drive for raising productivity.

Such drives had been conducted before. But now primary attention was given to economic indicators. The country was no longer suffering from an acute shortage of various products. Industrial enterprises were given lists drawn up by the USSR Council of Ministers of goods whose production in excess of the plan was forbidden. Certifying of goods produced was carried out by authorized state agencies on a country-wide scale. The best products were awarded the Quality Mark. The Ilyich plant mentioned earlier became the first to receive the award in April 1967. The electric motors manufactured at the plant were on a par with the world's best and were exported to many countries of the world.

In 1970 the Quality Mark was conferred on gantry-cranes, excavators, turbines, several makes of watches, TV sets, radio sets, knitted articles and some other items manufactured by different factories of the country. All in all, 2,500 items widely known at home and abroad were awarded the Quality Mark. This figure is good evidence of how strict the standards were. The Quality Mark is exceptionally prestigious, and the state as a whole, and individual enterprises and workers—all stand to gain from the drive to receive the award.

At the present stage of socialist emulation the emphasis is on combining the interests of production as a whole with the interests of all members of the work force, the aim being to raise the country's economic and cultural level and heighten the socio-political activity of work collectives. In 1966 the trade unions adopted a resolution stating that in conferring the title of *udarnik* of communist work (advanced worker) account should be taken

not only of a person's work, but also of his educational, cultural and technical level, everyday conduct and participation in public activities.

Similar changes took place in Soviet agriculture as a result of implementing measures outlined by the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee in March 1965. The strengthening of the technical base of agriculture, introduction of material incentives and overall greater attention to farmers on the part of the state considerably improved the material and cultural standards of collective farmers and state farm workers. Let us take as an example the artel *Novy byt* (New Life) in Byelorussia. In 1969, 719 people were employed there, or over 100 less than in 1959. But it gathered in almost twice as much harvest, increased the production of milk more than twofold, and so on. The size of arable land remained the same, but it was worked differently. Whereas previously about half of all operations in the fields were carried out manually, in 1969 95 per cent of them were mechanized. The amount of fertilizers used increased twofold. There were two engineers, an economist, and an architect on the artel's staff and the total number of specialists increased almost threefold, while their wages, on average, 2.5-fold. Cattle breeders began to receive 140 to 160 roubles monthly, and tractor drivers—up to 250 roubles.

Farms became still richer in the Krasnodar region where climatic conditions are much more favourable than in Byelorussia. In 1970, the incomes of collective farms in the Krasnodar region exceeded 1,000 million roubles, a twofold increase over a ten-year period. One of the main items of expenditure is construction. Farms, schools, kindergartens, clubs, roads and highways have been built. (The state is to put up electric power transmission

lines.) So as not to waste financial resources and in order to apply industrial methods of work, collective farms in the Krasnodar region jointly founded a co-operative building organization. In 1970 it had a cement plant and enterprises to produce ferro-concrete, brick, joiner's items and so on.

Similar organizations were set up in all major regions in the country. This promoted the drawing closer together of the co-operative form of property and public property. Collective farms were growing into big farming production complexes furnished with modern machinery and staffed with skilled personnel. In 1969 every collective farm had, on average, about 3,000 hectares of arable land, over 1,000 head of cattle, about 600 pigs, 1,500 sheep, over 50 tractors, and scores of combine harvesters, trucks, and electric motors. All in all, the country's collective and state farms¹ had over 1,800,000 tractors, 580,000 grain combine harvesters and more than 1,000,000 trucks.

In late November 1969 the Third All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers was held in Moscow. It became a major event in the life of Soviet countryside and the entire Soviet people. The Congress adopted new Regulations of a collective farm, a draft of which had been published long before and had been widely discussed in the press and at various meetings. The Regulations clearly defined the main tasks of collective farms and the rights and obligations of collective farmers; they also summed up the changes that had taken place in Soviet agriculture by the end of the 1960s and opened new vistas for the further growth of productive forces in agriculture.

¹ In 1969 there were, on average, 7,000 hectares of sown area, over 2,000 head of cattle, about 1,000 pigs and 4,000 sheep per every state farm.

Three aspects should be noted with regard to the work of the Congress. The first is political; the principles of collective farm democracy were strengthened. The Congress decided to set up elective councils of collective farms in districts, regions and Union Republics, and it elected an All-Union Council consisting of 125 members. The councils are to discuss the key issues of collective farms' life and work, sum up the experience of organization of production and work out recommendations on utilizing available resources more fully for increasing farm production. Under the new Regulations team leaders, farm managers and other middle-level managerial personnel are to be elected at a general meeting. (Before that they were appointed by the

The Third All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers in session.



collective farm board.) Collective farmers can now recall or relieve any worker of his duties before his term of office expires if he does not justify their confidence. At the general meeting's wish the chairman and members of the board may be elected by secret ballot.

The new Regulations, their every article, carefully define not only production but also educational functions of a collective farm board.

In the general upsurge of enthusiasm on the eve of the centenary of Lenin's birth many important plan targets were overfulfilled and the political awareness of all strata of the Soviet population was heightened. In April 1970 jubilee festivities were held throughout the country. The press carried reports of the winners in the emulation drive launched in honour of the centenary.

On April 11, 1970, all Soviet people worked on Saturday without pay in honour of the first communist *subbotnik*¹ organized 51 years ago by a small group of railway workers of the Moscow sorting yard. The workers voluntarily repaired several locomotives after their work without pay. Lenin regarded their initiative as the beginning of a new trend fraught with great historical significance: in the harsh conditions of the Civil War and foreign intervention, notwithstanding the country's economic dislocation, a communist attitude to work was born. For the first time in history working people had overthrown the rule of exploiters and could work for themselves, for their own society. Fifty years later, on April 11, 1969, tens of millions of working people of the world's first socialist state took part in a communist *subbotnik*. All the money

¹ *Subbotnik* is voluntary unpaid work carried out on a Saturday (*subбота* in Russian).

earned on this day was given to the Peace Fund for the building of medical institutions. On Saturday, April 11, 1970, the year of the Lenin centenary, all Soviet people again worked voluntarily, without pay.

With accelerated economic growth rates the 1970 economic development plan was carried out ahead of schedule. The significance of this can be seen from the following comparison. In 1970 the country turned out twice as much industrial products as during all the prewar five-year plan periods taken together. It was the concluding phase of the effort to fulfil the Guidelines approved at the 23rd CPSU Congress in 1966 for the 1966-1970 period.

Prior to the opening of the 24th CPSU Congress in the spring of 1971, Party conferences were held in districts, towns and regions throughout the country and congresses of Communist Parties of Union Republics were also convened to discuss the results of the country's economic development for the Eighth Five-Year Plan period. Delegates to the congresses and conferences and the entire Party press noted the important qualitative as well as quantitative changes that had taken place in the past five-year period. Economic reform had been carried out throughout the country, and a course of all-round strengthening of developed socialist society had been followed. Economic growth rates for the 1966-1970 period were higher than in the preceding five years. In 1970 the country's national income surpassed the 1965 level by 41 per cent. Its average annual rates of growth were higher than in the 1961-1965 period. This made it possible to overfulfil the main targets for improving the Soviet people's wellbeing set by the 23rd CPSU Congress. Real per capita incomes increased by 33 per cent as against the planned 30 per cent. The



Well-lighted, spacious schools are built for Soviet children.

average monthly wages and salaries of workers and employees grew by 26 per cent. Minimum wages and salaries were raised in all sectors of the national economy, and income taxes for a number of categories of workers and employees were reduced. Enterprises and institutions began to work five days a week with two days off. The working people's annual leaves were extended. The remuneration of collective farmers' work increased by 42 per cent.

During the Eighth Five-Year Plan period the role of public consumption funds in improving the population's wellbeing increased. There is not a single family in the Soviet Union which did not enjoy the benefits of these funds. Per capita allocations from public consumption funds rose from 182 roubles in 1965 to 263 roubles in 1970. With account taken of these payments and various allowances and grants, the average monthly wages and salaries of workers and employees employed in the national economy reached 164 roubles in 1970.

That was why the consumption of foodstuffs and consumer goods increased, and the volume of domestic trade turnover rose nearly 1.5-fold during the

Eighth Five-Year Plan period. The demand for high-grade foodstuffs and durables grew noticeably, which means that the structure of the population's consumption improved.

Housing construction was carried out on an increasing scale. Between 1966 and 1970 almost 55 million Soviet citizens moved to new flats. This is equivalent to building anew more than 50 big cities with a population of one million each.

Of course, there were people who had not moved to new flats and had not had an opportunity to spend their annual leave in trade-union sanatoria and rest homes free of charge. But every Soviet family enjoyed the benefits of free medical service, which had been improved during the preceding five-year period. Better working conditions were provided at industrial enterprises throughout the country. The building of kindergartens and schools and new premises for establishments of higher education proceeded on a large scale. Scores of modern sports complexes were commissioned. But the main thing was that with every passing year the Soviet people increasingly felt the advantages of the Soviet way of life thanks to the complete and final victory of socialism in the Soviet Union and to the building of mature socialist society.

The country's rising living standards were regarded by Communists and non-Party people alike as a direct result of the high growth rates achieved in industry, agriculture and capital construction. In 1970 the country's industrial output increased 150 per cent as compared with 1965. Fixed production assets grew by 50 per cent. Their increment in the 1966-1970 period surpassed the entire production capacities the country had in 1955, the year when the Soviet Union's economic potential was already sufficiently large to enable it to prepare for the

launching of the world's first artificial Earth satellite, which took place at the end of 1957.

At the end of 1970 the Soviet Union scored another success in space exploration: the automatic station Luna-17 was launched into space. It placed on the Moon the world's first self-propelled space robot-researcher, *Lunokhod-1* (Moon rover). On instructions from the ground station located almost 400,000 km away, this robot made the first trail on the Moon and transmitted to the Earth valuable information on the properties of the lunar soil, the effect of cosmic rays, radiation, and so on.

There is yet another feature of the Soviet space programme that deserves special mention—co-operation between Soviet and foreign scientists and researchers. In 1969 an artificial satellite *Interkosmos-1* was launched from Soviet territory. Its on-board equipment was made jointly by scientists, engineers and workers from the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. Scientists from Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and Romania also observed the flight of the satellite and studied the obtained data. The socialist countries continued their co-operation in space exploration in the 1970s.

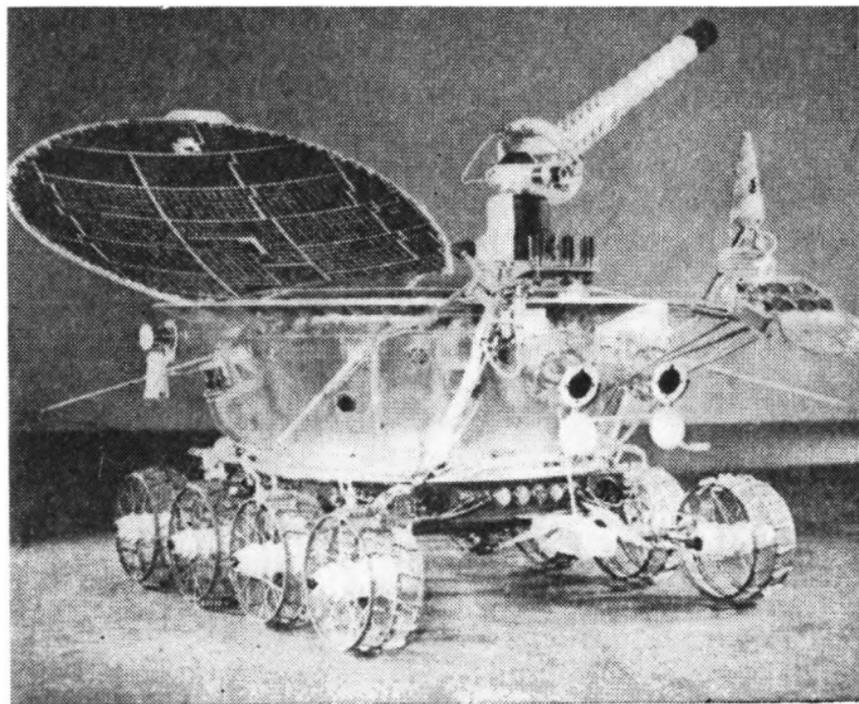
In the 1960s, as before, in organizing and directing the country's economic and social development, the Soviet Communist Party worked tirelessly for strengthening its ties with the masses of people, admitting the best representatives of working people into the ranks of Communists. In conditions of developed socialist society several new trends in this sphere may be noted: the number of people annually admitted to the CPSU had grown, workers accounted for the majority of new members; and the number of secondary school graduates among

new Party members had increased steadily. Whereas in 1959 the Soviet Communist Party had 8,200,000 members, in 1970 the figure rose to 14,400,000. In other words, in the latter half of the 1950s every 17th Soviet citizen among the adult population was a Party member, in 1966—every 13th, and in 1970—every 11th.

During this period the proportion of Communists with a secondary or higher education rose from 43 to 55 per cent.

Needless to say, as the CPSU grew numerically and qualitatively and as its methods of work improved, its role in the Soviet people's material and

Lunokhod-1, the first self-propelled automatic space research apparatus.



cultural life increased. At the stage of developed socialism this process unfolds on a scale and with an intensity that are unprecedented, thereby creating the prerequisites for resolving new problems of communist construction.

ALONG THE ROAD OF PROGRESS

The Party Defines the Country's Economic Policy for the 1970s

In January 1971 a draft of the Guidelines for the country's economic development for the 1971-1975 period was published. It was one of the main documents to be adopted by the forthcoming 24th Party Congress. The CPSU Central Committee submitted the draft for discussion by Party organizations, Communists and all Soviet people. This procedure was established in the mid-1950s, from the time of the 20th Party Congress, and had been strictly observed since then. Extensive public discussions of the draft were an important part of Soviet democracy at a new, higher stage of communist construction—the stage of developed socialism.

The active participation of Soviet people in discussing the draft of the Guidelines testified to the general approval of the Party's policy. Within less than three months *Pravda* alone received about 9,000 articles and letters with suggestions on all aspects of the country's economic life. Altogether, in the course of public discussions, more than one million proposals and suggestions were submitted.

A collective opinion was being formed which incorporated the most valuable and significant of the proposals and suggestions. Thus, Lenin's idea about the need to bring to Party congresses collective ex-

perience carefully tested and weighed became a reality. Lenin had repeatedly said that the collective wisdom of the people creates such values which no individual genius can produce.

Following and developing the course worked out by the 23rd CPSU Congress, the Party affirmed its unswerving will and ability to define new tasks and find ways of implementing them with strict account being taken of objective conditions and possibilities. The 1970s were marked by a growing social orientation of the country's economic development, a strengthening of the links between economic and social tasks. The 24th CPSU Congress pointed out that there would be a radically new approach to problems of the all-round improvement of the Soviet people's wellbeing and cultural standards, which was declared the main task of the new five-year plan. In the Central Committee's report to the Congress, Leonid Brezhnev said: "These days we set and perform tasks of which we could only dream in the preceding stages."

The Volga auto works makes **Zhiguli** passenger cars which are exported to many countries of the world.



On the basis of the country's growing economic potential, the Congress mapped out a programme of social measures unparalleled in Soviet history. Its main objectives were considerably to increase real incomes, rapidly build up public consumption funds, reduce arduous physical labour, and accelerate the rates of housing construction and improving living conditions.

To carry out these tasks, huge financial resources were needed, which could be obtained only by augmenting the country's public wealth. The necessity to use more effectively the achievements of science and technology, optimize the system of management, and attain high labour productivity came to the fore. As before, the emphasis was on the development of heavy industry.

The new Tenth Five-Year Plan was conceived by the CPSU Central Committee as a direct continuation of the preceding one. Both served the same aim of rapidly raising the Soviet people's material and cultural level. The Central Committee set the task of maintaining the annual rate of growth of the people's real incomes at the fairly high level of 5 per cent achieved in the first half of the 1970s. But from now on every per cent of growth required more financial resources as the general level of wellbeing was rising. The Party's social policy rested on the sound basis of further strengthening the country's economic and cultural potential. The Congress called on the Soviet people to improve management, raise the qualifications of cadres and develop the natural resources of the country's eastern regions at accelerated rates.

There was yet another important economic task set by the Congress. In the mid-1970s the Soviet Union daily extracted about 2,000,000 tons of coal and over 1,300,000 tons of oil and produced nearly

400,000 tons of steel, over 5,000 motor vehicles, 1,500 tractors, almost 2,000 pairs of footwear and 27,000,000 square metres of fabrics. With this scale of production it was not so important to maintain the rates of growth as to improve the quality of all products and ensure more efficient use of the country's economic mechanism. That was why the Tenth Five-Year Plan was called "the plan of efficiency and quality".

Combining Scientific and Technological Achievements with the Possibilities of Socialism

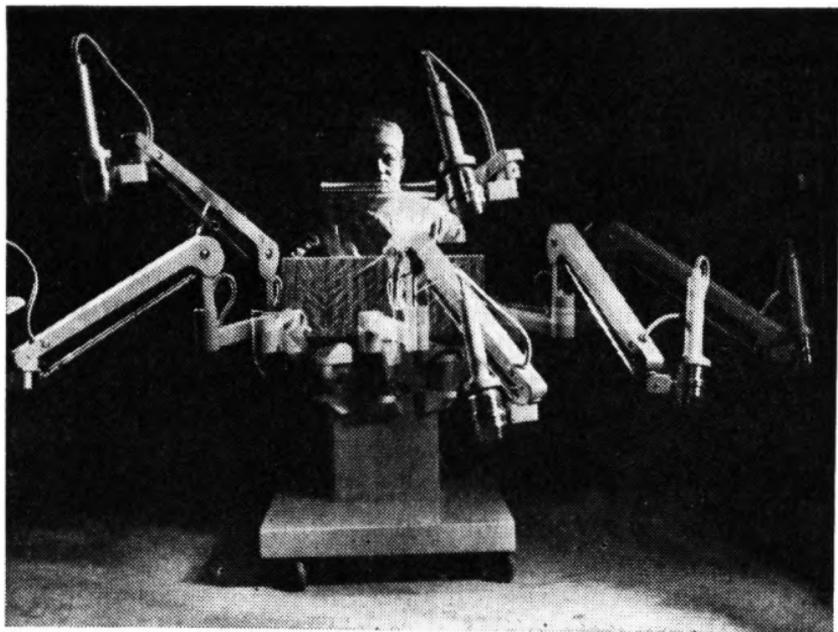
Raising the efficiency of production was set forth by the Party as the main task of the Tenth Five-Year Plan period. Now, if labour productivity were to remain at the previous level, then, in order to fulfil the Party's guidelines for the development of material production, 37 million new jobs would have to be created in the first half of the 1970s alone. But during this period the number of people of working age increased by a mere 10 million, and over half of them would be working in the field of education and public health and in the services sphere.

Manpower shortages were expected toward the end of the 1970s when a less numerous generation of Soviet citizens born in the 1960s would reach working age. The consequences of the Second World War in which many millions of Soviet people died and tens of millions were absent from home for several years, were still felt. Whereas in 1976 the increase of labour force in industry was about 600,000 persons, in 1979, it was only about 300,000.

To achieve the set targets, the technical level of production must be raised sharply. The 24th Party Congress put forward the thesis that it was necessary to combine the achievements of science and technology with the possibilities offered by the system of socialism. The 25th CPSU Congress defined still more clearly the demand of our time: "The revolution in science and technology requires radical changes in the style and methods of economic work, a determined struggle against sluggishness and red tape; it requires true respect for science and the ability and desire to take advice from and reckon with science." In a word, the slogan introduced earlier during the industrialization drive "Bring science to the level of production!" was now logically supplemented with the slogan "Bring production to the level of science!" The latter corresponded to the present stage of the scientific and technological revolution.

It would seem that the task was simple enough. First, the time needed to translate new ideas into mass-produced goods should be reduced. Secondly, every effort should be made to attain a level of production comparable to the highest in the world. But here many interlinking factors were involved—planning, the structure of industry, the organization of science and people's attitude to work.

At this time production associations were increasingly setting the pace in industry. They were first formed in the mid-1960s, and by the late 1970s they were turning out about half of the country's industrial products. Production associations were formed around big, well-equipped factories and plants. Among them were such world-famous plants as the Volzhsky auto works which makes the passenger car *Zhiguli*, the giant truck works *ZIL* in Moscow, the machine building plant in the Urals



Close interaction of science and production had led to rapid technological progress. This apparatus carries out an accurate diagnosis at a patient's bed with the help of radioactive isotopes.

and the Kirov plant in Leningrad. The big advantage here is that the most efficient enterprises could quickly pass on their experience in organization of work to other enterprises within their association.

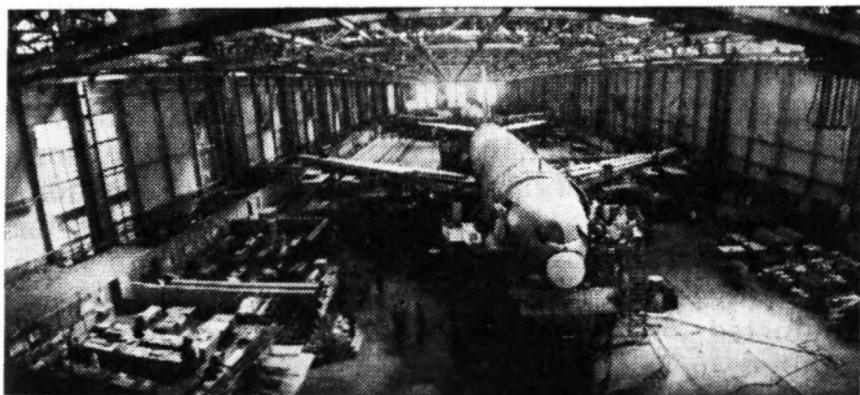
It was the production associations that felt the need for closer contacts with science most acutely. The question was discussed of how best to integrate the work of industrial enterprises and that of research institutions. That was how the idea of setting up scientific-production associations (SPA) arose. SPAs comprise factories and plants, research centres, design bureaus, building departments, and so on. This alliance of science and production has

made it possible to greatly reduce the time needed to introduce scientific discoveries in production.

The CPSU Central Committee and Party committees in Union Republics and regions actively supported the forming of scientific-production associations whenever this was considered helpful, and sought to involve more scientists in their work. By the early 1980s about 250 SPAs have been set up in the Soviet Union, most of which are engaged in developing new and highly efficient machinery.

The USSR Academy of Sciences with its 250 institutes engaged in various fields of research is an immense scientific potential. After the 25th CPSU Congress it was for the first time given the task to coordinate all scientific work throughout the country. The Academy of Sciences and several ministries began to carry out joint work in the most important technological fields. Their work concerned several branches of machine building, communication means, the electronic and chemical industries, and microbiology. Researchers of the Academy and engineers and workers in the said industries have been working together in a "research-production"

Airbus IL-86 is the biggest Soviet passenger plane.



cycle from an early stage. In the mid-1970s US journals noted that the USSR was 8 to 10 years behind the USA in microelectronics, communications and other important technological fields. In 1979 the same journals said that the lag was only 2 or 3 years, and two years later they had to admit that the USSR was on a par with the USA in terms of quality of products and in some cases even technically superior. It is of course hard to say exactly to what extent this progress was due to the new system of co-operation of science and production, but there can be no doubt that the system has played a big role in it.

Here is another example. It took the Soviet Union only a few years to start industrial production of a vaccine against influenza, one of the most widespread diseases of this century. The vaccine was developed by physical chemists at the Institute of Nuclear Physics of the USSR Academy of Sciences in co-operation with scientists from the Pasteur Institute of the USSR Ministry of Public Health and workers of the microbiological industry. The first lot of 10,000,000 doses of the vaccine was produced in 1980.

At present about 200 thousand scientists, or nearly half of all those who hold scientific degrees in the country, are on the staff of institutions of higher learning. Research is conducted not only at these institutions but also at 60 specialized research centres set up under them and at 1,500 specialized laboratories. In the 1970s scientific research work was basically re-organized in response to decisions taken by the CPSU Central Committee calling for closer links between science and production. The results of this work were fairly impressive: research conducted on orders from industrial enterprises accounted for 80 per cent of all scientific work done

in the country. Take Moscow University for example. Every year over 300 scientific innovations and research findings made by its researchers are introduced in production. Researchers at the University are also helping to solve problems of developing the area through which the Baikal-Amur Railway is being laid, cultivating the Non-Black Soil Zone in the Russian Federation, exploring space, and many others.

Many important problems have been solved by Soviet scientists. Over the past years they have overcome the lag in some biological sciences, in particular, molecular biology and genetic engineering, fields where Soviet research had been held back owing to a number of reasons, the main one being the erroneous views of some scientists. As is known, it is in these fields that major scientific discoveries have been made which open up unprecedented possibilities of investigating the secrets of living matter not only of animals but also of man.

Advanced scientific research has received full support of the Soviet Communist Party. In 1974 the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers outlined a set of concrete measures and adopted a corresponding resolution on providing a strong basis for research in the most promising sciences. Since then laboratories have been supplied with all necessary equipment, facilities and materials for conducting experiments, new scientific institutions have been set up, experienced research teams have begun to work on new subjects, and new faculties have been established at universities. All these measures have yielded good results. Successes in the investigation of the protein structure, in production of artificial genes and some other fundamental discoveries have opened wide prospects before medicine and agriculture. Already now ways

have been found for making new medicinal preparations and vitamins, enzymes and fodder additives.

Science has become a direct productive force in the age of the scientific and technological revolution. The CPSU has taken measures to increase the role of science in the development of the country's economy and in the sphere of human labour. How have these measures worked?

Striving for Technological Progress

Marx considered that the automatic system of machines would become the acme of the development of machine production. But only a hundred years later his brilliant foresight began to turn into reality. Whereas in the late 1950s there were few automatic lines in the Soviet Union, by the end of the 1970s they numbered more than 25,000.

In the mid-1970s automatic machines and devices made up over 6 per cent of the entire cost of machinery and equipment in Soviet industry. (Incidentally, the figure was the same for US industry.) And they accounted for 20 per cent of the country's industrial output. But it remained a priority task to replace obsolescent machinery and considerably reduce manual labour. Outdated machines and mechanisms still made up a large part of the country's machine fleet, and millions of workers were employed on manual jobs such as loading and unloading cargoes. Solution of these problems would help markedly raise labour productivity.

The Communist Party began to set increasingly complex tasks in its guidelines for the country's economic development for each five-year period. Machine builders, who formed the largest section of

the country's working class, were the first to tackle these problems. The CPSU provided guidance to the 13 million people engaged in the engineering industries through one million Communists working at factories, plants and design bureaus. To understand how effective this guidance was, it is sufficient to recall some of the resolutions adopted by the CPSU Central Committee at that time. In the first half of the 1970s the Central Committee outlined a series of measures aimed at the faster mechanization of labour-consuming loading and unloading operations and modernization of the machinery and facilities for the coal, oil and chemical industries. Later similar measures were mapped out for the modernization of agriculture and light industry. At the same time a number of measures were worked out for raising the technical level of mechanical engineering proper. In the latter half of the 1970s the CPSU Central Committee paid unremitting attention to this matter and adopted new resolutions setting forth more complicated tasks for its development.

Every such resolution was a programme of action. Party committees of republics and regions, where big mechanical engineering plants were located, discussed the steps to be taken to fulfil the targets set by the Central Committee, specified the time limits and assigned tasks to particular enterprises and people. Everything was formulated in concrete terms. Then the management and the Party committees of the respective enterprises drew up detailed plans for implementing the Party directives. At meetings of workers pledges were made and commitments undertaken and the tasks were specified for every shift, section and shop. Party organizations strictly supervised the fulfilment of all decisions and plans.

The outcome of economic development in the 1970s testified to the strenuous efforts made by machine builders. During the latter half of the 1960s they began to mass-produce 1,400 new machines. The respective figure for each of the two five-year periods of the 1970s rose to 2,700. More outdated machinery was withdrawn from production—over 1,800 types of machines for each year of the Tenth Five-Year Plan period as against about 500 throughout the 1966-1970 period. Thus, there was no doubt about the general progress in the country's economic development: in the Tenth Five-Year Plan period the number of new types of machines, equipment and instruments that went into serial production increased nearly 100 per cent as compared with the Eighth Five-Year Plan period, while the total number of those withdrawn from production increased almost 300 per cent.

There was hardly anyone in the Soviet Union who did not feel the effect of technological progress at work and at home. Modern Soviet airliners IL-62 and TU-154 are world-famous. A new generation of airplanes have been put into operation: YAK-42 and airbus IL-86 designed for 120 and 350 passengers respectively. Colour TV sets, household refrigerators, air conditioners, passenger cars *Zhiguli* and *Niva*, new makes of record players, tape recorders and radio sets have become accessible to the mass of the people. These are what people use and encounter in their everyday life. Here are some examples of a different kind. In the early 1970s the most widely used power generating unit had a capacity of 300,000 kW. During the Tenth Five-Year Plan period 500,000- and 800,000-kW power generating units were as a rule installed at thermal power stations, and a generating unit with a capacity of 1,200,000 kW was produced for the power sta-

tion in the Kostroma region in the upper reaches of the Volga.

There is one sphere of technological progress that deserves special mention. This is the development of automated control systems (ACS). Their production began in the late 1960s. When the results of the Eighth Five-Year Plan period were summed up, it was pointed out that 14 automated control systems had already been built. In those days their field of application was limited owing to the structure of industrial enterprises and production processes. But the Party was looking ahead. The advantages of the socialist economic system, which permits direction of economic and social processes on

Flights into space
have become
regular events.



a countrywide scale, created the conditions for drawing up more effective plans and finding optimum solutions with the help of ACS. The 24th CPSU Congress oriented the Soviet people toward this goal, and the 25th Congress underlined its importance. Automated control systems are now widely used by organizations whose sphere of influence embraces large territories. And the rate of introducing ACS has been stepped up.

The effect of technological progress on production can be evaluated differently. There are data that characterize labour productivity. Calculations are made showing the growth of output and the extent to which this growth has been due to the renewal of equipment and machinery. One should also note the social factors—working conditions have been improved for many Soviet people, their work has become more interesting and therefore they find more satisfaction in it. Thanks to mechanization and automatization alone, the labour of 5,000,000 people was saved in the 1970s. This is more than the total number of workers employed in industrial production in many industrially developed states.

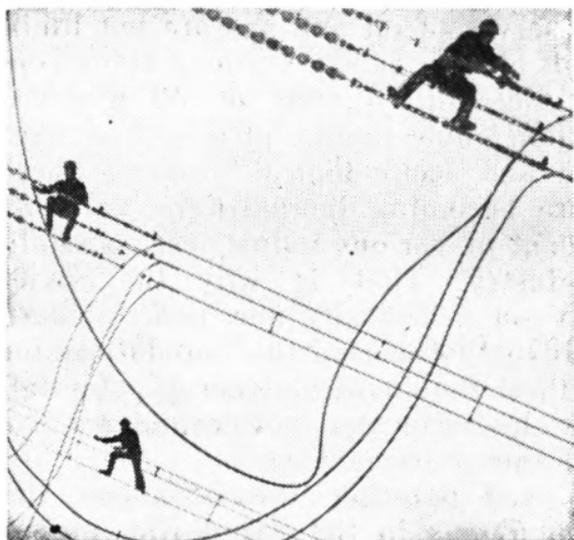
Tackling the Problem of the Century

The USSR leads the world in the production of oil and occupies second place in the production of coal and natural gas. Since the output of these materials runs into astronomic figures, it is particularly important to make the most rational use of the country's natural resources. As the 25th CPSU Congress pointed out, the power industries have entered a new stage of development.

The world's reserves of oil and gas are not limitless. In the USSR electric power stations alone consumed annually 100 million tons of oil products and 100,000 million cubic metres of gas. And with further scientific and technological progress these raw materials are becoming increasingly valuable for the development of various industries, above all, the chemical industry. That is why the Soviet Communist Party set a basically new task—that of building in the 1976-1980 period the foundations for the further growth of the country's energy potential, primarily by developing water power and by the use of cheap coal and of atomic fuel.

A new 20-storeyed building towers above the trees amidst pine forests in the Sverdlovsk region in the Urals. This is the third power generating unit of the Beloyarskaya atomic power station. Commissioned in 1980, it is the world's biggest fast-neutron reactor, with a capacity of 600,000 kW. When utilizing natural uranium, this reactor not only generates electric power but also produces a new atomic fuel—plutonium, which is partly used at the station and partly supplied to other atomic power stations. The outstanding Soviet scientist Igor Kurchatov, who headed the country's comprehensive programme for the utilization of atomic power in the 1940s and 1950s, once said: "This is a process of production on a large scale. It's as if you burn coal and still get more of it together with the ashes." The idea of building such reactors appeared at the initial stage of construction of atomic power stations, but at that time it was technically unfeasible. Now fast-neutron reactors have a great future.

It took the Soviet Union only a short time to begin to produce nuclear reactors on an industrial scale. More and more new atomic power sta-



Electrification is a powerful accelerator of scientific and technological progress. In Kirghizia electric power transmission lines have been built at a record height of 3,000 metres.



Moscow has grown "taller" in recent years. 19- to 26-storeyed buildings have been erected on a large scale.

tions were built, and the capacity of existing ones increased. In the latter half of the 1970s atomic power stations were built in many parts of the country. The Armenian atomic power station and the Chernobylskaya atomic power station near Kiev were commissioned. New power generating units began to operate at atomic power stations near Leningrad, Kursk and Voronezh; new stations were under construction in Lithuania and in the Smolensk, Kaliningrad and Saratov regions. All these projects were in the European part of the Soviet Union far removed from the country's deposits of oil, gas and coal. New technical solutions and powerful electricity generating units made it possible to lower the cost of electric power produced by atomic power stations.

Special measures were taken to ensure security of the personnel at atomic power stations and of the population in neighbouring areas. In 1978 an accident occurred at one of the atomic power stations in the United States, which aroused strong protests from opponents of atomic power engineering in many countries of the world. But the experience of the Soviet Union in this field provides a convincing answer to a question that has caused much concern to the world public. In the more than 15 years of operation of atomic power stations in the Soviet Union no cases of irradiation of personnel have been recorded.

Some ten or fifteen years ago, it was hard to believe that the production of electricity by atomic power stations would increase by 260 per cent within a mere five-year period (1976-1980). During this period overall electric power generation in the country increased by 25 per cent. True, the atomic power stations accounted for only 6 per cent of the total electricity output. However, the

amount of electricity they generated was more than that produced by the entire country on the eve of the Second World War. What is most important is that atomic power stations are more advantageous than thermal power stations: the cost of electricity is lower and they do not pollute the atmosphere with ashes and other combustion products.

The hydraulic engineering industry also contributed to implementing the country's energy programme. Throughout the 1970s the building of new big hydro-engineering complexes continued, which helped to solve in a comprehensive manner problems of electric power generation, land irrigation, and water supply for towns and industry. Upon completion of one construction project many-thousand-strong collectives of builders moved to another. Hydro-engineering projects were being built in Georgia and Tajikistan, Latvia and the Volga region, Siberia and the Soviet Far East.

In the 1970s major changes also took place in the location of the country's productive forces. At present almost three-fourths of the country's mineral and fuel resources, over half of its hydro-power capacities and reserves of fresh water, about half of its timber reserves, one-fifth of the land suitable for farming and a considerable part of non-ferrous metal ores are concentrated in Siberia. In accordance with plans drawn up by the Soviet Communist Party, Soviet people have begun to develop the resources and territory of Siberia and build there new cities and towns, the Baikal-Amur Mainline, industrial complexes, medical institutions, schools, kindergartens, and so on. The Baikal-Amur Mainline is a 3,200-km railway leading from the centre of Siberia to the Pacific coast with

temperatures ranging from $+40^{\circ}\text{C}$ in summer to -60°C in winter.

The main achievement in the entire postwar history of Siberia was the development of its oil and gas deposits. Already in the latter half of the 1960s, when oil and gas were mainly extracted in the country's European regions, industrial exploitation of oil and gas deposits discovered shortly before in Western Siberia got under way. In the early 1970s, in keeping with the guidelines of the 24th CPSU Congress, huge investments were made in the region, and hundreds of thousands of workers and specialists and vast quantities of the latest machinery and equipment were sent there. Only a few years before most scientists and economic managers thought that gas and oil production in Siberia had to be increased gradually, while optimists wanted to bring the share of Siberian oil in the country's total oil output to one-third by the late 1970s. However, work got under way on such an unprecedented scale that reality surpassed all predictions.

What was the north of the Tyumen region like in the early 1970s? There were islands of impassable taiga separated by endless boggy lakes. Even in summer, because of the swampy soil, people had to travel on skis and in groups.

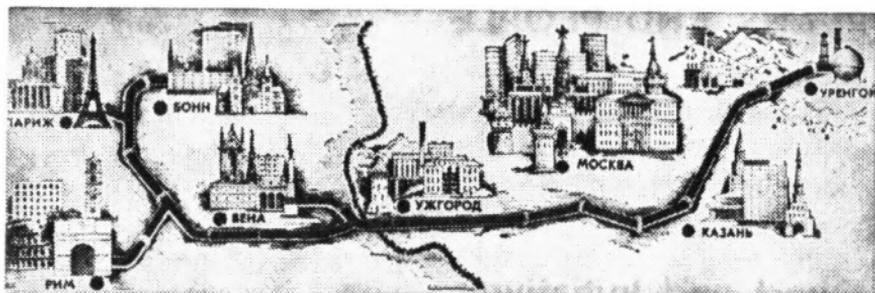
Experienced oil workers from the country's oldest oil-producing areas took part in the development of Siberian oil fields and masses of people, mostly young ones, successfully mastered new trades there. They were provided with airplanes and helicopters, heavy-duty tractors and trucks, track-laying machines and bulldozers. Work was carried out on a grandiose scale. In the 1970s the population of the Tyumen region alone grew by 500 thousand people. Numerous workers' settle-

ments and towns, processing plants, river ports and highways were built.

The Tyumen Party organization, its regional committee and Party branches consisting of geologists, builders and oil workers played a particularly important role in the development of the Tyumen oil fields.

Once the *Pravdinskneft* administration in charge of the production of oil and gas began to fall behind in developing one of the new fields. The situation was discussed in a businesslike way at a meeting of the administration's Party committee and some economic managers were seriously criticized for their work. The Party committee suggested measures to eliminate the shortcomings, which were then discussed in all shop Party organizations and Party groups. Efficient control was exercised over the fulfilment of all decisions. Then the Party committee heard the accounts of economic managers who had earlier been criticized. All this helped to overcome the difficulties and fulfil the plan for oil production for 1980.

This episode from the life of Tyumen Communists was reported in the CPSU Central Committee's journal *Partiynaya zhizn* (Party life). The Tyumen Communists did not invent any miraculous methods of Party work. They merely worked hard and made every effort to carry out the tasks assigned, carefully considered every step they and their comrades took and regarded fulfilment of the plan as a duty that must be done. Only they did it better than others. It is no coincidence that one of the secretaries of the Tyumen regional Party committee, B. Shcherbina, was appointed head of the ministry in charge of building enterprises for the oil and gas industry, and that geologists L. Rovnin and J. Erve, both Communists, became



Many European countries will receive gas from the Soviet Union via the Siberia-Western Europe gas pipeline.

Minister of Geology of the Russian Federation and Deputy Minister of Geology of the USSR respectively.

During the 1970s Western Siberia became one of the world's leading oil and gas producing regions. In 1970, for example, 31 million tons of oil were produced in northwestern Siberia, and in 1980—312 million tons.

Production of gas grew even faster—from 9,500 million cubic metres in 1970 to 156,000 million cubic metres in 1980. As stipulated in the Party guidelines, in 1980 Siberia accounted for over one-half of the country's output of oil and for over one-third of that of gas.

The Soviet Union not only fully satisfies its own fuel needs but also delivers fuel to other socialist community countries. In a few years several West European countries will be receiving Soviet gas through a giant pipeline now under construction.

PLANS AND PEOPLE

Quest and Initiative

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government have invariably sought to bring the methods of economic management in conformity with the development of the country's productive forces. In view of the rapid growth of the country's economy efforts are being stepped up to work out new methods of management.

It was necessary to evolve an optimum system of plan indicators. This task was not as simple as it might seem. The indicators must be such as would prompt industrial enterprises to fulfil their plans not only in terms of volume but also of range of products, to introduce new technologies, and to raise the quality of output. After discussion in the USSR State Planning Committee, the Council of Ministers and the CPSU Central Committee methods of economic management that were considered the best were put to practice. Those that failed to produce positive results were discarded, and in some instances former methods were restored.

Thus in 1971 the state returned to the practice of setting labour productivity targets, which was abandoned in Soviet industry in the latter half of the 1960s. It was thought at that time that the economic reform would encourage industrial enterprises voluntarily to undertake greater commit-

ments and raise labour productivity. These expectations, however, were not fully realized.

The shift to the new structure of economic management based on a ministry-production association-enterprise chain of command was in keeping with the guidelines of the 24th Party Congress, and it was not a purely organizational measure. The Party foresaw that the new structure opened up ways of achieving further production concentration, specialization and co-operation. As a joint resolution adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government in 1973 stated, industrial associations were to become basic self-supporting units of social production.

The plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee held in the 1970s criticized the increasingly apparent shortcomings in economic management. These included the low level of fulfilment of assignments and the incompetence of some production managers.

It was becoming increasingly important, as was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, to improve the entire mechanism of planning, material incentives and management. The 1970s were marked by major experiments in industry, building and transport. In 1979 the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government adopted a resolution "On Improving Planning and Enhancing the Effect of the Economic Mechanism on Raising Production Efficiency and the Quality of Work". This document was concerned with many important aspects of the country's long-term economic development. Let us consider some of them.

The three basic principles of Soviet planning—scientific character, state centralization and democracy—have been further strengthened. A new procedure has been established for drawing up five-

year plans of the country's economic development. First the Academy of Sciences and the State Committees for Science and Technology and for Building work out a comprehensive programme for the country's scientific and technological development for 20 years ahead and submit it to the State Planning Committee and the Council of Ministers.

Then the Party Central Committee and the Government determine the landmarks to be reached in various economic spheres. Big enterprises and production associations prepare long-term economic plans with account taken of their internal resources. And, finally, the State Planning Committee, together with the ministries and governments of Union Republics, study all the materials presented and work out basic guidelines for the country's economic and social development for the coming ten years and, more specifically, for the coming five years.

The Party also approved yet another important change: it was decided to introduce a new system of plan indicators, in which emphasis was on the actual amount of work done by a particular collective rather than the volume of its output. This meant, first, that the fulfilment of a plan would depend on the growth of "pure" production turned out by the work collective with no account taken of the cost of feedstock, materials and parts supplied from outside. Secondly, it would depend on the volume of orders placed by consumers—other enterprises and trade organizations—that had been fulfilled by the collective.

Plans are implemented by people, and it is desirable that they should do it not only as an obligation but also conscientiously. In the 1970s major innovations were introduced on a mass scale, innovations which essentially reflected a turn to produc-

tion intensification. The changes in the organization of production were to a large extent brought about by innovators' experience and initiative.

What may appear to be just local initiatives was regarded by the Party as opening possibilities for major improvements in the organization of labour. The worker was becoming directly interested not only in the results of his own work but also in the results of the work of the whole team or section.

Thus, the final results of complete work rather than separate operations came to the fore.

In 1970 there were few people in the country who had heard of the construction worker Nikolai Zlobin. But specialists already knew that his team, engaged in building apartment houses in Zelenograd (near Moscow), had introduced a new method of organization of work and built a house in five months instead of eight as provided for by the plan. Later *Pravda* published an article in which the team leader told about his work, and his method came to be called a team contract. This is how it works. The team signs a contract with the building administration, in which the commitments of both sides are clearly defined. The team is to build houses within shorter time limits and the administration is to supply the team with needed structures and parts and deliver them to the construction site strictly according to schedule. "To reduce the time limits is good both for us and for the state," wrote Zlobin, "for the lower the cost of construction, the greater the profit. A certain share of the profit goes to the builders." Consequently, the wages of each of the members of the team depend not only on one's own work but also on the final results achieved by the whole team, i.e. on when the house is commissioned.



Deputies from Moscow—Nikolai Zlobin, leader of a builders' team, and Natalya Bessmertnova, a ballerina of the Bolshoi Theatre—in the conference hall of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

One year after the 24th Party Congress, 2,000 building teams adopted the Zlobin method. It became clear that the team contract was not an outburst of enthusiasm or an attempt to set records. The team contract links closer together the interests and responsibility of builders, transport workers, employees of the building industry and administrative personnel. In 1972 the CPSU Central Committee approved the new method and adopted a resolution on its mass introduction.

During the Tenth Five-Year Plan period the number of building teams that adopted the Zlobin method increased from 52,000 to 80,000, which accounted for over 40 per cent of all building teams in the country. Their labour productivity was on average 15 per cent higher than that of other teams while the cost of work decreased. The

building team led by Zlobin, then named a Hero of Socialist Labour and elected a member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, was still in the forefront of the new drive.

Party organizations did much to help popularize advanced methods of work. For instance, the city Party committee in Omsk, a big industrial centre in Siberia, studied the experience of the team led by A. Borisov at a machine building plant. The team decided to sign a team contract aiming at increasing labour productivity and improving the quality of output. What did the plant's Party committee do to disseminate the new initiative? It explained to the workers how important the new initiative was, citing convincing facts and using cogent arguments to arouse in workers a desire to follow the innovators' example. As a result, within a comparatively short period, 118 teams, or 80 per cent of all workers at the plant, began to adopt the new method.

The new valuable initiative was soon taken up by over 2,000 teams of workers of machine building enterprises in Omsk. This had been preceded by a detailed study of the advanced experience by secretaries of Party organizations, active Party members, leading economic managers and ideological workers at seminars and conferences arranged by the city Party committee. Participants in the seminars and conferences saw for themselves the good effect the new drive had had and studied the aspects which should be given particular attention in disseminating the new method. Later they spoke of what they had learned at various Party meetings. Regional, city as well as factory and plant newspapers described in detail the advanced method of work.

When properly organized, such forms of Party

work yielded favourable results. During the 1970s Party organizations improved their work aimed at heightening the labour activity of the masses of people. Many regional and city Party committees displayed a creative approach to their work and helped to introduce innovations on a mass scale within a short period.

Of particular importance were All-Union seminars and conferences arranged by the Communist Party Central Committee at which there was detailed exchange of experience on the development of valuable initiatives. These meetings became yet another effective instrument of Party leadership in the socialist emulation drive. In 1980 a representative seminar was held in the city of Kaluga (central part of Russia) during which the forms and ways of popularizing the method of team contract were discussed. About 500 people—leading Party, government and trade-union officials, secretaries of the Communist Party Central Committees of the Union Republics, regions and territories, ministers, directors of enterprises and associations and advanced team leaders—participated in the seminar. They worked out recommendations that gave a fresh impetus to the movement for the team contract method.

Socialist emulation has always been a mass movement in the Soviet Union. By the late 1970s, on the eve of the 26th Party Congress, over 106 million people were taking part in this movement, that is, almost 26 million more than at the beginning of the decade or nine out of every ten working people in the country. But the socialist emulation movement was notable not only for its nationwide character in the 1970s.

Various new initiatives were quickly disseminated on a mass scale. Here are a few slogans

which give an idea of what they were: "Build ahead of time—make operational ahead of time", "Let there be no one lagging behind", "Engineers support workers' initiative". In fact, there is nothing surprising about all this. Never before had the working class' general cultural and professional standards risen so fast; the scale of construction was truly inspiring, and the level of Party role in the emulation drive had grown.

Learning from People, Educating People

On the eve of the 26th CPSU Congress Party organizations throughout the country held report-back meetings and elections. Almost 10 million people, or about 60 per cent of Soviet Communists, spoke at various meetings and rallies. They put for-

At a vocational school. A foreman supervises the work of his pupils, who are to become highly-skilled workers.



ward more than one million proposals and suggestions. Immediate measures were taken with respect to every third of them.

During the latter half of the 1970s the CPSU Central Committee received over three million letters from Soviet citizens. They were all carefully considered either in the Central Committee or in respective state organizations. Although there were quite a lot of complaints and personal petitions, a spirit of concern for the problems of enterprises, cities, towns and the entire country prevailed.

In the 1970s over 5,500,000 people were admitted into the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Whereas in 1966 workers accounted for 45 per cent of the newly admitted members, in 1971 the figure rose to 57 per cent and in 1980, to almost 60 per cent. The number of workers and collective farmers elected to leading Party bodies increased. At present workers and collective farmers account for 42 per cent of all members of district and city Party committees and for 31 per cent of the members of regional and territorial Party committees and of the Central Committees of Union Republics.

These seemingly unrelated facts point to several important trends: the great confidence the Soviet people have in the Party, the close, inseparable links between them, and the Party's knowledge of and concern for the interests of rank-and-file Communists and the broad masses of working people.

The Party highly treasures the prestige it has won in providing successful leadership of the society and the country over many decades. Party members guilty of misdemeanors or improper behaviour are severely punished and can even be expelled from the CPSU. No past services can justify Party members' misdeeds.



October 4, 1977. Special session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Deputies welcome the adoption of the new Soviet Constitution.

The entire activity of the Soviet Communist Party has been raised to a higher level at the stage of developed socialism. The work of higher Party bodies—the plenary meetings of the Central Committee, the Politbureau and the Central Committee's Secretariat—has served as examples of purposefulness and discipline. These bodies focus their attention on key problems of implementing the decisions adopted at Party congresses and on new political developments at home and abroad. The Central Committee and the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee have contributed much to creating a healthy moral atmosphere in the Party and in Soviet society, which makes it possible for Soviet people to enjoy their work and have a peaceful life.

The CPSU Central Committee has made a profound and thorough analysis of the work of local Party organizations. Positive experience and use-

ful initiatives have been disseminated on a countrywide scale. Much thought has also been given to shortcomings and errors since it is not possible to eliminate them once and for all. The Party Central Committee strongly criticized several Party organizations in Georgia, Armenia and the Ukraine and even had to replace some leading functionaries who had not lived up to expectations in their work.

Practice has long since shown that the end result of all plans and programmes is determined by the effort made by rank-and-file Communists and by the work of primary Party organizations. The structural changes introduced in the 1970s helped to enhance their influence. Before that only Party organizations at industrial enterprises and trading establishments were authorized to control the work of the administration. In 1971 this right was granted to Party organizations of all work collectives where the administration's functions did not extend beyond their own enterprises or establishments. New forms of control were introduced: special control committees were set up, members of the administration were invited to report on their work at various Party meetings, and so on.

So that people can better express their interests in the country's political and economic life, they are drawn into the process of adopting and implementing political and economic decisions. During the 1970s the fruitfulness of the Party's policy of expanding and deepening democracy under developed socialism was confirmed.

In the latter half of the seventies millions of Soviet people took part in countrywide discussions of the draft of the new Soviet Constitution, the laws on the protection of atmospheric air, on the

protection of the animal kingdom and the fundamentals of housing legislation. It was not until the entire nation had had an opportunity to express its views and had approved these documents and proposed changes and amendments that they were discussed and ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The new Soviet Constitution was adopted on October 7, 1977, one month before the country celebrated the 60th anniversary of the 1917 socialist revolution. In the course of the countrywide discussions of the draft 150 amendments and additions were introduced, most of them relating to the further development of socialist democracy and to the role and obligations of deputies of Soviets. Thus, an article was included concerning the electors' mandates to their deputies and how they were to be fulfilled, and clauses were added to the effect that deputies were regularly to inform the population of their activity and to report on their work not only to their constituents but also to the work collectives that nominated them, and so on. The immense interest the people showed in these matters is quite understandable, for since 1939 over 99 per cent of all eligible voters had taken part in the country's elections, and it was necessary to ensure that their mandates were carried out as effectively as possible.

The new procedure considerably enhanced the role of electors' mandates in the work of Soviets for they expressed the population's specific needs—to open a shop, build a kindergarten or improve transport service. When elections to local Soviets were held in 1977, deputies received over 776,000 mandates. By the time new elections were held in 1980, most of the mandates had been fulfilled. The Soviets were assisted in their work by vol-

untary public-spirited activists, both Communists and non-Party people, whose number grew to over 30 million in the latter half of the 1970s. It meant that every fifth or sixth elector helped carry out the work of Soviets.

The new Constitution formalized the increasing role of trade unions, the Komsomol and other public organizations in the life of Soviet society, affirming their right to take part in solving political, economic, social and cultural questions. The role of trade unions in this sphere is particularly significant.

“Being a school of communism in general,” said Lenin, “the trade unions must, in particular, be a school for training the whole mass of workers, and eventually all working people, in the art of managing socialist industry (and gradually also agriculture).”¹ At present virtually all working people in the Soviet Union are members of trade unions.

Soviet trade unions fully participate in the elaboration and implementation of the Party’s economic and social policies. For example, state economic plans are submitted for consideration by the Central Committees of branch trade unions and by the All-Union Council of Trade Unions, the country’s highest trade-union body. Unless approved by the trade unions, no changes can be made with regard to working conditions and wages and salaries either at separate enterprises or throughout the country. In 1979 alone, on the recommendations of trade-union committees, more than 6,000 economic managers were removed from their posts or called to account for violating labour legislation, for failure to carry out collective agreements,

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, V. 33, p. 190.

or for displaying a bureaucratic attitude to their work.

The trade unions work closely with state bodies. They had rejected long ago and once and for all the various ideas which some people tried to foist on them in the 1920s with the aim of wresting trade unions from under Party control and opposing them to the state. Only with the help of Party and state bodies can the trade unions carry out their function of defending the rights of workers and fighting against a careless attitude to the working people's needs.

People's control bodies are playing an increasingly important role in the life of Soviet society.

The 17th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions. Moscow, March 1982. In the foreground: Chairman of the Committee of Soviet Women Valentina Tereshkova, a pilot-cosmonaut of the USSR; Mikhail Ulyanov, People's Artist of the USSR; and Valentina Golubeva, a weaver, who has been named Hero of Socialist Labour.



They are so called because the working people themselves control the work of economic managers and administrators. People's control groups and posts existing at every enterprise, establishment and organization see that labour legislation is observed and take measures to prevent mismanagement and combat poor discipline. This control is carried out on a mass scale: in 1970, over 7 million workers and employees took part in this work, and in 1980—10 million. Party organizations rendered all necessary assistance to members of people's control bodies, heard their reports, studied their proposals and imposed strict penalties on those who failed to eliminate shortcomings that had been disclosed. Communists actively worked in people's control bodies and accounted for 40 per cent of all inspectors.

In its activities throughout the 1970s the Party consistently took into account the conclusion drawn at the 24th CPSU Congress on the increasing role of ideology at the stage of developed socialism. On what was this conclusion based?

First, essential changes were taking place in the country's internal life. The Soviet people's cultural level had risen. As soon as the state was economically in a position to provide adequate education for the entire population, measures to this end were taken. In 1973 universal compulsory secondary education (up to the age of 18) was introduced. Meanwhile, the scientific and technological revolution and the mechanization and automation of production placed higher demands on Soviet people. With the setting up of a network of refresher courses, schools and institutes for raising the workers' know-how, the character of work changed and the working people's professional level improved.

Secondly, the ideological struggle in the international arena had become more acute. It was in the 1970s that the Western powers placed great hopes on penetrating the spiritual life of people in socialist countries and eroding socialist ideology. Every available means was put to use: the media, scientific and cultural exchanges, tourist trips. The Soviet Communist Party could not leave the matter unattended and took appropriate counter-measures.

During the 1970s the Party specified many essential elements of ideological work. Primary attention was devoted to the social, cultural, moral and aesthetic aspects of the development of the human personality. The Party's concern for man does not consist in making him a prospering consumer, for whom physical comfort is the main goal of life.

Therefore it has become increasingly important for Soviet people to acquire fundamental political and social knowledge. It is knowledge that forms the basis of one's personal convictions and public-spirited activity.

Party leaders at all levels regularly attend workers' meetings and political seminars. Full and alternate members of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee deliver reports, write articles and give interviews which invariably arouse great public interest. They are published in the press, particularly in the newspaper *Pravda* and the journals *Kommunist* and *Partiynaya zhizn*.

In the 1970s there were several dates memorable for the Soviet Communist Party and all Soviet people. The Soviet people celebrated the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party, the 30th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory

over German fascism, the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, and the 110th anniversary of the birth of Lenin. These are events of the glorious past. But there are also new history-making events. In the 1970s Party congresses were convened and a new Constitution was adopted. The Party used every such occasion for improving ideological work which was carried out along several lines. Party workers delivered lectures and reports; scientific conferences and seminars were held; articles were published and special radio and television programmes were broadcasted. The Party devoted its attention not only to the heroic past but also to the Soviet people's present-day concerns and tasks.

The political education system, which had functioned successfully for several decades, was further improved. Whereas in the early 1970s political education schools were mainly concerned with providing students with a rudimentary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, in the mid- and particularly in the late 1970s the emphasis was on fundamental theoretical studies.

At present 24,000,000 Communists and non-Party people are enrolled in Party-run groups of political education, 8,700,000 young people are studying in the system of political education along Komsomol lines, and over 40,000,000—in the economic education system set up on recommendations of the 24th Party Congress.

The close connection of propaganda work with practical tackling of specific social and economic tasks, and the Party's constant concern for the wellbeing of the Soviet people helped to heighten the political and labour activity of the masses and to create an atmosphere conducive to the general advancement of Soviet society.

THE PEACE PROGRAMME IN ACTION

Preservation of Peace Is the Main Goal

At the turn of the 1960s and 1970s the international situation continued to be dominated by two long-standing postwar tendencies: the political and economic strength of socialist countries and their influence on world developments were growing, while the crisis of the capitalist system further deepened. The forces of imperialism, particularly in the United States, sought every means to reverse the course of historical development. The danger of nuclear holocaust hung over humanity.

Under the circumstances the Communist Party of the Soviet Union considered it its duty to find effective ways of preserving peace and strengthening international security. The Peace Programme adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress in 1971 contained measures for bringing about a transition from "cold war" and confrontation to a relaxation of international tension. The Peace Programme was followed by the Programme of Further Struggle for Peace and International Co-operation, and for the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples adopted at the 25th CPSU Congress in 1976. In its practical activities the Party steadily followed the course mapped out by the congresses.

One of the most important tasks of the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet Government was to ensure European security. In 1975, after preparations lasting ten years, a meeting of heads of state of 33 European countries, the USA and Canada was held in Helsinki, for the first time in world history. At the meeting they determined the long-term targets for the peaceful development of Europe. An immense amount of work had been accomplished before the meeting took place. Treaties had been signed between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany as well as between Federal Germany and its eastern neighbours, in which the boundaries that had taken shape in Europe after the Second World War were declared inviolable; the problem of West Berlin had been settled; basic documents had been signed between the USSR and France and between the USSR and the USA on the principles of equality and mutual security; a number of important inter-state agreements had been signed providing for measures to limit and reduce armaments and to lessen the danger of a world conflict; and active co-operation had been established between European countries as well as between the USSR and the USA in the economic, scientific and cultural spheres.

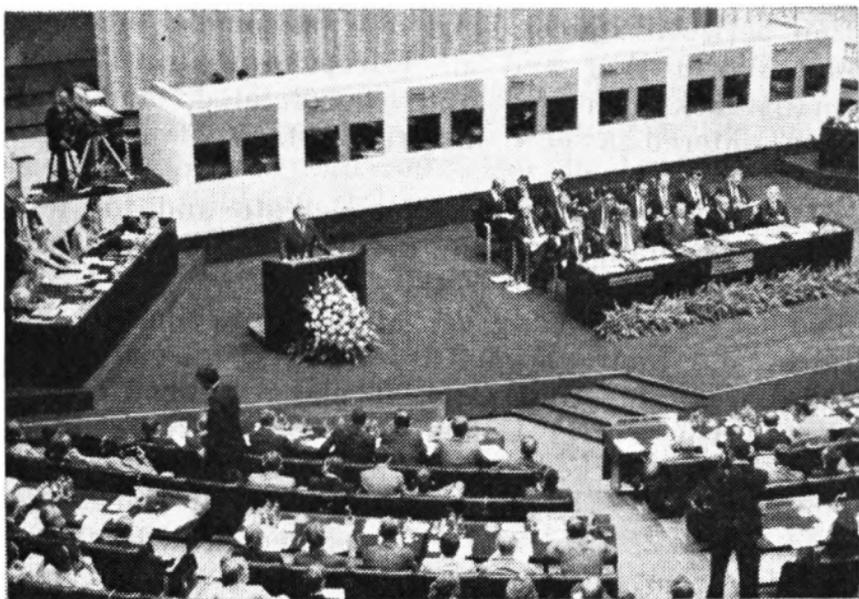
Vital issues had been discussed at summit meetings, in particular between Leonid Brezhnev and heads of state of leading capitalist countries. Frank and open discussions promoted solutions to problems that had long been regarded as insoluble.

The Final Act of the European Security Conference proclaimed the principles of non-use of force and the threat of force, of the inviolability of state boundaries, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in each others' internal affairs, respect for human rights and basic liberties, and co-opera-

tion between states. Thus, the outcome of the Second World War and all European realities were finally acknowledged and consolidated, and Europe entered a new historical stage of its existence.

Of decisive importance for detente and for lessening the danger of war in the present-day world were relations between the USSR and the USA. The CPSU devoted great attention to these relations, and their various aspects were discussed at Politbureau meetings and at plenary meetings of the Party Central Committee. The Soviet Union relentlessly worked to improve relations with the United States. The Soviet-US summit meetings held in 1972, 1973 and 1974 played a particularly positive role in this respect. During these meetings agreements vital for the cause of peace were signed, including those aimed at limiting strategic armaments.

However, in the latter half of the 1970s there was a sharp change in US international policy, which became particularly apparent by the early 1980s. The positions of socialist countries had been strengthened, while the forces of imperialism had lost ground in various regions of the world where only shortly before their influence seemed assured. A revolution had taken place in Iran, Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique, and several other countries had embarked on the path of socialist development, and the national-liberation movement in Central America and other regions of the world had grown. In the face of all this the United States reverted to the position-of-strength policy. Though US leaders alleged that one of the main causes for this change had been the sending of Soviet troops to Afghanistan, their arguments did not appear convincing. The Soviet Union rendered mili-



"It is very important to proclaim correct and just principles of relations among nations," said Leonid Brezhnev at the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. "It is no less important to see that these principles are firmly rooted in present-day international relations, are put to practical use and are made a law of international life."

tary assistance to Afghanistan at the end of 1979, but already in May 1978 NATO countries were pressed by the USA to increase their military spendings each year almost up to the end of this century. The USA pursued a policy of sharply curtailing all economic, scientific and cultural contacts with the Soviet Union. When the Reagan Administration came to power in 1981, the USA openly proclaimed the attainment of military superiority over the Soviet Union as its primary goal, thereby grossly violating not only the Helsinki Final Act but also the Soviet-US treaties and agreements in this field.

The Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet Government continued to implement the Peace Programme. The Soviet Union put forward a whole set of proposals aimed at preserving detente, bringing about a resumption of the negotiations on arms limitation, precluding the development of new types of mass annihilation weapons, achieving a ban on the use of space for military purposes, turning several regions of the world into nuclear-free zones, and so on. But the Soviet Union succeeded in getting only a few of these measures implemented after overcoming fierce resistance from the imperialist states.

Despite pressure from the United States and reactionary forces in West European countries, the Soviet Union continued to develop its relations and above all its trade contacts with France, Federal Germany, Italy and other West European countries.

Effectively Co-operating with One Another

The expansion of co-operation with socialist countries is an important component of the Soviet Peace Programme. The Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party devoted unabated attention to relations with these states and to contacts with their ruling parties. In the first half of the 1970s nearly all Politbureau meetings considered various aspects of co-operation with socialist community countries. The 24th CPSU Congress clearly defined the main aims to be pursued by the Party in this sphere during these years. The Central Committee's report to the Congress said: "We want the world socialist system to be a well-knit family of nations, building and defending the new society

together, and mutually enriching each other with experience and knowledge, a family, strong and united, which people of the world regard as the prototype of the future world community of free nations."

During the 1970s the Communist Party of the Soviet Union continued to widen its contacts with fraternal Communist and Workers' parties. These contacts were maintained at all levels—from Party leadership to local Party bodies and Party organizations at factories and plants, institutions and offices. Of decisive importance were the frequent contacts and meetings between General Secretaries and First Secretaries of Communist Parties of socialist countries. Though on some occasions their views on certain issues did not fully coincide, it was clear that the cohesion and co-operation of socialist community countries had grown and strengthened.

The more regular and frequent exchanges of Party delegations at all levels also significantly helped to expand contacts between socialist countries. Meetings of Central Committee secretaries were regularly held to discuss international problems as well as questions of ideological work and Party organization. The socialist states deepened their co-operation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact. The Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies paid great attention to building up the defensive capacity of the socialist community. The Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet Government displayed tireless concern for the strengthening of the Soviet Armed Forces, the main guarantee of independence of socialist countries. The military-political alliance of socialist states faithfully served the cause of peace. It possessed everything

necessary reliably to protect the socialist gains of the fraternal peoples.

In the first half of the 1970s various direct attacks were launched against several socialist states by the forces of imperialism. They were repelled largely thanks to the active foreign policy of the CPSU and other fraternal parties.

When the United States started military aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Soviet Union rendered military, political and economic assistance to the Vietnamese people in co-operation with other socialist community countries. In the spring of 1975 the heroic Vietnamese people ultimately defeated the forces of internal reaction and US imperialism. Shortly afterwards the peoples of Laos and Cambodia (Kampuchea) won their victories. Of vital significance was the international recognition of the sovereignty and the inviolability of boundaries of the German Democratic Republic. In 1973 the GDR was admitted to the United Nations. The attempts to impose an economic and diplomatic blockade on the Republic of Cuba, the Western hemisphere's first socialist state, were frustrated.

The 1970s marked a new stage in economic co-operation between socialist countries that are members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). This course was consolidated as a result of the adoption of the Comprehensive Programme for the Further Extension and Improvement of Co-operation and the Development of Socialist Economic Integration, on the CPSU's initiative at a CMEA regular session in 1971. The Programme defined the strategy and tactics of economic co-operation of CMEA member countries for the coming 15 to 20 years. The joint development of natural resources and the

building of big industrial complexes proceeded on a broader scale. Co-operation between enterprises and whole industries of CMEA countries increased. Processes of economic integration were carried out with account taken of the needs of all CMEA member countries and were finally aimed at drawing those countries closer together and evening their economic development levels.

In the mid-1970s, together with other fraternal parties, the Soviet Communist Party agreed on the necessity to deepen socialist integration. Long-term target-oriented programmes became an important instrument in this process. About 120 multilateral and over 1,000 bilateral agreements were concluded on their basis. On the whole, these agreements were successfully implemented. Thus, in the summer of 1974 an agreement was signed by the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the GDR and Czechoslovakia on developing the Orenburg gas condensate deposits in the Urals and laying the *Soyuz* gas pipeline with a length of almost 3,000 km. An international collective of builders brought the project to design capacity within a little over five years. All participants in the project began to receive gas via the new pipeline and to benefit from it. For example, according to estimates, the annual deliveries of gas to the GDR make up for the production of 20,000,000 tons of brown coal. To extract and process this amount would have cost the GDR two and a half times as much as the country's share in the building of the pipeline.

The beneficial effect of the course followed by fraternal parties in the field of economic co-operation is undoubted. Suffice it to say that during the 1970s the rates of economic growth of the

CMEA member countries were twice as high as those of the leading capitalist states.

In recent years there have arisen situations in which the Soviet Union's partners urgently needed economic aid. The Soviet Communist Party has invariably met with understanding requests for aid coming from fraternal parties. Thus, the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries delivered building materials, food and medicines to Vietnam when China launched aggression against it in 1979 and to Kampuchea after the disastrous regime of Pol Pot had been overthrown. When the crisis situation arose in Poland at the end of 1980-1981 and the enemies of socialism backed by external reactionary forces sought to turn the course of events in that country in a counter-revolutionary direction, the Soviet Union gave substantial political support and economic assistance to Polish Communists and the Polish state.

In the 1970s the socialist countries considerably expanded the spheres of their co-operation. Their joint space research programme began with the launching toward the end of the 1960s of a Soviet-made satellite with instruments on board manufactured in the GDR, Czechoslovakia and the USSR. The high points of the joint programme were the space flights of international crews in the 1978-1981 period. Together with Soviet cosmonauts, citizens of Czechoslovakia, Poland, the GDR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, Cuba, Mongolia and Romania made their flights in space. Their missions were not only of scientific and economic but also of great political import.

During the 1970s the Soviet Communist Party's foreign-policy activities brought about a noticeable expansion of co-operation between the Soviet Union and newly-free countries. Complicated processes

were underway in those countries. Some of them embarked on the path of revolutionary-democratic development after liberation. Others preserved capitalist relations but conducted an independent policy. There were also countries that remained in the sphere of imperialist influence. It was the right of every nation, every country to choose its own path of development. The Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet state have more than once declared and proved in practice that the USSR supports the forces of progress, democracy and national independence and regards developing countries as its comrades-in-arms.

In its relations with young Asian, African and Latin American states, the Soviet Union has demonstrated that it does not seek to gain any advantages for itself, to impose fettering agreements on others or to set up military bases in these countries. To the latter it has consistently extended diplomatic, political, economic and cultural assistance. When critical situations arose and the Soviet Union was asked to lend its support to the liberation struggle against external and internal counter-revolutionary forces, it did so. That was how the Soviet Union acted with regard to Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Afghanistan. The Soviet Union resolutely rejects export of revolution, but it is also against export of counter-revolution.

At present the Soviet Union has agreements on economic and technical co-operation with 65 developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Much importance is attached to rendering assistance to socialist-oriented countries in their effort to eliminate the economic positions of imperialist monopolies, secure the commanding heights in their national economy, pass over to planned economic development and strengthen the

state apparatus with well-trained national cadres.

The Soviet Union co-operates with developing countries on Leninist principles of conducting international relations: equality of great and small peoples, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

Soviet assistance to developing countries is aimed primarily at building up the industrial and power-generating capacities of these countries, developing their agriculture and natural resources, and training national cadres. Thus with Soviet aid many newly-free countries have laid the foundations of a national industry and the basis for further economic growth. Projects built with Soviet aid account for about 35 per cent of steel output in India, 70 per cent—in Iran, and 95 per cent—in Egypt, 70 per cent of electricity generated in Syria, 60 per cent—in Afghanistan, and up to 55 per cent—in Iraq. In the current five-year plan period the Soviet Union will help developing countries increase their capacities for the production of electricity by 16 per cent, cast iron—by 120 per cent, steel—by 50 per cent, and coal—by 260 per cent as compared with the preceding five-year period. The metallurgical works in Bhilai (India), built with Soviet assistance, is one of the biggest heavy-industry enterprises in the Third World. It not only inaugurated Soviet-Indian co-operation but was also the first large-scale project built in developing countries with Soviet assistance. At present the Soviet Union is helping Nigeria to build a metallurgical works in the town of Ajaokuta. When completed, it will be the biggest plant of its kind in Tropical Africa and will produce 1,300,000 tons of steel annually.

The Soviet Union is also helping newly-free countries to create their own material base for de-

veloping agricultural production. The Soviet Union's approach to this matter is radically different from that of Western states, which usually provide developing countries with goods that would satisfy the local population's immediate needs rather than ensure the country's long-term economic development.

The training of national cadres—engineers, technicians, skilled workers, doctors and teachers—is yet another important direction of Soviet co-operation with developing countries. The Soviet Union has helped to train 1,500,000 foreign specialists, 900,000 of them in developing countries. With Soviet assistance about 150 educational establishments, including both secondary and higher schools, have been built in developing countries, and nearly 100 educational establishments are under construction.

The practical steps designed to help strengthen the independence of newly-free states are particularly important now when the United States and its allies are stepping up their economic expansion in developing countries. The imperialist circles are seeking to influence the newly-free countries economically and, above all, to develop private enterprise there.

It is notable that in maintaining economic ties with newly-free countries the USSR helps to strengthen the state sector of these countries as the basis of independent economic development and to protect the nascent national industry against capitalist monopolies.

FOLLOWING THE COURSE CHARTED BY THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS

The world's first society of developed socialism was built in the Soviet Union about twenty years ago. It is only natural that in the course of time the difficulties of the past are gradually forgotten while present-day demands are constantly growing. However, it is impossible to estimate fairly what is being achieved without knowing the past. When looking back on the path traversed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state in the 1960s and the 1970s one rightly takes pride in the Party's and the Soviet people's labour achievements.

Here are some striking statistics.

During the period between 1960 and 1980 the Soviet Union increased the production of electricity from 292 million to 1,295 million kilowatt-hours, oil—from 148 million to 603 million tons, gas—from 45 thousand million to 435 thousand million cubic metres, coal—1.4-fold, rolled steel—2.3-fold, mineral fertilizers—7.5-fold, and chemical fibres—5.6-fold.

In the early 1960s the USSR still lagged behind the USA in the production of oil, steel, cast iron, mineral fertilizers, fabrics and cement. But at present it leads the world in the production of these items.

Soviet agriculture also made noticeable progress.

In the 1975-1980 period the annual production of grain rose to 205 million tons as compared with 122 million tons in the 1956-1960 period, sugar beet—from 46 million to 88 million tons and raw cotton—from 4.4 million to 8.9 million tons. The production of meat increased almost twofold, milk—1.6-fold, and eggs—2.6-fold.

Full employment, free education and medical service, material security in old age and many other achievements in the field of social welfare give Soviet people a feeling of social stability and confidence in the future.

The Soviet people's living standards have also risen immeasurably. There is hardly a Soviet family which does not feel the effects of Party policy of improving the people's wellbeing. The achievements in science and technology have become accessible for all. Whereas in 1960 a mere eight families out of 100 had TV sets, at present the figure has risen to 85 and the respective figures for refrigerators and washing machines are 4 and 90. And many more people now have radio sets, tape recorders, vacuum cleaners, sewing machines, good furniture, books, and so on. Twenty years ago many urban dwellers had one, at best, two rooms in communal apartments and shared a kitchen with several families. Today about 80 per cent of the urban population have separate apartments even though during this period the number of city inhabitants has increased by 50 million. Housing construction has been carried out on a great scale in the past twenty years: 44 million new apartments have been built in towns and the countryside, and 217 million people have been rehoused.

The social, political and cultural makeup of Soviet society has also changed. The changes have

Leonid Brezhnev
delivering a re-
port at the 26th
CPSU Congress.



taken place thanks to the well-thought-out policy conducted by the Party and the state. One result is that the working class has come to play a larger role in the life of Soviet society. Not only has the working class become numerically the biggest class, it now also constitutes the majority of Soviet working people. Whereas in the late 1950s workers made up less than a half of the country's work force, in the late 1970s the figure rose to two-thirds. Twenty years ago about 40 per cent of workers had a secondary (ten- or eight-year) or higher education, today the figure is 75 per cent. An increasing number of former workers now hold posts in Party and state bodies at all levels.

The working class and the collective-farm peasantry have been drawing closer together. Their working conditions have become more similar thanks to rapid mechanization of agricultural la-

bour. The collective farmers' general level of education has risen: whereas twenty years ago it was 50 per cent lower than that of factory workers, the present figure is 25 per cent. The distinctions in the forms of organization and remuneration of labour and in material security in old age have become much less noticeable.

The Soviet intelligentsia has been growing faster numerically than other social groups of the Soviet population. Whereas in 1960 there were about 9 million specialists with a higher or specialized secondary education, by the late 1970s their number rose to almost 30 million. At present 25 per cent of all Soviet working people are engaged in brainwork.

In February-March 1981 the 26th CPSU Congress was held. Like all the previous congresses it summed up the results of the country's development in the preceding years and outlined the tasks for the future. These are built around two main directions which are interconnected: the building of communism and the strengthening of peace.

The scope of economic and cultural development made it possible to set even bigger tasks for the near future. The country's economic growth rates planned by the 26th Congress were fairly high. During the preceding five-year period Soviet industrial production increased by 24 per cent. In the current five-year plan period it is to increase by 26 to 28 per cent. The annual agricultural production is to grow by 12 to 14 per cent as against 9 per cent in the preceding five-year period. In 1985 the wages and salaries of workers and employees are to rise by 13 to 16 per cent compared to 1980, while collective farmers' incomes are to go up by 20 to 22 per cent. These figures become

still more significant if one considers the fact that the prices for basic foodstuffs and consumer goods are to remain at the current level. Account is also taken of the specific needs of different groups of the Soviet population. Pensions will be raised. State assistance to families with children in the form of allowances, extra leaves, and so forth will be increased. It is also planned to improve living conditions for newlyweds.

At the same time, the 26th Congress stressed that one of the most important current tasks was to improve the supply of foodstuffs and consumer goods to the population. In order radically to solve the food problem, the Congress found it necessary to work out a special food programme. This programme, which is to cover a period up to 1990, was approved by the first plenary meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee convened soon after the Congress. The food programme is notable for its systematic and comprehensive character. It provides for the dynamic and well-balanced development of all components of the agro-industrial complex. It specifies production targets for basic foodstuffs to be attained by 1985 and 1990, and outlines the measures, ways and means to be taken to achieve these targets.

The programme defines specific tasks whose implementation will help strengthen the material and technical base of agriculture, the food industry and other branches of the agro-industrial complex. Accordingly capital investments in agriculture will be increased and farms will be supplied with more machinery and building materials. At the same time, the main emphasis—and this is what distinguishes the Party's agrarian policy for the eighties—will be on ensuring returns on capital investments, raising the efficiency of farm production,

and deepening and improving its links with all branches of the agro-industrial complex. Much importance is attached to the going-over to unified planning and management of the agro-industrial complex.

The programme points out the need to deepen co-operation with CMEA member countries in the sphere of agricultural production, and to process and rationally utilize raw materials on the basis of long-term target-oriented programmes.

But in order to achieve the planned targets, it is necessary to rapidly intensify social production, particularly in view of the fact that the country's resources for extensive economic growth are being increasingly exhausted. What Soviet society vitally needs is a sharp rise in labour productivity and the rational and economic utilization of all resources. In formulating these objectives the 26th CPSU Congress also defined ways of achieving them. These included improvement of the economic machinery, raising the level of planning and economic management, and accelerating the in-

Tashkent was nearly destroyed by a strong earthquake in 1966. The city has since been rebuilt and rejuvenated. A station of the Tashkent Metro.



roduction of scientific and technological achievements in production.

The Congress called on Party bodies and economic managers to tighten discipline and be more exacting and, above all, to overcome the force of inertia, the habits and traditions of an earlier period when quantitative rather than qualitative indicators were of foremost importance.

The 26th Party Congress made a thorough analysis of the international situation. It declared that there was no more important task on an international plane for the Soviet Communist Party, for the Soviet people and for all the peoples of the world than to safeguard peace. A whole series of political and military measures were worked out for this purpose. It was stated clearly and with firmness at the Congress: "We have not sought, and do not seek, military superiority over the other side. That is not our policy. But neither will we permit the building up of any such superiority over us."

In the years following the Congress the Soviet Union has put forward a whole set of new proposals aimed at strengthening peace and achieving disarmament. The most notable of these is the proposal on a considerable reduction of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. The Peace Programme for the 1980s advanced by the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent new Soviet initiatives outline constructive ways of lessening the threat of war, deepening detente and developing broad cooperation between states with different social systems.

The community of socialist countries and their cohesion form the basis of the world nations' struggle for peace and social progress. As pointed out by the 26th Party Congress, it is becoming in-

creasingly important for socialist countries jointly to consider ways and methods of building the socialist way of life as they draw closer together. The early 1980s produced new evidence of the effectual co-operation among socialist countries and of the use of radically new forms of economic integration. The Soviet Union and Hungary signed an agreement on setting up joint companies. After capitalist countries refused to supply Poland with raw materials, the Soviet Union and Poland agreed to jointly run factories and plants that were operating at reduced capacity. These and other similar steps are directed toward the same goal: to ensure economic development of each country of the socialist community for the good of their peoples.

The Soviet Communist Party and all Soviet people concentrate their efforts on implementing the tasks set by the 26th CPSU Congress. Much has already been done in this direction. Industrial production is on the rise, and labour productivity is growing. Measures to raise the population's living standards are being consistently carried out. Millions of Soviet people are engaged in constructive work being fully aware that they themselves alone can make their life better and more interesting.

The Soviet people and its vanguard, the Communist Party, have a noble but at the same time a strenuous role to fulfil—that of pioneers building the road to the future for all mankind. A year or two is a brief period in the life of the country, the people and the Party. But the time that has elapsed since the 26th Congress has vividly proved the correctness of the course it has charted. This is the Leninist course, and the propositions and conclusions of the Congress serve as a scientific guide to action for all Soviet people.



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