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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 12/80)



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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK DESCRIBES INTERNATIONAL -LEGAL PROBLEMS OF DISARMAMENT

Moscow MEZHDUNARODNO-PRAVOVYYE PROBLEMY RAZORUZHENIYA (International-Legal Problems of Disarmament) in Russian 1979 signed to press 21 Feb 79 pp 1, 3-7, 169-191

[Table of Contents, Introduction and Chapter 5, Part 2 of book by O. V. Bogdanov, "Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya: Publishers, 191 pages, 8,000 copies]

[Text] Annotation

The basic international-legal aspects of the disarmament problem are examined in the work in light of the USSR's consistent struggle to solve this problem. Special attention has been devoted to the task of banning and abolishing modern systems of mass destruction, especially nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. The significance of recent Soviet initiatives in the field of nuclear disarmament and strategic arms limitation is demonstrated, the basic directions in disarmament work are examined, and the results of the special session of the UN General assembly on disarmament which was held in 1978 are summed up. An analysis of the formation of the principle of disarmament in modern international law is given.

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Introduction

It is hardly possible to find a more urgent and burning problem in modern international life than halting the arms race which has swept over the world. The competition in the production of destructive systems not only devours enormous material resources but also gives birth to a real threat to the future of civilization. The weapons which have now been created are sufficient to destroy everything living on our planet. The history of mankind has never known such a situation. Under these conditions, workable measures are urgently needed for the elimination of the threat hanging over the world and for practical disarmament.

Throughout the more than 60 years of its existence, the Soviet state has always attached primary importance to the solution of this task. The struggle for disarmament is the fundamental line of Soviet foreign policy. It has received clear-cut strengthening in the new Constitution of the USSR. Article 28 of our country's fundamental law says that the foreign policy of the USSR is directed "toward the achievement of general and complete disarmament." The presence of this statement in the Soviet constitution has been filled with a deep social meaning. It conveys the fact that in a socialist society there are no and cannot be any social forces which are interested in accumulating systems for waging war and which extract any profit from this. The basic difference between the Soviet state and the imperialist countries, where aggressive circles which are interested in spreading the arms race exist and actively operate, lies in this. These circles have drawn the world into a very dangerous arms production competition which is poisoning the international climate. Curbing these adventurist forces is now a vitally important task.

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Champions of disarmament are coming forward to achieve this vital goal. In their ranks are the Soviet state, the mighty socialist commonwealth, and millions of people of good will on all continents. As a result of their persistent efforts, they have achieved during recent years a definite change for the better in international relations, and the process of relaxing tensions has been developed in spite of the complications caused by the policy of the more die-hard imperialist circles. In order to make this process irreversible, it is necessary to add political relaxation to military relaxation. The first steps have already been taken on this path. A number of international agreements which have blocked up several channels of the arms race have been worked out and are in effect, constant work is being performed to prepare new measures in this area, and organizational measures for examining disarmament questions are being improved.

However, it is necessary to recognize that the arms race has still not lessened. It is necessary to solve the basic complex of problems which are connected with implementing a fundamental change from building up arms to their curtailment. This assumes the working out and signing of a series of more sweeping international treaties in the area of disarmament. New Soviet initiatives, which provide for a complete halt in the further qualitative and quantitative weapons growth in states possessing large military potential, are directed toward this goal.

The disarmament problem has become not only a political but also an international legal one. Since it is the subject of a number of important international treaties, this problem has at the same time entered into the sphere of operations of modern international law. One of the significant sources of the development, which is now taking place in the area of the struggle for disarmament, is here.

During recent years, the amount of legal research in this area has grown significantly throughout the world. This has been especially noticeable against the background of the formerly rather passive position which characterized the approach of Western international law doctrine to this problem. For many years, bourgeois jurists tried not to notice it at all, maintaining that it apparently had no relationship to international law since it was an exclusively political problem. Now, this approach has been repudiated by the development of events itself. Here is one of the remarkable changes which demonstrate the immeasurably growing importance of the disarmament problem under modern conditions.

The Seventies were declared the Decade of Disarmament by the Organization of the United Nations. This is not only a symbolic declaration. This period brought a whole series of international agreements in the area of disarmament. Among them were the first treaty in international practices on the complete banning of a system of mass destruction -- biological weapons, the Moscow treaty on partially banning the testing of nuclear weapons, the nuclear weapons non-proliferation treaty, and the treaty banning the placement of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction

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on the sea and ocean beds and in their depths. During these years, such a comparatively new avenue in the area of disarmament as strategic arms limitations, was also developed. It has already provided appreciable practical results in the form of a number of Soviet-American agreements on limiting offensive and defensive strategic arms.

In general, it is not difficult to see that the past decade has been characterized by a marked stress on the international regulation of questions which primarily concern the various systems of mass destruction. The preparation of treaties on the complete banning of chemical weapons and also on banning the creation of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction is now taking place. This last aspect of the disarmament problem is aimed at the future and is very important since it has been called upon to prevent in time a development which is fraught with serious danger for the future of mankind. In 1978, one other document of no small importance which was intended to close possible channels for the use of technical progress to harm man -- the convention on banning the military or any other hostile use of systems to affect the environment -- went into effect. All this testifies that the process of working out international documents, aimed at limiting the arms race, has now grown considerably. It embraces all the new aspects of the problem which before had not at all arisen in international practices. The use of new methods for discussing the disarmament problem is also a feature of no small importance. The convening of a special session of the General Assembly on disarmament -- the widest forum of all ever occupied with disarmament -- in 1978 is significant.

Thus, the disarmament problem has not only firmly entered international law but is also being actively developed, occupying an ever more significant place within the limits of this law. The forecast that the process of enveloping the disarmament problem with international legal norms will be steadily expanded, is not too bold a one. This assumes progressive enrichment of the content of international or legal norms which touch upon disarmament. This is the general tendency of international legal developments in this area.

The situation which has been created is leaving a certain mark on the features of modern scientific research in the area of disarmament. During recent years, the amount of this research has grown sharply; the further, the more frequently an ever more specialized approach to this problem is practiced. Projects devoted to individual aspects of disarmament are becoming typical. Even large research projects, including doctoral dissertations, embrace as a rule only individual aspects of the problem. Such an approach is fully justified. It reflects the noticeably growing complexity of the questions connected with disarmament (which in the aggregate can be settled with sufficient completeness only in multi-volume research projects) and the pressing need to examine them more carefully and deeply.

The present work also does not pretend to be a comprehensive embracing of international legal disarmament questions. A comparatively limited circle

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of subjects is touched upon in it. Primary attention is concentrated on those which have entered most deeply into the area of international law and which are being actively developed both in international forums and on the pages of scientific publications. We talk about the problems of banning systems of mass destruction, especially the three "classic" varieties of these systems: bacteriological, chemical and nuclear. Recently, basic work in the creation of new international legal documents is taking place in this area, and it therefore continues to attract a lot of attention from researchers. There are quite a few large scale and complex international legal aspects here which require the great attention of jurists. It is also interesting to trace the historical evaluation of the views on questions concerning the banning of systems of mass destruction. Now, the demands to guard humanity against barbaric systems and methods of waging war, which were expressed by past thinkers, resound with special urgency. This is the general content of this work whose primary aim is to examine a number of pressing international legal disarmament problems.

Chapter 5, Part 2

The Paths in the Evolution of Disarmament Law

And so, an active process in the formation and improvement of disarmament law has recently taken place. The final goal of this process is clear: the abolition of arms. However, the ways to specifically develop it can be different and change during different stages depending on the specific situation.

As an illustration, one can cite the course of the examination of disarmament questions during recent decades. For example, whereas the beginning of the Sixties the task of preparing a treaty on general and complete disarmament was proposed as the primary one, the direction of the work subsequently changed somewhat. The overall goal of achieving sweeping disarmament preserved its fundamental importance; however, the center of gravity in practical work shifted to the area of partial disarmament. The preparation of various urgent -- but more limited in content--measures became the main and predominant one.

These measures primarily relate to modern systems of mass destruction: bacteriological, chemical and nuclear weapons. The work in this direction has already brought appreciable results. The convention on the complete banning of bacteriological weapons can serve as an example. At the present time, the preparation of documents on the complete banning of chemical weapons is taking place. Steps of no small importance are being taken on a bilateral basis to limit strategic arms and to lessen the threat of a nuclear war by concluding agreements primarily between the USSR and the United States. During recent years the range of questions, on which discussions are being held, has been noticeably expanded. For example, such questions as the banning of new systems of mass destruction which might be created in the future, have been added to their number. This is a very

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important and long-range initiative whose appearance was brought about by the very course of scientific and technical developments. It will undoubtedly have an appreciable effect on the course of further disarmament work.

Thus, the preparation of international agreements on eliminating systems of mass destruction has now definitely become the main avenue in disarmament work. This avenue has been filled with intense practical work and unceasing searches for new agreements.

The successes which have been achieved in this area are primarily connected with the USSR's consistent struggle to solve the fundamental disarmament questions. During recent years, constructive Soviet proposals, which play a dominant role in defining the concrete paths leading to disarmament, were put forth on all the enumerated aspects of disarmament. These pertain to questions on the complete banning of chemical weapons, to problems of nuclear disarmament, and to the task of banning new systems of mass destruction. The fact that the 60th anniversary of the Soviet state was celebrated with new initiatives in this area is especially symbolic. It is sufficient to cite, for example, such steps (which have been discussed in greater detail above) as the proposals for a simultaneous halt by all states in the production of nuclear weapons. These proposals constitute an entire system of measures aimed at advancing the cause of nuclear disarmament.

The stress on nuclear disarmament is thoroughly justified first of all by the fact that nuclear systems occupy at the present time the main place in the arms race which has been unleashed by imperialism. They have taken very deep root in modern weapon systems, and therefore, any effective disarmament program cannot, naturally, fail to give one of the main places to them.

However, this of course must not exclude from view other systems of mass destruction which are also related to the category of primary disarmament aspects. It is unnecessary to justify the need, which was demonstrated by comparatively recent international events (such as the war in Vietnam), for the urgent and complete banning of chemical weapons. It is equally incontestible that the time to seriously think about preventing the creation of new systems of mass destruction, which are even more destructive than existing ones, has now matured.

What has been said permits the prospects for the development of disarmament law to be understood. There is now every justification for concluding that the development of this law will in the very near future primarily take place along the line of more fully and comprehensively banning modern systems of mass destruction. This is now the dominant avenue in disarmament work. It is leaving a decisive mark on the progress of further international legal development in this area. Of course, at the same time the possibility of the parallel examination and solution of several other questions such as, for example, a reduction in the arms and armed forces of states, is not excluded. However, the center of gravity is, as before, on questions concerning the banning of modern systems of mass destruction.

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When speaking about the cardinal directions in the struggle for disarmament, it is necessary to talk about the fact that now (as was pointed out above) the final goals of this struggle have been defined sufficiently clearly in an international legal respect. This is an aspect of the matter which is of no small importance. The accelerated movement to develop specific disarmament measures places on the agenda the question of this movement's prospects. Here, it is appropriate to emphasize that the USSR has always devoted significant attention to the formulation of a long-term disarmament program having a sweeping nature. Soviet initiatives in this direction are universally known. We are talking, of course, about the Soviet proposals for abolishing systems for waging war. They were heard in the UN at the end of the Fifties and somewhat later received detailed elaboration in the Soviet draft treaty on general and complete disarmament which was proposed in March 1962.¹

The draft was a document of fundamental importance which reflected the Soviet state's approach to the disarmament problem. It emphasized the USSR's readiness to move to a sweeping solution of this problem if other states also expressed their agreement to this. The Soviet draft treaty on general and complete disarmament is a step-by-step plan for the complete abolition of systems for waging war over the course of several years under strict and effective international control. The exceptional accuracy and concreteness of the approach to the task of implementing complete disarmament make the Soviet draft a significant and viable international document.

The need for such a sweeping disarmament plan is indisputable from the point of view of the basic needs of the contemporary international situation. Now, life requires more than ever before that a way be found to save mankind from the terrible threat, which the availability of an unprecedented arsenal of destructive systems which states have at their disposal, is creating. This arsenal is being improved with unparalleled speed and its further build-up is fraught with an unprecedented threat to entire countries and peoples. From this comes the necessity to find ways to radically change the situation which has been created.

The Soviet draft treaty on general and complete disarmament is oriented in this direction. Of course, it is not necessary to approach in a simplified fashion the opportunity for a quick implementation of this plan. Its discussion has shown that Western states are still not ready for practical steps in the direction of complete disarmament. However, the very idea of the Soviet draft has exerted an indisputable effect on modern international relations. Essentially, it has begun to be accepted as the final goal in disarmament work and thereby has attached even greater purposefulness to all this work.

This process is also noticeable in the area of international law. The idea of complete disarmament has been fixed in international treaties as the end result toward which the disarmament measures now being developed are directed. Here, it is appropriate to recall that in 1959 the UN General Assembly

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unanimously approved Resolution 1378 (XIV) which contained an important statement declaring that "the question of general and complete disarmament is the most important question facing the world at the present time."² This general thesis was developed further in many subsequent assembly resolutions. As a fresh example, it is possible to cite the call to carry out "disarmament measures, especially nuclear disarmament measures, keeping in mind the achievement of the final goal--general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control" which was incorporated at Soviet initiative in the declaration on deepening and strengthening the relaxation of international tensions which was unanimously approved by the 32d Session of the General Assembly.³

The fact that analogous statements have also received clear-cut reinforcement in international treaties deserves special attention. Earlier in this chapter appropriate extracts from the nuclear weapons non-proliferation treaty and several other international agreements were quoted. It is not difficult to continue them. For example, the preamble to the treaty on banning the placement of nuclear weapons and other types of weapons of mass destruction on the sea and ocean beds and in its depths expresses the conviction of the parties that this treaty "is a step on the path to a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control".⁴ A statement close to this thought is contained in the preamble to the convention on banning the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxic weapons and their destruction; the determination of the participants in the convention "to contribute to the achievement of a general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control"⁵ is expressed in it.

The quoted treaty statements clearly convey the thought that general and complete disarmament is the final goal toward whose achievement those disarmament agreements, which are already in effect, and those being prepared, are directed. This means that the proposition which states the final result of the disarmament work now taking place has received treaty reinforcement in modern international law. This is undoubtedly an important evolution which contributes to practical movement in this direction.

It is possible to say that international law in this stage of its development is already pointing out to states the prospects for sweeping disarmament. Of course, one cannot oversimplify the proposition by maintaining that international legal norms already exist which require states to implement general and complete disarmament. These norms still do not exist. We talked about this earlier in this chapter. However, international law clearly orients states towards the working out of binding agreements on complete disarmament. The importance of such propositions is rather great. They testify to the fact that the concept of general and complete disarmament has received authoritative international legal confirmation and that it is now being accepted as the almost universally recognized goal of disarmament work. All this, of course, has no small significance for the general orientation of the practical work in this area.

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Thus, International legal developments, have already led to a rather clear-cut strengthening of the general goals in the struggle for disarmament. During recent years, the organizational forms for achieving these goals have also been systematically dismissed. Special attention has been attracted to the use of more effective methods to solve disarmament problems. We are talking here primarily about a world disarmament conference, that is, about the widest and most representative forum of states. The idea of calling such a conference has already been nurtured for many years. The opportunity to involve practically all states in the modern world in the examination of disarmament questions is considered to be one of the basic advantages in using such a forum. This method has not been practiced in the past but in the opinion of many states its use can open up new opportunities for forward movement in the cause of disarmament. The Soviet Union and other advocates of the call for a world disarmament conference are guided by these motives. It goes without saying that the convening of such a conference in no way excludes but on the contrary assumes the continued functioning of the Committee on Disarmament and the other organs already working in this area.

The campaign in favor of calling a world disarmament conference showed itself at the beginning of the Sixties. The struggle to achieve this goal has undergone two stages in its development. The first stage pertains to the Sixties.

The socialist countries which are invariably trying to use all possible ways to abet the implementation of disarmament, came forward with a call to create a world disarmament conference. The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member nations which was held at the beginning of 1965 wrote in its communique: "The Warsaw Treaty member nations support... the call for a world disarmament conference."⁶

The idea for the calling of such a conference was also proposed in the UN. The Soviet delegation, declaring that the convening of a world disarmament conference with the participation of all countries in the world would be responsive to the situation which had taken shape, and calling upon the United Nations Organization to include itself in the task of preparing for such a conference, offered a proposal on this question during the 19th Session of the General Assembly.

The determination of a large number of states to achieve the convening of a disarmament conference was convincingly demonstrated during the 20th Session of the General Assembly. The Soviet delegation offered a concrete proposal: to organize such a conference in the middle of 1966 in Geneva or some other place acceptable to all participants. In doing this, the Soviet Union particularly emphasized the urgent necessity to attach a truly world nature to the conference and for this purpose to attract all states to participate in it, including those who are not UN members or who are being artificially kept away from disarmament negotiations. Considering the need for a universal nature for this conference, the Soviet Union proceeded from the necessity to call it outside the limits of the UN.

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During the work of the 22d Session of the General Assembly it turned out that the overwhelming majority of UN members supported this idea. It is significant that the draft resolution on calling a disarmament conference was presented in the name of 43 states.

On 29 November 1965, a plenary session of the General Assembly adopted Resolution 2030/XX on convening a world disarmament conference; 112 votes were in favor of it, one state abstained, and not one voted against it. The resolution pointed at the paramount importance of disarmament for the modern world and also the urgent need to exert further efforts aimed at achieving an agreement on general and complete disarmament with effective international control. Having recommended the convening of a world disarmament conference, the resolution pointed out that all the countries of the world regardless of membership in the UN should be invited to it.

Thus did the struggle begin within the UN to call a world disarmament conference. This period can be considered to be the first stage of this struggle. It concluded with the adoption of the mentioned resolution by the 20th Session of the General Assembly. However, this resolution was not realized since opposition to this initiative was displayed by a number of Western powers and the PRC which prevented the implementation of General Assembly Resolution 2030/XX.

Later the Soviet Union continued to consistently see to the calling of a disarmament conference. In 1971, it again supported the calling of a world conference to examine disarmament questions in all their scope. Such a proposal was introduced by the Soviet Union during the 26th and subsequent sessions of the General Assembly. The assembly repeatedly supported it, calling for the necessary practical steps to be taken immediately.

A special committee for preparing for the conference was created within the General Assembly; however, its practical work had no results. The PRC and some Western states actively interfered with the work of calling the conference. The Soviet Union more than once directed attention to this state of affairs. A. A. Gromyko, the minister of foreign affairs, said regarding this during the 29th Session of the assembly: "The boycott of this important measure by some states contradicts the clearly expressed desire of the overwhelming majority of UN members." Numerous General Assembly resolutions have clearly expressed the interest of the overwhelming majority of UN members in convening a world disarmament conference.

This situation forced even the enemies of convening the conference to moderate their position. This was reflected in the adoption of a compromise proposal for holding a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament as the first step in the mentioned direction. This proposal was aimed at beginning practical movement toward the preparation of a world disarmament forum.

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The 31st Session of the General Assembly unanimously adopted Resolution 31/189 on calling a special assembly session on disarmament. It pointed out that the "continuation of the arms race threatens international peace and security and also diverts enormous resources which are extremely necessary for economic and social development."⁸ The special session was called upon to serve as an intermediary stage on the path to the subsequent convening of a world conference. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries continuously pointed out in the UN that the session should be regarded not as a substitute for the world conference but as a measure preparing the path for its convening. In order to carry out the necessary organizational preparations, a Disarmament Center was created within the UN Secretariat at the beginning of 1977.

The Soviet Union proposed a detailed program for conducting the special assembly session devoted to disarmament. It was set forth in a USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs letter to the UN Secretary General. The letter particularly emphasized the need to carefully and thoroughly prepare for the sessions, and that its decisions should help the disarmament negotiations already taking place. Concerning the content of the special session's work, the USSR expressed the opinion that the session's agenda should "provide for a broad exchange of views on the disarmament problem both with respect to the basic approaches to this problem during the present stage and with respect to the basic directions in the primary efforts of states in this area, having in mind the achievement of the main and final goal of all efforts in the area of disarmament -- general and complete disarmament."⁹

On the threshold of the special session, the USSR proposed a new long-range initiative which provided for the further spread of the struggle to solve a wide series of disarmament questions. L. I. Brezhnev announced: "The time has come to think about completely halting the further qualitative and quantitative growth of weapons and armed forces of states possessing a large military potential, and by this to create conditions for their subsequent reduction. Specifically, we are addressing an appeal to discuss a program to implement the following measures over a definitely limited time: Stopping the production of all types of nuclear weapons; stopping the production and banning all other types of weapons of mass destruction; halting the creation of new types of conventional weapons with great destructive force; and the repudiation of enlarging armies and increasing the conventional weapons of the powers who are permanent members of the Security Council and the countries allied with them by military agreements."¹⁰

The introduction of this detailed program by the Soviet Union once again emphasized that there exist quite a few specific areas to which arms limitation measures must be spread. It goes without saying that not all the enumerated questions can be quickly regulated. However, all of them can find a satisfactory solution within a reasonable time if the good will of states is directed toward this. The importance of the Soviet initiative is especially great because it clearly points out the possible deviation of practical work on disarmament for the very near future. Such a concrete definition of the prospects was called upon to contribute to an actual

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increase in the effectiveness of the work in this area and the mobilization of the states' efforts to insure progress in the matter of disarmament.

The UN General Assembly special session on disarmament took place in New York during May and June 1978. All UN members participated in it. Essentially, the session was the most representative forum which ever discussed disarmament questions. This fact forces one to regard it as yet another step of no small importance in the task of involving the widest possible circle of states in the examination of disarmament questions. The session undoubtedly made a definite contribution to the solution of such a very important task as the creation of the most powerful front possible of peaceloving forces who came out in favor of implementing disarmament.

The task of working up specific disarmament measures did not face the General Assembly special session. It was called upon to formulate the fundamental principles which would lie at the basis of further practical work in the area of disarmament, and to determine the main directions of forward movement in this vitally important work. The fact that such a concrete definition of both the immediate and the long range tasks in the disarmament area is now an extremely timely matter, is not subject to doubt. It will help to unite and stimulate the efforts of all states who are interested in implementing disarmament, and to raise the practical effectiveness of work in this area.

The Soviet Union presented a specific program of practical measures designed to define the general and cardinal direction of further disarmament work during the special session. The proposal for a complete halt to the further qualitative and quantitative growth in the arms and armed forces of states possessing a large military potential was its heart. The practical implementation of this program was worked out in detail in Soviet proposals.¹¹

This initiative played an extremely noticeable role in the work of the special session. Essentially, it formed the skeleton of the final document which was unanimously approved by the session. On the whole, decisions of the session formulated a broad and useful program for work in the disarmament area which was adopted by the UN members on the basis of a consensus. Undoubtedly, this program will help to stimulate a general movement in the direction of delivering mankind from the arms race and the dangers connected with it.

Meanwhile, it is impossible not to speak about the fact that the special session once again exposed and confirmed the presence of forces, hostile to the cause of disarmament, in the world. These are not only the aggressive imperialist forces which are interested in speeding up military preparations. China, which was trying to force through its not unknown Maoist thesis that apparently only the USSR and the United States should disarm but all other countries on the other hand should urgently arm, appeared in the role of an ardent enemy of disarmament during the special session. This position, aimed at justifying the militaristic policy of the PRC leadership and its expansionist desires, was a new confirmation of Beijing's hostility

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to the cause of disarmament. It is widely known that China invariably comes out against the resolutions adopted by the regular sessions of the General Assembly on disarmament questions and is not a participant in one of the international arms limitation treaties now in effect. This policy was also continued during the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament where the PRC did not take part in approving the concluding document. Thereby, it demonstrably disassociated itself from the basic goals of halting the very dangerous arms race -- goals which were supported by practically all peaceloving humanity.

Nevertheless, the work of the special session of the General Assembly distinctly showed that the idea of disarmament enjoyed very wide support in the world. The concluding document in whose preamble the task "to lay the foundations of an international strategy of disarmament",¹² which was adopted by it, eloquently testifies to this.

The concluding document of the special session is a detailed resolution which embraces practically all the basic aspects of the disarmament problem. It touches upon both the general questions connected with the nature of disarmament's role in ensuring international security and upon concrete measures in this area. The document consists of four sections: an introduction, a declaration, an action program, and recommendations relative to an international mechanism for examining disarmament questions. On the whole, the document is the most detailed of all the resolutions on disarmament questions, ever adopted by the UN General Assembly.

The leit-motif of the concluding document is the thesis on the necessity to use disarmament measures as a reliable guarantee of international security. It is pointed out in the Introduction: "The time has come... to begin searching for security through disarmament, that is, through a gradual but effective process which will begin with a decrease in the present arms level" (p 1). This task is justifiably linked in the document with the development of the relaxation process in modern international relations. Naturally, the arms race, which continues the competition in stock piling systems of destruction, contradicts this. The declaration on this subject says: "Now as never before, mankind faces the threat of self-destruction as a result of the continuing state of affairs in accumulating on an enormous scale the most destructive weapons ever produced. Already existing nuclear weapons are more than sufficient to destroy life on earth" (p 11). The declaration proves very thoroughly the thesis that the continuation of the arms race would have multi-sided negative consequences for peace and security.

"The primary tasks and measures in the area of disarmament, whose implementation states must begin in short order so as to halt and turn back the arms race and attach the necessary impulse to the efforts aimed at achieving genuine disarmament leading to general and complete disarmament under effective international control" (p 43), are stated in the "Action Program" section. The central place among these measures was given to nuclear

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disarmament questions. On this score, the general program boils down to the following three items: (a) halting the qualitative improvement and development of nuclear weapons, (b) halting the production of nuclear weapons, delivery systems, and the fissionable materials for making them, and (c) a combined step-by-step program for the gradual and balanced reduction of nuclear weapon and delivery system stock-piles (p 50). The halting of nuclear weapon tests by all states, new agreements between the USSR and the United States on limiting strategic arms, agreements on preventing the use of nuclear weapons, the creation of zones free of nuclear weapons (especially in Africa and the Near East), and reducing the danger of the spread of nuclear weapons to a minimum were specially mentioned among the specific nuclear disarmament measures.

The "Action Program" devotes quite a bit of attention to questions on banning other types of weapons of mass destruction. A call to all states, which have still not done this, to join the 1925 Geneva protocol and the convention on banning the development, production and stock-piling of bacteriological (biological) and toxic weapon supplies, is contained in it. The complete and effective banning of the development, production and stock-piling of chemical weapons is mentioned as one of the most urgent tasks. Another pressing measure is the banning of radiological weapons.

The propositions concerning the prevention of a qualitative arms race which are in the "Action Program" are of fundamental importance. In this connection, the task "to take effective steps to avoid the danger and prevent the appearance of new types of weapons of mass destruction based on new scientific principles and achievements" (p 77) was formulated.

It is necessary to pay attention to the fact that the "Action Program" clearly points out the need to prevent an arms race in all areas where it can practically develop. The program especially mentions in particular such aspects of this problem as banning the military use of systems to affect the environment and preventing an arms race on the bottom of the sea and ocean and in space. The importance of limiting and reducing conventional arms and armed forces is also pointed out in the program. This task was formulated, in particular, with respect to Europe where the importance of achieving a more stable situation "on the basis of approximate equality and parity and on the basis of not harming the security of all states" (p 82) is pointed out. The UN conference which was planned for 1979 on banning or limiting the use of specific types of conventional weapons which could be considered to be extremely brutal or to have a non-selective effect was mentioned as one of the international forums called upon to contribute to the limitation of conventional weapons.

A whole system of measures, aimed at creating a general atmosphere favorable to disarmament and at improving the understanding of disarmament's role in the cause of strengthening peace and international security was set forth in the "Action Program". For this purpose, the conducting of a number of

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scientific research projects (including the interconnection between disarmament and international security), expanding the dissemination of information about the danger of the arms race, intensifying research in this area, and taking international steps aimed at improving the understanding of disarmament problems (in particular, a world education congress on disarmament planned along the line of UNESCO) were planned.

In the concluding document's section devoted to the mechanism for examining disarmament questions, important organizational measures aimed at a general speed-up in achieving progress in the disarmament area were set forth. Among them, it is possible to pick out a number of measures for strengthening the UN role in this area. Included in these is the attachment of a systematic and deeper nature to the examination of disarmament questions within the UN. For this purpose, it is provided that the first committee of the General Assembly will in the future busy itself only with disarmament questions and the international security questions connected with them. Besides this, a Commission on Disarmament composed of all UN members was created. This commission will be "a deliberative organ subordinate to the General Assembly whose duty includes the examination and introduction of recommendations on various problems in the area of disarmament and observation of the state of affairs connected with the decisions and recommendations of the special session devoted to disarmament" (p 118). Practically speaking, this reorganization of the Commission on Disarmament was aimed at converting it into an actively operating international organ for examining disarmament questions.

In general, all the propositions in the mechanism section are essentially aimed at improving the results of disarmament negotiations. This also relates to the planned prosperity for convening a second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament (the period for convening it is subject to being determined somewhat later). The propositions concerning the reorganization of the Committee on Disarmament--the basic working organ within which international treaties in this area are prepared -- are another item of no small importance.

This reorganization primarily concerns expanding the compositions of the committee. Henceforth, participation in the committee will be open to the five nuclear powers and 35 other states. Subsequently, the composition of the committee (it is also necessary to note this as a new item) will be reviewed periodically. The first session of the Committee with its new composition began work in Geneva in January 1979. France took part in it for the first time. Among the new committee members were Cuba, Algeria, and Sri Lanka. The PRC is included in the composition of the committee; however, the chair of its representative is still empty.

The propositions concerning the organization of the committee's work in the future also deserve attention. The following items are among them: The committee's work will be conducted on the basis of consensus; the committee will work out its own procedural rules; the UN General Secretary will appoint the committee secretary after consultations with the committee; the chair-

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manship will rotate on a monthly basis among all committee members; the committee will draw up its own agenda, considering the recommendations of the General Assembly and the recommendations of the committee members; the committee will report annually or more frequently to the General Assembly, and committee documents will be sent to the members of the UN on a regular basis; states which are not members of the committee will have an opportunity to submit their proposals to the committee on questions which are the subject of discussion in the committee, and participate in their discussion; the committee will invite states, who are not members of it, to express their point of view during the examination of questions which are of special interest to these states; and plenary meetings of the committee will be open if there is no other solution.

As it is not difficult to see, many of the new rules will be incorporated into committee practices for the first time. This pertains, in particular, to such items as the chairmanship procedure, appointment of the secretary, the strengthening of ties with the UN, and the open nature of plenary sessions. All these changes were in principle made with the aim of attaching greater representation and effectiveness to this operating organ.

Among other organizational measures aimed at improving work in the disarmament area, it is possible to single out the propositions concerning the strengthening of the UN Center on Disarmament -- a new link in the UN structure which was created not long before the convening of the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament. The expansion of the research and informational function of this center is provided for. In addition, it is proposed that the UN General Secretary set up a consultative council consisting of outstanding figures, selected on the basis of their personal knowledge with a consideration for fair geographic representation, to give advice on various aspects of research in the area of disarmament. On the whole, the strengthening and expansion of the mechanism existing in the UN for examining disarmament questions was provided for in this way. Page 122, which states: "A world conference must be convened in the shortest appropriate time with a universal composition and with proper preparation," deserves special mention. This point confirms the goal for whose achievement the USSR and other peaceloving states have striven for a number of years.

As was already pointed out above, the importance of this world forum would be very great. It is capable of providing a new and powerful impulse to all work in the disarmament area. Therefore, the inclusion of this point in the concluding document of the special session of the General Assembly was called upon to pave the way for a very rapid convening of this very important measure.

This in general outline is the content of the concluding document. In general, it once again convincingly emphasizes the understanding which is growing throughout the world of the importance of disarmament as a way to strengthen peace. The program of practical measures in the disarmament area, which is formulated in the document, can exert no small influence on the general course

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of subsequent work in this direction. It is important to emphasize here that many constructive initiatives of the USSR and other socialist countries, which are capable of really advancing the cause of disarmament, found expression in the concluding document. For example, this pertains to the area of nuclear disarmament and the banning of all other (including new) systems of mass destruction. The presence of these propositions without a doubt attaches quite a bit of useful direction to the concluding document. This document, without any doubt, will occupy a prominent place among UN decisions on disarmament questions. Therefore, on the whole the work of the special session of the General Assembly is justifiably assessed in the world as a useful contribution to the cause of the disarmament struggle. Despite the recommendation nature of the concluding document, the session was undoubtedly a very timely and important measure.

It is necessary to mention that a NATO Council session, wholly devoted to whipping up the arms race, was held in Washington during the work of the UN General Assembly's special session on disarmament. It took place under the badge of developing plans to strengthen the military preparations of this military bloc; in particular, decisions on strengthening its air and naval forces, increasing the number of American troops in Western Europe, and raising the military budgets of the NATO member states were worked out. The actions of the NATO member states were assessed by peaceloving humanity as a deliberate demonstration of their attachment to whipping up the arms race and increasing tensions.

In this connection, L.I. Brezhnev's words resound with enormous force: "The leaders of a number of NATO's leading countries, especially the United States, clearly do not wish to display a constructive approach to the solution of disarmament tasks. How otherwise can one assess the holding of a NATO Council session in Washington where a new long range arms program was adopted at the same time that the opposite -- how to bridle the arms race -- was being discussed in New York during the UN General Assembly's special session."¹³ Such actions by the imperialist circles once again remind one of the existence in the West of influential enemies of disarmament who are exerting efforts to disrupt the process of relaxing tensions which has begun to be seen and develop new turns in the arms race. Of course, this policy very seriously complicates forward movement in the cause of disarmament.

The struggle for disarmament is taking place in a complicated and difficult situation. Forward movement here is possible only on the basis of overcoming the stubborn resistance of the imperialist advocates of the arms race. Each of the international disarmament agreements achieved up to now was the result of the purposeful and stubborn struggle of the USSR, other socialist states and many peaceloving countries. In the future, it is necessary to expand the struggle to develop new and even more effective disarmament measures.

This task is acquiring special importance and prospects under the conditions of establishing a climate of relaxation in international relations which

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contributes to deepening the multi-faceted cooperation between states of different social systems. Under such conditions, the prospect of the disarmament struggle promises and ever more appreciable successes. Objective opportunities are thereby created for the further and ever more active development of disarmament law.

The slogan of supplementing political relaxation with military relaxation is on the agenda of international life as an urgent practical task. Of course, it is impossible to diminish the difficulties in solving it. On the path to disarmament, there are many obstacles created by the policy of aggressive imperialist circles. L. I. Brezhnev points out: "The actions of the militaristic circles of imperialism, covered by the false thesis of the 'Soviet threat', are pushing the NATO countries onto the dangerous path of further building up weapons arsenals and increasing military expenditures, are a real and ever growing threat to peoples' security. The policy of the present Chinese leadership is also hand in glove with these forces."¹⁴

Nevertheless, the movement in the direction of disarmament is becoming stronger, achieving ever more appreciable results. The growing power of the forces of peace is finding expression in this. It is attaching a steadfast and irreversible nature to this movement and makes it an integral feature of modern international life.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "50 let bor'by SSSR za razoruzheniye. Sbornik dokumentov" [50 years of the USSR's Struggle for Disarmament], pp 481-506.
2. "Rezolyutsii, prinyatyie General'noy Assambleyey na chetyrnadtsatoy sessii" [Resolutions Adopted by the General Assembly during its 14th Session], p 3.
3. PRAVDA, 20 December 1977.
4. "Sbornik deystvuyushchikh dogovorov, soglasheniy i konventsiy..." [Collection of Treaties, Agreements and Conventions in Effect....] 28th Edition, p 43.
5. Ibid., 31st Edition, p. 58.
6. "50 let bor'by SSSR za razoruzheniye. Sbornik dokumentov," p 590.
7. IZVESTIYA, 25 September 1974.
8. PRAVDA, 23 December 1976.
9. Ibid., 3 March 1977.

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10. Ibid, 26 April 1978.
11. Cf. A. A. Gromyko, "O prakticheskikh putyakh k prekrashcheniyu gonku vooruzheniy" [About Practical Ways to Halt the Arms Race], Moscow, 1978, p 20.
12. Cf. text NOYOYE VREMYA, No 28, 1978, pp 36- 48.
13. PRAVDA, 26 June 1978.
14. Ibid., 2 February 1979.

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INTERNATIONAL

REVIEW OF BOOK EDITED BY GROMYKO ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Moscow ISTORIYA SSSR in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 80 pp 178-180

[Review by G. F. Kim and I. D. Koval'chenko, corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and A. M. Khazanov, of the book "Istoriya diplomatii" edited by A. A. Gromyko, I. N. Zemskov, V. A. Zorin, V. S. Semenov and S. L. Tikhvinskiy, second edition, Vol V, book 2, Politizdat, 1979, 49,000 copies, 766 pages]

[Text] The 1960's and '70s will go down in the history of international relations as a period filled with turbulent and complex events and severe international crises, as a time of profound and rapid changes in the shape of the world. The most perceptible feature on the frontier of the '60s and '70s was the consistent policy pursued by the USSR and the other socialist nations to strengthen peace and the security of nations, a policy materialized in the process of detente.

The book being reviewed sheds light upon the most important problems of international relations and diplomacy in the '60s and '70s. As in previous volumes of this major study, the main focus is upon key issues of USSR foreign policy and the development of international relations during the period studied. The contents of the book are arranged according to problems and areas: along with explaining questions of international relations in the main areas (Europe, the Near and Middle East, Africa, Latin America, and so forth) it also discusses a number of international problems and circumstances, without a knowledge of which it is impossible to form a sufficiently complete and correct concept of the nature of international relations during the period considered (various aspects of the struggle for detente, the nonalignment movement, the UN and problems of maintaining peace, and so forth).

We believe that it was precisely this arrangement of the material which has permitted the authors thoroughly and comprehensively to investigate the entire system of contemporary international relations. Central among the issues covered in the book are questions pertaining to the struggle waged by the Soviet Union and other nations of the socialist commonwealth

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for the intensification of the process of detente in international relations, for cessation of the arms race, for disarmament and for peace and the security of nations.

The persistent and systematic struggle conducted as a part of socialism's diplomatic efforts in the 1960's and '70s, made it possible to resolve many peaceful settlement issues in Europe. The result was a transition from an area of "cold war" and confrontation to detente and cooperation. The policy of detente helped strengthen the principles of peaceful coexistence and seriously hampered the efforts of imperialist groups in the West to renew the "cold war" against the socialist nations.

The book stresses the fact that decisions coming out of the 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the convening of which was made possible by joint or coordinated actions on the part of the socialist nations and demonstrations by extensive social forces, as well as by the development of trends toward realism in the policies of the Western nations, were highly important for the strengthening of peace throughout the world and for the spreading of detente to all areas of the globe (p 145). The 5 years which have gone by since the Helsinki Conference have shown that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other nations in the socialist commonwealth steadfastly adheres to the principles underlying the Helsinki agreements. They consistently speak out in favor of expanding steps to strengthen mutual trust in Europe and to reduce military confrontation between the socialist and capitalist states. In the years which have passed since the Helsinki Conference we have been able to achieve substantial normalization of relations between the socialist and Western nations and, what is especially important, a certain stability in relations between the USSR and the United States. All of these complex processes in international affairs have been explained with sufficient completeness in the book which is the subject of this review.

A significant portion of the book is devoted to an analysis of international relations in Asia and Africa. We would like to make special mention of this fact, since this is essentially the first such complete and thorough coverage of issues pertaining to the step-up in the foreign policy activities of Asian and African states and to their growing influence upon the development of international relations. This new development in contemporary international affairs is a result of far-reaching structural changes produced in the system of international relations by the collapse of imperialism's colonial system. The book traces the development of the diplomacy of the young Asian and African states and describes its struggle to strengthen the political and economic independence of those nations and to bring the liberated states onto the world scene as equal members of the international community. Their large and positive role in all contemporary international life is to a great degree the result of the sincere support received from the states of the socialist commonwealth. It is, therefore, perfectly natural that one of the important aspects of this book is provided by an analysis of relations between the USSR and the liberated nations.

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The book convincingly shows us that the Soviet Union's cooperation with the national liberation movement has diverse forms, the most important of which are political and moral support, economic and financial aid and, finally, military cooperation and support when the peoples of the Afro-Asian nations need such assistance to achieve political independence or to defend it against the encroachments of the imperialists.

Relations between the USSR and the liberated nations are conceived primarily as the all-round and disinterested fostering of complete decolonization and independent development by the socialist power and the establishment of a new type of equal and mutually beneficial international relations. The existence of this factor, to be specific, the existence of the USSR and the other socialist nations with their constant readiness to provide support for the national liberation movement, is creating a fundamentally new climate in international relations and forcing the imperialist powers to take this into consideration in their approach to mutual relations with the developing nations.

As the book shows us, the economic, political and military strength of the USSR constitute the main obstacle to imperialism's neocolonialist expansion and, furthermore, that it has in many cases forced the imperialists to refrain from the use of force and crude dictating with respect to the developing nations.

The book also describes a number of cases in which the Soviet Union, fulfilling its international duty, has come to the aid of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the victims of imperialist aggression. Specifically, our nation provided such assistance to the Arab peoples, to Vietnam, Angola, Ethiopia and other nations in the 1960's and '70s.

The authors thoroughly expose the neocolonialist policy of the United States and other imperialist powers during the period discussed. A characteristic feature of this policy was growing intervention into the internal affairs of other peoples in the most diverse areas of the world. In this process, imperialism has counted mainly on the conflicts which exist between the developing nations. Taking advantage of these conflicts, the West has attempted to place those nations with progressive, revolutionary-democratic regimes into the most difficult economic and political circumstances possible.

Along with imperialism, the present Chinese leadership is exerting an extremely destabilizing influence upon the situation in Asia and throughout the world. In a detailed analysis of the foreign policy of the PRC, especially its evolution in the 1960's and '70s, the authors of the book show how Beijing has gradually stepped up its search for ways to achieve a rapprochement with the imperialist nations as anti-Sovietism has increased. "Beijing's criticism of the United States became increasingly milder, and the 11th CCP Congress held in August 1977 and the February-March 1978 session of the VSNP [All-Chinese Assembly of National

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Representatives] actually sanctioned an invitation to the United States to take part in a united anti-Soviet front, which was issued in plain terms by Deng Xiaoping in October 1977" (p 416). Those sections of the book dealing with relations between the CPR and the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic, as well as the imperialist states, and with international relations in various regions of the world reveal the antipopular, great-power, expansionistic essence of the foreign policy and diplomacy conducted by Beijing, which is attempting to become close with the more reactionary forces on the anti-Soviet and antisocialist platform.

At the same time, the book stresses, the intrigues of imperialism and Maoism and their allies, aimed at imposing neocolonialist control upon the peoples of Asia and Africa, are encountering increasingly determined resistance. Relying upon the growing support of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist commonwealth, the liberated nations are taking more active stances in the struggle against the dangerous provocations of imperialism and its accomplices, which are sowing hostility and distrust among peoples and provoking international conflicts which threaten peace throughout the world. The fact that far-ranging, positive changes are occurring in the international situation in Asia has been borne out by the collapse of the aggressive SEATO and CENTO blocs (the former in 1975 and the latter in 1979), the elimination of American military bases in Iran, expansion of the nonalignment movement, the step-up in the struggle being waged by the developing nations to restructure international economic relations, and so forth.

The authors provide complete substantiation for their conclusion to the effect that "the intensification of the struggle being waged by socialism's peaceful forces for detente and disarmament and for the continued strengthening of principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems, the successful ending, with the assistance of the Soviet Union, of a number of armed conflicts in Asia, the final and complete victory of the peoples of Indochina over the American aggressors and the establishment of relationships of friendship and broad cooperation between the majority of Asian states and the USSR and other socialist nations--all of these and other positive advances occurring in international affairs in 1960's and '70s have opened up new possibilities for the strengthening of peace and security in Asia" (p 351).

This book is the first in Soviet historiography to summarize and analyze experience in international relations in the East during the past two decades and to make absolutely obvious the fact that the liberated states are becoming more and more profoundly cognizant of their national interests and taking increasingly determined action against imperialist pretensions, no matter what form they take. This has been demonstrated, among other ways, by events related to the struggle being waged by the Arab peoples against a separate Egyptian-Israeli agreement, by the revolutionary changes which have occurred in Iran, Afghanistan, Nicaragua and other countries, by decisions coming out of the sixth Conference of Non-aligned Nations in Havana, and so forth.

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This book will make a substantial contribution to the study of the history of international relations and diplomacy. It will undoubtedly serve as a reliable aid for diplomats, scientists, instructors, students and propagandists and for all those interested in international relations.

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NATIONAL

FEDOSEYEV DISCUSSES STRUCTURE OF SOVIET ECONOMY

Moscow VOPROSY FILOSOFII in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 3-15

[Article by P. N. Fedoseyev: "Theoretical Problems of Socioeconomic Development of Soviet Society in the Present Stage," based on a report read at the General Assembly of the USSR Academy of Sciences of 13 December 1979]

[Text] In his speech at the November (1979) Plenum of the Party Central Committee, General Secretary of the Party Central Committee Leonid Il'yich Brezhnev pointed out that the party has great hopes for the active support of our scientists and especially the USSR Academy of Sciences, the republic and branch academies, and all scientific research institutes in solving the current problems confronting the national economy.

The problems of achieving optimal interaction of scientific-technical progress with socioeconomic development are of vital importance to the future intensive rise of the national economy. Actually, solution of the economic and social problems to a great extent depends upon how effectively scientific and technical advances help to accelerate the growth of labor productivity and of the whole national economy. And in their turn the rates of scientific-technical progress are determined not by the latter's internal logic alone, but to a critical extent by the socioeconomic conditions as well. The whole series of complex and variegated links characterizing this interaction is to be reflected particularly in the General Program of Scientific-Technical Progress, which is being prepared by the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR State Committee on Science and Technology, and USSR Gosstroy on behalf of the central organs.

1. Structural Improvement of the USSR's Economy

The key problem of socioeconomic development is that of the proportions and rates of socialist production. Planned development of the socialist national economy according to the Marxist-Leninist theory of reproduction permits purposeful regulation and direction of the structural changes in the economy in conformity with the various historical stages. At all stages of socialist construction the party and state have regularly emphasized questions of

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structural policy. The party has always proceeded from the principle that "the economic growth rates, the possibilities for the accumulations essential to economic development and the people's greater good heavily depend upon the proper solution of structural problems." (1)

In the first years of socialist construction the problem of improving the national economic structure was resolved solely in favor of accelerated development of heavy industry. The vast economic measures that strained all the resources and forces of the people made it possible to place the national economy on the path of modern industry and to make radical changes in its structure in a very brief historical period. While in the initial period of socialist construction most of the national income came from agriculture, now over 60 percent of it is produced in industry and construction.

The nation has become a modern industrial one, covered by a network of electric power stations. New cities and industrial centers have been created and large new regional-industrial complexes have been formed. The vast and rapid growth of the USSR's industrial power is evidenced by comparing it with the growth of the industrial output of the most developed capitalist country, the United States. In 1913 the USSR was behind the United States by 7 times in steel smelting, and now it is ahead by more than 20 percent. We were mining 2 times less coal than the United States, but now it is 11 percent more. Our total oil extraction was 7 times less than that of the United States, and now it is 33 percent more. Our cement output was 8 times behind the U.S. total, while now it exceeds the latter by 65 percent. We are now producing 2.3 times more tractors than the United States. (2)

The accelerated growth of the machine building complex and of power engineering brought about major structural changes in heavy industry. Between 1940 and 1978 the machine building and metal working outputs increased by 63 times and that of electric power by 25 times. This made it possible to increase the capital-labor ratio and the power-worker ratio by many times. From 1940 to 1978 the power-worker ratio was increased nearly 7 times in industry and by more than 14 times in agriculture. (3)

Thanks to the progressive processes in the economy, an adequate technical-material base for developed socialism was created. This permitted a definite change in the existing proportions in the national economy in the form of a greater share of the resources allocated to consumer needs. While in 1970 the resources allocated to the consumption fund, calculated in terms of the existing prices, amounted to 70.5 percent of the national income, in 1978 they came to 73.7 percent. In the Eighth Five-Year Plan the increase in the consumption fund amounted to 64 percent of the total absolute increase in the national income, while in the Ninth Five-Year Plan and the first 3 years of the tenth one it exceeded 80 percent. Some approximation of the growth rates of production groups A and B is a good sign, as well as the considerable gain in the share of heavy industry in the output of consumer goods. (4)

In the last few years the results of the party's consistent policy of major redistribution of accumulations in favor of the agrarian sector of the economy

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have been conspicuous. Until the start of the Ninth Five-Year Plan the growth rates of the main productive capital of agriculture lagged behind the corresponding average index for the national economy, but they have been exceeding it for the last few years.

There have been major shifts in the social structure. The working class has increased by 7 times since 1926. The demands for scientific-technical progress, education and health protection have enormously augmented the intelligentsia. The number of workers engaged in largely intellectual work has risen from 3 million in 1926 to 37.5 million, or by 12.5 times. The agricultural population has considerably diminished. During the years of Soviet power the proportion of the urban population has increased from 18 to 62 percent, with an absolute increase of 132.5 million persons. (5)

All this has intensified a number of social problems, such as housing and subsistence especially. To describe the extent of the housing construction needed to meet the increased demands for dwelling space in the cities, it is sufficient to say that the increase alone in the USSR's urban population in the years of Soviet power equals the entire present population of the cities of England, France, Italy, Sweden and Denmark together. The USSR has built 3.3 billion cubic meters of dwelling space, but the demand for comfortable housing is still far from fully satisfied.

The food problem has also taken a new form. Although the gross agricultural output has increased by 3.6 times, regular supply of the public with high-quality products is still one of the most serious problems. The fact must be considered that the proportion of the population employed in agriculture has declined from 75 to 21 percent. While in the past one agricultural worker had to produce for two persons, now it is 11 persons, and this has required a pronounced increase in labor productivity (6) and the capital-labor ratio. Naturally the CPSU Central Committee is heavily emphasizing consolidation and further development of the technical-material base of agriculture and its more effective use.

And so the structural changes that took place in the national economy radically changed the nature of production, basically strengthened social unity, and extended the scope and possibilities of solving the current and long-range socioeconomic problems.

At the same time the resulting national economic structure is not fully meeting the requirements of the economic strategy and social policy in the present stage, which are constant concerns of the party and state. The considerable growth of machine building makes it necessary to determine its exact lag behind the requirements of the national economy, especially in the matter of curtailing the norms for use of underproductive manual labor. The power output is insufficient for the growing tasks of raising the power-worker ratio and supplying the social, cultural and living needs of the public.

The tasks of technical improvement of production call for accelerated development of the sectors that determine technical progress. But as contrasted with

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the previous period, the rapid growth rates of the new technology and industrial equipment must be met without retarding the growth rates of the sectors producing consumer goods. Expressed in terms of economic procedure, the problem of correlating the growth rates of these two subdivisions of social production at the present stage consists of meeting the growing demands for production means on an intensive rather than an extensive basis. This problem is urgent because the output of uneconomic production means keeps increasing the specific outlays of raw materials to make the products for final consumption, to the detriment of the economic effectiveness of production. The growth rate of the Soviet economy are increasingly limited by the growth rates of the extractive sectors.

Because of the predominance of the extensive factors of production growth, the latter's high inputs of materials are one of the main reasons for the decline of the growth rates and qualitative indices of economic development. While the average annual increase in used national income came to 7.1 percent in the Eighth Five-Year Plan, it was 5.1 percent in the Ninth and 4.2 percent in the 10th Five-Year Plan. The falling growth rates of the national income are accompanied by a steady and also considerable increase in the volume of fixed productive capital and physical working capital used in the national economy. While the ratio of the growth of the national income to that of fixed productive capital in the Eighth Five-Year Plan was about 1:2, in the Ninth Five-Year Plan it was 1:3.4, and in the first years of the 10th Five-Year Plan it is already 1:4.2. This shows how the capital-output ratio is declining. (7)

Although there has been some approximation of the growth rates of the first and second subdivisions, the declining effectiveness of production is widening the gap between the growth of production and that of consumption. This discrepancy is the main cause of the steadily growing imbalance between the public's cash incomes and their commodity purchases.

The experience of the last few years has shown that an overall increase in the output volumes of fuel, raw materials and materials, while seeming to be the simplest and most convenient way of providing the national economy with production means, actually tends to aggravate the shortage. The fact is that the extractive sectors of production consume the most capital and labor, and their expansion requires large quantities of energy, mechanisms, machinery and materials and increases the volume of shipping. This confronts the national economy with a very serious problem. The demands for production means are increased, and the efforts to meet them on an extensive basis are inadequate. The imbalance (shortage) of sheet metal is on the increase, despite a considerable gain in steel smelting, and the fuel-energy requirement is being met with great difficulty even with steadily growing volumes of fuel extraction. All this bears out the stand taken by L. I. Brezhnev at the 24th Party Congress to the effect that the extensive factors for growth have been exhausted and the role of the intensive factors must be developed in every possible way.

2. Shift from Extensive to Intensive Methods Is Urgent

The difficulty with the strategic shift to the intensive method of development is that the current needs are exerting pressure on the long-range undertakings.

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The new and effective system of machines and perfected industrial processes can appear in a few years, but raw material, fuel and energy are needed today. Now the main objective of scientific development and the art of planning is to reorganize the economy in operation, so to speak. While making a decisive effort to expedite technical reequipment and intensification of production and to conserve energy, fuel, metal and other kinds of raw material, the party also considers it necessary to provide for the future development of the fuel and raw material base and metallurgy, as well as other industrial sectors. Meanwhile the general effort to enhance the effectiveness and quality of operations and to introduce intensive methods of economic development is to determine the future rates and proportions of socialist reproduction in keeping with the structural changes among and within the sectors.

Of course it is easier to put off planning and the start of the radical change in planning from one year to the next or from the current five-year plan to the new one on the pretext that all the proportions and resources are already "tied up." But this approach does not solve the urgent problems and merely postpones and complicates them. It is a question of developing and immediately implementing the new conception of economic growth with heavy emphasis upon intensive development.

But what does intensification mean? The nature and criteria of the intensive type of growth have not yet been clearly defined in science or in economic practice. Often intensification means any production increase through additional investments in fixed productive capital regardless of the correlation of the invested resources and the end results. For example, a gain in live labor productivity made by increasing its capital-labor ratio is often interpreted as a factor for intensification even when the saving in live labor does not cover the outlays for its equipment, or in other words when the total outlays per unit of finished output are increased. On this basis a gain in national income made without increasing the number of workers is considered an expression of intensified production, although this gain is made by an overexpenditure of past labor, that is the labor outlays to create the production means.

But the fact is that intensification of the economy is not solely a matter of lower outlays of live labor with an increase in its capital-labor ratio. It also requires reduction of the output-capital ratio and the material inputs of production. According to K. Marx' methodology, there can be no intensification of the production process unless the total output is increased not by expanding the "field of production" but primarily by use of effective labor resources.

In considering reduction of the production cost of machines per unit of their productivity, which is equivalent to reduction of the output-capital ratio of production, Marx directly pointed out that under conditions of technical progress "there is no necessity of an absolute increase in the operating capital production costs." (8)

The view is sometimes heard that technical progress is inevitably accompanied by an increase in the output-capital ratio, which conflicts with the views of

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Marxist theory and with historical experience. K. Marx also pointed out in "Capital" that with scientific and technical progress the old machines, tools and devices are replaced by more effective ones that are cheaper in relation to the amounts of work they perform. "Production of machines by means of machines reduces their production cost in relation to their outputs and their performance." (9)

In the present stage technical improvement of production and the rapid economic growth rates require considerably faster development of the technically advanced sectors of industry, such as electric power engineering, electronics, the most effective types of machine and instrument building, and the other sectors that determine technical progress. As for the traditional sectors, such as extraction and processing of natural raw materials and production of construction materials, the requirements of the national economy for the products of these sectors can and should be met by reducing their specific consumption norms.

As we know, the proportion of past, materialized labor in the total social product now exceeds 60 percent, and it comes to 80 percent and more in the processing sectors, while that of live labor is about 15 percent. Therefore reduction of the material inputs and the output-capital ratio of the product is important not only from the standpoint of improving the current cost accounting indices of production alone. The fact is equally important that lowering the specific outlays of fuel, raw material and materials and raising the capital-output ratio are the most effective way of rationalizing the proportions and enhancing the role of the intensive factors for growth as well as a practicable way of overcoming the manpower shortage.

Under the present circumstances reduction of the material inputs in production is to become one of the criteria for evaluating the scientific-technical level of production in any sector and in every enterprise. As L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "Conserving raw materials by improving production in the processing industry is much preferable to additional production of the same quantities of raw materials. A mere 1 percent reduction in the material inputs in the national product is equivalent to an additional increase in the national income amounting to 3-4 billion rubles." (10)

In the past the trend toward reduction of material inputs was obstructed by evaluation of the enterprises' and sectors' activity according to volumes of gross output, a great part of which consisted of the raw materials, materials and manufactured goods procured from outside that were used in production. The new economic mechanism approved in the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers of 28 July 1979 eliminates this drawback in cost accounting. When the possibilities of economic growth through the extensive factors (and especially through additional manpower) are sharply curtailed, the proportioned and balanced quality of the national economy should provide for the all-around intensification of production and especially the accelerated growth of labor productivity.

The main objectives of improved proportioning of social production are clearly defined in the party decisions. These are better proportions of consumption

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and accumulation in the national income, provision for coordination of all units of the agrarian-industrial complex, further development of such industrial sectors as fuel and energy, metallurgy and machine building, adjustment of transportation and the production and social substructure, and reorientation of capital investments and scientific-technical progress toward more complete use of existing resources for purposes of increased production of consumer goods.

But clearly improvement of the purposeful planned management of the proportions of social production requires not only prompt elimination of the detected discrepancies but especially provision for anticipating and preventing the appearance of new disparities, and so far economic theory and planning activity have not been very successful in this respect. Therefore the main national task of economic science is to provide for more reliable and realistic correlation of the proportions of social reproduction in the plans for national socioeconomic development.

3. Improvement of Planning and Special-Program Methods

Change in the proportions of social production is required by the objective necessity of intensified production, and it depends upon improved development of special-program methods in planning. Use of these methods helps to scientifically substantiate the whole system of measures needed to carry out the long-range plan assignments, to coordinate these measures in time, to correlate them with the needed resources, to determine their immediate and long-range consequences, and to assign responsibilities for implementation of the program as a whole and of its various component parts and stages. Special-program methods of planning are a form of planned management that helps to subordinate current administration to solution of the long-range developmental problems of social production.

It is now necessary to specify the principles of special-program planning in theory. Socialist planning has always resolved vital problems purposefully and provided for such vast programs as the plan for national electrification, the creation of heavy industry, especially the second and third coal-metallurgical centers and the enterprises of the Kursk magnetic anomaly, the reclamation of the virgin lands, the transformation of the central nonchernozem zone, the construction of the BAM /Baykal-Amur Trunk Line/, etc. Now that the national economy has reached colossal proportions and the scale of planning has vastly increased, expansion of the scope of program-purpose planning methods with use of computing equipment has become an objective and even vital necessity. Of course it is not a matter of increasing the number of programs but of a qualitative change in the approach to planning that requires radical reorganization of the methodology and methods of planning and administration, and Lenin's idea of the uniform state economic plan has been and remains the leading principle of management. But this means that the plan cannot be the mathematical sum of the various individual programs. Totaling the separate programs would not be socialist planning but the so-called programming that is more and more widely used in the West in government regulation of the economy. In socialist management purposeful programs must be based upon the

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requirements of planned development of the national economy and they must be component parts of a uniform state plan.

The problem of balanced development of the whole national economy becomes particularly urgent in connection with expanded special-program planning activity. As we know, the problem of correlating and distinguishing priorities and balancing has always been acute, and now it is becoming still more urgent. Large-scale programs usually require heavy, long-term capital investments taking a number of years to pay off, and it is clear that overloading a plan with expensive programs can make balancing difficult and delay economic growth. In his time K. Marx foresaw that proper distribution of investments between long and short term objectives of economic turnover under socialism would have to be one of the main principles of planning.

Use of the potentials and advantages of special-program planning depends not only upon the soundness of the special programs themselves but also upon their close correlation with all parts of the national economic plan. If this correlating is not done carefully enough, the special-program method can lead to arbitrariness in planning with bad effects. Therefore coordination of the programs with all parts of the plan for socioeconomic development is particularly important, and it is also important to make a rational selection of the programs included in the plan and to distinguish in their composition the intermediate aims and stages of their implementation, which also facilitates their correlation with the other parts of the plan.

An overall special program is expected to subordinate the activities of the many organizations implementing it to a single purpose. Therefore its success heavily depends upon improving the ways and means of regulating implementation of the programs and especially upon specifying the organs coordinating the operation and bearing full responsibility for the end results. Sound scientific recommendations are also needed in this area. As L. I. Brezhnev remarked at the 25th CPSU Congress, "It is important in each case to have specific organs and specific people bearing full responsibility and coordinating all efforts within a given program." (11)

Development of socialist economic integration requires closer coordination of the general programs of our state plan with the long-term special programs for collaboration with the friendly CEMA countries on both a bilateral and a multilateral basis.

The scientists' contribution to development of methods and formation and implementation of the overall special national economic programs depends on the number of main directions of development of scientific studies and expansion of their practical results.

Special emphasis should be placed on the following problems requiring intensive scientific treatment:

First, proportioning and balancing can be achieved if all plan decisions are strictly confined to the limits specified in the plan of financial resources,

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which summarizes the total production resources subject to distribution and use. Hence the necessity of improving the methods of compiling the long-range financial plan and correlating it with all the planned proportions of reproduction.

Second, an in-depth study is required of the objectively necessary correlations in the proportions and developmental rates of the various intersectorial blocs and sectors of the national economic complex in the light of experience in the development of our country and other industrially developed countries. The practical results of these studies will indicate the standard correlations allowing for the specific developmental conditions of production, which can be used in planning and control to substantiate the proportions specified in the plans.

Third, a system of economic indicators must be devised that will make it possible to detect discrepancies in the earliest stages of their formation and to take prompt measures to nip them in the bud. And finally, more careful consideration should be given to the problem of coordinating the various main objectives of scientific-technical progress, use of capital investments, and development of proportioning. Now for example special emphasis should be placed on development of the most complete and comprehensive proportioning to expedite development of the social and production substructure.

It is clear from the foregoing that solution of the problem of maintaining and improving planned proportioning heavily depends upon the quality of economic analysis of the condition and development of our national economy and upon discovery of new potentials and reserves for intensive production growth. Rationalizing methods of assimilating new areas has great possibilities. The now prevailing practice of placing their economic resources in economic circulation suffers from the defect that the rates and scales of capital investment in areas of new industrial assimilation greatly exceed the rates and scales of production growth.

It is no secret that departmental disunion in development of the productive forces, especially in the newly assimilated industrial regions of Siberia and the Far East, causes many unproductive outlays with a bad effect upon the national indices of production effectiveness. Investigations of a number of newly created enterprises in the eastern regions show that although they are located in direct proximity to economic natural resources, their effectiveness is considerably below that of comparable enterprises remote from fuel and raw material sources. This is primarily due to their higher specific initial outlays. It is taken for granted that the greater outlays on capital construction are caused by the severity of the climate and the remoteness of these regions from communications, and of course there is some reason in this. But the fact is equally significant that in the organization of construction each department not only builds the main plant for itself but also performs all the operations to improve the territory and to create the production and nonproduction substructure independently, without cooperating with the other departments. Therefore the initial outlays for these purposes amount to 70 percent of the total volume of capital investments. The low effectiveness of the initial and current outlays and the difficulty of staffing the plants with

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stable personnel are holding up the developmental rates of the productive forces in the eastern regions and thereby complicating the problem of supply- the national economies of the USSR and the countries of the socialist camp with fuel and raw material.

The only way to overcome these unfavorable trends is to improve the organizational-economic conditions for developing the plants in the newly assimilated industrial regions. Extension of the rights and development of the initiative of the local government and administrative organs in the economic management of the territory under their jurisdiction and elimination of the departmental barriers will not only permit more harmonious development of the economies of the union republics and economic regions but also strengthen the ties between them for the further social solidarity of our people.

4. Particular Problems of Improving Economic Management

Some of the existing reserves for intensification can still be pointed out. First of all, in the extraction of useful minerals the proportion of them left in the ground must be sharply reduced. Residues of this kind have reached 40-50 percent and more of the total volume of reserves on balance. In the total of more than 6.5 billion tons of useful minerals extracted by the entire extractive industry, the losses amount to 2.5 billion tons. Of these 500 million tons amounting to 5-7 billion rubles have been eliminated at the present level of technology, and science has now recommended many new methods for complete exploitation of the resources that should be introduced.

In the processing industry, timely and regular renovation of production equipment is the most important reserve for increasing the return on capital. Accumulation of obsolete and worn-out assets in the sectors prevents improvement of the economic indices, ties up great manpower resources, and necessitates excessive outlays for repairs that are often on a low technical level, while renovation of the equipment produces rapid and effective results.

Radical improvement of the structure and technical standards of machine building and its output has become urgent. It is necessary to overcome the fragmentation of machine building, whereby 45 percent of the nation's whole inventory of metal processing equipment and no less than 5 million workers are employed in machine shops and sections of nonmachine-building plants to repair and make nonstandard, sometimes handmade equipment. According to the economists' figures, their labor productivity is 20 percent less and their capital-output ratio is 25 percent lower than those of the specialized machine building enterprises. More intensive specialization, cooperation and concentration of machine building are long overdue, as well as introduction of guarantee servicing and repair of all kinds of production equipment.

It would be expedient to emphasize such an important factor now as the time of use of equipment. The cost of equipment is constantly going up, and under these circumstances its use on one shift for only 5 days a week, as it often happens in many enterprises, is unquestionably an extravagance. Clearly organization of the planning of production, labor, the work day and the work

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week to obtain maximum use of fixed production capital should be more specifically substantiated and considered. For example, machine tools with program control cannot be allowed to operate for only a few hours a day. Not even the wealthiest society can afford that.

Improved balancing of the national economy is the main requirement for obtaining regular production, upon which effective use of manpower and all other resources ultimately depends. In many enterprises as much as 50 or even 75 percent of the entire output is produced in the last 10 days. This is because the enterprises determine the number of workers just for the last 10 days and consequently the use of manpower is far from effectively planned in advance or overtime is used, which increases production costs. Losses of working time during shifts are still heavy. According to the time studies of the work day made in a number of enterprises of various industrial sectors, the regular workers spend an average of only 50-70 percent of the total working time on performance of the shift's task.

For purposes of maximum use of labor resources and productive capital, transition to advanced forms of labor organization, especially brigade methods, must be expedited by all means. As a rule introduction of brigade methods of labor organization makes it possible to raise labor productivity by 8-20 percent and to reduce the personnel turnover by 1.5-2 times.

Faster assimilation of new capital has great possibilities for raising the capital-output ratio. The annual acquisitions of new capital amount to the impressive total of 10-12 percent of the whole volume of existing capital. By the present standards it takes from 1 to 3 years to assimilate it throughout the various plants, and the actual time of assimilation exceeds the standards by 1.5-2 times. By the present accounts, the production lag in new enterprises in the first years of their operation amounts to 45 percent and more, and this means a marked reduction of the capital-output ratio and the economic growth rates.

Organization of scientific studies and the planning and financing of scientific institutions are still flawed by backward thinking in terms of extensive growth. During the postwar years the number of scientific workers has been increased by about 10 times but their supply of equipment, their capital-labor ratio so to speak, has lagged considerably and this is interfering with the growth of the scientific institutions' effectiveness. Unfortunately this particularly affects basic scientific research. In preparation for their recent meeting the commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet pointed out that the USSR Academy of Sciences jointly with Gosplan and the Committee on Science and Technology has prepared a general program to accelerate scientific-technical progress. Among its measures it is important to provide for all possible development of basic research.

5. Improvement of Social Relations

The uniform system of socioeconomic planning not only of the production process but also of all social activities has been consolidated in developed socialist

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society. The content of social contacts has been enriched by the growing generalization of socialist production. The concentration, centralization and specialization of production along with the development of intersectorial contacts in the national economy directly affect the development of socialist cooperation of labor and call for the most effective methods of involving the workers in management and consequently of enhancing the role of the workers collectives and public organizations in fulfilling the socioeconomic tasks confronting our whole society.

The regular process of development of socialist production relations is manifested in the great social changes made in the course of approximating the two forms of socialist ownership and establishing the complete social homogeneity of our society. Regrettably the scientific institutions have not yet provide any accurate instruments for determining the quantitative and qualitative parameters of many social phenomena occurring in our society. Needless to say, without these measuring instruments it is difficult to discover the actual trends of social development and to influence them in planned fashion.

To be sure this does not mean that the indices of social development now used in planning (improvement of workers qualifications and profession skills, general educational and cultural level of the population, improvement of housing, cultural and personal living conditions and medical care, and many others) do not reflect the processes implemented by planning in society as a whole and in the republics, oblasts, krays, cities, villages, structure of the sectors, etc. But the task clearly consists in presenting all these indices as a whole and mainly in proper correlation with the tasks for production development, for capital construction, and for improvement of their effectiveness.

The role of the social factors that must be more completely reflected in the planning system is apparent from the example of such a huge social undertaking as eliminating the essential social differences between mental and physical work. As we know, one of the vital requirements for this is overcoming the remnants of the old division of labor and especially eliminating heavy manual labor, which still plays a relatively large part in the total social labor in our national economy. We can compute the economic effect of the conversion of manual to mechanized labor more or less accurately. But the social effect of the changes in labor is no less important in the critical area of social activity, which determines the changes in all other areas.

Gradual elimination of the social differences between city and village is another enormous task that is being successfully accomplished in our society. As we know, a developed program for this was provided in the decisions of the July (1978) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which includes extensive measures to raise the agricultural workers real incomes, to develop their cultural services, to improve their general education and occupational-technical training, to develop their housing and services construction and other measures to enhance rural working and living conditions.

Conversion of agricultural to a type of industrial labor by great changes in the technical-material supply of agricultural labor and improvement in the

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social form of agricultural production by way of agroindustrial integration is an important aspect of this process. Determining quantitative and qualitative criteria for implementation of social changes in the developed socialist society would make it possible to devise a more specific special-purpose program of social development at each stage. The main consideration is that we could make considerable progress in purposeful control of these processes.

It follows from the foregoing that we must consider the socioeconomic processes in a state of change and development and determine their interaction as completely as possible. This also concerns the problem of correlating production with requirements and especially that of developing and educating the truly reasonable demands of the public. There has been an increasing output of literature on this subject in recent years, but the existing works provide no convincing answer to the most pressing question for the theory and practice of social management: What are the criteria for reasonable demands and what are the ways of forming them in a socialist society?

Now that the scale of management is vastly enlarged and the network of economic interconnections is becoming increasingly complex, dense and ramified, the importance of such aspects of production activity as labor discipline, organization, order and regularity of the labor process is enormously increased. These factors for high standards of labor and production are indispensable to successful economic development. On the other hand unscientific labor organization, lack of responsibility for labor efforts, stoppages of machines and equipment, and late or incomplete deliveries inevitably undermine labor discipline. Such phenomena as excessive personnel turnover, poor labor discipline, shirking, drunkenness, and forced layoffs of the labor force alternating with equally unjustified crash work feed and foster each other.

The main problem requiring immediate solution is heightening responsibility on all levels for the state of labor and official discipline in production collectives. There is need of theoretical substantiation of the rights, tasks and obligations of production collectives in the matter of relationships related to labor discipline. As L. I. Brezhnev remarked in his speech at the November (1979) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "The socialist economic system is inconceivable without consolidation of the centralization principle. At the same time in both politics and economics we need democratic centralism offering broad scope to initiative from below, the initiative of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, enterprises, associations and local organizations. This follows not only from our ideology but also from economic necessity." (12) L. I. Brezhnev's speech also stressed the need of extending the rights of the workers collectives in combatting violations of labor discipline, laxity and slackness. Development of organizational and legal measures to enhance the role of the workers collectives in production management is an important task for our economists, sociologists, and workers in legal science.

The scientific works on labor problems often anticipate and draw premature conclusions that work has already become a first necessity of life under present conditions for the great majority if not all Soviet people. But this is still a great social problem. There are still categories of people who work

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carelessly or are entirely disinclined to do socially useful work. Tightening socialist labor discipline remains a vital task, and it also has important psychological aspects. It is necessary to study the principles of psychological regulation of labor activity, problems of occupational orientation, selection and instruction, and questions of formation of a healthy moral-psychological climate in workers collectives.

Improved planning and management demand further development of socialist competition, which is also a major factor for the greater effectiveness of the economic mechanism itself. The new system of compiling the annual plan from below, from the production associations (enterprises) is chiefly important. Here the workers collectives' rights and initiatives must be extended to the greatest extent, especially by way of adopting counterplans. At the same time this system requires more careful substantiation of the pledges taken in organization of competition, more intensive study of the economic bases of the counterplans. Integration of competition and cost accounting is to become a vital condition for encouraging workers collectives in their effort toward end results and output quality.

In the ninth and tenth five-year plans competition of neighboring enterprises, organizations and plants was expanded. This form of competition is an effective way of closer coordination of scientific and design organizations with industry and agriculture, and of using mass initiative in the effort to apply scientific advances to production.

In pursuance of the decisions of the November (1979) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, socialist competition was widely developed in the USSR in honor of the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth, for successful completion of the five-year plan and worthy preparation for the 26th CPSU Congress, so that 1980 will be the year of shock, Leninist work. There is no doubt that Soviet scientists will make a great creative contribution to the Soviet people's creative activity and to construction of communist society.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Materials of the 24th CPSU Congress," Moscow 1971, p 58.
2. "National Economy of the USSR in 1978," Moscow 1979 pp 49, 61.
3. Ibid. pp 119, 142, 98, 102.
4. Ibid., p 387.
5. Ibid., pp 7, 9.
6. Ibid., pp 363, 393.
7. Ibid., pp 33, 34, 36, 41.
8. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Collected Works," Vol 24, p 400.

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9. Ibid., Vol 23, p 401.
10. L. I. Brezhnev, "Questions of Economic Management of the Developed Socialist Society," Moscow, 1976, p 297.
11. "Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress," Moscow, 1976, p 61.
12. L. I. Brezhnev, "Speech at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee of 27 November 1979," Moscow, 1979, p 26.

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NATIONAL

DAGESTANI JURIST FOR FEDERALISM, AGAINST 'FUSION'

Moscow SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO in Russian No 12, 1979 pp 3-10

[Article by Prof A. M. Khalilov, doctor of law and head of a department of Dagestan State University: "New Stage of National-State Building in the USSR"]

[Text] Among the urgent problems of the science of law is a study of the regular patterns of the development of Soviet federalism, the forms of the use of national sovereignty under the conditions of mature socialism in accordance with the results achieved in the sphere of national relations and the paths of improving socialist democracy in respect of these relations. The development of the enumerated questions on the basis of the experience of national-state building which has been accumulated and which is constantly being enriched will proceed in the direction of an increase in the role of the USSR, expansion of the union republics' participation in the settlement of questions of union jurisdiction and an increase in the republics' role in the leadership of economic and social development on their territory. The consolidation of the international unity of the Soviet peoples, the comprehensive development and rapprochement of all USSR nations and nationalities and an improvement in legislation in this field are occurring.

Content and significance of national sovereignty in the developed socialist society. With the building in our country of a developed socialist society, in which a new historical community of people--the Soviet people--has evolved on the basis of the rapprochement of all classes and social strata, the legal and actual equality of all nations and nationalities and their fraternal cooperation, national statehood has continued to be perfected in inseparable connection with the strengthening of union statehood. The development of Soviet statehood incorporates the increasingly full embodiment of the interests of all peoples of our country, the further burgeoning of the nations and an organic combination of the national and international where in the international principle plays the leading part. It is not a question of the withering away or winddown of the national statehood of the USSR peoples. The strengthening of the international principles of

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national statehood is occurring. "The sociopolitical unity of the Soviet people," L. I. Brezhnev said at the Extraordinary Seventh Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Ninth Convocation, "by no means signifies the disappearance of national distinctions."

Every nation and nationality is an integral part of the unified Soviet people. The content of national sovereignty under the conditions of the existence of this historical community of people is expressed in the fact that all nations and nationalities of our country, becoming increasingly aware of the very great advantages of the fraternal union of all the peoples and their international unity, are rallying increasingly close together in a unified union state and strengthening the Soviet federation--the USSR. The further strengthening of the state-legal relations of the Soviet nations represents a sequential process; it is precisely along the path of the consolidation of these relations, evidently, that national sovereignty under the conditions of the entire period of developed socialism will be realized, in the main. For this reason the opinion of the experts in the science of government who deny a further strengthening of the state-legal relations of the Soviet nations and nationalities in the period of the building of communism seems unjustified. Expressing such a viewpoint without adequate grounds for it, D. L. Zlatopol'skiy claimed that "stronger state-legal relations of the Soviet nations than those of today cannot be created.* I believe it is impossible to disagree that our country's nations and nationalities, having created and strengthened their national statehood within the framework of the Soviet federation and remaining sovereign, will display concern to strengthen it and have the right to consolidate their relations in all spheres of life, including state-legal relations. It is common knowledge that an objective process of the gradual comprehensive rapprochement of the socialist nations is occurring under the conditions of communist building, which is established in CPSU documents and speeches by its leaders. This rapprochement is occurring in the economic, sociopolitical and cultural spheres.

A most important manifestation of the further rapprochement of the nations in the political sphere is the strengthening of the state-legal relations of the socialist nations and nationalities. As the CPSU Central Committee decree "Preparations for the 50th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR" points out, "under the conditions of communist building the development of national relations is proceeding along the lines of the utmost strengthening and perfection of the voluntary alliance of socialist nations." This means that national sovereignty serves the peoples of our country as a means not only of the burgeoning of the nations but also of the strengthening

*SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, No 8, 1970, p 147.

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and perfection of their state union and state-legal relations. This is also the content of national sovereignty in the contemporary period. At the same time national sovereignty is manifested in the development of the principles of Soviet federation and the forms of national statehood and in unswerving observance of the principles of socialist democracy in national relations.

All Soviet nations and nationalities are united in a union multinational state--the USSR. They have been convinced on the basis of their experience of many years' standing what rich fruit cohesion in the USSR has afforded them and what tremendous possibilities it will open in the future, in the course of the building of the communist society. The 1977 USSR Constitution described the USSR as a unified union state (article 70). Consequently, it is a federative state in which a high degree of cohesion of all nations and nationalities has been achieved. The material basis of this unity is our economic system. As article 16 of the constitution says, the USSR economy is a unified national economic complex embracing all elements of social production, distribution and exchange on the country's territory. The cohesion of the working people of all the country's nations and nationalities in a unified union state is the greatest determining factor and dependable guarantee of their further all-around prosperity and the strengthening of their sovereignty and international unity. It secures for them the most favorable conditions for free, comprehensive political, social and cultural development with regard for national peculiarities. Whence it follows perfectly clearly that the Soviet nations enjoy their sovereign rights under present conditions by way of the strengthening and perfection of forms of their national statehood which have fully justified themselves and, chiefly, by the way of consolidation of the USSR and its international unity.

Development prospects of the Soviet federation at the current stage of communist building. We shall examine the question of the role and prospects of Soviet union and national statehood here from the aspect of the main direction of the development of the Soviet society's political system--the further spread of socialist democracy on the basis of the example of national relations. Linking the question of democracy with the self-determination of the nations, V. I. Lenin wrote that "it is impossible for victorious socialism to hold on to its victory and lead mankind toward the withering away of the state without the implementation of democracy in full. Therefore when it is said that self-determination under socialism is redundant, this is the same nonsense, the same helpless muddle as if someone had said that democracy under socialism is redundant."* It is now difficult to image Soviet socialist democracy without federation and national statehood. Soviet federalism and national statehood are the manifestation of socialist democracy under the conditions of our multinational state. The democratism of the Soviet state is conditioned by the fact that

*V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], vol 30, p 128.

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it expresses the will and interests of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia and the working people of all nations and nationalities of the country (article 1 of the USSR Constitution). The fact that the Soviet state expresses the will and interests of the working people of all nations and nationalities of the country attests Soviet state power's direct connection with the solution of the national question. Occupying a central place in the political system of Soviet society, our multinational state insures the active participation of the working people of all nations and nationalities in the administration of social and state affairs, including national-state building and the organization and activity of organs of the USSR, the union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs. The citizens' increasingly extensive participation in administering the affairs of the state and society, which is dealt with in article 9 of the USSR Constitution, also presupposes participation in the solution of the most important questions of national-state building, which was graphically confirmed by the nationwide discussion of the drafts of the constitutions of the USSR and the union and autonomous republics.

Article 9 of the USSR Constitution cites an improvement in the state apparatus among the paths of a further spread of socialist democracy. This signifies primarily an increase in the role and an improvement in the work of the soviets of people's deputies insofar as it is precisely they which are the fullest embodiment of the democratism of our state. And this presupposes an increase in the role and an improvement in the organization and activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the union and autonomous republic supreme soviets and the local soviets. The strengthening of the legal basis of state life (article 9 of the USSR Constitution) is to be effected by many paths, including that of the precise and unswerving observance and perfection of the rules of law regulating national relations, the democratic principles of Soviet federalism, all national-state building and the equality of the citizens, irrespective of national and racial origin.

Proposals were submitted during discussion of the draft of the 1977 USSR Constitution on the abolition of the federation and liquidation of the union and autonomous republics.* Their profound erroneousness was revealed

*There have been statements in literature before that federation has exhausted its mission, which attest an underestimation of the role of union and national statehood at the current stage (see I.M. Kislitsyn, "Voprosy teorii i praktiki federativnogo stroitel'stva Soyuzov SSR" [Questions of the Theory and Practice of the Federative Building of the USSR], Perm', 1969; P.G. Semenov, "The CPSU Program on the Development of Soviet National-State Relations," SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, No 12, 1962, p 25; and V. I. Kozlov, "Soyuz svobodnykh i ravnykh" [Union of the Free and the Equal], Moscow, 1964, pp 56-57). These statements have been justly criticized (see E. V. Tadevosyan, "Sovetskaya natsional'naya gosudarstvennost'" [Soviet National Statehood], Moscow, 1972, pp 194-195; A. Agzamkhodzhayev, Sh. Urazayev, "SSSR--sotsialisticheskoye gosudarstvo sovetskikh narodov" [The USSR--The Socialist State of the Soviet Peoples], Tashkent, 1972, p 51; and others).

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in L. I. Brezhnev's report at the Extraordinary Seventh Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Ninth Convocation. Failing to understand what is meant by the new historical community of people--the Soviet people--certain persons proposed introducing in the constitution the concept of the Soviet people as a new nation. Speaking of the unwarranted nature of such proposals, L. I. Brezhnev observed: "The Soviet people's sociopolitical unity by no means signifies the disappearance of national distinctions.... The friendship of the Soviet peoples is indestructible, and they will constantly grow closer together in the process of communist building.... But we would be taking a dangerous path if we began to artificially accelerate this objective process of the nations' rapprochement. V. I. Lenin warned insistently against this, and we will not depart from his precepts."

The authors denying the role and significance of the Soviet federation and the forms of national statehood at the current stage attempt to justify their opinion, in particular, by the fact that the "ethnic merging of the nations" and a process of the "denationalization" of the Soviet republics are underway. But in reality, despite the migration of the population and other demographic processes, there is an increase in the number of people of the basic nations of the union and autonomous republics, as all the recent population censuses in our country testify. Moreover, the strength of the nation which has given its name to the republic is increasing in the union and autonomous republics, as a whole. Statistical data point convincingly not to a "denationalization" of the Soviet republics but to the fact that the republics are an important form insuring the comprehensive development of the nations and a form of the solicitous consideration of the interests of each nation and the working people of all nations and nationalities of our country. Therefore the multinational composition of the Soviet state cannot fail to be taken into consideration in state-legal building and cannot fail to influence an improvement in national-state building in our country. It is not fortuitous that the new constitution has a section entitled "The National-State Arrangement of the USSR" instead of the chapter "The State Arrangement of the USSR," which was in the 1936 USSR Constitution. The appellation of the section of the 1977 Constitution emphasizes the role of the national factor in the organization of the Soviet state.

The Communist Party has always aspired to the rapprochement of the nations. Under the conditions of socialism, particularly mature socialism, the consolidation of the sociopolitical, ideological and international unity of the nations and nationalities is occurring with the preservation of the nations and national distinctions within the framework of the unity of the union state. Thanks to the democratism and international character of the Soviet state and its socialist federalism, all the nations of our country have achieved all-around prosperity and not only legal but also actual equality. The Dagestanskaya ASSR may be cited as an example. A formerly backward outlying area of Russia, after the Great October Socialist Revolution Dagestan became a flourishing republic with an industrial-agrarian

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production structure. Currently as much industrial output is produced in 10 days here as Dagestan produced 40 years ago in an entire year. Large-scale agriculture supplied with modern equipment is developing successfully. The greatest results have been achieved in the cultural sphere. Whereas prior to the revolution only 17 Dagestanis had higher education, there are now tens of thousands of highly skilled specialists working in the republic economy. More than 2,500 science workers, including over 100 doctors and approximately 1,200 candidates of sciences, are working in VUZ's and scientific research establishments, and it has its own branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The achievement by the peoples of our country of actual equality and the blossoming of all spheres of social life are contributing to increased guarantees of national equality and national sovereignty and its scientific use. The wealth of experience of national-state building and the triumph of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the ideas of international fraternity--all this is contributing to the theoretically substantiated solution of the problems of national-state building.

Attention to the interests of all nations and nationalities and the strengthening of the friendship and mutual trust between different nations and nationalities of the country are insuring a successful struggle against the vestiges of nationalism. V. I. Lenin pointed to this fact: "Our experience has created in us the indomitable conviction that only tremendous attentiveness to the interests of different nations removes the grounds for conflicts, removes mutual distrust and removes the danger of any intrigues and creates that trust, particularly of workers and peasants speaking different languages, without which peaceful relations between peoples or any successful development of everything that is valuable in modern civilization are absolutely impossible."* It is precisely the genuine democratism of the Soviet national-state arrangement which insures the harmonious combination of the interests of the whole people and each nation and nationality individually, monolithic unity and the friendship of the peoples. The CPSU Central Committee decree "Preparations for the 50th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR" states that "the union of socialist republics is the most viable and accomplished for of the organization of a multinational state harmoniously combining the interests of the whole society with the interests of each nation."

The preamble to the new USSR Constitution says that Soviet power has done away with national enmity forever and that a society of the high organization, ideological conviction and consciousness of the working people-- patriots and internationalists--has been built in the USSR. Together with

*V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 45, p 240.

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such of its institutions recorded in the USSR Constitution as the principles of the social system and policy of the USSR and the state and the individual the national-state social system and policy of the USSR and the state and the individual the national-state arrangement of the USSR is an embodiment of socialist democracy. Article 70 records the federative form of the state arrangement of the USSR and its basic principles, including the free self-determination of the nations and the voluntary association of equal Soviet socialist republics. Thus the following are recorded constitutionally: a) the union nature of the state--"a union state formed on the basis of the principle of socialist federalism..."; b) the unity of the state and its multinational character; c) the formation of the USSR as the result of realization of the right to free self-determination of the nations; and d) the voluntary nature of the association of the republics and their equality.

The interests of the country's comprehensive, progressive development demand the centralized solution of the most important questions and at the same time presuppose the independence of the republics in the solution of a while number of vital questions, including those engendered by the specific features and national peculiarities of this republic or the other. The role and significance of the USSR, which unites the efforts of all the republics for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of communist building, are increasing. The strengthening of union principles is reflected in the USSR's competence recorded in the constitution (article 73). The total number of questions under the USSR's jurisdiction has increased compared with the 1936 Constitution, and the content of certain former powers has been made more concrete and has been amplified. Here is an example of this concretization and the insertion in the constitution of rights established earlier only by current legislation. According to the 1936 USSR Constitution, the determination of national economic plans came under the USSR's jurisdiction, but now it is a matter of the elaboration and approval of the state plans of the social and economic development of the USSR and the approval of reports of their fulfillment. Earlier the constitution spoke only of a unified USSR state budget and the report on its fulfillment, but now of the elaboration of this budget. The 1977 Constitution records existing and determines new rights of the USSR. For example, in the sphere of state building and administrative-political activity determination of the USSR's state border and protection of its borders, defense of sovereignty, determination of the general principles of the organization and activity of the republic and local organs of state power and administration and the unity of legislative regulation throughout the territory of the USSR; in the sphere of socioeconomic building implementation of a unified socioeconomic policy, leadership of the country's economy, determination of the main direction of scientific-technical progress and general measures for the intelligent use and conservation of natural resources and determination of policy in the sphere of prices and labor remuneration; and in the sphere of international relations the USSR's relations with foreign states and international organizations, coordination of the union republics' relations with foreign states and international organizations and so forth have been secured for the union.

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In determining the competence of the USSR the 1977 USSR Constitution has not closed the list of its powers. Paragraph 12 of article 73 also attributes to the competence of the USSR "the solution of other questions of all-union significance." The Law on the USSR Council of Ministers (article 18) determines that, within its competence, the USSR Council of Ministers directs and coordinates the activity of the union republic councils of ministers. There was no such rule in the 1936 USSR Constitution or in current legislation, although the relations of these bodies have developed in precisely this direction.

Democratic centralism in national-state building does not deny but presupposes an increase in the role of the union and autonomous republics in communist building. This occurs because union statehood is developing in inseparable connection with national statehood and because the strengthening of union principles in state building also presupposes an increase in the role of the integral parts of the USSR--the union republics and autonomous republics incorporated therein. The fundamentals of the legal position of the union and autonomous republics are also recorded in this field in the 1977 USSR Constitution. Thus the right of a union republic to participate in deciding questions under the jurisdiction of the USSR and in the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Government and other bodies of the USSR, which was in fact in effect, but which was not recorded in the 1936 USSR Constitution, is provided for. The union republic insures comprehensive economic and social development on its territory and contributes to the exercise of the powers of the USSR on this territory and implements the decisions of the highest organs of state power and administration of the USSR. In the medium of their highest organs of state power the union republics have been granted the right of legislative initiative in the USSR Supreme Soviet; they can submit proposals to the USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on presenting the most important questions of state life for nationwide discussion. In accordance with the Law on the USSR Council of Ministers, the union republic councils of ministers participate in the USSR Council of Ministers' settlement of questions under its jurisdiction and submit proposals on questions of all-union significance for examination by the union government. The governments of the union republics have their own permanent representations attached to the USSR Government (article 18). The current legislation of the past 20-plus years has proceeded, in particular, along the path of an increase in the number of questions being decided by the central authorities of state administration of the USSR in conjunction or following coordination with the union republic councils of ministers. With regard for this, the Law on the USSR Council of Ministers established that the USSR Council of Ministers insures the necessary interaction between the union republic councils of ministers and ministries and state committee of the USSR and other bodies under its jurisdiction.

The 1978 constitutions of the union republics record their rights which, although exercised by them earlier, had not been recorded constitutionally.

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Thus according to article 72 of the 1978 RSFSR Constitution, the following come under RSFSR jurisdiction: conformity of the constitutions of the autonomous republics with the RSFSR Constitution, determination of the procedure of the organization and activity of the republic and local bodies of state power and administration, pursuit of a unified socioeconomic policy, leadership of the RSFSR economy, scientific-technical progress and the implementation of measures for the intelligent use and conservation of natural resources, environmental protection and the safeguarding of historical and cultural monuments. The RSFSR Constitution records a rule of fundamental importance: the state plan of economic and social development of the RSFSR incorporates the basic indicators of the plans of enterprises, establishments and organizations of union jurisdiction on the territory of the RSFSR (article 154). This rule graphically illustrates the union republics' increased influence on the activity of enterprises of union significance for the purpose of comprehensive economic and social development on the territory of each republic.

The new USSR Constitution and the 1978 constitutions of the corresponding union republics record the rights of the ASSR: to independently decide questions under its jurisdiction beyond the limits of the rights of the USSR and the union republic; participate in deciding questions under the jurisdiction of the USSR and union republic through organs of state power and administration of the USSR and union republic accordingly; insure comprehensive economic and social development on its territory and at the same time contribute to the exercise on this territory of the powers of the USSR and the union republic; and implement the decisions of the higher organs of state power and administration of the USSR and the union republic (article 83 of the USSR Constitution, article 70 of the RSFSR Constitution). The appreciable broadening of the rights of the autonomous republics is also expressed in the fact that they have been granted the right of the final adoption of their constructions and the right of legislative initiative in the union republic Supreme Soviet (articles 72, 108 of the RSFSR Constitution).

The main development trends of the Soviet federation were expressed in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "An Improvement in Planning and an Intensification of the Impact of the Economic Mechanism on an Increase in Production Efficiency and Work Quality." This decree emphasizes the need for the more rational combination of sectorial and territorial development. The USSR Gosplan, in particular, is entrusted with insuring the concentration of forces and resources on the fulfillment of the most important all-state programs. The USSR ministries and departments are obliged to improve the elaboration of draft plans of the development of the sectors broken down by area and examine them in conjunction with the union republic councils of ministers, notify them of the control figures and basic indicators of the draft plans and approved plans for the production associations and enterprises of union jurisdiction situated on the territory of the corresponding republic and insure that the enterprises of the sector forward the basic indicators of the drafts and plans to the local and republic planning commissions.

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In turn, the union republic councils of ministers must formulate and submit to the union authorities their proposals on the draft plans of the enterprises and associations of union jurisdiction. The union and autonomous republic councils of ministers have been entrusted with the compilation of consolidated five-year and annual plans of the production of local construction materials and the manufacture of consumer goods and plans of housing-municipal service and cultural-social construction and also with supervision of the fulfillment of these plans. The plans for the location and development of national economy sectors under the jurisdiction of union ministries and departments are elaborated by them with the participation of the union republic councils of ministers with regard for the observations of the autonomous republic councils of ministers with regard for the observations of the autonomous republic councils of ministers and local soviet ispolkoms. All this is striking testimony to the strengthening of union principles, the increase role of the union and autonomous republics in insuring comprehensive economic and social development on their territory and the broadening of the republics' participation in deciding questions of union jurisdiction.

The joint efforts of the Soviet republics, nations and nationalities within the framework of a unified union state are essential for the accomplishment of all the tasks of state, economic and sociocultural building and for promoting the rapprochement and further prosperity of all nations and nationalities. As the 1977 Constitution records, the USSR embodies the state unity of the Soviet people and rallies all the nations and nationalities for the joint building of communism (article 70). Thus the strengthening of union statehood is inseparable from the development of national statehood. This is a single process of the perfection of Soviet statehood. The CPSU Central Committee decree "Preparations for the 50th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR" states that the developed socialist society which has been built in the USSR "insures the comprehensive development in inseparable unity of union statehood and the national statehood of the republics on the basis of the principles of democratic centralism and socialist federalism and Soviet socialist democracy..." Whence it follows that communist building presupposes the further perfection of national-state building in the USSR. The Soviet multinational state at the current stage is developing along the path of the intensification and extension of socialist democracy and the enlistment of all citizens--working people of different nations and nationalities of the country--in administering the affairs of society and the state. Being the embodiment of socialist democracy, the Soviet federation insures the accomplishment of these tasks. The perfection and full use of Soviet national statehood is an integral part of communist building. And, moreover, a guarantee of success in the solution of the problems which arise here is the Soviet union state and the fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance of all the peoples of our country, which are contributing to rapprochement and the strengthening of their international unity.

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