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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

(FOUO 7/81)



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BULGARIA

STANKO TODOROV PRAISED FOR HIS SOCIOECONOMIC INSIGHT

Sofia IKONOMICHEska MISUL in Bulgarian No 1, 1981 pp 80-87

[Review by Dobri Bradistilov of the book by Stanko Todorov "Usilni Godini" (Difficult Years), Partizdat, 1980, 627 pages; the article was accepted for publishing on 12 Feb 81]

[Text] The contemporary world is scarcely in the best position to assess the importance of a series of publications by Partizdat which bring together the reports, speeches, articles and statements by the party leaders and the builders of the socialist state. Time develops its own assessments and criteria. It will eliminate the transitory in order to leave for generations to come those documents and memoirs which are witness to the feat of the party and the class, of the creativity of the people, the wisdom and perspicacity of those whom events and history have brought to the head of our people during the years when the appearance of the motherland was being transformed. However, even now, when memory is fused with an emphatically dynamic reality, it can affirmatively be said that each volume of the selected works makes a substantial contribution to understanding the great age in which the people under the leadership of the class vanguard inscribed stirring pages of the most recent history of our free fatherland.

Each volume in the series of publications is a reliable witness of the greatness of our times, of the bold flight of thought and deed illuminated by the ideas of the founders of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the people and which has opened up a new era in the history of mankind. It shows the impetus and unshakable belief of those who 90 years ago carried the banner of socialist rebirth on the Bulgarian land. From this viewpoint it can definitely be said that "Usilni Godini" [Difficult Years], a work which brings together the memoirs, statements and articles of the member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, Stanko Todorov will be of equal interest to the ordinary reader, the public figure and the scientific worker.

The selected works of Comrade St. Todorov would be difficult to classify in terms of genre. They could equally be considered as memoir literature for the years of our people's armed resistance against fascism and capitalism or as best examples of scientific research on the development of socialist national economy in our nation and its fruitful ties with the USSR and the other states of the socialist commonwealth. The pages devoted to international relations are convincing proof of the policy unswervingly followed by socialist Bulgaria of peace and constructive cooperation with all countries, near and far, developed and developing.

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The four sections which comprise the contents of "Usilni Godini" have a somewhat hypothetical nature. This is because the problems are interrelated and intertwined in terms of subjects. The questions of economic policy of the party and the socialist state also have political overtones. The upbringing of youth is directly related to the correct positing of economic problems and the solving of a number of cultural questions. A rise in labor productivity is equally determined by economic, social, psychological and other factors. Cooperation between the nations of the socialist commonwealth, like the policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, as an economic subtext. Economic relations are the basis on which political and other relations are erected between states with the same or different socioeconomic systems. This has determined the basic content of the individual sections of the work. Economic problems define the content of not only the second section of the reviewed work entitled "On Certain Problems of Party Economic Policy." These problems permeate the textual fabric and problems of the remaining two sections devoted to the improving of social administration and international relations. Only the first section of the volume has the nature of memoirs.

The rich biography of the author has determined the stirring content of the first section. Comrade Stanko Todorov was one of the leaders of the armed resistance against fascism in Sofia and its surroundings. The pages devoted to this period of the author's biography are full of movement and frequently the memoirs turn to tragic situations the outcome of which is of an unexpected and unforeseen nature. These pages are read with excitement and unflinching interest. In places they sound like a hymn of self-sacrifice for the sake of the great ideals for which thousands of the sons and daughters of the people gave up their lives. The leader of the combat groups of the Pancharevski Party Region and a direct participant in the assault on 9 September 1944, the author tersely describes these intense days, months and years, without pathos and with human sincerity and simplicity. He speaks with piety of those with whom he was brought together in battle but who did not see victory. Some of the situations in which the author found himself could almost go to confirm the thesis known in philosophy of chance as the breaking of naturally determined chains. Following in quick succession are meetings, ambushes, arrest, interrogation, bombing, flight, return to the ranks of the fighters, pursuit, wounding, arrest and again freedom. And freedom came with the victorious march of the Soviet Army. Socialist creation began. The leading posts which the party and communist power offered him opened up opportunities for creative accomplishments.

The author focuses chief attention on the complex problems of the national economy. As a youth leader, the first secretary of the BCP okrug committee in Burgas, the minister of agriculture, the secretary of the BCP Central Committee, the chairman of the State Planning Commission and chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, Comrade Stanko Todorov worked with exceptional dedication to solve them. The leading posts in the party and state apparatus allowed him to see and disclose the essence of those processes and to systematize the means which the party uses in individual periods of socialist construction to consistently solve the economic, social and other problems of the national economy.

The successes in building a new social system are indisputable. They are a joy to the heart of the young and the already mature party leader. But these successes, Comrade Todorov emphasizes, must not stop us from seeing the difficulties and weaknesses which inevitably arise with the laying of the economic bases and material-technical base of a socialist economy. For the builders of socialism, as he points

out, it is not characteristic to be intoxicated with successes. "The view that the development of a socialist society is devoid of contradictions and difficulties is naive and our party rejects it" (p 162). Successes are the spring of revolutionary optimism and instill confidence in the forces of the party and the people. However, the disclosure of errors and weaknesses is the condition for eliminating them. Characteristic of the author is that simultaneously with the stating of the committed mistakes he seeks out the factors which gave rise to them and proposes measures to overcome them. The author of "Usilni Godini" shows a realistic and responsible approach to the complicated questions of the national economy. He seeks their solution both from the principled positions of Marxist-Leninist economic science and from the view of the specific socioeconomic and political conditions which exist in our country.

The pages devoted to the problems of the socialist transformation of our national economy maintain their timeliness regardless of the time of their writing. The author's statements in this area are as diverse as the problems which he was called upon to solve as a member of the leading party and state bodies. The systematized answers which Comrade St. Todorov gives during the various periods of the socioeconomic development of the nation show in essence the stages through which it passed from the victory of the socialist revolution to the beginning of a developed socialist society.

For the author of "Usilni Godini," the building of a socialist social system has been a creative process caused by objective patterns. At the same time economic laws are also of definite significance. This requires "...the mastery of the economic aspect of Marxist-Leninist teachings" (p 59). However, only a good knowledge of economic theory is not sufficient for managing the socialist economy. The planned directing of economic processes also presupposes an understanding of the organization and technology of production in the corresponding sector. Only a harmonious combination of theory and practice can guarantee results meeting the needs of socialist construction.

In the theoretical elucidation and practical resolution of strategic and current tasks, the author proceeds from the view given by the founders of Marxist-Leninist economic teachings that over the historical long run the victories of the socialist social system will be determined by the degree to which use is made of the objective opportunities which socialist production relations create for increasing social labor productivity. The historic mission of socialism is to guarantee higher labor productivity than under capitalism. On this basis he searches for a solution to problems in relation to raising the standard of living of the population. The author turns to this question each time it is an issue of using the conditions and factors for economic growth which are present in the country.

Comrade St. Todorov views the question of economic growth rates on various levels. During the first years of socialist construction, he assessed the achieved results through the prism of production employment for the working-age population and the effective use of the labor resources (p 229). He also draws attention to the question of increasing worker skills from the standpoint of the ever-increasing demands of production and exports. He views the effective use of natural resources as the chief means of increasing and improving the quality of agricultural production (p 359). The struggle to save raw products, materials and energy is not only an

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economic question. It also has political overtones. The results achieved in this national economic area are directly reflected in the social sphere, that is, in raising the standard of living of the people.

Comrade Stanko Todorov views the rise of labor productivity in a socialist economy simultaneously as an economic, technological, political-social and psychological problem. The high social awareness of the workers is not and cannot be an automatic consequence from the victory of socialist production relations. The shaping of a correct attitude toward labor, toward socialist property and labor discipline to a significant degree depends upon the indoctrinational and organizational work of the subjective factor, of the party, the trade unions and other social organizations. In his statements at one of the rayon party conferences of the Sofia party organization, he formulated one of the basic requirements which determine the party's place as the vanguard force in socialist society. The communists are the example for the workers. The party, as an organized detachment of the class and the people, is a force which changes the direction of history and points it toward communism; the communists are "...the motor which drives that complicated system of engines and mechanisms called a state and a socialist society." The party is "...the center or core around which the workers unite for the sake of a great cause, the prosperity of the Bulgarian nation" (p 131). The strength of the party is in its ties with the people. Only in this instance can it carry out the role of the political vanguard. The role which history has entrusted to the working class in our times and in our nation which is moving along the path of socialism," emphasized Comrade St. Todorov, "...requires a constant rise in its awareness, that it be indoctrinated in a spirit of communism and that the principles and directions of party policy be even more profoundly infused in it" (p 247). The significance of the problem merits the special attention which the author gives to labor psychology (p 323). The attitude of the workers to the labor process, the choice of a profession, the psychological climate in the production collective are essential factors for active involvement in the labor process and for good results from the operations of the enterprise, brigade and individual worker. Labor productivity is viewed by Comrade St. Todorov as a derivative from the interaction of technological, economic, social, ethical, psychological and other factors. The elucidation and measuring of the importance of each of these factors are a prerequisite for their planned use in managing socialist production. Particularly the creation of a good psychological climate in the production collectives is assuming ever-greater significance particularly under the conditions of the accelerated introduction of achievements from the scientific and technical revolution and the new economic mechanism for managing the national economy. The question comes down not merely to creating suitable relationships between the leaders and the led and between the direct producers themselves, but rather the creation of a good psychological climate "...must be linked to the problems of labor hygiene and psychology and to ergonomics" (p 323).

Labor discipline has been and remains a permanent factor in increasing the results from the activities of each production collective. The creation of aware, creative, socialist discipline is one of the main tasks of the social organizations in the enterprises. Only in this manner is it possible to achieve the pursued production and social results, the author emphasizes "...when this is turned into the cause of millions, the labor collectives and all citizens" (p 324). Conscious, creative labor discipline is the condition for effectively utilizing the achievements of scientific and technical progress. The scale of production and the pace of the labor

process under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution "...demand strict coordination of individual efforts, a uniform rhythm in production, purposefulness and unity of action" (p 306). The author seeks the solution to this problem which has assumed emphatic urgency in our national economy during the period of building a developed socialist society in several directions: by increasing the overall and professional culture of the workers in maintaining the technological, economic and financial normative base which conforms to the particular features of production in the individual sectors, as well as by reconciling social, group and individual interests. Also of importance is the involvement of the immediate producers in production management. The condition for this, as the author points out, is "...a further improvement of socialist democracy and the creation of even better prerequisites for the broad and active participation of the workers in management," as well as by creating opportunities for the workers "...to influence it in taking the appropriate decisions" (p 324).

Public ownership of the means of production is the objective basis for realizing this potential. The economic approach has turned it into an instrument for management activities. In proceeding from the theoretical views of the first party and state leader, Comrade T. Zhivkov, concerning the new economic approach, the author of "Usilni Godini" views its introduction as an instrument for planned management of the socialist economy and its subsystems as organically deriving from the content of socialist social relationships and the past which the party is carrying out in the production and social areas. Comrade St. Todorov sees the start of introducing this approach in the decisions of the April Plenum of the BCP Central Committee of 1956 which marked a new stage in the development of the nation along the path of socialist creation. He pays proper due to the personal contribution and accomplishments of the General Secretary of the BCP Central Committee and Chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, Comrade T. Zhivkov, as the architect and builder of the party's April course and as the consistent fighter for its realization. The April Plenum and the Ninth Party Congress marked a beginning to the process of an integrated improvement in national economic organization and management, for introducing the creative approach, for promptly solving problems related to improving planning and price formation and for broadening democracy in economic activities.

The improvement of socialist social relationships and the bettering of the organization of the national economy and the methods of its leadership have been reflected in a new approach in the forming and distributing of enterprise income, in more fully considering the demands of the law of distribution according to labor. Material and moral incentives have been more consistently applied in practice (p 89). The economic approach in managing socialist production is viewed by Comrade St. Todorov as the consistent realization of the demands of the economic laws of socialism in managing economic and social processes (p 169). These derive organically from the goal of socialist production. The constant rise in the material prosperity and culture of the workers in a contradictory unity links the production and social sphere. The quantitative indicators of distribution and consumption (social and individual) are determined by the results obtained in the production sphere. In participating in the elaboration of the production plan at individual enterprises, the workers "...will be rewarded or penalized depending upon the end result" obtained from the collective's production activities (p 169). The consistent application of the economic approach, in the words of the author, must lead to the surmounting of the contradiction which has arisen in the national economy between the created

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material and technical base and its efficient use. Here, in raising the question of correctly reconciling public, collective and personal material interests, it is essential to proceed from the presence of commodity-monetary relationships and the action of the law of value under the conditions of public ownership of the means of production and the law operating on this basis of the planned and proportional development of the national economy and the requirements of the basic economic law of socialism. This requires both the use of value categories in the management of socialist production as well as the method of cost accounting.

Cost accounting is a form of organization and a method of managing a socialist enterprise. On a basis of cost accounting, conditions are created for an integrated and comprehensive solution to the questions of raising labor remuneration, the efficient use of production capital, the improvement of price formation and the fuller satisfying of the needs of the public (p 326).

The building of a developed socialist society in our nation, in being directly linked with the introduction of scientific and technical achievements and the consistent introduction of the economic approach in management, determine the strategic tasks which in following years will be carried out in the national economic sectors. Among them, according to the author, of primary significance are the following: raising the role of science and technical progress in the production sphere; raising the concentration, specialization and modernization of production in accord with the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution; the consistent introduction of the brigade organization of labor as the basic form for organizing the labor process; a maximum saving of live and embodied labor; improving product quality and raising the standard of living of the population. The introduction of the economic approach in managing the national economy is the chief means at the present stage in the nation's development "...to turn the party directives into action" (p 452). The improving of planning involves the development of the productive forces and the continuous rise in the level of socialist production. The plan for the nation's socioeconomic development has been enriched with new indicators and sections. Comrade St. Todorov views the question of territorial planning in relation to this. The plans for the socioeconomic development of the individual okrugs are viewed by the author of "Usilni Godini" as an element for improving national economic planning and as a necessary section from comprehensive national economic development. For him territorial planning is one of the instruments for raising the socioeconomic effectiveness of socialist production. The correct territorial placement of the productive forces "...is one of the main, still not fully utilized reserves for raising economic efficiency and for the most rational use of the natural, labor and material resources" (pp 265-266). The report given by the author at the March (1970) Plenum of the BCP Central Committee in terms of its content represented a forecast for the territorial placement of the productive forces and for improving the territorial organization of production over the following two decades. The plenum decisions adopted on the basis of the report by Comrade St. Todorov outlined the strategic tasks which must be solved in this area of the national economy, namely, raising comprehensive development of the economy in the individual okrugs and economic regions and gradually surmounting the substantial socioeconomic differences between them inherited from capitalism.

The pages devoted to the socialist way of life merit particular attention, chiefly in line with the questions which our national economy is presently solving. The

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author views the rise in the standard of living in direct relation to the results achieved in the production sphere. The production employment of the working-age contingent of the population is an essential element from the realization of the creators of the material goods and cultural values in a socialist economy. In parallel with the rise in the income of the population and its higher material and cultural level, a major role is played by the service sphere (p 339). The latter must be developed in direct relation to the increased income of the population and its social and cultural needs.

With good justification the author has given significant attention to one of the factors of growing significance for the dynamic development of our national economy, namely the participation of our country in the integration processes among the states of the socialist commonwealth and our growing cooperation with the Soviet Union. Comrade St. Todorov views the all-round cooperation of our nation with the other countries of the socialist commonwealth as an objective, natural necessity. This nature of cooperation is determined by the uniform production relationships, by the international division of labor which has been carried out and by the internationalization of the productive forces. Technical progress plays the determining role in the growing significance of socialist integration. The importance of the integration processes, the author stresses, for countries such as Bulgaria is determined by the following: the growing needs for energy and raw material resources which our nation possesses in limited amounts; by the demand to continuously broaden scientific and technical potential and the need for a market to sell the products from the sectors with which Bulgaria participates in the international division of labor (p 66). The participation of Bulgaria in the integration processes between the states of the socialist commonwealth helps to improve the sectorial structure of industry and efficiently utilize the labor resources. "...Conditions have been created for a continuous rise in labor productivity in the entire national economy..." (p 98) and for raising the standard of living of the population.

The particular features which characterize a socialist society and its economy also determine the forms of organization and the methods of its leadership. These particular features determine the style and methods inherent to the party, administrative and economic leaders and leadership. The author of "Usilni Godini" takes up these principles in more than one place in his articles, reports and statements. In disclosing the essential features and the approach which must be applied in managing the socialist economy, Comrade St. Todorov proceeds from the views given by the founder of the Soviet state. Proceeding from the views of Lenin, he pleads for a clear delimitation of the functions, the rights and duties of the individual elements and institutions which form the superstructure of the socialist society. In his report to the November Plenum of the BCP Central Committee held in 1968, Comrade St. Todorov clarified the relationships between the functions of the central and local bodies of communist power; between the activities of the party and state bodies; between the bodies of the Fatherland Front and the people's councils. The latter, the author emphasized, "...must assist in developing the economy and increasing its efficiency, in accelerating technical progress and introducing a scientific organization for production, management and labor" (p 380). A lack of coordination, duplication, formalism and excessive paperwork are fundamentally alien to the organization and management of a socialist economy (and this applies equally to the other systems of the socialist state). The role of the party organizations must be increased as the political leadership. The class approach, concern for the working people, concern

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for man remains the criterion for assessing the activities of the bodies of the socialist state under the conditions of victorious socialism. Scientific management of the economy requires "...that the people's councils take a greater part in planning the activities of the enterprises operating on its territory, while naturally the main responsibility is born by the appropriate administrative and economic leadership" (p 392).

An essential trait of socialist management is its scientificness. This presupposes the full use of the achievements of social sciences and production methods which modern science and technology offer us. What was said by Comrade St. Todorov concerning the approach in the activities of the people's councils at the November Plenum of the BCP Central Committee (1968) is of fundamental significance for the style and methods in the activities of all bodies of the socialist state. Each state and social body is obliged to operate in the range of functions granted it in the system of socialist management. It must promptly and professionally solve the questions which life and the population have posed for it. The activities of the individual bodies must be organized on the principles of democratic centralism and the unity of legislative and executive activities with a harmonious combination of sectorial and territorial planning in the economic area. The broadening of democracy in management presupposes the ever-fuller involvement of the population in management activities while strictly observing the requirements of objectivity and efficiency in management (p 397). In solving economic problems, the effectiveness of the end result is of crucial significance (p 432). The high level of socialist management requires fewer but more effective sessions, professionalism and responsibility.

The reviewed work is an authoritative proof of the indisputable successes which our people have won along the path of socialist construction and their unswerving desire for cooperation in the name of peace and all-round progress for all peoples.

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